

NEW ZEALAND.

THE Maori name of New Zealand is "Ao-tea-roa" (the long white cloud); for the North Island, "Te-ika-a-Maui" (the fish of Maui); for the South Island, "Te-wai-pounami" (the place of the greenstone); and of Stewart Island, "Rakiura."

Of all the tribes native to the "seven colonies" the Maoris of New Zealand alone have given serious trouble to the white population. From the visit of Tasman to Murderer's Bay to comparatively modern times, the Maori has been a menace to European colonisation. He alone of all the Australasians dared defend his own with a courage, a pertinacity, and a skill which have extorted the admiration, and frequently compelled the terror of the white invader. Though not aboriginal to New Zealand, he is so identified with the history of the Islands from our first knowledge of them, that it is convenient to consider him briefly before touching on the earliest advent of the European explorer in the waters of "Ao-tea-roa."

Much doubt exists as to the ancient cradle of the Maori race. Many theories have been advanced on this subject, but the favourite one appears to be that which gives as their place of origin some island of the Samoan Group, or, as their own traditions designate the place of their exodus, "Hawaiki." The legend runs that a chief of Hawaiki left the island after a civil war, voyaged to New Zealand (Ao-tea-roa), and returned thence to the land of his birth with marvellous accounts of all he had seen in his adventurous journey, and of the wealth of the new country that he had visited. This daring navigator was named either Kupe or Ngahue; but though traditions vary concerning this, they concur in making him the leader of the expedition that planted his race in its present home. Tasman describes the natives of Golden or Murderer's Bay as being possessed of double canoes, though when the country was annexed, some 200 years afterwards, the Maoris had forgotten how to build them. It is, however, quite possible that they journeyed safely over the thousands of miles of open ocean which separate New Zealand from the tropical islands of the Samoan group in these typical vessels of the South Sea Islands. The Maori race is brown in colour, handsome of feature, and evidently identical with the people who have spread throughout the broad Pacific from Hawaii to Rarotonga, and who have in some of the groups mingled their blood with that of inferior Melanesian peoples. Recently a well-known authority states that ethnological investigations seem to point to the fact that prior to their occupation of the islands in

the Pacific referred to in Maori tradition, the race originally dwelt on some mainland—probably on the plains and foothills of the Himalaya Mountains of India.

When Cook landed he found the islands apparently crowded by a dense population. This appearance was, however, misleading, and merely arose from the tendency of the Maoris to cluster along the shore line and at the mouths of rivers. It has since been computed that the total number of Maoris at that time could not have been more than 150,000, which lessened to 80,000 by 1840, and has now further shrunk to considerably less than half that number. Except on the shores of Cook's Straits, they only planted a few scattered outposts in the South Island. Yet that was the larger island of the two. It is also the colder, and therein lies the chief secret of the check to the Maori increase. They were a tropical race transplanted into a temperate climate. They showed much the same tendency to cling to the North Island as the negroes in North America to herd in the Gulf Straits.

Respecting their antiquity as an important race from a Polynesian habitat, it is noteworthy that the names of most of their canoes are still remembered, and each tribe agrees in its account of the doings of the people of the principal canoes after their arrival in New Zealand; and from these traditional accounts the descent of numerous tribes has been traced. Calculations, based on the genealogical staves kept by the "tohungas," or priests, and on the well-authenticated traditions of the people, indicate that about twenty-one generations have passed since the immigration, which may, therefore, be assumed to have taken place about 525 years ago. The position of the legendary Hawaiki is unknown, but many places in the South Seas have been thus named in memory of the mother-land. The Registrar-General of New Zealand notes that the Maoris speak a very pure dialect of the Polynesian language—the common tongue, with more or less variation, in all the Pacific Islands; and that Captain Cook, when he first visited New Zealand, availed himself of the services of a native of Tahiti, whose speech was easily understood by the Maoris, and who thereby obtained from them much of their traditional history. Cannibalism existed in New Zealand from the earliest periods known to Europeans, and sailors belonging to the expeditions of Tasman, Cook, and others met their fate in this way. The custom of eating the bodies of enemies killed in battle obtained up to a very late period. The practice of tattooing was general in the early days of European colonisation, but it is now rapidly dying out among the younger generation of Maoris.

Tasman had been sent out by Anthony Van Diemen, the Governor of the Dutch possessions in the East Indies, on a voyage of discovery in search of new lands for exploitation by the States General of Holland. He was furnished with a yacht, the "Heemskirk," and a fly-boat, the "Zeehaen" (or "Sea Hen"), under the command of Captain Jerrit Jansen. He left Batavia on what has been designated by

Dutch historians the "Happy Voyage," on the 14th August, 1642, After a visit to the Mauritius, Tasman bore away to the south-east and discovered Van Diemen's Land, on the 24th November; then resuming his voyage in an easterly direction he sighted the west coast of the South Island of New Zealand on the 13th December of the same year, and describes the coast line as consisting of "high mountainous country."

Tasman was under the belief that the land he saw was part of a great polar continent discovered some years before by Schouten and Le Maire, to which the name of Staaten Land had been given. He, therefore duplicated the designation; but within three months afterwards Schouten's "Staaten Land" was found to be merely an inconsiderable island. Tasman's discovery thereupon received the name of New Zealand, on account of a fancied likeness to a province of Holland to which it bears not the least resemblance, and by this name it has been known ever since. Tasman sailed along the coast to a bay, and there he anchored. This inlet is known as Golden or Massacre Bay, called by Tasman Murderer's Bay. Here an unprovoked attack by the Maóris on a boat's crew resulted in the death of four of Tasman's sailors. Leaving Murderer's Bay, Tasman steered along the west coast of North Island. Vainly seeking a passage to the east, he passed and named Cape Maria Van Diemen, finally taking leave of New Zealand at North Cape. At the Three Kings Islands he made an attempt to land, but the ferocious aspect of the natives terrified his boat's crew, and the voyage was resumed. Tasman left New Zealand with a most unfavorable impression of its inhabitants. He had been off the coast for some three weeks without landing or planting the flag of his country thereon, and more than a century and a quarter elapsed before another European is known to have visited New Zealand.

Captain Cook, in the course of his search after a new continent, and after having observed the transit of Venus at Tahiti, sailed south and re-discovered Tasman's Staaten Land in the barque "Endeavour," on the 6th October, 1769. In the words of an admiring panegyrist, "He found New Zealand a line on the map, and left it an archipelago."

The point of the eastern coast of North Island, New Zealand, first sighted by Cook, he named "Young Nick's Head," after the look-out lad who first gave the cry of "Land-ho" from the truck. On the 8th October he cast anchor in Poverty Bay, so-called from the hostility of the natives, and their lack of manifested hospitality.

The expedition had thus far been sailing southward. Dissatisfied with the results, and finding it difficult to procure water in sufficient quantities, Cook put about, determining to follow the coast to the northward. He named a promontory in the neighbourhood Cape Turnagain. Another promontory more to the north, where a huge canoe made a hasty retreat, he called Cape Runaway. In the month of November he touched at a point on the coast, where he landed and erected an observatory for the purpose of observing the transit of

Mercury—one of the chief objects of his expedition on that occasion. A signal station was erected on the headland from which Cook took his observation, and which is now known as Shakespeare's Head. On the 9th of November the transit of Mercury was successfully observed, and the name Mercury Bay was given to the inlet where the observation was made. Two localities, for reasons which will be obvious, were called Oyster Bay and Mangrove River. Before leaving Mercury Bay, Cook caused to be cut upon one of the trees near the watering-place the ship's name and his own, with the date of arrival there, and, after displaying the English colours, took formal possession of it in the name of His Britannic Majesty King George the Third. It is noteworthy that Cook always managed to obtain wood and water wherever wood and water were to be had, no matter whether his intercourse with the natives were friendly or otherwise. He also contrived to carry on his surveys in spite of all opposition with such accuracy and deliberation that they remained the standard authority on the outlines of the islands for some seventy years or more. He was, moreover, a benefactor in no mean degree to the natives, who seldom knew the meaning of meat, save at a cannibal feast after a tribal victory. He not only improved their vegetables by giving them seed potatoes, but he turned loose fowls and pigs to supply their flesh larder. To the time of writing, the wild pigs which the settlers shoot in the forests and in the mountain gorges are called after Captain Cook, and they furnish many a solitary shepherd, miner, farmer, and gum-digger with excellent meat. Cook was, perhaps, either more prudent, or more successful, than his consort Captain Tobias Furneaux, of the "Adventure," who, in a subsequent voyage to New Zealand, lost an entire boat's crew of nine men, who were captured or killed, and duly cooked and eaten by the Maoris.

On the 17th December, the "Endeavour" doubled North Cape, which is the northern extremity of North Island, and began the descent of its western side. The weather now became stormy, and with a repetition of Tasman's experience from an opposite course on the same coast, very dangerous. Often was the vessel compelled to stand off in great distress, and intercourse with the natives was considerably interrupted. At one point, however, the English mariners satisfied themselves that the inhabitants ate human flesh—the flesh, at least, of enemies who had been killed in battle. On January 30th, 1770, Cook erected a flag-post on the summit of a hill in Queen Charlotte's Sound, where he again hoisted the Union Jack, and, after naming the bay where the ship was at anchor after the Queen, took formal possession of the South Island in the name of His Majesty King George the Third.

Cook crossed the waters of Doubtless Bay on the same day that the French Captain, De Surville, in the "St. Jean Baptiste," was approaching the land at Mangonui. A few hours afterwards, and totally ignorant of Cook's presence in New Zealand waters, the Frenchman anchored in this very inlet, and named it Lauriston Bay. This navi-

gator was sent out by his Government, who believed that the English had found "an island of gold" in the South Seas, and sailed post haste from India to see if he could not participate in the exploitation of the precious metal. He was received by the natives with great hospitality; but, finding nothing more valuable than spars for his ship, he proceeded to South America, carrying away in irons the Rarawa chief, Ngakinui, who had entertained him and his sick seamen with great hospitality while on shore. Ngakinui pined on ship-board for his native food, and died some eighty days after his seizure. De Surville, only eleven days after the death of this unfortunate Maori chief, was drowned in the surf at Callao.

Cook, sent out again by the British Government in search of the supposed Southern, or Austral, Continent, paid another visit to New Zealand waters in 1773; in fact, in the course of the three voyages he made to the South Pacific he visited the country five different times, sojourning there on the several occasions 326 days. His various visits extended from October 6th, 1769, to February 25th, 1777. In the second voyage in the "Resolution" Captain Tobias Furneaux, of the "Adventure," was associated with him.

In 1772 Captain Marion du Fresne anchored his two ships, the "Marquis de Castries" and the "Mascarin," in the Bay of Islands. These vessels formed a French expedition of discovery, sailing from Nantes, on the Loire. Lieutenant Crozet, in command of the King's sloop "Mascarin," had lost his masts, and the two ships put into the Bay of Islands to refit. Du Fresne was frequently on shore during his stay, and habits of intimacy begat in the mind of the French Commander confidence in the friendship of the natives. Both races lived in harmony for several weeks. "They treated us," says Crozet, "with every show of friendship for thirty-three days, with the intention of eating us on the thirty-fourth." The Maori version given by Dr. Thompson is: "We treated Marion's party with every kindness for thirty days, and on the thirty-first they put two of our chiefs in irons, and burned our sacred places." It matters little whether the Maoris had any valid excuse for eating their guests or not; the fact remains that an attack was made on the French, when twenty-eight of their party and the commander were killed and eaten. Crozet, who had a party of men engaged in getting spars in the Kawakawa River, was also in danger of being trapped by the treacherous savages; but being forewarned, he was enabled to punish those who had killed his comrades and sought his own destruction. Before leaving the river he refitted the two vessels, and after a stay of sixty-four days in the Bay of Islands, continued his voyage.

On his return to England, Cook gave a most graphic description of New Zealand and its people. Men engaged in commerce became impressed with the value of the various articles which New Zealand produced, and hence of its importance as a market for manufactured goods; while the savant and the scientist regarded with great interest

the information recently published respecting a race of people who, while having a real though hitherto undescribed form of civilisation, were yet greedy eaters of human flesh. Cook's report of the genial climate, the fertile soil, and the evergreen forests of the new archipelago, not only excited considerable interest in England, but so captivated the eminently practical mind of Benjamin Franklin that the American philosopher published a proposal for its immediate colonisation.

In virtue of the sovereignty established by Captain Cook, the islands were included as a part of the British dominions in the Royal Commission appointing the Governor of New South Wales in 1787. In the following year Captain Arthur Phillip and his little colony of convicts established themselves on the shores of Port Jackson, New South Wales. There is no doubt that the selection of Botany Bay as a place of penal settlement was largely due to Cook's official report as to the suitability of the locality; but it was keenly debated in the House of Commons whether Cook's New Zealand or Cook's Botany Bay should be the site of the first experiment in penal colonisation. "New Zealand," says an early historian, "escaped the perilous distinction, possibly on account of fears entertained that the existence of her ferocious cannibal population might prove incompatible with the safe keeping and probationary discipline of the prisoners, and that in some fatal outburst of the cannibal passion, convict, governor, and guard might undergo the common lot, prematurely, in the native oven." This, possibly, may have been the reason; indeed, the early authorities of New South Wales had a thorough dread of the old-time Maori.

In 1791 Captain Vancouver anchored in Dusky Bay when on his voyage round the world, and in 1793 Admiral D'Entrecasteaux touched at New Zealand in his search for the unfortunate La Perouse. In the latter year, also, the "Dædalus," under the command of Lieutenant Hanson, was sent by the Governor of New South Wales to cruise about the New Zealand coast with the avowed intention of kidnapping one or more Maoris to teach the convict settlers of Norfolk Island the Maori method of flax-dressing. Unfortunately, one of the captives secured was a priest ("tohunga") and the other a chief ("rangatira,") and they would not admit that they knew anything about such work, and were restored to their homes after several months' detention.

In the year 1793, Sydney whalers began to visit the coasts of New Zealand; and adventurous spirits, honest and outlaw, ran into the ports of the islands for spars and flax, preserved human heads, and other native curiosities. Frightful atrocities were at times perpetrated by the Maoris, although it must be admitted that in some cases the knavery and cruelty of the traders were directly responsible for them. In 1807 a vessel had been taken by the east coast natives, and the entire crew, with one exception, were killed and eaten. In 1809 occurred the "Boyd" massacre, when fifty Europeans were murdered at Poverty Bay. In 1816 the brig "Agnes" was stranded in the same locality, and out of a crew of fourteen all save one were killed and eaten.

A remunerative trade in seal-skins was carried on for a time, these being amongst the first articles of export from the then territory of New South Wales, but the unrestricted slaughter of the animals between 1800 and 1820, caused their capture to be no longer a paying enterprise. There was also a trade in timber hewn near the shores of the Hauraki Gulf, and shipped at profitable prices from Sydney to India and the Cape of Good Hope. The Bay of Islands was also the centre of much activity during the palmy days of the whaling industry.

In 1814 the Church Missionaries appeared, and strengthened the feeling of security which had grown up through trade, though New Zealand continued to have the evil reputation of being the *Alsatia* of the Pacific. Missionary enterprise was made possible by the growing intercourse between the whites and the Maoris. To the islands flocked deserters and shipwrecked seamen, runaway convicts, and all kinds of nondescript adventurers of the "Bully" Hayes type. Sometimes they were promptly killed and eaten; sometimes they were adopted by the natives, and speedily sank below the level of the Maoris themselves, marrying one, two, or three wives according to fancy or the esteem in which they were held by their adopted tribesmen. As trade grew up between the whites and the natives, the "Pakeha Maori," or European, who sold his nation-right for a mess of savage pottage, became an object of competition among the islanders, who found him a useful agent and interpreter. During the latter part of the days of Governor King, from 1805 to 1807, the first natives, amongst them several chiefs, voluntarily went to England and to New South Wales. These visits fired the missionary zeal of Samuel Marsden, who resolved upon acting the part of a St. Augustine to the Maoris. In 1807 Marsden accompanied Governor King to England, to enlist the aid of the Church Missionaries' Society in the establishment of a mission settlement in New Zealand. On his return to the Colony in 1810 he brought with him two lay catechists for his mission, Messrs. King and Hall, a carpenter and an iron-worker. When the missionaries arrived in Sydney the air was filled with rumours of rapine and murder, much exaggerated. These arose out of the horror excited by the ghastly outrage known to history as the "Boyd" massacre—an act of retaliatory vengeance dealt out to the passengers and crew of the ship "Boyd" for the flogging of a chief's son.

It had been proposed by the merchants of Sydney about this time to form a New Zealand Company in New South Wales, and the preliminary arrangements had been completed before tidings of the massacre came to Port Jackson; but when the tragedy was made known the idea was abandoned, and the catechists for the New Zealand Mission proceeded to Parramatta to wait until the public indignation had subsided. Meanwhile Mr. Kendall came to join the mission, but he also was sent to Parramatta with his wife and family, until continued peace on the New Zealand coast begat renewed confidence. During the time of the disorder in the mother colony, brought about

by the quarrels of Governor Bligh with the officers of the New South Wales Corps, a disastrous license appears to have been taken by the shipmasters trading from Port Jackson to New Zealand, which provoked reprisals on the part of the natives, entailing some loss of life.

In the year 1814 Governor Macquarie gave Mr. Marsden leave of absence to go to New Zealand to establish his mission, provided the natives on the east coast of the North Island were reported to be in a peaceful condition. To obtain the necessary information Mr. Marsden despatched the brig "Active" to the Bay of Islands, under the command of Captain Peter Dillon, who subsequently became celebrated for his discovery of the relics of La Perouse and his expedition on the island of Vanikoro. Mr. Kendall accompanied the brig, and several native chiefs returned in her to strengthen the chances of Mr. Marsden's visit. On the Governor's being satisfied with the report, the chaplain departed on his three months' leave of absence. He was accompanied by the catechists, Messrs. King, Hall, and Kendall, and a Mr. Nicholas. Mr. Marsden opened his mission at the Bay of Islands on Christmas Day, 1814. The natives had made rude preparations for the event by enclosing half an acre with a fence, erecting a pulpit and reading desk in the centre, covered with native mats dyed black, and using as seats for the Europeans some bottoms of old canoes, which were placed on each side of the pulpit. A flagstaff was erected on the highest hill. After the celebration of the service, which was heard with much decorum and attention, Mr. Marsden preached from the passage in St. Luke, "Behold I bring you glad tidings of great joy." The natives, of course, knew not what he said, so that the sermon was, perhaps, more picturesque in its *entourage* than edifying in its effects. At its conclusion the Maoris indulged in their war-dance, and thus Christianity and cannibalism came into contact. New Zealand was practically proclaimed a dependency of New South Wales by the appointment of Missionary Kendall as Resident Magistrate at the mission station.

After visiting the Thames, Mr. Marsden returned to New South Wales, leaving the catechists at the Bay of Islands. He did not again visit the mission until 1819, when an ordained clergyman, the Rev. S. Butler, was appointed to take charge of the station. The mission brig, the "Active," which had been purchased by Mr. Marsden in 1814, was, however, kept running between Port Jackson and the Bay of Islands, so that the catechists were in constant communication with head-quarters, while the whale ships frequenting the Bay gave some measure of protection by their presence. Acting under instructions from Governor Macquarie, Marsden explored a considerable portion of the northern part of New Zealand. He appears to have been the first European who published a description of the Hokianga River, which had been made known to Governor King from the map of the North Island drawn by the Maoris, Tuki and Huru, on the floor of the Governor's house at Norfolk Island. In the year following he visited

New Zealand in H.M. storeship the "Dromedary," which was sent thither to procure spars for topmasts for the Navy. He remained at North Island for several months, exploring the Thames, Tamaki, and Kaipara districts.

The progress of the missionaries in their task of christianising and civilising the Maoris was at first painfully slow, but it became rapid and general during the ten years preceding the annexation of the islands by the British Crown in 1840.

Marsden had a veritable genius for administration, and he thoroughly believed in the saving efficacy of social organisation. He wished every convert to learn a trade. He himself had been a blacksmith before becoming a chaplain, and his helpers were wielders of tools of iron or steel as well as of the arms of the spirit. He sought to save men's souls by teaching them to dig and delve and to be cunning in the use of saw and hammer. He saw clearly enough that the future of the Maori, temporal and spiritual, lay in the annexation by the British Crown, and to this end he laboured. His ghostly comfort was material enough to be weighed and measured, but he was the man for the situation, and he knew it with the stolid obstinacy characteristic of his Yorkshire blood. Naturally perhaps, but nevertheless unfortunately, some of his coadjutors thought otherwise, and sowed seeds of dissension concerning things immaterial to Marsden's organised scheme of temporal salvation. The Maoris, with their keen imagination, were quick to seize upon quibbles, and sects sprang up as quickly as mushrooms. Rival tribes made it a point of honour to select varying and opposing beliefs, and in contemning the adherents of churches other than their own.

The first difficulty that confronted the missionaries was a translation of the Bible. To obtain this they enlisted the services of a notable convert, Hongi, and another Maori chief. Mr. Kendall went to England, accompanied by Hongi with very opposite views. The preacher wanted aid to put the Maori language into written form, writing being a mode of communicating thought unknown to the native race. Hongi wanted guns and ammunition to enable him to wreak his vengeance on his household enemies; but no word of this escaped him. In the end each got what he wished for. Mr. Kendall obtained the assistance of Professor Lee, who, with Hongi's help, constructed a grammar and vocabulary of the New Zealand language sufficient for the translation projected. On his arrival in England, Hongi was lionised. George the Fourth gave him a suit of armour, and various admirers presented him with guns and other gifts. On leaving England the Government provided him with a passage to Sydney on his way home. On reaching Sydney Hongi took up his residence with his friend, Mr. Marsden, and there met Hinaki, a neighbouring chief, on a visit to the venerable missionary. It appears that while Hongi was in England one of his Ngapuhi tribesmen had been killed by some connections of

Hinaki's people. Here, then, was an immediate opportunity of trying his guns, and testing the invulnerability of his royal suit of armour. Hinaki sued for peace, but Hongi wanted war, and intended to have it. To this end he disposed of all his other presents and converted the proceeds into more muskets and more ammunition. Although Hongi and Hinaki sat at the same table, slept under the same roof, and travelled back to New Zealand on the same ship, none of Hinaki's arguments could induce the blood-lustful chief to abandon his design of having a practical test of the new instruments of warfare which he had procured in England. There was nothing for it, therefore, but for Hinaki to collect his followers on his return home and make the boldest showing possible. When the battle was fought he maintained a brave resistance for some time, but at length the new weapons prevailed, and Hinaki, together with a thousand of his followers, were slain, while numbers were taken captive. Of the slain 300 were cooked and eaten on the battle-field by the victors. Hongi next invaded the territory of the tribes round Mercury Bay, and then proceeded to Kaipara where he made a great slaughter. In 1822 he again visited the Thames and the Waikato, and ascended the Waipa, where he took several large "pahs," and proceeded thence almost to the Wanganui, slaying in this expedition about 1,500 of his enemies. His name spread terror wherever he went, and when remonstrated with by the missionaries he declared his intention of subjugating the whole island. In 1823 he won a victory at Rotorua, when many were slain. In 1827 he declared war against Tara, and the tribe which had been concerned in the "Boyd" massacre, and during the early part of the year his followers plundered and burnt the Wesleyan Missionary Station at Whangaroa. The life of this remarkable savage terminated in March, 1828, from injuries received by a bullet-wound in the preceding year. It has been computed that about 10,000 persons were killed in Hongi's various raids, and some writers have not hesitated to double this estimate.

In the year 1825 the first New Zealand Association was formed in London. It was composed of men of influence, among whom was Lord Durham. A vessel was fitted out for the purpose of exploring the country and conveying settlers to New Zealand. The command of the ship, called the "Rosanna," was given to Captain James Herd, a seaman well acquainted with the New Zealand coast. No later than the year 1822 he had been in the Hokianga River in the ship "Providence," when he witnessed a deed of conveyance of land from native chiefs to one Charles, Baron de Thierry, who, in his absence, was represented by Mr. Kendall. With the exception of Marsden, all the early missionaries seemed determined to do all they could to deprive Great Britain of her sovereignty over the islands. Captain Herd bought two islands in the Hauraki Gulf, and a strip of land at Hokianga. The "Rosanna" arrived in Hauraki Gulf in 1826, reached the Bay of Islands on the 26th October of the same year, and proceeded thence to Hokianga, where a record of this early attempt at colonisation is still preserved in

the designation of Herd's Point. A war-dance at one of the places visited by the "Rosanna" was said to have terrified the immigrants, who insisted upon being carried back to England, a stipulation having been made between them and the company before leaving the port of departure, that they should be reconveyed to England if they disliked remaining in New Zealand; and of all the intending settlers, some sixty in number, only four preferred to remain. The "Rosanna" went to Sydney early in the year 1827, where the stores of the expedition were sold by public auction, and Captain Herd, and those of the party who felt disposed to do so, sailed for England. The cost of this venture is said to have been £20,000.

From 1820 to 1830 was a time far surpassing in bloodshed and ruin anything witnessed in the islands before or since—a result of horror due to the fact that the Maoris had thoroughly learnt the lesson instilled into their minds by the bloody victories of Hongi, and not a "brave" in the North Island but possessed his fire-lock. During the decade between 1830 and 1840, however, New Zealand gradually drifted into a new phase of existence, and began to respond to the dominance of the white man. In England more than one influential believer in the future of Australasia had long been keenly watching the fortunes of New Zealand, and Great Britain was soon to learn that these islands were not indifferent to France also. In 1829 a deputation waited on the Duke of Wellington, then Prime Minister, to urge that New Zealand should be acquired and settled. His Grace, interestedly advised, flatly refused to think of any such thing. It was then that he made the historic remark that, "supposing New Zealand to be as valuable an acquisition to the Crown as the [deputation wished to make out, Great Britain had already colonies enough." It is noteworthy that the capital of New Zealand is named after the great man whose sole connection with the colony was a flat refusal to include it in the Empire. The singular indifference of English statesmen to the great possibilities of New Zealand is now a matter for marvel. The truth is, that the missionaries stood in the way of annexation, and they were listened to. They represented the one element of self-sacrifice in a community of greed and lust; but they were, after all, only human. They had tasted of the sweets of power, and represented all the vague majesty of British authority, and they were loth to lose pride of place and privilege—and annexation meant nothing less to them. By a singular obtuseness the Governors of New South Wales gradually relaxed their supervision of New Zealand as a dependency of the mother colony—a sin against patriotism which the governing missionaries in North Island did their utmost to encourage—and "No Man's Land" was rapidly becoming British only by virtue of the nationality of those who exploited it. The white inhabitants of New Zealand comprised at this time four classes—first, the missionaries and their immediate dependents; second, the "Pakcha Maoris" or de-civilised whites who had thrown in their lives and their lots with the native race; third, the whalers and sealers of

the South Seas—more birds of pleasure and passage; and fourth, the traders and others settled at the Bay of Islands. In the last-named beautiful inlet had been founded a marine Alsatia, a Bohemia of villainous license, known as “Kororareka” (now Russell), where, on occasion, as many as a thousand whites indulged in unbridled and brutalising debauchery, no fewer than thirty-five large whaling ships at a time lying off its beach in the Bay. Matters, indeed, had reached such a pitch that the better-disposed of the inhabitants formed themselves into a vigilance committee, each member of which attended the meetings armed with musket and cutlass.

In 1830, so horrible had become the outrages of the traffic in preserved and tattooed human heads, that Governor Darling prohibited the commerce, and, inferentially, the secret murders due to it, by attaching a penalty of £40, coupled with exposure of the name of the trader who should engage in it. The missionaries, utterly powerless to stem or turn this gathering flood of vice and violence, were moved in 1831 to induce the various chiefs of the neighbourhood to petition the British Government for some protection and repressive aid; and it was high time, as the annals of the period show, though on rare occasions constituted lawlessness could be enlisted in upholding constituted authority, yet, even then, at the expense of the extinction of every sentiment of pity or mercy. Thus, a Sydney vessel, having eighty convicts on board, anchored in the Bay of Islands, when it transpired that the outlaws had overpowered their guard, and, seizing the craft, managed to navigate her to New Zealand. On their arrival, an old trader named Duke, with the assistance of a number of Maoris whom he had enlisted in his service, immediately boarded the vessel, fought and conquered the felon barrators, and took them back to Sydney, where nine were duly hanged for their offence. A type of the class of ruffians, the most infamous of all, who frequented New Zealand waters at this period was a trader named Stewart. This fiend in human shape formed a most bloodthirsty compact with a Maori chief named Te Rauparaha, famed alike for craft and cruelty. The chief's father had been slain in an incidental fray by the Maoris of Kaiapoi in the South Island, and Te Rauparaha burned to avenge his death. When Stewart arrived in the “Elizabeth,” Te Rauparaha hired the vessel to take him, on payment of 30 tons of flax, to Akaroa, which was inhabited by natives of the same tribe as those who had slain his father. The local chief and his friends visited the vessel on Stewart's assurance that he had no hostile Maoris on board, Te Rauparaha and his men concealing themselves in the hold. Then a scene of frightful carnage ensued. The chief and his “rangatiras” were seized, the men warriors and common people butchered, while the remainder were reserved for a worse fate. Te Rauparaha and his followers, flushed with success, landed and fired the village, murdering all they could lay hands upon. Some of the bodies were taken on board and, with Stewart's acquiescence, cooked in the brig's coppers. On returning to Cook's Straits, Te

Rauparaha and his men landed, but Stewart retained the captive chief on board the "Elizabeth" until the 30 tons of flax were furnished. When this was received he handed over the chief and his wife, who were tortured to death. Stewart was afterwards arrested in Sydney and thrown into prison, but in spite of Governor Darling's efforts, the prosecution failed through lack of evidence.

It was to put down such ruffians as Stewart and his fellows that the missionaries used their influence with the Maori chiefs to induce them to apply to King William the Fourth for British protection; though it must not be thought that all New Zealand was one Kororareka, for the mission extended its influence, not only along the coasts, but in many districts of the interior, bringing a large minority of the natives into an outward adoption of Christianity.

Acting on the appeal of the "Confederated Chiefs of North Island," representations were forwarded to the Imperial authorities from the Governor of New South Wales, suggesting the appointment of a British Resident, and, in 1832, Lord Ripon despatched Mr. James Busby, a civil engineer of New South Wales, who was then on a visit to England, to fill that position. H.M.S. "Imogene" was employed to carry him to his Residency, where he arrived on the 5th May, 1833, and stationed himself at Waitangi, in the Bay of Islands, a short distance from the Piahia Mission Station, under the official regis of Sir Richard Bourke, Governor of New South Wales. Busby was paid a salary, and provided with £200 a year to distribute in presents to the native chiefs; but he had no real authority, and was not backed by any force. Instead of seeking to extend the dominion of the British Empire, as might be expected from a British Consul, Busby drew up a federal constitution for the Maori tribes, ambitiously designated "The Confederacy of the Thirteen Northern Chiefs," and asked the Colonial Office to abandon all British claims to New Zealand, and to recognise such "confederacy" as the sovereign power of the State; and, stranger still, the proposal was agreed to in London. In 1835 Mr. Busby suggested that the New Zealanders should have a national flag, enabling vessels built in the colony to possess freedom of trade in British ports; and the proposal being also approved, Captain Lambert, in H.M.S. "Alligator," was sent to the Bay of Islands with three patterns of flags for the chiefs to select from. The flag was chosen accordingly, and saluted as the standard of an independent country. Mr. Busby managed to get the chiefs to accept his constitution, and his national flag was ceremoniously run up; but the hoisting of this piece of bunting formed the first and last act in the federation of Maori tribes under parliamentary institutions. From the Bay of Islands H.M.S. "Alligator" proceeded to the west coast of the North Island to punish the Ngatiruanu tribe, who had behaved with inhumanity to the crew of the barque "Harriett," in April, 1834, and who held captive Mrs. Guard, the wife of the Captain, with her children. On board the "Alligator" was a company of the 50th regiment. Mrs. Guard and her children

were released; two villages, crowded with a mixed assemblage of men, women, and children, were cannonaded; the habitations in two "pahs" and their accumulated store of provisions were burned, and the head of the principal chief, who had been slain, was cut off and kicked by the triumphant soldiers and marines as a football along the beach. Thus did the enlightened white emulate the brutalities of the uncivilised barbarian. In the year 1837 Governor Bourke recalled Busby, on the ground that his appointment to the consulship at Kororareka had not answered the expectations that had been formed.

In 1837 Captain Hobson was in Sydney in command of H.M.S. "Rattlesnake." A serious war was then raging among the native tribes at the Bay of Islands, and Sir Richard Bourke thought it his duty to request Captain Hobson to proceed thither and protect British interests, and to report on the condition of the country. In the report, which attracted considerable attention, Captain Hobson proposed that factories should be established after the manner of the early trading companies of the English and the Dutch. When making the recommendation he was probably not aware that the Sydney merchants had, in 1815, made a similar proposal to Governor Macquarie. He also recommended that a treaty should be made with the New Zealand chiefs for the recognition of the factories and for the protection of British subjects and property.

It was also in the year 1837 that the New Zealand Association was formed, Mr. Francis Baring being the chairman. Several of those gentlemen who were in the venture of 1825 to Hokianga, were on the Committee, as well as some of those who were active in colonising South Australia. At their head were John Lambton, Earl of Durham, and Edward Gibbon Wakefield. One of the most prominent members was Sir William Molesworth. The movement towards systematised colonisation had a certain disturbing effect upon the Colonial Office. The fact of the matter was, that the Colonial Office had been foolishly committed to the acknowledgment of the "Confederacy of the Thirteen Chiefs," and did not know precisely how to recover the lost ground. Lord Glenelg was willing to grant the Association a charter of colonisation under certain conditions, provided the consent of the chiefs could be obtained. One of these conditions was objected to by the promoters. Lord Glenelg insisted that a certain amount of capital should be subscribed, and a fixed proportion paid before the Association should assume any authority. Lord Durham said the Association would "neither run any pecuniary risk nor reap any pecuniary advantage," and so the negotiations came to an end. In June, 1838, Mr. Francis Baring obtained leave to bring in a Bill for founding a British Colony in New Zealand, and though the first reading was carried by seventy-four votes to twenty-three, it was thrown out on the second reading by a majority of sixty.

In the meantime the islands were being overrun by speculative "land-sharks,"—clever adventurers who, well surmising an impending

change in the condition of affairs in New Zealand, hastened to secure some claim, in many cases vague and shadowy enough, to huge estates all over the country. It is alleged that most of the so-called purchases of native lands were altogether fictitious, or else were imperfect and made for absurdly low prices. By the year 1840 it was estimated that some 20,000,000 acres, or nearly a third of the islands, were supposed to have been "acquired" by the "land sharks." The claims arising out of these dubious transactions brought in due course a plentiful crop of confusion, bitterness, and heart-burning. There was at the time no legally constituted authority to deal with such cases, and armed conflict between the Maori warrior chiefs and the sharpers scheming to possess the estates of the tribes was rapidly becoming imminent. Annexation by Great Britain was the only solution of the difficulty; and it is to the credit of Marsden and his assistant, the Rev. Henry Williams, that they had both come to see this clearly. Moreover, there were rumours of no very pleasant character that the French had designs upon the islands. The missionaries were now on the horns of a dilemma. They had done their utmost to set up a native nation, independent of Great Britain. With a few exceptions they dreaded annexation; but they dreaded annexation by the French most of all.

The burlesque attempt of the quaint adventurer De Thierry to create a kingdom of his own in the North Island was also a factor in precipitating events. This amusing gentleman had endeavoured to enlist the sympathies of his countrymen and his Government, though apparently with small success. His efforts in this direction, however, served to attract French attention to New Zealand as a desirable possession; so when another knight of fortune, also French, by name Langlois, the captain of a whaling ship, appealed to his countrymen to aid him in exploiting the islands, there was a respectable measure of response. Langlois professed to have bought 300,000 acres of land from the natives of the Banks Peninsula, in the South Island. Owing in part to the exertions of this adventurer, a French syndicate, called "The Nantes-Bordelaise Company," was formed to found a French settlement on the shores of the beautiful inlet of Akaroa Harbour, on the island which Langlois declared he had purchased; and in this colonising association one of the shareholders was Louis Philippe. The formation of the French company, as well as the antics of Baron De Thierry, caused no little uneasiness, and all sorts of vague surmises, as to the nature of the intentions of France.

Some time in the year 1838, a public meeting had been held at Kororareka to consider the best means of preserving life and property in the district, and the Kororareka Association was formed for this purpose. When the news, of the proceedings at the township capital of the Bay of Islands reached Great Britain, the Colonial Office awoke to the seriousness of the situation, and saw that further delay might prove fatal to British interests in the islands, and the annexation of New Zealand to the Empire was determined upon. Still the pro-

ceedings were of the tardiest. In December, 1838, it was proposed that a British Consul should be appointed to reside in New Zealand, and Sir George Gipps, the Governor of New South Wales, was officially informed of the intention ; but it was not until the middle of the next year that the selection of a consular agent was made, and it was determined that "certain parts of the islands of New Zealand should be added to the Colony of New South Wales as a dependency of that Government, and that Captain Hobson, R.N., should proceed thither as British Consul to fill the office of Lieutenant Governor." In June and July the arrangements were gazetted ; in August Lord Normanby gave the Consul his instructions ; and that official at once prepared to proceed with his family in H.M.S. "Druid" to Port Jackson, where he arrived on the Christmas Eve of 1839.

Captain Hobson's instructions were to establish a form of civil government with the consent of the natives ; to treat for the recognition of Her Majesty's authority over the whole or any portion of the islands ; to induce the chiefs to contract that no lands should in future be sold except to the Crown ; to announce by proclamation that no titles to lands acquired from the natives or the dependency would be recognised except such as were confirmed by a Crown grant ; to arrange for the appointment of a commission to determine what lands held by British subjects had been lawfully acquired ; and to appoint a protector to supervise the interests of the Maori population. Captain Hobson was armed with a dormant commission, authorising him, after annexing New Zealand, to govern it in the name of the Queen. In Sydney a Royal Proclamation was issued, under which New Zealand was included within the political boundary of the Colony of New South Wales. Captain Hobson was to act as Lieutenant-Governor, with the Governor of New South Wales as his superior officer. In H.M.S. "Herald" he left Sydney for the Bay of Islands where he arrived on January 29th, 1840, "and was loyally received by the Alsatians." The history of New Zealand, as a portion of the British Empire, dates from that day.

Captain Hobson was accompanied by a Treasurer, a Collector of Customs, a Police Magistrate, two clerks, a sergeant, and four men of the mounted police of New South Wales. As soon as the "Herald" left Port Jackson Sir George Gipps issued three proclamations, the first, already referred to, extending his government to any territory which had been or might be acquired in sovereignty by Her Majesty within the group of islands in the Pacific Ocean commonly called New Zealand ; the second, appointing Captain Hobson Lieutenant Governor of any territory that might be acquired by Her Majesty ; and the third declaring that Her Majesty would not acknowledge as valid any title to land which either had been or should be thereafter acquired in that country, which was not either derived from or confirmed by a grant made in Her Majesty's name or on her behalf. To the land claimants of Sydney the latter proclamation was especially

obnoxious, as the traders there had bought large tracts for speculative purposes. In this connection commissioners were subsequently appointed to revise claims put forward by some individuals to large tracts of land purchased in the islands. A Bill was introduced into the New South Wales Parliament during the session of 1840 for the purpose, when Mr. W. C. Wentworth and Mr. James Busby, late Consul at the Bay of Islands, and some others who had purchased land from several New Zealand chiefs, resisted the inquiry. These persons had purchased land to the amount of 10,000,000 acres in the South Island, and 200,000 acres in the North Island, for which they had paid a small sum in cash, and agreed to the further payment of £100 per annum for life to each of the chiefs that had ceded his territory. The claimants were heard at the Bar of the Legislative Council, both personally and by counsel, in defence of their claims, and in opposition to the Bill. Messrs. Wentworth and Busby were heard personally, the others through their counsel, Mr. W. a'Beckett (afterwards Chief Justice of Victoria) and Mr. Darvall. The principles upon which the Bill was framed and advocated were :—First, that the savages possessed no other right in the country they inhabited than that of mere occupation until they became civilised enough to put it to some proper use—that of cultivation ; consequently they were incapable of giving legal title of land to any other person ; second, that if a country inhabited by men of this description were afterwards taken possession of by any civilised colonising power, the right of pre-emption existed only in that power ; that British subjects, either as individuals or as bodies, possessed no right to form colonies without the consent of the Crown, and that, in the event of their doing so, they became liable to be ousted by the Crown from their possessions. The Bill was passed, and after the Act became law a number of the claimants, comprising subjects of Great Britain, France, and the United States, resident in New Zealand, protested against the enforcement of the measure, and appealed to their respective Governments against the right of the Governor and Council of New South Wales to enact and enforce such a regulation. The Commission, however, was appointed and assumed the title of a Court of Claims, and its decisions, in most instances, were to the effect that the land to which the claimants were entitled was a mere fraction of the quantity said to be purchased, and some claims were disallowed altogether. The occasion of the introduction of this Bill into the Legislative Council of New South Wales was that in the course of the preceding year it was announced to the colony that a Treasury minute had been made sanctioning an advance from the revenue of New South Wales for the expense of the Government of New Zealand as a dependency of the mother colony with a Lieutenant-Governor, the funds so advanced to be repaid out of the revenue received from the territories ceded from time to time by the native proprietors in accordance with the ordinances of the Governor and Council of the older colony for that purpose enacted.

The persons in England interested in New Zealand colonisation were by no means content to put up with failure to obtain parliamentary sanction to their enterprise as already narrated. After the collapse of the Association in 1837, Edward Gibbon Wakefield had journeyed to Canada with Lord Durham, and returning with his chief to England he immediately formed a New Zealand Land Company, of which Lord Durham was Governor, and Mr. Joseph Somes Deputy Governor. The first paragraph in the prospectus of the Company declared its character, and showed that it was not open to the objection made to the Association. It said:—"This Company has been formed for the purpose of employing capital in the purchase and re-sale of lands in New Zealand, and the promotion of emigration to that country." The capital was £400,000 in 4,000 shares of £100 each, with a deposit of £10 per share. Rusden remarks, in his history of New Zealand, that "a capital of £100,000 was paid up, and 100,000 acres of land in New Zealand had been sold before a title to one had been acquired. They (the shareholders who paid money) drew lots for sections unknown of lands which the Company was about to seek."

A preliminary expedition was prepared to sail in April, 1839, in the "Tory," a vessel of 400 tons burthen, with the first body of the Company's emigrants, and letters of introduction to Governors of Colonies were solicited at the Colonial Office. The answer was that the Queen would be advised to take measures to obtain by cession the sovereignty of the islands, and that no pledge could be given for the future recognition on the part of the Crown of any titles to land which the Company might obtain by grant, or by purchase from the natives. Nothing daunted, however, by this rebuff, the "Tory" put to sea on the 12th May, under Colonel William Wakefield, of the Spanish Legion, since, after repeated efforts to obtain the help and sanction of the British Government, the Company had decided to go unauthorised. The destination of the expedition was the southern end of North Island. Two days after the departure of the "Tory" the Company's directors announced to the Government that the Association had been re-formed, and Lord Normanby was told that preparations for a very extensive emigration were in progress in various parts of England and Scotland.

The "Tory," which carried an exploring staff, and a cargo of trade for barter with the Maori chiefs, arrived at Queen Charlotte Sound on the 16th August after a rapid passage, for that time, of ninety-six days. Wakefield spent some time in Cook's Strait on land-purchasing expeditions, and carried on a series of negotiations with the Maori chiefs, which led to extensive purchases of territory. On the last day of September, 1839, he took formal possession of Port Nicholson in the name of the company, and the New Zealand flag was hoisted and duly saluted. Colonel Wakefield reported to the Company that he had purchased a territory of many millions of acres, as large in area as Ireland, extending from 38° to 43° south latitude on the west coast, and from 43° to 44° south latitude on the east coast—in short, nearly the whole of what are

now the provincial districts of Wellington and Taranaki ; that portion of Canterbury which includes Akaroa ; and a large slice of Nelson—in exchange for goods valued at something less than £9,000. His purchase embraced localities where the Company's settlements of Wellington, Nelson, and New Plymouth were subsequently formed. It is probable that Colonel Wakefield believed in the validity of his transactions with the Maori chiefs ; but it is certain that the latter, for their part, never had the least notion of selling the greater portion of this immense area, though it is equally probable that such chiefs as Te Rauparaha and Rangihaeata, who were parties to the bargains, knew that Wakefield thought that he was buying the country. Fifty-eight chiefs in all signed the deeds of sale. Moreover, it has been pointed out that even if the Maori chiefs who were concerned in the transaction understood what they were doing, they had no right, under native law and custom, thus to alienate the heritage of their tribes. Had Colonel Wakefield's alleged purchases been upheld by the British authorities, the Company would have become master of nine-tenths of the lands of no fewer than ten powerful tribes. The truth of the matter is that the interpreter of the Company was one Barrett, who had lived many years in Cook's Strait, sealing and whaling, and who had "picked up" sufficient "pigeon" Maori to make himself understood with reference to the simple needs of a very primitive state of existence, but who was utterly unable to translate complex sentences of legal terms employed in acts of title and conveyance into the New Zealand tongue, which frequently requires the employment of words having several meanings. The deeds of sale were written in English, and their true meaning Barrett was absolutely unable to render into Maori, even if he understood it himself. However, after despatching the "Tory," the directors in England, prematurely presuming on the success of their agent, actually proceeded, as we have seen, to sell land to the value of more than £100,000, and to send out emigrants before they knew that a single acre had been assigned. Towards the end of 1839 the Company's preparations were complete, and the first consignment of its settlers was shipped to Port Nicholson, on the shores of which, on January 22nd, 1840, the town of Wellington was laid out.

But other folk were as busily engaged in colonising schemes as Wakefield and his *confrères* were. Langlois, the French whaler, and the "Nantes-Bordelaise" Company gradually brought their plans to completion. In October, 1839, a vessel named the "Comte de Paris," having on board a number of emigrants, left France for New Zealand, and the French frigate "L'Aube" sailed for the same shores simultaneously. They were, however, destined to arrive at the land of promise just late enough to miss its acquisition by a hair's-breadth.

The Company's first settlement, Wellington, was founded on the 22nd January, 1840. Captain Hobson, R.N., afterwards the first Lieutenant-Governor, landed on the 29th of the same month, empowered, with the consent of the natives, to proclaim the sovereignty of the

Queen over the islands of New Zealand, and to assume the Government thereof. Immediately after his arrival, he issued an invitation to all British subjects to meet him at the church at Kororareka the next day, where he read two commissions, one extending the limits of New South Wales, and the second appointing him Lieutenant-Governor over such portions of New Zealand as might thereafter be added to Her Majesty's dominions. Two proclamations were also read, the first announcing that Her Majesty's authority had been asserted over British subjects in New Zealand; and the second that Her Majesty did not deem it expedient to acknowledge as valid any titles to land in New Zealand which were not derived from or confirmed by the Crown. Notices in the native language had been circulated on the Friday previous, stating that Captain Hobson would, on February 5th, hold a meeting of the chiefs for the purpose of explaining to them the Royal Instructions he had received, and of placing before them a copy of a treaty he would submit for their adoption. On February 5th and 6th the chiefs consulted approved of the treaty of Waitangi, or "Water of Weeping," as it is called on account of the proximity of the falls. Tents and a platform were erected at Waitangi, and the northern chiefs were invited to meet and confer with the Queen's representative. Much to the annoyance of the persons promoting the treaty, Bishop Pompallier appeared in full canonicals to oppose the new departure, and this was looked upon as a signal instance of French machiavellianism and designing subtlety. On the other side, Henry Williams, the ablest of Marsden's lieutenants, threw all his weight into the scale, and acted as translator. Waka Nene, a Ngapuhi chief, ably supported him. A strong minority of the Maoris was emphatically hostile. The officials looked on anxiously. Then it was that Waka Nene, the most influential man of his tribe, threw his "mana" on the side of the Government, and spoke strongly and eloquently for annexation. His speech gained the day, and a treaty was drawn up and signed. By the preamble, Queen Victoria invited the confederated and independent chiefs of New Zealand to concur in the three articles of the Treaty on which was based the title of the Crown to the North Island. It may be thus condensed:—The Queen of England, in regard for the Maori people, desiring to preserve for them their rights as chiefs and the possession of their lands, and also having heard that many of her subjects had settled in New Zealand, and that more were about to follow, to prevent troubles arising between the two races, had thought it right to send William Hobson, a captain in the Royal Navy, to be Governor for all parts of New Zealand then or thereafter ceded to her; to effect which object the following articles of agreement were proposed:—

- i. The chiefs of New Zealand cede to the Queen for ever the right of government over the whole of New Zealand.
- ii. Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the chiefs and tribes of New Zealand, and to the respective

families and individuals thereof, the full, exclusive, and undisturbed possession of their land and estates, forests and fisheries, and other properties which they may collectively and individually possess, so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession; but the chiefs of the united tribes, and the individual chiefs, yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of pre-emption over such lands as the proprietors may be disposed to alienate, at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them on her behalf.

- iii. In consideration for consent to the Queen's Government, the Queen will protect all the Maori people and give them all the rights and privileges of British subjects.

Under this treaty the natives not merely ceded to the Queen the right to purchase such land as the owners were willing to sell, but they ceded also the "pre-emptive right of selection over all lands"; and the practical interpretation put upon this, and rightly so, by each of the Governors, with the exception of the incompetent Fitzroy, was that the Queen might have the refusal of all lands the natives were willing to sell, and that if the refusal were given no one else should be allowed to buy; in other words, the treaty of Waitangi made the Government sole trader in all native lands sold directly by the Maori tribes, and absolute intermediary between Maori owners and white purchasers. This developed into one of the chief grievances that culminated in the Maori disaffection of the future.

Nearly fifty chiefs signed the treaty on the spot, and within six months, the list of signatures had swollen to 512. This phenomenal subscription was due to the energetic canvass throughout the tribal territories made both by the missionaries and by the Government. Only one chief of first-class rank and standing refused to sign, so that it may fairly be claimed that the Maori race accepted the treaty of Waitangi. The natives were wise in their day and generation, and the white New Zealanders assert that down to the present time they regard the treaty as the "Magna Charta" of their liberties. This State document was of the utmost importance to them. It made the Queen the supreme authority, and guaranteed full possession to the Maoris of their tribal lands; in short, they were thereby recognised, by the power of which they were a kind of feudatory lords, as owners in fee simple of the whole of the islands. One of the ancient lords of the soil subsequently put the Maori sentiment respecting the treaty into these words: "The shadow passes to the Queen, the substance stays with us."

Simultaneously with the drawing up of the treaty of Waitangi, Governor Hobson announced by proclamation to the white settlers that the Crown would not recognise validity of any titles to land not given under the authority and sanction of the Queen. It is difficult to see what other course the Governor could have taken, but at the same time his treaty and his proclamation were bound to paralyse settlement,

to exasperate the entire white population, and plunge the infant Colony into a sea of troubles. Outside the official class, everyone was uneasy and alarmed. All the settlers were either land-owners, land claimants, or would-be land purchasers. Yet they found themselves at one and the same time left without titles to all they possessed, and debarred from the right of buying anything more except from the Crown. The Maoris were a warlike race, and had to be treated with consideration, though—as Mr. Reeves points out—“as a rule civilised nations do not recognise the right of scattered handfuls of barbarians to the ownership of immense tracts of soil, only a fraction of which they cultivate for use.” However, partly from policy and partly from missionary zeal, 70,000 Maoris, or thereabout, were given a title, guaranteed by the British Crown, to some 66,000,000 acres of valuable land, and the germ was sown of a plentiful crop of troubles. Yet, after all, it was “Waitangi or nothing.” Without such a guarantee as that given under the treaty, the missionaries could never have persuaded the Maori chiefs to yield up their recognised sovereignty, and the islands might easily have become a prey of the first power to whom Maori chieftain sovereignty was no recognised entity. Of course, it is now seen plainly enough that it would have been only just and statesmanlike if the recognition of native ownership had been accompanied by a vigorous policy of land purchase by the Government. But this was impossible. Captain Hobson was sparsely equipped; he received only £60,000 in three years, and did not himself appear to apprehend any pressing necessity for acquiring from the Maoris a sufficiency of land to meet the needs of the settlers.

On May 21st, 1840, British sovereignty was proclaimed over the islands of New Zealand; and not a moment too soon. Captain Hobson had hardly arranged his quarters when a French corvette came into the Bay of Islands to take possession. Finding the British flag planted in the North Island, the French commander determined to try for the South Island and hoist the tricolor at Akaroa. His design was, however, frustrated. When Governor Hobson (who, whatever may have been his shortcomings as a civil administrator, was an able and quick-witted naval officer) learnt of the kindly intentions of the “Aube” towards the southern half of his vice-royalty, he hurried off the British sloop-of-war “Britomart” to Akaroa, in the Banks Peninsula. The French man-o’-war had become separated from her consort, the emigrant ship, “Comte de Paris,” and the British sloop managed to dash into the haven of Akaroa first, but by so little that she was engaged in saluting the British ensign only just as the “Aube” sailed into the harbour. The French commander then abandoned the design of seizing New Zealand as a French possession, and the “Comte de Paris” arriving in port, he landed the nucleus of his pioneer colony as a friendly French settlement under the British Crown. This tiny colony of men and women of French birth remained at Akaroa many years, and numbered at one time some 200

settlers. Most of them have since removed to other French colonies in the Pacific, but during their stay at Akaroa they gave a distinctive character to the culture of the soil, and the neighbourhood is still famous for its production of fine varieties of plum, pear, and peach.

New Zealand was now a British possession and a dependency of New South Wales, and its infant troubles speedily began to put in obnoxious appearance. The white population of New Zealand was composed of antagonistic sections, all vehemently opposed. As we have seen, the missionaries joined forces with the Government; but there were the old "Pakehas," or denationalised whites; the lawless Alsatian skippers, traders, whalers and sealers; and the embittered land claimants, new settlers, and speculative "land-sharks" also to be reckoned with. Added to these, there was the highly respectable and influential New Zealand Land Company, with Lord Durham and Edward Gibbon Wakefield at its head. While the Governor was arranging the details of British supremacy, the directors in London, with an energy quite unchecked by any knowledge of the real condition of the country, kept on sending out ship-load after ship-load of emigrants to the districts around Cook's Strait. When the proclamations declaring the sovereignty of the Queen were made public, more than a thousand passengers had been landed from the Company's vessels in Port Nicholson. These new arrivals had "formed themselves into a Government, elected a Council, appointed Colonel Wakefield President, and had proceeded to enact laws and appoint magistrates." Although the centre of operations was at Wellington, bodies of the Company's settlers were also planted at Wanganui and New Plymouth on the west coast of the North Island, and at Nelson in the South Island: Lord John Russell was in power, and seems to have viewed the Company as a body which might be made nationally useful in promoting a wholesome emigration from the mother country, and in turning to account the barren lands and wastes of the noble colony the Empire had just acquired. Moreover, the merchants and bankers of London continued to urge the Government in the Company's favour. The association received a Royal Charter of Incorporation, and became a joint body with a capital of £300,000, while in consideration of its surrendering every pretension of right or title to all lands acquired under Colonel Wakefield's negotiations with the natives, the Crown agreed to make over to it 700,000 acres of such lands for the purpose of colonisation. These arrangements were made in England. Meanwhile, as soon as Governor Hobson heard of the proceedings at Port Nicholson, "without one hour's delay," he issued a proclamation refusing recognition of the Company's land purchases, and sent thirty men of the 8th Regiment, who had been drafted from New South Wales, and Lieutenant Smart with five of the mounted police of that colony, under the command of Lieutenant Willoughby Shortland, R.N., with soldiers and marines, to put down all acts of insubordination, and to publish a proclamation declaring the provisional government of the Company

illegal and usurping, and calling upon all persons, upon their allegiance to the Queen, to withdraw therefrom, and to "submit to the authorities in New Zealand legally appointed." The settlers informed Lieutenant Shortland that they had formed themselves into a Council only until the Governor was enabled to act. There was a good deal of soreness felt as to the treatment meted out to them; nevertheless, the settlers drew up an address of congratulation, which Colonel Wakefield carried to the Bay of Islands and presented to the Governor.

Under the second article of the Treaty of Waitangi, the Maoris are assured of all their territorial possessions, except such lands as they might dispose of to the Crown. It is a question of equity, however, as to how far this article should have been made retrospective. Many of the settlers in New Zealand were not "land-sharks." They had purchased their holdings in all good faith, and had held them for some years; and this was especially the case in regard to the purchases of the New Zealand Company, which had the quasi-approval of the British Government, and which had introduced hundreds of defenceless settlers of an admirable type to the colony. Whatever opinion may be entertained concerning this question, the fact remains that the Governor assumed the illegality of the Company's title to the waste lands in Cook's Strait, where it had planted its little settlements, and called on the Company to prove its title good, as against the natives, before a legal tribunal specially constituted for the purpose. Governor Hobson was stricken with paralysis during the height of the important business attending annexation. Upon his partial recovery he pursued his inquiries as to the best site for the seat of government, and finally determined to select Auckland, for various reasons, as set forth to the Secretary of State, viz., on account of its central position, the great facility of internal water communication, the facility and safety of its port, and, finally, the fertility of its soil, which was stated by persons capable of appreciating it, the Governor said, to be exceptionally well-adapted for every agricultural purpose. Previously, however, to his fixing the site, he had been assured, in the address presented to him by the inhabitants of Port Nicholson, that they had anticipated as far as possible the wants of the Government, and set apart the most valuable sections of land for the convenience of the public offices and the personal accommodation of His Excellency, feeling assured that, sooner or later, Wellington would become the metropolis and the seat of Government—a prophecy which has had complete fulfilment in fact.

There is no doubt that the refusal of the Government to make Wellington the capital greatly exasperated the Company's settlers at Port Nicholson; but other sources of friction were not far to seek. It was the Governor's duty to report to Sir George Gipps that the title of the Company to Port Nicholson itself was disputed by the natives, and thus to manifest to the latter his determination honourably to fulfil the conditions of the treaty which, on behalf of the Crown, he had concluded with them. There is no doubt, however, that things were

allowed to drift from bad to worse, instead of meeting with prompt settlement. The Government should have dealt at once with each land question between Maori and Company as it arose. Instead of such a course of procedure, a Commissioner was appointed, who did not arrive until months after the Governor, and his final award was not given for years.

The condition of the country was troubled in the extreme. Colonel Wakefield had purchased the land around Port Nicholson from two tribes, known as the Ngatirankawa and the Ngatiawa. These quarrelled among themselves over the goods paid as the price of the territory, and the former treacherously attacked the latter, severely beating them, with a loss of twenty-seven warriors. There were also endless disputes between the settlers and the Maoris concerning the site of the colony at Port Nicholson. It had, in the first place, been foolishly pitched on a spot in the inner harbour upon which blew all the winds from the sea, its bleak situation rendering it the reverse of habitable. A more sheltered site was found, and the settlement removed to it; and then began the miserable bickerings, which culminated in outrage and pillage in later time. The Maoris denied absolutely the white man's title to the second location, but the settlers resolutely retained their hold upon this land, now known as Wellington, and New Zealand's metropolis. Native title was, moreover, a curious and complex affair. The New Zealanders were twenty independent, hostile tribes, who had waged furious wars with each other for centuries; who had chased each other from "pa" to "pa," now advancing conquerors, now retreating fugitives. Their title rights to their lands were derived or lost through conquest, through re-conquest, through occupancy, through non-occupancy, through slavery, and through accidental spilling of blood. British recognition of the Maori right to the fee simple of the lands of New Zealand instantly revived among the tribes the bitter memories of those title-giving ferocities which had all but extinguished their race. However, to adjudicate in matters affecting native titles, and all disputes arising therefrom, a tribunal was instituted, called "The New Zealand Land Claims Court," and an able and independent lawyer, Mr. Commissioner Spain was appointed to preside, to hear evidence, and to decide in all cases affecting the legality of the Company's purchases in Cook's Strait. His was a task of vast magnitude. Three-fourths of the witnesses would be excited savages, giving contradictory evidence in an unknown tongue; and when the learned Commissioner had struggled through the maze and pronounced judgment, it was infinitely less probable that the pack of disputants would bow to his decision than that they would proceed to tomahawk each other before his face, and practically renew in Court those slumbering ferocities which the Court's inquiries had aroused. A great deal of angry feeling was evoked by the Governor's well-meant but futile attempts to deal out even-handed justice to all alike, and the Press, both in Wellington and in England, under the influence of the Company, misrepresented

much that the Governor did, impugning his motives and assailing his administration.

On receipt of Captain Hobson's despatch detailing his acts and proceedings since his arrival in the Colony, Lord John Russell gave his "entire approbation" to all and sundry that had been done, and stated that he would soon transmit Letters Patent, constituting New Zealand a separate Government, with a commission appointing Captain Hobson the first Governor. A charter for establishing in the Colony of New Zealand a Legislative and Executive Council, and for granting certain powers and authority to the Governor, was signed by the Queen on the 16th November, 1840, and published in the Colony on the 3rd May, 1841. The Letters Patent described the new Colony as consisting of the group of islands lying between 34° 30' and 47° 10' south latitude, and 166° 5' and 179° east longitude; and declared that the three principal islands, known as the Northern, Middle, and Stewart's Islands, should in future be designated as New Ulster, New Munster, and New Leinster.

In the year 1837 the New Zealand Association pointed out the pressing necessity of a bishop for the colony, and the idea engaged the attention of the New Zealand Land Company; but early in 1841 the proposal was adopted on a regular basis by the Established Church of England, and a Colonial Bishops' Council was formed. The Rev. George Augustus Selwyn, curate of Windsor, was chosen for the position. He sailed by way of Sydney about the end of the year 1841, landed at Auckland, the seat of his diocese on the 29th May, 1842, and soon proved an important influence in the affairs of the young colony.

Governor Hobson died at Auckland on the 10th September, 1842, from a paralytic seizure, at the age of forty-nine years, and after ruling New Zealand for a little less than three years.

In the interval between Hobson's death and his successor's arrival, Lieutenant Shortland assumed the duties of Governor, and continued acting until December, 1843, when Captain Fitzroy, of "Beagle" fame, came to the colony to act as the representative of Her Majesty. Acting-Governor Shortland, who had previously officiated as Colonial Secretary, was not a success. He ruled by proclamation, with the aid of laws already enacted, and avoided calling the Legislative Council together.

The unfortunate Wairau massacre, which occurred during Shortland's term of administration, had a marked effect in checking immigration to the colony. In consequence of attempting to enforce a claim to the possession of certain lands supposed to have been legally acquired, Captain Arthur Wakefield and between twenty and thirty of his followers were killed by the Maoris. The incident did incalculable harm to the British "mana" or prestige, and the ill-advised action of Captain Fitzroy, in neglecting to avenge the massacre, tended to still

further deepen the contempt with which the Maoris regarded British suzerainty.

Immediately on his arrival in New Zealand, Captain Fitzroy embarked on an ocean of blunders. He seems to have at all times acted in a most injudicious manner—so much so, indeed, that his administration has been described as “The Valley of Humiliation.” He publicly rebuked the magistrates who had signed the warrants for the arrest of Te Rauparaha and Rangihacata, the prime movers in the Wairau massacre. Several of the magistrates thereupon resigned, while the exasperated settlers declared that the Governor could not be master of his actions. Captain Fitzroy then visited the chiefs at Waikanae and held a conference with them, the bloodthirsty Te Rauparaha being treated with especial consideration. After hearing the Maori version of the Wairau incident, the Governor informed them that he had decided that Wakefield’s party were at fault, since they had no proper title to the lands claimed, and Commissioner Spain had not decided on the ownership. The Maoris were overwhelmed with surprise at this decision, and openly jeered at their complaisant judge, while the virtue of the British “mana” grew dimmer than ever. Commissioner Spain, who had come to the Colony in 1841 to preside at a sort of Land Court, was so disgusted with the Governor’s dispensation of justice that he virtually resigned his office, and soon after re-emigrated to Australia.

There were at this time seven coastal centres of settlement, viz., the old Alsatian whaling, sealing and trading depôt at the Bay of Islands, Kororareka, lawless and missionary; Waitemate (Auckland) on the Hauraki Gulf, official and missionary; Wellington, on Port Nicholson, the head-quarters of the New Zealand Land Company; Nelson, the second establishment of the Company, at Blind Bay, on the North coast of the South Island; little Akaroa, on Banks Peninsula, in the South Island, a tiny colony planted by French immigrants; Wanganui, another off-shoot of the Company on the west coast of the North Island; and New Plymouth, the chief centre of the Taranaki Peninsula, also on the west coast of the North Island. The pioneers of Taranaki were sent out by the New Plymouth Company, a colonising society which had been formed in England, and had bought 50,000 acres of land from the New Zealand Company. Governor Fitzroy’s blunder over the land grants of Taranaki was to prove a plentiful source of future trouble and bloodshed. The New Zealand Company’s agents averred that they had purchased from the Maoris the whole of the Taranaki Peninsula, besides other large areas—some 20,000,000 acres—a territory, in fact, as large as Ireland. Mr. Commissioner Spain insisted that the Company should, like other claimants, prove that the signatories of the deeds of sale “had a right” to convey the lands for sale. In England and New Zealand the Commissioner’s method of procedure was vigorously opposed by the Company. Colonel Wakefield submitted to the Court six purchase deeds—those of Port Nicholson, Nelson, Taranaki, Wanganui, Porirua and Manawatu—for

which he sought to obtain Crown grants. Before taking evidence in the case as to ownership of the contended territory, Commissioner Spain informed Colonel Wakefield that to ask the Government for a Crown grant of land, whether the native title was extinct or not, was, under the treaty of Waitangi, *ultra vires*: in other words, it was asking the Crown to do that which was utterly beyond its powers to perform, as it could not grant that which it did not possess. After many sittings of the Court, the Commissioner reported that the New Zealand Land Company's agents had bought 282,000 acres—71,900 in the Wellington District, 151,000 in the Nelson, and 60,000 at New Plymouth. In the last-mentioned district (Taranaki) the Company claimed the entire territory. The Commissioner's award cut its claim down to 60,000 acres. But even this was now disputed, and Captain Fitzroy refused to ratify the Crown official's report, limiting the area he thought the Company had correctly purchased to 3,506 acres. This decision, which Fitzroy had power under the law to give, created much discontent and irritation among the settlers, who had been induced to leave prosperous homes under a stable Government to adventure their lives and their fortunes in a distant dependency of the Empire.

The case will appear to have been especially hard, on a calm consideration of the manner in which the lands of Taranaki had been purchased. They had been bought from the Waikatos, who had acquired them by conquest, carrying away the original owners into slavery; but the Waikatos had never taken possession of the soil by genuine occupation. When Colonel Wakefield bought them they were altogether vacant. By-and-bye the original owners of these lands, the men of the Taranaki tribe who had been conquered and made bondsmen by the Waikatos, were manumitted through missionary influence with their enslavers, and returned to their tribal heritage, the ownership of which they proceeded to contest with the Company. The Governor regarded the question with hypersensitive delicacy, and decided, as we have seen, that the enlarged and returned bondsmen were the true owners of the soil. He handed the bulk of the disputed territory back to the manumitted tribesmen, penned up the Company's settlers on a paltry strip of country, and temporarily ruined the settlement in Taranaki. By his act he also encouraged the Maoris to be more aggressive and grasping in their demands, gave a severe check to immigration, and dropped a smouldering ember of resentment and racial hatred which was destined to break forth in a devouring flame of violence and bloodshed and devastate the entire province. One immediate effect of Fitzroy's ill-advised action in the Taranaki matter was the utter paralysis which seized on all attempts at cultivation. Many colonists abandoned New Zealand, and those who remained feared that they might be driven any day from the country. They hoarded the remnants of their little means, and kept themselves in readiness to re-emigrate to Australia, South America, or some island of the South Pacific. It is thought that at this period nothing but the knowledge that they might proceed too far—

that they might disgust the white man so that he might go away, never to come back save as a conqueror, and thus deprive them of the trade they had learned to prize, with the accompanying luxuries they had learned to lust for—prevented the Maoris from utterly destroying every vestige of European occupation in the islands, and sweeping away every one of the young settlements from the face of the land.

After destroying the Company, Captain Fitzroy set to work to destroy the Crown. In the Waitangi Treaty there was a clause claiming for the Queen exclusive right of purchase of native lands. The Maori Chiefs demanded that this clause should be rescinded. Governor Fitzroy assented, and the "land-shark" and the speculator were once more free to exploit the soil of the country at their own sweet will. By proclamation, the Governor annulled the one clause of the Treaty which had been passed in the interests of colonisation, and permitted private persons to buy land direct from the tribes on payment to the Government of 10s. an acre royalty on the quantity purchased. The natives had discussed the Treaty before signing it, and had come to the conclusion that while the shadow of authority passed to the Queen, the substance of the land remained with them. It might now appear to some acute Maori that the Government wanted the substance as well as the shadow, for the wily buyer declared that he could afford no more than a bare pittance as purchase money, since the authorities received half-a-sovereign for every acre sold. It is not to be wondered at that only 1,795 acres were acquired by the whites under this condition. The royalty being strenuously opposed by both parties alike, the Governor rushed to the other extreme, and reduced the land-sale tax to a penny an acre. Under the altered law, 90,000 acres were acquired by speculators and others, much of which was in the immediate neighbourhood of Auckland, and should have been bought direct by Government for future public benefit. The truth was, that Fitzroy had no money, and knew not what to do to raise revenue. His desperate efforts at finance were a lamentable series of appalling blunders. His inefficient treasury was largely replenished from Customs duties; but whalers and timber vessels did not resort to the Bay of Islands as they did in the old lawless days of this ocean Alsatia, and trade had greatly fallen off. Both Europeans and Maoris were deeply incensed, and things were rapidly getting worse instead of better. In May, 1844, the Governor sanctioned an ordinance to issue debentures, and make them a legal tender. This expedient of issuing paper money was contrary to Royal Instructions, and the Governor had no right to resort to such a course. His ordinance was disallowed. In June of the same year he amended the ordinance of 1841, levying Customs dues, and imposing a duty of 30 per cent. on guns, gunpowder, and weapons of any description, or "any munition of war." Trade became paralysed, and the Governor, at his last extremity, in order to conciliate the Europeans and Maoris of Kororareka, passed an ordinance in September, 1844, repealing all Customs duties at that port. Loud was the

jubilant at the Bay of Islands, but louder still were the groans from every other part of the Colony. A cry at once went up from east and west, from north and south, for a similar concession. In an attempt to please everybody the Governor thereupon abolished all Customs duties everywhere within his little realm; though fully nine-tenths of the whole public revenue of the Colony was derived from them. But revenue had to be obtained. There must be a compensating land tax, a tax on stock, and a tax on the number of rooms in dwellings. But the colonists declared, and quite truly, that they possessed no property. A considerable portion of their property in Cook's Strait had been literally destroyed by the Governor's own policy. They pleaded "no effects," and Customs duties had soon to be resorted to again. This was done by a new law, made in April, 1845, which repealed the property tax and other imposts of the preceding year.

These sudden changes in the method of taxation particularly exasperated the Maoris stationed at and around the Bay of Islands, and resulted in the last and worst of the unhappy Governor's misfortunes and blunders—an unsuccessful war. The Maoris had formed a very poor opinion of the Governor, and in order to give him an idea of their power, they invited him to a great banquet given near Auckland, and danced a war-dance before their guest. Their deliberate intention was to terrify and overawe him; and in this they succeeded, for the Governor went away duly impressed.

The initial trouble which led to the first serious conflict between the British and the Maoris appears to have arisen through the amended ordinances which imposed the 30 per cent. duty on guns, gunpowder, or weapons of any description, or any "munition of war," enacted in June, 1844. The decline of Kororareka's trade was thereby accelerated. The seat of Government was no longer at the Bay of Islands. This was another cause of Maori discontent. The foreign demand for the staple products of timber, flax, and kauri-gum had fallen off to a very large extent. Money was scarce; tobacco, blankets, and ammunition were difficult to procure; the Government had little money wherewith to purchase native lands; and, worse still, the Maoris settled round the Bay of Islands noted with jealousy the increasing prosperity of their hereditary foes, the tribes of the Waikato, and the Ngatiwhatua, stationed in the vicinity of Auckland. This last fact, more than any other, incensed the warlike tribesmen of Ngapuhi, the nation whose relations with the British were older than those of any other Maori clan. Their disaffection came to a head in the person of Hone Heke, who, though not a chief of the first rank, had won himself a recognised position by his marriage with the daughter of the renowned Hongi—a position, moreover, which his courage and intellectual gifts helped him to maintain. One of Hone Heke's first acts of lawlessness was the hewing down of the flagstaff erected on the hill of Maiki, overlooking Kororareka; and he was prompted to this action by some foreign whites of the beach-comber type, who persuaded him that, with the removal of

this symbol of British influence, prosperity would return to the Bay of Islands and the chiefs of his race. On the morning of the 8th July, 1844, Hone Heke chopped down the flagstaff, and carried away the signal-balls to his "pa" at Kaikohe. This act of overt rebellion threw the people of Auckland into a state of abject terror. Fortunately, the Ngapuhi tribe at that time was divided in sentiment, and Tamati Waka Nene headed the section that stood by the Government. In response to an urgent request from Captain Fitzroy, a force of 160 men of the 99th Regiment, then stationed at Sydney, was sent over, and, accompanied by a detachment of thirty men of the 9th Regiment, proceeded to Kororareka. Meanwhile the Governor had ascertained that Hone Heke's great grievance was the imposition of the Customs' duties. He thereupon declared the Custom House closed, and Hone Heke then sent an apology for his conduct. Later on, at a conference with the chiefs, Hone Heke repeated his assurances of regret, and by way of fine was ordered to deliver up ten old muskets. Instead of retaining the muskets, in accordance with Maori custom, the Governor, with stupid magnanimity, returned them, and thereby gained the scorn of every true Maori in New Zealand. It was about this time that the Legislative Council, in order to allay native discontent, made a departure from the spirit of the Treaty of Waitangi by allowing the Maoris to sell their lands direct to the settlers.

The flagstaff had now been re-erected; but prosperity was slow in coming, for the whalers had not yet learnt of the repeal of the duties. Hone Heke considered that the entire abolition of the flagstaff, as the symbol of British authority, was needed to bring this about, and therefore, early in January, 1845, he again hewed it down. For a third time the post was erected and sheathed with iron, and great preparations were made to defend it. Meanwhile, Hone Heke summoned to his aid the powerful chief Kawiti and various other heads of the Ngapuhi tribe. Again the flagstaff was hewn down, and in the conflict the whites were worsted, several being killed, while the others took refuge on the vessels in the harbour. Soon afterwards Hone Heke's band destroyed nearly the whole of the settlement, and the British "mana" received a more serious blow even than the Wairau massacre had inflicted.

The ships sailed for Auckland with the soldiers and refugees on the 13th March, and on their arrival the news of the evacuation and destruction of Kororareka created a panic. Frantic preparations to resist an attack were made at Auckland, Wellington and Nelson, and urgent appeals were sent to Sydney for fresh troops. The natives began to adopt a more arrogant tone than ever towards the "pakehas," and British rule in New Zealand was only saved by the dissensions which sprang up amongst the Maori chiefs themselves. Potatau Te Whero Whero (afterwards first King of the Maoris), for purposes of his own, took sides with the whites, and warned Hone Heke not to attack them. Tamati Waka Nene, who was jealous of the great influence wielded by Hone Heke, resolved to crush him, and prepared to make war against

him. Several sharp conflicts ensued, when Tamati Waka Nene, hearing that troops had arrived, urged the Government to send them on at once. Hone Heke entrenched himself in a strongly-defended "pa" at Mawhe, while Kawiti ambuscaded on a small knoll on the edge of the forest. It was soon found that the "pa" was too strong to be taken without artillery, and the Commandant, Colonel Hulme, returned to Auckland.

Captain Fitzroy then sent to Sydney for more troops and artillery, and early in June Colonel Despard arrived with 200 men of the 99th Regiment, and Major Wilmot brought some cannon from Hobart. Despard was given the command of the expedition, which arrived in the Bay of Islands in June, 1845, and comprised 630 men and 4 guns. Hone Heke had now taken up a strong position in a "pa" at Ohaeawai, and he was there besieged, the attacking force being in the proportion of three to one. Early in the siege the Maoris made a sortie, and captured a British ensign, which was hung underneath Hone Heke's flag on the "pa." This so enraged Colonel Despard that he determined to make an attempt at storming the position, and on the 1st July, 1845, a force of 200 men made the attack. The result was disastrous, as the British had to retire with a loss of forty men. The British Commander now attempted to force a capitulation by cutting off supplies from the besieged, and by vigorous cannonading; but on the night of the 10th Hone Heke and his followers silently evacuated their position without the loss of a single man, and, according to the ethics of Maori warfare, claimed the victory. There was nothing further to be done, so the British destroyed the palisading and retired to Waimate and thence to Auckland. This caused the British "mana" to still further decline, while the arrogance of the Maoris was inflamed, and Hone Heke was looked on as a hero by his countrymen.

Governor Fitzroy now made an effort to secure a cessation of hostilities; but Hone Heke was too much inflated by his victories, and by the adulation of his followers, to listen to peace proposals, so that after about four months had passed away the Governor decided on resuming the war. But meanwhile the news of the affair had reached England, and the authorities peremptorily recalled Governor Fitzroy and appointed Captain George Grey to the position.

Grey was only 33 years of age when he assumed the Governorship of New Zealand, but he had already given proofs of marked ability elsewhere, particularly in his administration of the affairs of South Australia, which colony he had effectually dragged from the mire of insolvency in the short space of four years. He arrived in Auckland on the 14th November, 1845. Grey first set about the task of reducing the warlike Hone Heke to submission, and he entered on the work with characteristic energy and vigour. He issued a proclamation, warning the natives to return to their allegiance by a fixed date, and to observe the Treaty of Waitangi, the provisions of which he pledged himself to scrupulously respect. Hone Heke and Kawiti were

offered conditions of peace, but refused any terms involving forfeiture of their tribal lands. The Governor now returned to Auckland and caused to be enacted the "Arms Importation Ordinance," which prohibited the Maoris from acquiring arms, gunpowder, or other munitions of war. This step was opposed by some of the settlers, who feared that the new regulations might irritate the "friendlies" and cause them to throw in their lot with the insurgents. However, subsequent events proved that the Governor's action was a wise one. Colonel Despard was put in command of a force of 1,173 men to attack the stronghold of Kawiti at Ruapeka-peka. The friendly chief Tamati Waka Nene, accompanied by Mohi Tawhai and other prominent "rangatiras," assisted the English with a force of 450 Maoris. A small detachment of these "friendlies" made a feigned attack on Hone Heke at Ikorangi, but the main body of the allied forces besieged Ruapeka-peka. The investment of the "pa"—which was a model of scientific defence, and the plans of which, preserved in the Auckland Museum, still excite the admiration of military engineers—began on the 21st December, 1845. As usual, it was found that the stronghold could not be stormed, but the besiegers gained possession of it by an accident, when it was left undefended by the Maoris one Sunday during their celebration of divine service. When the surprised natives discovered the British occupation they attempted to regain possession, but were driven back with loss. Although thirty British were killed and thirty wounded in the struggle, the blow given to Hone Heke's "mana" ended the war, and the insurgents soon dispersed. Hone Heke sued for peace, and the Governor granted a pardon to all concerned in the rebellion, on condition that they returned quietly to their tribal lands. The rebel leader's offence was condoned, and since then there has been no further trouble with the natives whose lands lie north of Auckland—the Ngapuhi and Ngatiwhatua. Like many of his compatriots, Hone Heke died a few years later of consumption. Kawiti, his confederate general, lived for some years longer, but gave no further trouble. Tamati Waka Nene, the friend of the British, received a pension of £100 a year till his death in 1871, and the Government of New Zealand erected a handsome monument over the remains of this faithful ally.

The Governor having quelled the disturbance in the north of the Island, now turned his attention to the southern portion. The murderers of Captain Wakefield and his party were still at large, and several murders of settlers by the Maoris had since been committed. Hoping to nip the insurrection in the bud, Captain Grey hastened southward with a detachment of soldiers, but the rebels under Rangihaeata retreated to a strongly fortified "pa," which it would have been impossible to storm. Leaving a garrison to guard the settlers, Grey withdrew, but shortly afterwards the Maoris defeated a party of soldiers under Lieutenant Page, of whom six were killed and four wounded. A detachment of the 99th Regiment was also attacked and

many were killed, while various murders were committed by the blood-lustful natives, and a regular panic ensued amongst the colonists in the Wellington district. Rangihaeata meanwhile never gave the troops an opportunity of a decisive engagement, but always fell back when they appeared in strength. Captain Grey now determined on a bold stroke. From information secretly received he had come to the conclusion that Te Rauparaha was in league with the rebels, and he resolved on his capture. He therefore proceeded to Porirua, and, surrounding his residence by night, captured him and his perfidious companions, and kept them as prisoners on board H.M.S. "Calliope." The Maoris were astounded at the news, and Captain Grey's "mana" was immensely strengthened. Rangihaeata evacuated his "pa" at Pahautanui and retreated up the Horokiwi Valley. Eventually, his followers dispersed, and the rebellion came to an end.

In May, 1846, the great Maori chieftain, Te Heu Heu, the only one of the great chiefs of the North Island who refused to sign the Treaty of Waitangi, was buried alive, with fifty-four of his adherents, in a land-slip at Taupo.

At this time matters were in a peaceful condition, when another disturbance broke out at Wanganui, where most of the disaffected Maoris had gathered after the dispersal of the Rangihaeata and Te Rauparaha faction. On the 16th April, 1847, a midshipman belonging to H.M.S. "Calliope" accidentally shot a Maori "rangatira" through the cheek. Maori custom demanded revenge, and two days afterwards the house of a settler named Gilfillan, 6 miles from Wanganui, was raided, and his wife and four children were slaughtered. The assailants were captured by the "friendlies" and delivered up to justice, four being executed after trial by court-martial. War immediately broke out, and on the 19th May 600 hostile Maoris swooped down on the settlement. Their attack was bravely resisted, and after pillaging the town the assailants retired to a position about 3 miles distant. Meanwhile the Governor received news of the position of affairs, and reinforcements were despatched to the scene. After a few indecisive struggles the natives abandoned the campaign, naively saying, "We cannot remain any longer; we must go and plant our potatoes."

During the troubled period, from the sacking of Kororareka to the conclusion of hostilities at Wanganui, close upon a million of money was expended, while the casualties comprised eighty-five soldiers, seamen, and militia killed, and 167 wounded. The colony now entered upon a period of comparative repose, and enjoyed it for about fourteen years.

Immediately on his first arrival at Wanganui, while skirmishing was going on between the forces and the natives, the Governor received certain official despatches, by which he obtained the first intelligence that the British Parliament had bestowed a new Constitution on New Zealand, and that new modes of dealing with native lands were to be adopted concurrently with the new institutions. These despatches had already appeared in the *London Gazette*, and contained language re-

lating to the rights of the Maoris to their lands calculated to provoke a breach of the peace between the two races; and it appeared that language similar in tone and meaning had been employed during the debate in Parliament on the new Constitution, and had, moreover, been republished in the English newspapers which arrived in the Colony at the same time as the despatches. Captain Grey regarded it as quite possible, therefore, that the intention to deprive the Maoris of their lands, which appeared in the new line of policy proposed for adoption, would undo all the work of conquest, and lead to a great national combination of the whole of the native tribes, and thus bring about a long, destructive, and costly war. He therefore considered it his duty to return the despatches, and the charter that came with them, to the Home Government, in order that the subject might be more fully considered, and also that delay might be obtained in the promulgation and enforcement of documents which it was to be feared would give rise to serious complications, if not to great national calamities.

The centre of the North Island was occupied by the Waikato, the Ngatimaniapoto, and the Ngaiteraangi nations—three great tribal confederacies, comprising many thousands of armed men. At irregular distances along the western and eastern sea-coasts were situated isolated and practically defenceless European settlements. The Tamaki district and the shores of the Manukau formed the road by which the northern and the southern tribes went to wage war with one another, and the Governor resolved to occupy this highway of warriors, which was much too near the capital to be consistent with its safety. When the settlement of Kororarereka had been looted and burnt, the people of Auckland became absolutely panic-stricken with fear at their own town's defenceless condition; and now, peace being insured, the time seemed opportune to provide for the permanent safety of the capital against attack from a southerly direction. To accomplish this, Captain Grey obtained from England a number of discharged soldiers, who were enrolled for seven years' service in New Zealand, and stationed in four settlements around Auckland. Each man had built for him a cottage on an acre of land, and could, on the completion of seven years' service, obtain from the Government 5 acres more. The first detachment of the new force, which became known as the "New Zealand Fencibles," arrived in October, 1847; and in a few months this military colony, with the wives and children of its members, numbered 2,000 persons. This was an admirable piece of forethought on the part of the Governor, and did much towards allaying the fears of the unwarlike section of Auckland's inhabitants.

For his success in setting things generally to rights in New Zealand, Captain George Grey was knighted. On February 26th, 1848, Lord Grey wrote to his namesake, saying,—“I have very great pleasure in communicating to you that Her Majesty has been pleased to approve of your being a Knight Commander in the Civil Division of the Order of the Bath, for the great ability and success with which you have admin-

istered the affairs both of South Australia and of New Zealand." When the time for his investiture arrived, the new Knight pleased the Maoris immensely by choosing for his esquires the friendly chiefs Tamati Waka Nene and Te Puni; indeed, the Maoris began to regard the "Pakeha Rangatira" with an affection and an esteem that in some instances well-nigh approached idolatry.

On the establishment of tranquillity the Governor undertook the formation of roads, useful alike in peace or in war, and employed the natives upon their construction. He also settled, as far as possible, all outstanding law claims. Nor did the moral and physical welfare of the Maoris escape his attention. He saw to the establishment of schools for their children, and advised them even on matters pertaining to their health.

Having chastised and educated the Maoris, Sir George turned his attention to the great question of colonisation. During his administration, the whole of the South (or as it is unnecessarily and officially called, the Middle) Island, and several valuable districts in the North Island, were purchased from the tribes by Messrs. McLean, Mantell, and other officers of the Crown, and thrown open for settlement. Besides being employed largely in public works, such as road-making, barrack-building, and the rough work of engineering, some of the natives were enrolled as policemen, and several "rangatiras" were appointed magistrates to try cases between their own countrymen. The payments the Maoris received for land were frequently made in instalments of stock, and every encouragement was given them in the pursuit of industry and peace. Hospitals were erected for them, and the Governor strove to instil into their minds the principles of sanitation. Under these changed conditions, immigration began slowly to revive. The Company's settlements at Wellington, Wanganui, New Plymouth, and Nelson, which had dropped so low, now began to expand. Otago was settled in 1848; or rather, a commencement of the work of colonisation in that district was made in the month of March in the year named, by the arrival at Port Chalmers of two emigrant ships, sent out by the Otago Association for the foundation of settlement, by persons belonging to, or in sympathy with, the Free Church of Scotland. In 1849, the "Canterbury Pilgrims," as they are facetiously called, made preparations for their Utopian descent upon the shores of the South Island. In that year was formed in England "The Canterbury Association for Founding a Settlement in New Zealand." On the 16th December, 1850, the first emigrant ship dispatched by the Association arrived at Port Cooper, and the work of opening up the adjoining country was set about in a systematic fashion, the intention of the promoters being to establish a settlement complete in itself, and composed entirely of members of the then United Church of England and Ireland. The sites for the settlements of Otago and Canterbury were secured by Governor Grey, who was present at Lyttelton Harbour to receive the immigrants when they landed.

The period was one mainly of peace and preparation; but there were, nevertheless, excursions and alarms, though they were generally capable of being dealt with by the ordinary process of the civil law; but both trouble and danger had to be incurred in order to bring the Maoris into line, and induce them to submit their customs and traditions to British ideas of right and legal usage.

In the month of July, 1850, the New Zealand Land Company gave up its charter of incorporation to the Crown. No clear statement of its financial affairs appears ever to have been published. It is stated by its enemies to have received nearly a million of money, all of which was spent save some £30,000 sterling, and to have been indebted, both to its shareholders and the Crown, at the time of relinquishing business, to the extent of about £500,000 sterling. Nevertheless, Crown and colonists were alike indebted to the Company. For the first, it had preserved New Zealand from becoming a penal settlement of France; the interests of the second it had safeguarded, at a loss both of life and money, from the ill effects of the missionary policy and the rapacity of the protected Maoris. However, the sum of £236,000, owing to the Government by the Company, was cancelled, and another amount of £268,370 was made a charge on the lands of the Colony.

In the year 1851-2, the Australian gold discoveries took place, and gave a marked impetus to trade, agriculture, and every branch of industry in New Zealand; though they also had the effect of drawing from the islands a certain portion of the settlers, who were impatient of the slow methods of making a fortune offered by culture of the soil, and who hastened to the continent to participate in the realisation of the Aladdin's dream which was luring with equal potency the adventurers of civilised Europe, and of uncivilised Asia.

In the year 1852 a representative Constitution was granted New Zealand under the Imperial Act, 15 and 16 Vict. c. 72, framed by Sir John Pakington, the Colonial Secretary, who was mainly guided in his task by the recommendations and suggestions of Sir George Grey. Under the measure, six provinces were created, namely Auckland, Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury, Otago, and Taranaki, the Governor defining their boundaries.

The mention of Otago and Canterbury as provincial districts so early, as defined in the Constitution Act, might lead to the supposition that they were already of political consequence. This, however, was not so. In marking their boundaries Sir George Grey was engaged more in making provision for future expansion than for meeting present needs. The first Otago pioneers landed at Port Chalmers on the 22nd March, 1848, from the "John Wickliffe." A second emigrant ship, the "Philip Lang," arrived on the 15th April following. They comprised a colony of Scotch Presbyterians, their leader being Captain Cargill, a Peninsular veteran, and a descendant of Donald Cargill. The town of Invercargill still preserves the name of the founder of Dunedin. It is noteworthy that in 1898 Otago celebrated her jubilee,

and that Captain Cargill's son was then Dunedin's mayor. For years, however, the progress of the new settlement was slow, and it took the colonists a long time to win their way through to the more fertile country which lay beyond the rugged hills that fronted the sea. The newcomers were intensely Scotch, but later the character of the settlement changed, though slowly. The Scotch element did not disappear, even in the wave of gold seekers that swept over the island in 1861; and it has not disappeared yet, although it is much modified. The first pioneers, or "old identities," are, however, becoming rarer with every year, and some aspects of Dunedin are almost cosmopolitan.

Very different from Otago was the sister settlement, Canterbury—the most conservative attempt ever made at colonisation in the whole British annals. The settlement of Canterbury was intended to be an oversea paradise for aristocratic Anglicanism, and owed its existence to the late Lord Lyttelton. The price of land in the Canterbury block was put down at £3 per acre; of this sum, £1 was to go to the support of the Church and the advancement of education, and £2 was to be spent in the work of developing the settlement. The idea of the "Canterbury Pilgrims" was the transplanting to New Zealand of rural England as it then was, with all its social gradations, from an earl and a bishop on the top to a sublimated English labourer on the bottom. It did not work this vision of the impossible, though every effort was made to make it do so. The name of the capital of the province is borrowed from an ancient seat of ecclesiastical learning. The very streets in the Old World-flavoured city had given them the names of Anglican dioceses throughout the world; but the earl and its bishop liked not the hardships of pioneering, and quickly turned their backs on the facts that confronted a young country which had to deal at first hand with nature. Nevertheless the settlement thrived and grew apace; though not in the way its founders had intended. The features of the South Island in these early years were endowed churches, great pastoral leasehold properties, the absence of a Maori question, and wealthy territorial magnates.

The Governor was sharply attacked for his administration of affairs, and the colonists were especially incensed with him for his action in shelving the Constitution devised for them by Earl Grey. Nevertheless he adhered to the course he had marked out for himself, and notwithstanding the bickerings and onslaughts stuck steadily to his work and bought land. He acquired the whole of the South Island, and managed to lay his hands upon millions of acres in the North Island. Then came the question, should it be sold or leased to the settlers? Up to the year 1852 the colonists everywhere except in the north dealt with the New Zealand Company, and not with the Crown; but now the Company was no longer—it had disposed of its interests to the Crown for all futurity. Again, the Governor made things very hard for himself, because he insisted upon putting a stop to the Church endowment system; and altogether his relations with the white popu-

lation over which he ruled were extremely unhappy at this period. Grey however, made a blunder in the framing of his Land Regulations in 1853. Under this code the price of land was reduced to 10s. per acre ; but no limitations were put upon the area any one person could acquire ; consequently, instead of close settlement, the island soon presented a spectacle of ducal estates and royal forests—immense areas, cheaply purchased by wealth, and locked up against colonisation. Grey probably did not foresee this result of his code, but it was destined to have lasting and mischievous effects on the future of the colony. Nevertheless, Grey's wise and steadfast rule in other respects brought prosperity to the country, and he left it in profound peace. The European population, which numbered 12,774 in 1845, had increased in 1853 to 30,678. The revenue in 1845 was £12,899 ; in 1853 it amounted to £147,820. The Governor left New Zealand on the last day of the year 1853, after a rule of eight years. He was only 33 years of age when he undertook to restore peace and order to a country sunk in financial mire and vainly waging an unsuccessful war : he left that country, his task fairly and honestly completed, though at the expense of his popularity among his own countrymen.

Lieutenant-Colonel Wynyard, Commander of the Forces, became Administrator of the Government on Sir George Grey's departure, and brought the New Zealand Constitution into practical operation. Colonel Wynyard's rule of nearly two years was a period of quiet progress, though at one time something like a Maori rising was threatened. This was brought about by the discontent felt by the alleged inadequate punishment of a man named Huntley, who struck dead a native woman in the town of Auckland. The jury brought in a verdict of manslaughter ; but the dead woman's kinsmen clamoured for the life of the slayer, on the old reckoning of blood for the shedding of blood. However, the authorities were inflexible, and the native feeling gradually subsided. During the following year a more emphatic demonstration, occasioned by a somewhat similar crime, was satisfied only by the execution of the criminal. A settler named Marsden had killed a Maori woman while he was suffering from an attack of *delirium tremens*, and the prisoner was convicted on trial and formally sentenced to death. There was an unusual delay in the carrying out of the extreme penalty of the law, and this gave rise among the natives to a report that the life of a Maori was esteemed by the authorities as being less valuable than that of a white man. Just about this time the native mind became additionally inflamed by another murder of one of their race at the hands of a drunken settler, and 300 men belonging to the tribe of the murdered woman made a demonstration, and threatened to cut down the flagstaff from which floated the British ensign. In February, 1856, Marsden was hanged, and the Maori sense of justice satisfied.

It is claimed for the new Constitution, which was mainly the work of Sir George Grey, that it evidenced, by the fact of its having worked

without alteration for twenty-two years, and in great part worked exceedingly well, that it was therefore peculiarly adapted to the particular needs of the colony at that time. This is, however, a matter upon which criticism of the colony's political history has declined to agree. Briefly stated, the following are the leading characteristics of its machinery:—A Central Parliament, consisting of two Chambers, and side by side with it six Provincial Councils (one Chamber); over the Parliament, a Viceroy, ruling through Ministers; over each Provincial Council, a Superintendent, elected, like the Council, by the people of his Province; each Superintendent to have a small executive of officials, who were themselves to be Councillors—a species of Provincial Cabinet; the Central Parliament or General Assembly to have an Upper House, called the Legislative Council, to be elected (in Sir George Grey's original draft of the Constitution) by the Provincial Councils. At this provision the Colonial Office demurred, and substituted nomination by the Crown. If the original proposal had been carried into effect, New Zealand's Senate would have been powerful enough absolutely to eclipse the Lower House. The latter was to be elective, on a liberal though not universal franchise. Grey did not set his own machinery in motion. He called into being the Provincial Council, and left the summoning of the General Assembly to his successor. The first Parliament of New Zealand was summoned by proclamation, dated January 15th, 1854, to meet upon the Queen's Birthday following. Mr. Charles Clifford, of Wellington, was elected Speaker of the Lower House, and Mr. William Swainson, the Attorney-General, was appointed President of the Council. No sooner had the General Assembly met than a difficulty arose: there was no provision made in the Constitution Act for ministerial responsibility, the measure having left it open for the colony to select the form of its Executive Government; nor had the Colonial Office sent the Governor instructions on the subject. The offices of Colonial Secretary, Treasurer, and Attorney-General were held direct from the Crown, and their holders formed (and were determined to form), with the Governor, the Executive of the colony. Governor Wynyard took refuge from his difficulty concerning ministerial responsibility by inviting to the Executive Council, Messrs. James Edward Fitzgerald, Henry Sewell, and Frederick Aloysius Weld—all influential members of the House of Representatives. James Edward Fitzgerald was the colony's first Premier, and on all sides it is agreed that he was entirely unfitted to cope with the peculiar difficulties attending the introduction of Responsible Government. At all events, the arrangement introduced by the Governor refused to work with even a semblance of smoothness. Within a few weeks Fitzgerald was at loggerheads with the permanent officials of the Cabinet, and he and the two other popular Ministers resigned. They were succeeded by Messrs. Thomas Spencer Forsaith (formerly a sub-protector of the native population and Government interpreter) as Premier, Edward Jerningham Wakefield, William T. L. Travers, and James Macandrew. This combination is known to

New Zealand political history as the "Clean Shirt Ministry," because its leader innocently informed Parliament that, when asked by the Acting-Governor to form an administration, he had gone upstairs to put on a clean shirt before presenting himself at Government House. The "Clean Shirt Ministry" lived for exactly two days.

Things were now at a deadlock, but a compromise was at length arrived at: Colonel Wynyard was to manage, as well as he could, with his Patent Officers until a Bill could be passed and assented to in England establishing Responsible Government, and then the old officials could be pensioned off. More than one Ministry resigned office before the 16th September, on which date the Parliament was prorogued. The address to the Governor, which expressed the willingness of the House to grant supplies to a Government conducted by the old Executive—the compromise agreed upon, pending instructions from England with regard to Ministerial responsibility—was acted upon, and thus several Bills became law, the most important of which gave the Provincial Councils the management of the waste lands of the several provinces. Next year the General Assembly began business on the 8th August, when the Acting-Governor informed the Parliament that Her Majesty's Ministers had no objection to the establishment of Responsible Government, provided the Colonial Secretary, the Colonial Treasurer, and the Attorney-General were pensioned; and that no enactment was necessary for the formation of Responsible Government, as the practice rested on usage only.

Notwithstanding Acting-Governor Wynyard's expressed eagerness to introduce Responsible Government, a year passed by before the General Assembly was summoned together; and then it transacted merely formal business, as His Excellency had taken upon himself to ordain that there should be a dissolution prior to the establishment of responsible portfolios. Thus the matter was deferred till the middle of the year 1856, when Colonel Wynyard had left the Colony. During his régime there had been little native trouble, business was brisk, sheep-farming in the South Island was progressing, and New Zealand was growing prosperous through the steady demand for its produce, brought about by the gold discoveries in Australia.

Colonel Thomas Gore Browne, C.B., the next Governor, assumed the reins of office on the 6th September, 1855. On the 15th September, 1855, the Governor prorogued Parliament, to enable the people to elect members, from whom responsible ministers could be chosen. The new General Assembly met at Auckland in May, 1856. In the new House of Representatives, Mr. Clifford, of Wellington, was again chosen Speaker. From the 7th May to the 2nd June three Ministries succeeded one another. The first passed a Pension Bill, granting the officers appointed by the Crown two-thirds of their salaries as retiring allowances; and leaving things clear for the exercise of ministerial responsibility. The third, or Stafford Ministry, held office for over five years, and was instrumental in giving a permanent trend to the course of New

Zealand's political history. On its first meeting, in 1854, the General Assembly quickly showed that it was broadly divided into two strongly marked parties—the "Centralists" and the "Provincialists," or those who desired the General Assembly to be paramount in all political matters, and those who were jealous of its power, and desired that both the general and local functions of the colony should be managed by the Provincial Councils. Edward William Stafford, the organiser of the first stable Ministry, was a "Centralist"; but he held no office himself for some six months after the formation of the Cabinet in June, 1856, assuming the office of Colonial Secretary in the month of November following. Mr. Stafford and three practising lawyers divided the portfolios among them, the others being Messrs. Whittaker, Richmond, and Sewell. Before leaving England, Colonel Browne had had an interview with Lord Elgin, the ex-Governor-General of Canada, who impressed upon the outgoing official the advisableness of absolutely and docilely following the advice of his responsible Ministers; and this the new Governor intended implicitly to do. But the most troublesome functions of government were still left to the administration of the Queen's representative. These were the purchase of land, and all matters specially affecting the natives. Ministerial responsibility here stopped short. These were affairs of Imperial concern, and, as such, under the direct control of the Viceroy, who was counselled to take the advice of his Cabinet, but not necessarily to follow it. The Native Department remained, therefore, practically a secret service, and on the shoulders of Governor Browne must rest the responsibility of involving the colony in the disastrous wars that began in 1860, and continued, with intermittent spasms of troubled peace, until 1870.

About the time when the General Assembly first met in Auckland, and the Government of New Zealand was handed over to the white population, the native mind formulated two distinct aspirations: one was the provision of a local form of government for the race; the other was the prevention of further alienation of tribal lands. Both these desires of the Maoris were regarded by the dominant whites as inimical to the welfare and the progress of the country. The natives might have been led, but they could hardly be repressed; and Governor Browne was incompetent to direct the movement which clamoured for a sovereign chieftainship over a cohesive and united Maori nation. The King aspiration was a conundrum to him; and he, unfortunately, essayed its solution at the wrong end. It began to assume meaning and importance shortly after the Governor arrived in the Colony. In native affairs, he at first took a very independent attitude, and assumed a right of personal judgment altogether unjustified by experience. He was the first to discover this; but was unfortunate in his advisers, through whose eyes he soon learned to look at all matters of public policy—native and European. Grey could have diverted the King movement into a useful channel; Browne drove it into a rebellion and bloody war. As early as 1843, disputes between

the settlers of New Plymouth and the natives as to the ownership of certain lands had ended in Governor Fitzroy's deciding that territory acquired by a tribe through conquest did not altogether pass away from the vanquished, but that the latter still retained some claim. As a result of this decision, the original fugitives from Taranaki, dispersed in pre-historic times by the incursions of Te-Whero-Whero, and various Waikato chiefs, began to drift back again to their ancestral holdings. Among others came Te Rangitake, or, as he is more commonly called, Wiremu Kingi (William King), chief of the Ngatiawa, with 600 followers from Otaki, to settle down on the lands of their forefathers on the southern bank of the Waitara River, ten miles from New Plymouth. These returned emigrants had a strong disinclination to part with their holdings to the white settlers, who were particularly anxious to purchase them. The native communal ownership also entered into the difficulties that confronted the new Governor. The Taranaki tribes formed an anti-selling league, and, in order to invest their proceedings with due sanctity, buried a Bible in the ground, and raised over it a cairn of stones to mark the sacred spot. In 1854, a chief named Rawiri Waiaua, who had held himself aloof from this association, on account of his drawing a salary from the Government as an assessor, offered for sale a portion of the Hua block, of which he claimed the ownership. Now this chief was interested, in common with the principal leaguers, in the remainder of the block; and the Government Commissioner urged him to dispose of his entire rights. Waitere Katatore, and the other representatives of the tribe, warned the Commissioner that if he ventured to bring the surveyor's chain upon the land, he would have to come with an armed force, as they were resolved to resist the sale to the death. The Commissioner was, however, insistent; and Rawiri Waiaua, yielding at length against his better judgment, announced his decision to sell his rights. This complainant part-owner thereupon assembled his fighting men and took the chain upon the land himself. Waitere Katatore appeared on the scene at the head of sixty warriors, and informed Rawiri Waiaua that he had better desist. The latter declined to take the proffered warning, and the other commanded his men to fire a volley. The order was carried out, and Rawiri Waiaua and seven of his men were killed, and sixteen wounded. The trouble spread far and wide, panic seized the settlers, and the Government, in the month of August, 1855, sent 450 soldiers of the 58th and 65th regiments, under Major Nugent, to New Plymouth. Governor Grey had then left for England about eight months, and Colonel Wynyard, the officer administering the Government, followed the troops to New Plymouth, accompanied by Tamati Waka Nene, Te Whero-Whero, and Te Puni, all three faithful allies of the British. The Acting-Governor investigated the circumstances of the affair, but declined to avenge the death of Rawiri Waiaua, on the ground that that chief had been killed for offering to sell land to which he possessed no title. A force of 250 soldiers was, however, left at New Plymouth for the protection of the

settlement. The inter-tribal war was then resumed by the natives, the Government remaining quiescent. In due course, Waitere Katatore and his half brother were treacherously murdered by a chief named Ihaia (Isaac), who was allowed to go free. Guerilla fighting now continued for about two years. In the encounters that took place, sixty natives were killed and 100 wounded before a truce between the belligerents was made in the month of December, 1856. The Government then recognised that it had made a mistake in not intervening, and the principal chiefs of the North Island were invited by the authorities to a conference with the Governor on native affairs, at Kohimarama, in the neighbourhood of Auckland. About fifty of the head "rangatiras" attended, but as the inaugural address was, in the main, a special argument in support of the sale of land, the Maoris regarded the whole proceedings as a crafty attempt to out-manoeuvre them, and more harm than good was done by the meeting. Meanwhile a movement of the utmost importance was making silent but strong headway among the natives. To weld into a homogeneous whole the tribes leagued together to prevent the sale of native lands, a number of the leading Waikato chiefs, of whom the most celebrated was Tarapipi (Wiremu Tamihana), usually known as William Thompson, determined to elect a king. Drunkenness and its sequent evils were sapping the vitality of the race. The lands of the tribes were slipping from their weakening grasp. Before the war the Maori was alleged to be equal with his European fellow subjects of the Queen. In reality he was looked upon as an inferior and a vanquished alien, and treated with contempt. The most enlightened of the native chiefs, anxious for the salvation of their countrymen, determined to set up a central authority of their own, empowered to arrest some of the evils threatening the continuance of the Maori race. The King movement began to take shape in 1853, when a chief named Matene Te Whiwhi set out for Otaki with several other leading "rangatiras," and visited Taupo and Rotorua to obtain the consent of the more powerful tribes to the election of a sovereign of native blood, and the constitution of some kind of recognised government in the central districts of the North Island, where Europeans had not then settled; but jealousy of his own assumed pretensions defeated the success of Matene Te Whiwhi's mission. The time was, perhaps, not quite ripe, and the "runanga," which met to consider the project, issued the following letter to their countrymen:—"Listen all men! The house of New Zealand is one. The rafters on one side are the Pakeha; those on the other, the Maori; the ridge-pole upon which both rest is God. Let therefore the house be one. That is all!" However, the necessity for some form of central government in the districts inhabited exclusively by the Maoris did not disappear with the enunciation of this oracular utterance; and even the white settlers recognised as much. Indeed, so absolutely was the large and thickly populated Waikato district left to its own devices, that the Rev. Mr. Ashwell, a missionary stationed at

Taupiri, stated before a Committee of the new House of Representatives, that during nineteen years prior to the King movement he could not remember more than three or four visits to the territory by any officials; and other districts again had not received even that small meed of attention. In a memorandum dated May 25th, 1861, Governor Browne stated that "some of the most populous districts, such as Hokianga and Kaipara, have no magistrates resident amongst them; and many, such as Taupo, the Ngatiruanui, Taranaki, and the country about the East Cape, have never been visited by an officer of the Government. The residents in these districts have never felt that they are the subjects of the Queen of England, and have little reason to think that the Government of the Colony cares at all about their welfare." Sir George Grey bore somewhat similar testimony. Writing to the Secretary of State, on December the 6th, 1861, he said: "Ten years since, the urgent necessity of introducing simple municipal institutions among them (the Maoris) was pointed out, and the first step taken to refer their disputes to our courts; but, though various proposals have been made for facilitating a further advance towards these objects, the matter has been practically left nearly where it then was." Briefly stated, the articles of the Treaty of Waitangi had been simply ignored by the British authorities. The measure spoken of by Sir George Grey as a first step towards inducing the natives to refer their disputes to European courts, was an ordinance for appointing Resident Magistrates to exercise jurisdiction in civil cases between white colonists and Maoris in claims where the amount sued for did not exceed the sum of £20 sterling. There were, however, no means provided for enforcing judgment in those cases in which the native was the losing party. For dealing with cases of exclusively native disputes, a number of "rangatiras" were appointed assessors, each party to the suit being at liberty to select one assessor to sit in judgment conjointly with the magistrate. The useful work done by these Courts was extremely limited, and the Government made little effort to improve matters. The cost deterred it, for all the revenues of the colony were needed for the purposes of settlement and white administration. Then, again, the Imperial Government considered that it had done, and was doing, quite enough for the colony, in bearing the expense of the military establishment; and declared that it had no funds to spare to throw away upon the natives. So the policy pursued was the only one possible under the circumstances, namely, that of abstention from interference in all purely Maori concerns. Nevertheless, some attention was paid to the natives by the authorities. A liberal distribution was made of blankets, sugar, flour, and other articles of white "trade," in order to win over and attach to British interests the leading chiefs. This effort at native conciliation has been sufficiently jeered at by the unsympathetic, as "The Flour and Sugar Policy;" yet in the days of its employment it served a by no means useless purpose. Of course, as

time went on it grew less effective, as the noisiest natives were the recipients of the largest bribes to induce good behaviour. Excessive kindness to any one section of the Maoris irritated its neighbours; and tribal wars became affairs of everyday occurrence. One reflective chief described these quarrels as "a river of blood" flowing through the land. Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipi managed to save his tribe from the utter demoralisation of drunkenness only by ejecting every white man living among his people. Even the "Pakehas" who had married Maori women were not exempt from the operation of this regulation. They had to go, and leave their families behind them; though the chief permitted the settlement of a few mechanics, by whose skill he expected to profit; but such as were allowed this privilege had to sign a bond to pay £1 for every native found drunk on their premises. Among the tribes where this precaution against it was not taken, drunkenness was greatly on the increase.

Matene Te Whiwhi had failed to secure the definite acceptance of his proposals in 1853; but the King movement, nevertheless, silently progressed. In May, 1854, another great "runanga" was called together at Manawapou, in the territory of the Ngatiruanui nation. At the place of meeting a council hall was built, 120 feet long and 30 feet wide, with two entrances. This building was called "Taiporohenui," or "The Finishing of the Matter." There a league for the preservation of the native lands, similar to that of Taranaki, was formed, and a tomahawk was passed round to signify that all would agree to put to death any leaguer who should depart from the purpose of the compact. In the year 1856, Te Heu Heu, who had adopted his brother's name on succeeding him in the Taupo chieftancy ten years before, called together another "runanga." The French Standard was hoisted, and several schemes were discussed for the preservation of Maori autonomy. No conclusive decision was, however, arrived at, although it was distinctly proposed that Potatau Te Whero Whero, the great chief of the Waikatos, should be made King. True, he was now broken and enfeebled, but he had once been a famous warrior and a man of might and "mana." The chiefs concerned in the movement disclaimed hostility to Queen Victoria, but they determined to sell no more land. They would not permit the Queen's writ to run beyond their frontier boundary, or boats and steamers to navigate their streams. There was some wild talk also of driving the "Pakehas" into the sea; but this was confined strictly to their own council meetings. Thus, after years of argument, speech-making, negotiation, and discussion, the Maoris were on the eve of taking the final step in the establishment of a native monarchy. And the Government allowed the movement to drift away into vicious channels, instead of controlling it. Serious blunders were made about this time by the authorities; and Wiremu Tamihana, who was still open to conciliation, was effectually estranged by an act of official stupidity.

It is alleged by historians who sympathise with the King movement that the choice of Potatau Te Whero Whero as the Maori monarch was

politic, inasmuch as he was not ambitious of the dignity, and was, therefore, unlikely, like Matene Te Whiwhi, to inspire jealousy in the confederating chiefs, and that, moreover, he offered instead to act as arbitrator in land disputes. Wiremu Tamihana, determined to overcome the old chief's scruples, summoned the tribes of the Waikato nation to meet at Rangiriri in the month of April, and instal their King. Governor Browne recognised the political significance of this "runanga," and resolved to attend it. He therefore set out for the Waikato district (the King Country as it was subsequently called) with Mr. (afterwards Sir) Donald McLean, the Native Secretary, and Mr. Richmond, a Member of the Cabinet. He reached Rangiriri at the same time as Te Whero Whero, in whose presence the leading "rangatiras" made speeches to the Governor. They asked for authorised "runangas," a European magistrate, and laws adapted to their circumstances. The Governor replied that he would send a magistrate to live in the Waikato district for the purpose of making circuit visits to the various native settlements, and, with the aid of the Maori assessors, administering justice. He further promised to have framed a code of laws applicable to the native requirements. The people assembled at the "runanga" at this assurance cried out "Hurrah," and waved their hats. Potatau Te Whero Whero said that the Governor's words should be his counsel. Colonel Browne then returned to Auckland, hugging the delusion that he had settled the King business effectually. Mr. F. D. Fenton, a well-known solicitor, was sent up as Resident Magistrate for the Waikato and Waipa Districts, and the Governor regarded the affair as ended. In fact, he considered that his offers were a substitute for the proposals of the natives, whereas they regarded His Excellency's action as commendatory and complimentary. They saw nothing contradictory in essence between the declaration of their nationhood under an elective monarch of their own race and the continuance of the Queen's authority in the land, and many of the leading white citizens holding responsible positions in the colony thought similarly. The Governor returned to Auckland, but the "runanga" at Rangiriri was continued. The invited came in fifty canoes, and the conference was inaugurated by the men of the Ngatihaua nation forming four deep in the military fashion, and planting in the centre of a large open space the chosen emblem of Maori sovereignty—a white banner with a red border, and bearing as a device two red crosses symbolical of Christianity, and also the inscription, "Potatau, King of New Zealand." About 200 Maoris were present at this ceremony. The Union Jack was hoisted side by side with this new standard, and the speakers emphasised the assurance that the movement for Maori monarchy was in no way a demonstration of disaffection towards England's Queen. Then for several days much talk was indulged in, and the whole party adjourned to Ihumata, a native village on the Manukau, about 8 miles from Auckland, where another "runanga," at which Bishop Selwyn and other clergymen were present,

was held. This meeting ended in the acceptance of Potatau Te Whero Whero as King of the new Maori nation, and at the end of the year the recently made monarch abandoned his settlement at Mangare, on the other side of the Manukau River from Onehunga, and went up to live in the Waikato district among his most loyal and perfervid subjects. At Ngaruawahia, the capital of "Maoriland," in the month of April, 1858, Te Whero Whero was formally proclaimed King in the presence of about 2,000 people, and saluted as "Potatau the First." It is recorded as a curious fact that his pension continued to be paid up to 31st March, 1860, or within a few months of his death, which took place on the 25th June, 1860, and that even then the Government contributed towards his funeral expenses. In May, 1860, a grand "runanga" was held at Ngaruawahia for the completion of the establishment of the monarchy. A system of native police, and the nucleus of a standing army were called into being, a Parliament or Council of Chiefs was summoned, village "runangas" for the administration of justice were instituted, and funds were actually got together for the founding of a native newspaper. After the death of "Potatau the First," his son, Matutaera, was proclaimed King by Wiremu Tamihana, under the title of "Potatau the Second." In after years he adopted the name of Tawhiao, by which he is historically known. For a couple of decades the King movement was destined to form an important factor in native affairs.

Governor Browne had been, in the meantime, guilty of a particularly foolish act. Events were rapidly making for war, and a certain course of procedure on the part of the Government did much to precipitate matters. When Grey came to rule over New Zealand, his first ordinance was one to regulate the importation and sale of arms to the natives. This enactment was virtually repealed in 1857. A certain amount of smuggling had gone on in spite of it. The Government, therefore, should have spent money and used vigilance in enforcing its regulations, instead of adopting the insane course of relaxing them. The result of doing the latter was a rapid increase in the number of guns and the quantity of powder sold to the disaffected Maoris, who purchased many thousand stands of arms and large quantities of ammunition. Ten years of peace and prosperity had made the natives comparatively rich through the supply of produce to the Europeans. Wiremu Tamihana (now henceforth known historically as the "Maori King-maker") was a shrewd observer of all that went on, and he subsequently stated that "every vessel from Australia brought cheap guns for the Maori trade."

Governor Browne paid a visit to the settlement early in the year 1859, and declared to the natives that he intended to adopt an entirely new policy in the buying of native lands, and to deal at first hand with individual claimants, disregarding tribal rights and the influence of the "rangatiras." In short, the misguided Governor wanted to enforce the English land system of modern times, and the evolution of

generations, on a race of people whose usages regarding land tenure resembled in a great measure those in vogue among the Irish under the Brehon traditions. When the new land policy was inaugurated by the Governor, some thirty million acres or more had been purchased from the Maori owners for the purposes of settlement, but not more than a quarter of a million acres were under cultivation. The people of Taranaki district were cramped for room, and looked for territory whereon to expand towards the mouth of the Waitara River. This legitimate desire brought about a condition of affairs favourable to the ignition of the native mind by the spark dropped into it by the Waitara land purchase in 1860. Waitara is a little seaport in the Taranaki district, a section of the North Island where the feeling concerning land purchase had always been especially acute. Sufficient territory had been obtained to enable this settlement (Waitara) to expand into a strip of about 20 miles along the sea coast, with an average width of about 7 miles. During his visit to the district, the Governor, therefore, in order to accommodate the settlers, invited the natives to dispose of their lands. In the meantime the agitation in favour of the King movement so engrossed public attention in the central districts of the North Island, that the new trouble brewing on the west coast almost escaped notice until it burst forth in the blaze of war. Friction between the two races in this part of the Island was acute on account of the steady refusal of the Maoris to part with their lands, the influence of the Anti-land-selling League, under the presidency of Wiremu Kingi the head chief of the Ngatiawa nation, being actively exercised to discourage all sales of his people's territory. In 1858 the Taranaki settlers had fruitlessly memorialised the General Assembly to set aside the tribal rights, and allow such natives as were willing to dispose of their individual claims in communal lands to do so. Early in 1859 Wiremu Kingi sent a message to the Governor, declaring that no more land should be sold in the district extending from New Plymouth to Mokau, and requesting him, therefore, to entertain no proposal for the sale of native lands within those limits. It was just after this notification of the great anti-land selling chiefs that the Governor paid his diplomatic visit to New Plymouth, prepared to carry his new land policy into effect no matter who should oppose him. At a meeting with the natives he stated that he would never consent to the purchase of land which did not carry an undisputed title, but neither would he permit any one to interfere in land sales who had not an interest in the holdings under offer. The Maoris are alleged to have misapprehended his meaning, and to have understood that his intention was to start a new policy by treating with individuals, disregarding the "mana" of the chiefs, and setting aside the tribal rights. However, there was very little misapprehension about the matter, as subsequent events showed that the natives understood him only too well. In response to the Governor's invitation, a native chief named Te Teira, or Taylor, at once

got up with his friends and offered the Governor to part with the lands (600 acres) which they were occupying at Waitara. It appears, however, that Teira and his adherents had no exclusive right to this block of 600 acres, though they occupied it. The land belonged to the Ngatiawa nation, and was endeared to the people by historical recollections, being their first landing place some twenty-five or thirty generations before. Areas had been allotted them by their ancestors for the heads of different families, and divided into sub-allotments for individual holders. Teira, however, pressed his offer, and Mr. McLean, the Native Secretary, replied on behalf of the Governor that he would buy, provided a good title could be made out. The native department and the Governor sent down Commissioners, who, with Mr. Parris, the land-purchaser for the district, spent nearly a year in the investigation of Teira's title. After inquiry they decided erroneously that the native vendor's title was good, and that Teira's party had a right to sell the land, and the head chief no right to interfere. The sale was, therefore, completed in due course. A fair price was paid for the block; and, as Wiremu Kingi threatened war, an armed force was sent to occupy it. Then the astute chief of the Ngatiawa made the disputed block over to the King tribes, and he forthwith became their ally. They did not openly declare war against the Government, but they sent their new protégé numbers of volunteer fighting-men. The Governor, blind to the trend of events, reported to the Secretary of State that while he did not fear that Wiremu Kingi would continue to maintain his assumed right, he had made every preparation to enforce obedience should he presume to do so. Wiremu Kingi did, however, maintain his right, and from this maintenance of his "mana" sprang the Taranaki war of 1860, which lingered until May, 1861, and resulted in the temporary ruin of Taranaki. The land transaction at Waitara is known historically as Governor Browne's Bad Bargain.

Hostilities broke out early in 1860. On the 20th February, in that year, surveyors were sent out to mark the boundaries. By way of protest, the Maoris directed some of their women to pull up the pegs and cut the chain; though no violence was offered. Ten days later, martial law was proclaimed, and a body of troops, under Lieutenant-Colonel Murray, marched to the Waitara block, ten miles from New Plymouth, for the protection of the surveyors. During the night, Kingi's party built a "pa" commanding the road, and stopped an escort. The Governor then issued a manifesto ordering the evacuation of the "pa" on the pain of instant punishment. The natives evacuated the "pa," and the soldiers destroyed it. A few days afterwards a party of some seventy natives returned and built a stockade on the disputed block. H.M.S. "Niger" had just arrived with a reinforcement of the 65th Regiment, and, on the 17th March, Colonel Gold conveyed to the front a detachment of artillery and three guns, 210 men of the 65th Regiment, a party from the "Niger," with a rocket tube, twenty mounted volun-

teers, and a company of the Royal Engineers. The Maoris were summoned to surrender, but refused, and the troops opened fire with shot and shell. This was the firing of the first gun in a war which Dr. Featherstone (the Superintendent of the Province of Wellington) pronounced to be unjust and unholy; and which Sir W. Martin (the Chief Justice) utterly discountenanced. On the night following the attack, the troops found that the stockade had been abandoned, but the natives were entrenching themselves in stronger positions, and were well provided with arms and ammunition. The settlers left their homesteads, and, abandoning the open country, took refuge in their town of New Plymouth. Their women and children were mostly shipped off to the south; the men armed and drilled as a militia. The troops also fell back on New Plymouth, and the district was left to the Maoris, who ravaged the whole country-side, sweeping away the labours of some twenty years with a besom of smoke and flame. The insurgent Ngatiawa chief, who had hitherto held aloof, now overtly joined the movement, while the powerful Ngatiruanui nation also threw in its lot with the malcontents. On the 3rd March, a "pa" on Waireka Hill was unsuccessfully attacked, and the same evening the British forces fell back on New Plymouth. Later on fresh detachments of troops arrived from Australia, so that, by the end of the year, there were 2,300 men in the field, including volunteers. One of the most important of the succeeding events was the attack in June on the Puketakauere, or "L pa," so called from its configuration. In this affair the British suffered a loss of thirty-four killed and thirty wounded, while the Maori casualties amounted to only six killed and eight wounded. New Plymouth was now in a state of close siege, and, although there was a dense forest near the town, fuel had to be procured from Australia. Major-General Pratt now came over from Melbourne to supersede Colonel Gold in the command, and brought with him the remainder of the 40th Regiment. For some time no decisive engagement took place, until the conflict at Mahoetahi, when the enemy lost thirty-four killed and fifty wounded, while the British casualties were four killed and sixteen wounded. Taiporotu, the rebel leader, was killed in this engagement. The war terminated a little later during the progress of the siege of Pukerangiora, a truce being negotiated through the instrumentality of Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipi. It has been computed that this outbreak, before it was brought to a peaceful conclusion by Sir George Grey, cost the British sixty-seven killed and 143 wounded, and most of the latter died of their injuries through overcrowding in New Plymouth; while upwards of 200 settlers died through exposure. The total cost of the war to the Imperial Government was about £500,000; while the colony's expenses occasioned by the campaign reached a total of £20,000. The direct losses of the settlers were estimated to amount to over £150,000.

Sir George Grey landed at Auckland on the 26th September, 1861, for a second time to undertake the government of the province, and on the 3rd October following Colonel Gore Browne left the colony.

The Stafford, or War Ministry, fell in the month of July, 1861, and was succeeded by the Fox, or Peace Ministry. Mr. Fox had been an officer in the Wakefield Land Company, and an ardent agitator for responsible government. He had long been an opponent of Governor Browne's native policy, and now threw in all his influence to aid the new viceroy in obtaining a peaceful settlement. Sir George Grey had a difficult task to perform, for he had not only to contend against the hostility of the Maoris, but also to placate the section of the white population who wished to crush native resistance by an aggressive war. For more than a year the Governor and Premier sought to obtain honourable conditions of peace, but, unfortunately, the Governor had been called in too late, and his "mana" had lost much of its old power. Early in the term of his second Government, Sir George Grey determined that the division of authority between the Governor and his Ministers should be swept away, and that upon native, as well as upon other affairs, the representative of the Queen should rely solely on the advice of his responsible Cabinet. On the 30th May, 1862, Imperial control over Maori legislation was finally abolished. Meanwhile, matters in the Waikato country were very unsettled, and a visit from the Governor had no appreciable effect. In 1863, the Governor left Auckland for Ngaruawahia, and, although he was well received by the Maoris, his announcement that a steamer was coming to trade on the Waikato River only seemed to increase the mistrust with which the natives regarded all advances made by the Government. The still unsettled Waitara land dispute was a constant source of irritation, and even the natives of the King country were divided on the matter. One party, led by Wiremu Tamihana Tarapii, was in favour of a peaceful settlement, but Wiremu Kingi insisted on the retrocession of the Waitara land, and his cause was warmly espoused by Manga Rewi Maniopototo, chief of the Ngatimaniapoto nation. The Governor now caused the title to the land to be carefully examined, and came to the conclusion that it had never been lawfully acquired. In the meantime, a body of natives was in armed occupation of a block of land at Tataraimaka, near New Plymouth, which really belonged to the settlers, and the Maoris refused to leave it until the Waitara block was handed over. The claim of the colony to the Waitara land was removed by proclamation on the 11th May, 1863, but the restitution was somehow delayed, and the Ngatiruanui still refused to leave Tataraimaka. The Governor tried parleying, but without avail, and then resolved on decisive action. At the beginning of March, 1863, His Excellency, accompanied by General Cameron and a strong force of military, set out for Tataraimaka with the intention of re-capturing this block, besides settling the Waitara question. The natives accepted this move as a prelude to war, and Rewi and his supporters at once took action. The police-barracks and a newspaper office were seized, and the Resident Magistrate dismissed. Next, a party of soldiers was surprised and killed in the Taranaki district, and the prospect of peace became hopeless. In spite of the issue of the proclamation removing all claim to the disputed

land, and the withdrawal of the troops therefrom, war had re-commenced, and it dragged out its weary length over a period of three years. Sir George Grey had received notice that the Maoris intended to make an attack on Auckland, and resolved to forestall them. On the 12th July a small force under General Cameron occupied a position on the Koheroa heights, overlooking the Waikato River. The Maori force was in two divisions, one of which, under Manga Rewi Maniopoto, occupied the forest of Hunua, whence many successful attacks were delivered on the colonial levies. Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipi commanded the other division, which marched down by the course of the Waikato to oppose the invasion. On the 17th July, this force attacked an escort of the 18th Regiment, and defeated it, killing four and wounding ten. On the morning of the same day, the British troops at Koheroa defeated a Maori detachment. After another slight engagement Cameron concluded that his foes were of no mean calibre, and decided to make more formidable preparations. On the renewal of hostilities, a series of skirmishes culminated, on the 23rd October, 1863, in the action which has been called the "Battle of Bald Hills." During the progress of this conflict there were some desperate hand-to-hand encounters between the Maoris and the soldiers, but, eventually, the native force was driven back with a loss of thirty-two killed, while great numbers of their warriors were also wounded.

On the 30th October, General Cameron, who had been provided with two bullet-proof steamers, one of which was built in Sydney, proceeded to attack Meremere, but the Maoris evacuated this position, and retired to a stronger one at Rangiriri. Here, after a desperate resistance, they were forced to capitulate, but King Potatau the Second and his general Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipi made their escape. The Maori loss was between fifty and 150 killed, the number of wounded being unknown, while 183 were taken prisoners and sent to Auckland. The British loss was thirty-five men and two officers killed, and thirteen officers and eighty-five men wounded. It was now expected that peace would be proclaimed, and the enemy fell back from the King's headquarters, and allowed General Cameron to occupy the position without a struggle. But the expected terms were not proclaimed, and the war was renewed. The Maoris were driven from one position to another, but eventually made a most heroic stand at Orakau. Here a force of about 300 natives under Rewi withstood for three days the attacks of a British army of 2,000 men. On the evening of the third day the Maori ammunition was exhausted, so the half-starving natives made a sortie, when the greater part of them were destroyed, but Rewi and a few followers escaped to the hills. The Maori loss was about 200, while the British casualties were sixteen killed and fifty-two wounded. With the reduction of Orakau, Maori resistance practically ceased, and Wiremu Tamihana and Rewi retired to the upper waters of the Waikato, whither they were not pursued. In this long and dilatory struggle, an able general and distinguished officers had been fighting with vastly superior

numbers a savage foe whose forces at the very highest estimate did not exceed 2,000, whereas General Cameron had ultimately under his control some 10,000 regulars, and he was assisted by volunteers and militia of about the same numerical strength. Nor was this their only advantage, for the British were armed with Enfield rifles and had artillery, while the Maoris possessed old Tower muskets and shot guns, and the few ship's guns they had could hardly be called artillery.

The campaign involved the colony in a debt of £3,000,000, besides Imperial claims incurred on account of military expenditure, while settlement and industry received a decided check. The conflict brought absolute ruin to the Ngatihaua nation, for nearly all their land was included in the scheme of general confiscation, while the Ngatimaniapoto race, which had practically provoked hostilities, lost very little territory. The new frontier was delimited by a line drawn from Raglan on the West Coast through the plains of the Upper Waikato to Tauranga, and the lands confiscated by the Government were occupied by military and volunteer settlers. Like others of his race, Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipi died of consumption in December, 1866, a little over two years after the conclusion of the war.

Although peace once more reigned in the Waikato country, there was still disaffection in the Tauranga district. The natives in this locality, assisted by straggling parties of Waikatos, entrenched themselves in a strong position about three miles from Te Papa. Their stronghold, called the "Gate Pa," was effectively palisaded, and amply defended by rifle pits. Here a British force of 500 men attacked them, the defending Maoris, as usual, being much in the minority. Early in the siege a detachment attempted to storm the Maori citadel, but the attack was repulsed, and the British lost heavily. Shortly afterwards it was discovered that the natives had evacuated the "pa," escaping noiselessly under cover of darkness. In this affair the British casualties amounted to 111 killed and wounded, several of the latter subsequently dying, while the Maori loss was comparatively slight. The natives made their final stand at Te Ranga, about 3 miles inland from the "Gate Pa," and here they were completely crushed, their forces being almost annihilated.

In the meantime the second Taranaki war had been going on. Early in June, 1863, General Cameron successfully stormed a native stronghold on the Katikara River, some 15 miles from New Plymouth. In March, 1864, a force under Major Butler suffered a repulse before a "pa" at Kaitake. A more serious reverse to British arms occurred the following April, when detachments under the command of Captains Lloyd and Page were completely routed by the natives. When the bodies of the slain were recovered they were found to be stripped almost naked, and the heads had been severed from the bodies—an act of savagery hitherto foreign in the warfare between the two races. It was subsequently ascertained that this mutilation was due to the devotees of a new religion known as "Hau-Hauism," though in the

first instance it was called "Pai Marire" by its adherents. This creed originated in the disordered brain of a native named Te Ua, and was an unsavoury compound of Judaism, Christianity, and old Maori tradition. Amongst other strange things its votaries believed that their priests and prophets possessed superhuman powers, while invulnerability in battle could be secured by the utterance of the magic word "Hau," accompanied by mesmeric passes of the hand. The Hau-Haus decapitated their slain enemies, and used the heads to ornament a lofty pole known as the "niu," round which they were accustomed to dance, to the accompaniment of wild incantations. Early in April 1864, they had an opportunity of a practical test of their boasted invulnerability in their attack on the redoubt at Sentry Hill, near New Plymouth. Here the Hau-Haus suffered a serious reverse, and had to fly for their lives, leaving thirty-four of their number dead or dying on the field. Notwithstanding this check, the peculiar superstition spread, and in the country round Wanganui, and on the East Coast, between the Bay of Plenty and Hawke Bay, the Hau-Haus proved particularly troublesome.

It was now fondly imagined by the colonists that with the clearing of the disaffected from the Waikato country, and the subjection of the Tauranga natives, the Maori "mana" had received such a blow that further resistance would be abandoned. However, the Hau-Hau superstition was responsible for a continuance of hostilities, and upon the New Zealand militia devolved the work of extirpating it, but most valuable assistance was given by Ropata Wahawaha, Major Kepa, Te Rangi-hiwi-nui, and other friendly chiefs. On one occasion the "friendlies" challenged the Hau-Haus to a pitched battle on the island of Moutua, where, after a desperate engagement, the Hau-Haus were signally defeated, their prophet, Matene, being amongst the slain. The Provincial Government of Wellington later on raised a monument to the memory of their brave allies who had fallen in the encounter. For the remainder of the year 1864 the colony enjoyed a comparative measure of repose, which was hardly interrupted by the escape of 214 Rangiriri and other prisoners from the island of Kawau, near Auckland, in the month of September. In November following the seat of Government was removed from Auckland to Wellington, in consequence of an agitation for a more central position from which to direct the affairs of the colony.

The year 1865 saw the resumption of hostilities on the West Coast. New Zealand at this time contained a very large and expensive Imperial military force, but the brunt of the war fell on the shoulders of the colonial militia, the friendly natives, and the adventurous spirits who came over from Sydney and Melbourne to take sides against a brave but ruthless foe. General Cameron's movements were painfully slow, and this fact, coupled with the tenacity with which he clung to the ocean beach, earned for him from the Maoris the epithet of the "Lame Seagull." Grey's impatience at the General's dilatoriness gave rise to

much acrimonious correspondence between the two chiefs. At length the Governor determined on the bold scheme of himself leading a force to attack the insurgents in a stronghold called the Wercroa "pa." On the 21st July, 1865, he successfully accomplished the reduction of this fastness, and about fifty Hau-Haus were taken prisoners. General Cameron resigned his command of the Imperial troops in the following month, and was succeeded by Major-General Trevor Chute. The Hau-Haus were still vigorous on the East Coast, where they committed several atrocious murders, mutilating the bodies of their victims. The great majority, however, of the Maoris were keenly shocked by these horrible acts, and Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipi wrote to Colonel Greer tendering his submission and that of the King Tawhiao. The campaign was now pushed on with much vigour. The conquest of the Opotiki district was completed, while the Waipapua expedition, under Majors Fraser and Biggs, supported by the friendly chiefs Ropata and Mokena, achieved signal success. The strong Hau-Hau fortress at Hungahungatoroa was reduced, and the insurgents were driven from the "pa" at Waerenga-a-hika. The campaign was brought to a close by a series of brilliant forced marches through the disturbed districts by Major-General Chute, the display of force causing a cessation of hostilities.

Grey's continual conflicts with the authorities rendered his position untenable, and in the month of November, 1866, he was succeeded in the administration by Sir George Ferguson Bowen. In the middle of 1868 the North Island was again convulsed in the turmoils of war by an outbreak of natives, led by Titokowaru, which resulted in what is known as the West Coast campaign. Meanwhile another Hau-Hau chief, named Te Kooti, escaped with a band of followers from Chatham Islands, and, landing near Gisborne, by his courage and ability soon found himself at the head of a considerable number of warriors. Titokowaru's band ravaged the Patea district. On the 12th July the garrison at Turuturumokai redoubt was defeated by the Maoris, and Captain Ross and nine men were killed. On the 21st August a British force under Colonel McDonnell attacked and captured the Hau-Hau stronghold at Te Ngutu-o-te-manu. Early in September Titokowaru signally defeated the Government forces at Ruaruru, killing nineteen and wounding twenty-five. Shortly afterwards the whites and "friendly" were defeated at Moturoa. Titokowaru's "mana" was now in the ascendant, and he set forth on the road to Wanganui, carrying murder and rapine through the districts on his line of march. On the 9th November, 1868, Te Kooti and his band suddenly swooped down on the village of Matawhero. The Hau-Haus gave themselves up to indiscriminate butchery, twenty-nine Europeans and thirty-two friendly Maoris being cruelly murdered. When the news arrived the settlers fled in all directions. The women and children in Gisborne were shipped off to Auckland, and the deserted homesteads at Poverty Bay were given up to the flames by the savage Hau-Haus. Te Kooti and his band retired to the bush, to the hill of Ngatopa, murdering and pil-

laging on the way. In this stronghold he was attacked by a combined force of "friendlies" and whites under Ropata and Colonel Whitmore. The Hau-Haus found their position untenable, and during the night evacuated it and plunged into the forest. Thither they were pursued by Ropata and his followers, and numbers were killed or taken prisoners, but Te Kooti himself escaped. Meanwhile Kepa had rendered effective service in harrying the Hau-Haus under Titokowaru. Early in 1869 Lieutenant Gascoigne, his wife, three children and two other whites were murdered, and the Rev. John Whitely, arriving on the scene shortly afterwards, met the same fate from the hands of a band of Hau-Haus. Titokowaru was pursued by Colonel Whitmore and Kepa to the head of the Wanganui River, but he was allowed to remain there, as the authorities had decided on no further action. Te Kooti, however, continued to give trouble, and various punitive expeditions were despatched against him, but he was eventually left without further molestation, and the colony thenceforward enjoyed comparative peace.

In June, 1869, Mr. William Fox became Premier, having Mr. Vogel associated with him as Colonial Treasurer. The exhausting war had acutely injured the colony, and the strain upon its resources had been long and almost incessant. Mr. Vogel, in the Session of 1870, initiated a new policy, which he based on the belief that the native difficulty could be more readily combated by the construction of roads and railways, and by the augmentation of the British population through an influx of immigrants, rather than by the old methods of settlement and provincial government; and he maintained that the entire colony would be beneficially affected by the stimulating influence of the money borrowed to carry out the new policy. At this time the Constitution practically created by Sir George Grey in 1852, was still in operation, though not without occasional friction. Under this measure the colony was really a confederation of vestry-officered settlements—a system that worked fairly well under the conditions which had developed side by side with isolated coastal colonisation, undertaken by divergent interests. But its great troubles were questions of ways and means. The provinces had to rub along as best they could on the dribblets of revenue that might be spared by the Central Government; but, under the fearful exactions of an exhausting war, there was very little money to spare to furnish forth even dribblets of revenue. In order, therefore, to provide the needy provinces with a sure source from which to raise funds, they had, from their initiation, been given the virtual control of the Crown lands within their borders, and the profits accruing therefrom. Of course, here was an inequality of endowment that led to innumerable jealousies and much heart-burning. In the South Island, save in Maori-afflicted Nelson, land was high-priced; in the war-torn North Island, low-priced; and the revenues of the various provincial districts were relatively large or meagre, according to geographical situation. Already, in 1870, the Central Government and the Provincial Government owed something like

£7,250,000 between them. In the case of the former a large amount of money consisted of a war debt; but the Provinces had, at any rate, expended a great deal—especially in Canterbury and Otago—on public works, and in rendering efficient their system of colonisation. Sir Julius Vogel came forward with a proposition to centralise expenditure on a vast and continuous scheme of public works and immigration with the aid of borrowed money. His scheme for borrowing from six to ten millions of money to be expended on defence, immigration, roads, railways, the purchase and settlement of land, and public works generally, was almost unanimously adopted, and the colony entered upon its new financial career with hardly a dissentient voice. The Provinces did not, however, with wisdom equal to that of its suggester, adopt also the saving clause of his great policy, to wit: that the cost of railways should be recouped from a public estate created out of the Crown lands through which the lines should pass. Here selfishness of a provincial type stepped in. It enabled the Provinces to retain their control of Crown lands for another five years; but it crippled the public works policy of Vogel, and made its originator a determined opponent of Provincial Government—which he overthrew some five or six years later with the help of the immigrants who were, as one result of his policy, pouring into the country in their hundreds, and who ridiculed the idea that a country containing some five hundred thousand inhabitants, should require nine governments in addition to its general Assembly, when the mighty nation that they had just left could manage much more efficiently with only one. Mr. Vogel's policy, however, certainly worked wonders. At the end of the year 1870 New Zealand contained a white population of 248,000, a number representing a threefold increase since the beginning of the Taranaki war, in 1860. The revenue at that date was £464,000; during the succeeding ten years it had expanded to £1,384,000. Exports and imports showed a corresponding increment; and land under cultivation, sheep and horned cattle, had increased seven-fold. From the initiation of the Vogel proposals, and their acceptance by the General Assembly in August, 1870, to October, 1877, the administration remained in the hands of the same party, though with seven different Ministerial combinations, which occasioned a nominal, though not a real change, in the successive Governments. During this period the following facts are noteworthy:—In 1870 the public debt amounted to £7,840,000, or some £31 per white inhabitant; in 1877 it had risen to £20,700,000, or £50 per white inhabitant; but the borrowed money had, among other things, enabled the Government to construct over a thousand miles of railway, besides introducing, by State aid, thousands of immigrants, though many came to the colony without such assistance.

In the meantime quietness reigned in the native districts; the price of wool had risen; gold was being discovered right and left; and the colony was advancing with rapid strides. The Maori troubles, too, were all but over. For three years Te Kooti had been a hunted

fugitive. In the year 1870 the chase was left almost exclusively to the natives themselves, under Ropata, Topia, Henare Tomoana, and Kepa Te Rangi-hiwi-nui. Ropata and Major Kemp (Kepa) drove him from district to district backwards and forwards, across and across the island. Again and again he escaped, and again and again the hue and cry was raised at his heels. He fled through the country lying behind the Bay of Plenty to the almost impenetrable forests south of Opotiki, where his "pa" of Maraetahi was besieged in March, 1870, by 400 friendlies under Kepa, Topia, and Wi Kingi. After a desperate action, in which the arch-rebel escaped barely with his life, his assailants captured his stronghold, recovered 218 of his captives, and took prisoners thirty-five men and seventy-six women and children. Of his followers eighteen were killed. Te Kooti tirelessly, vengefully pursued, now crept, now crawled, now feverishly raced, from lair to lair in the solitude of the forest or in the mountain fastnesses with a little band of some score adherents, every party he got together being successively scattered. His wife was captured. He was himself shot in the hand. Often and often were his hunters within a few yards of their quarry. In his wild flight from justice and vengeance he was forced to scale snow-clad mountains, to wade the frozen waters of torrents that swept the gorges, to carve and slash a pathway through the tangled growth of the living jungle. But it seemed that he bore a charmed life; he always evaded the supreme humiliation of capture. In the wild territory of the savage Uriweri tribes Te Kooti lost his equally bloodthirsty companion, Kereopa—the murderer and mutilator of the Rev. S. C. Volkner, done to death by the fanatical Hau-Haus at Opotiki. Kereopa, when captured, was most unceremoniously hanged, and the Lutheran missionary, in some small manner, avenged. Emaciated with hunger, feverish with thirst, worn out through want of sleep for fear of capture while he rested, in hourly terror of his indefatigable foe, Ropata, and left with hardly a single follower, Te Kooti betook himself, as a last refuge, to the King country, and there found sanctuary in 1872. He was eventually pardoned, and for some twenty years lived a quiet life, after the hunters had abandoned the chase, dying in peace, if not in sanctity. He often expressed a wish to visit Poverty Bay, the scene of his chief atrocity; but the stern hostility of the settlers caused the Government to prevent his doing so.

The chief interests of the wars between the two races, now brought to a termination by Te Kooti's absolute suppression as a factor in rebellion, lies not in the numerical importance of the men engaged in them, so much as in their racial significance, individual heroism, and the peculiar picturesqueness of the arena of conflict. It is, perhaps, true, that there is something surprising in the fact that mobs of ill-armed and partially-disciplined savages, often outnumbered by three and four to one, sometimes by as many as ten to one, met and repeatedly defeated army corps of the best armed, best drilled, and best disciplined soldiers of Europe; but it must be remembered that the tactics observed

in Maori warfare puzzled and baffled soldiers accustomed to march in column and to charge in line, and that the New Zealand natives were, at least, masters in the art of fortification. One who has given the subject no small attention considers that out of the many engagements which took place between the years 1843 and 1870 (excluding the massacre at Poverty Bay) thirty-seven may be classed as of the first importance. Out of these the British arms sustained defeat of unmistakable character nine times; while the tenth encounter, that of Okaihau, was indecisive. Of twenty-seven victories, those of Rangiriri and Orakau were dearly won. In the double fight at Nukumaru the loss of the British was greater than that of the enemy, and in the assault on the "pa" of Waireka Hill most of the troops had retreated, and heard of the British success only from a distance. Six of the successes were wholly, or nearly wholly, the work of Maori auxiliaries. For the ten years, 1860-70, the cost in lives to the British may be estimated at 800; to the defeated Maoris at 1,800. There were besides, on both sides, thousands of wounded—very many British—and numerous deaths from the attendant horrors of warfare, such as disease, overcrowding, exposure, hardships and famine.

The native difficulty was, however, melting away with a rapid disappearance of the natives themselves. In 1869 the Maori affairs passed into the hands of a really capable Minister for Native Affairs, the Hon. (afterwards Sir) Donald McLean, who, from the beginning of 1869 to the end of 1876, took the almost absolute control of the Government policy in its dealings with and directions of Maori questions. To the great influence of this man with the "friendlies," the colonists largely owed the Maori aid, so actively exercised against Te Kooti in the suppression of the Hau-Hau fanatics. But McLean made his real mark, not as a Minister for War, but as a man who placed a permanent and lasting peace between the two races on a true basis. For native service he paid liberally by skilful and profitable land purchase, by paying the respect which their position demanded to the chiefs, and by tact with the people and easy indulgence of their childishness. The wild Ureweris and touchy natives of the interior of the King country he did not molest. Elsewhere his influence was all predominant, and by his excellent management the Maoris, after the war, proved fairly amenable to civilised usage and British legal methods.

The numerous gold discoveries which had been made were not without a decided influence upon the new era of prosperity opening before the Colony. In 1861 gold had been discovered in the provincial district of Otago, at a time (the period of the Waitara war) when the European population did not number more than some 80,000. But rumours of the presence of the precious metal in the mountains and gullies of the South Island had long been persistent. From 1857 to 1860 some £150,000 worth had been won in the province of Nelson. In the winter of 1861 Gabriel Read, while prospecting in a gully at Taupeka, discovered convincing evidence of a good alluvial field, and dug out

with a common butcher's knife, in the space of ten hours, about £25 worth. After sinking hole after hole, for some distance along the line of his discovery, and striking "finds" of gold in all, Read wrote to Sir John Richardson, the Superintendent of the province, and apprised him of his success. For this he was afterwards paid a reward of £1,000. Upon receipt of the news, half the population of Dunedin dashed away to the scene of the "rush." For some years following, the province of Otago became the theatre of "rush" upon "rush," though the physical characteristics of this part of South Island rendered travelling of any kind a matter of the greatest difficulty. The mountains were bleak and treeless, and the obtaining of fuel an impossibility. Nevertheless, thousands poured into the province, though the snows and famine of the winter months drove not a few back again to the warmer coast. In 1863 the export of gold from the Otago fields had risen to more than £2,000,000 worth.

The fields of Otago were in the full tide of their fame and attractiveness when rich "finds" were reported in the west coast districts of the province of Canterbury. Gold had long been known to exist in the wild gorges and well nigh impassable river-beds of this romantic and impenetrable region, but the difficulties of winning it were great indeed. Government surveyors who had been sent to explore the country for the precious metal had more than once been drowned in the ice-cold mountain streams, or had returned to the settlements worn out and famished. In 1864 a man named Albert Hunt had found payable gold in the Greenstone Creek. He was subsequently branded as an imposter, and compelled to fly for his life by a mob of disappointed and maddened diggers. Nevertheless, after events proved the truth of his story. In 1865 hundreds of diggers flocked to the province of Westland, and, braving incredible difficulties, and suffering hardships innumerable, penetrated to every gold-bearing spot on the West Coast. Many lives were lost, but still the quest went on. Much gold was won, and as freely spent. Provisions fetched astonishing prices. For a ton of flour £150 had been paid, and candles were considered cheap at a shilling each. For years, however, returns were so good that £10 per week was regarded as only a fair outlay for the most primitive of food and necessaries. The gold exported from the West Coast of the South Island in 1866 was valued at £2,140,000.

Quickly on the heels of rich "finds" in the southern provinces of Nelson, Otago, Canterbury and Westland, came news of magnificent discoveries at the Thames and in the Coromandel Peninsula, situated on the east coast, in the province of Auckland. They were not alluvial goldfields, but quartz reefs, and thus differed from the workings in the South Island. The exploitation of the auriferous deposits of the Auckland province was long delayed by the successive wars between the settlers and the natives. When such exploitation became possible, the ground-landlords rendered profitable mining problematical by insisting upon high-priced prospecting permits; and it cost the miners as much

as £1 per man for the right to seek for gold whose existence was merely guessed at. This short-sighted policy put off the opening up of the Ohinemuri Gold-field until 1875, though years before this the shores of the Hauraki Gulf had been worked with system and profit. The gold fields of New Zealand are, however, no longer exploited by individual effort. To-day so many costly scientific and mechanical processes are called into requisition to win the precious metal from its matrix, that capital is required and the combined effort of companies necessitated. The approximate gold yield of the Colony up to date is set down at the value of £54,500,000.

One singular and noteworthy characteristic of the gold-fever days in New Zealand was the orderly and law-abiding manner in which the search for the precious metal was conducted. There was little extravagance or excess, few riots—such dual encounters only as are common in any collection of adventurous spirits—and but one gang of bushrangers—the Burgess gang.

Besides gold, New Zealand possesses many valuable minerals, though the most curious of these is undoubtedly kauri gum, of which over £9,000,000 worth has been raised in the Colony since 1853. It was, however, worked long before by the Maoris, who found it more profitable to collect kauri gum than to engage in the wars of Hone Heke against British supremacy. At the present time there are about 7,000 Europeans and Maoris engaged in gum-digging, of whom some 1,500 are Austrians from Dalmatia.

Sir George Ferguson Bowen's term of office as Governor of New Zealand extended from the 5th February, 1868, to the 19th March, 1873. He was succeeded by Sir George Alfred Arney, the Chief Justice of the Colony, as Administrator from the 21st March to the 14th June of the same year, pending the arrival of Governor Bowen's successor, Sir James Fergusson, Bart., P.C., who was just fresh, as in the case of Sir George Grey, from the Governorship of South Australia. Sir James Fergusson governed the Colony of New Zealand from the 14th June, 1873, to the 3rd December, 1874, when he in turn gave place to the Marquis of Normanby.

In the meantime affairs political were culminating towards the accomplishment of Vogel's dream—namely, the abolition of the Provincial Governments and the control of the Crown lands by the Central Parliament. The Colony was at rest, good prices prevailed, much gold was won, and landed estate advanced rapidly in value. Especially was the last-mentioned condition of prosperity the case in the province of Canterbury, where the system of free selection without limitation of area or occupation attracted the speculative buyers. A "boom" in Canterbury lands set in, and hundreds of thousands of acres were bought from the Provincial Government at the fixed price of £2 per acre, and resold at, or held for, a rise.

The revenue of the Provincial Council was greater than it knew how to expend, even extravagantly. Vogel saw his opportunity, and

appealed to the old Centralist Party to crush the provinces; but the provinces, particularly Otago and Auckland, resolved to make a strong fight for their old autonomy. In the pleasant islet of Kawau, near the city of Auckland, quietly resided Sir George Grey, deep in the study of Maori traditions and antiquities. Now, the old Constitution that Vogel sought to destroy had been practically Grey's creation, and he burned with indignation in the solitude of his island retreat that sacrilegious hands should be laid upon the instrument by which he had made New Zealand a nation. Forth he came from his studies in 1875, and entered the arena of politics. With wonderful vigour he threw himself into the conflict, mounted the public platform, and spoke with an eloquence that took his hearers by storm. They heard him with admiration, largely mixed with surprise, as no one had hitherto suspected the orator and the poet in the able explorer, the shrewd statesman, diplomatist, and soldier. The fight was vehement on both sides. The Centralists were led by Major Harry Atkinson, who had won a high place in public esteem as an officer of bush fighters in the many wars with rebel Maoris, and who had greatly distinguished himself on several occasions at Taranaki. He leapt at once to the command of his party. Under his leadership the Provincialists were beaten, the Crown lands passed under the control of the Central Government, and the functions of the Provincial Councils were handed over to Local Boards and organisations.

Julius Vogel left the Colony in 1876, and in the month of October, in the year following, Sir George Grey succeeded in ousting an administration led by Major Harry Atkinson, which had earned for itself the title of "Continuous." The new Premier formed a Ministry mainly composed of young men of great ability; and appealed for the first time to the democracy of the Colony from a platform deliberately advanced and, for the period, essentially socialistic. At this time, and on every available opportunity afterwards, he advocated triennial Parliaments, the principle of one man one vote, a direct land tax, and a land policy based upon Crown leases rather than upon Crown sales, and having especial regard to the restriction of the area that any one man might require. He was, indeed, the direct forerunner of John Ballance; but though he won office on the strength of his policy, he could not carry it into law. Among his colleagues was John Sheehan, Minister of Justice and for Native Affairs, the first of native-born whites elected a representative of the people to the Parliament of New Zealand. Sir George Grey's Ministry was not of long duration, nor was it especially brilliant. It ended its career, at the early age of two years, in 1879, its chief being deposed from the leadership of his party by his own followers. One of the causes of the collapse of the Grey Ministry was a financial depression which visited the Colony at about this time. Prices fell all round, especially of wool and wheat; and the output of gold failed to keep up to the average of former years. There had, too, been a mad rush for land investments; much money had been borrowed to acquire estate, and to establish speculative businesses; and there was now a

strong reaction in prices. The increasing financial tension brought to the ground many a business house of apparent commercial solidity, and it was not before 1894 that things took a genuine turn for the better. It is noteworthy of Sir George Grey's democratic programme that, though he himself failed to carry any one of his favoured propositions into law, he had the satisfaction of seeing them all placed upon the Statute Book (some by his friends, some by his opponents) save one,—the election, by the people, of the Governor of the Colony.

A feature of New Zealand politics was the long existence enjoyed by what has been termed the "Continuous Ministry." It came into office about the year 1869, and may be said to have ceased in the month of January, 1891. Out of a period of twenty-one and a half years it held office for some sixteen or seventeen. Sir Edward Stafford turned it out, but for a month only, in 1872; Sir George Grey for two years, 1877-9; Sir Robert Stout for three years, 1884-7. The "Continuous Ministry" represented a shifting series of combinations of politicians by which the Cabinet was modified, every now and again, without ever being intrinsically changed. It came into being under Sir William Fox, with provincial and mildly democratic sympathies. It quarrelled with the provinces, and killed them; and then it became conservative—of the New Zealand type of conservatism. Its leaders were Fox, Vogel, and McLean—1869-72; Fox left it in 1872; Major Atkinson joined it in 1874; Vogel left it in 1876; McLean died in 1877; put out of office by Sir George Grey, it was once more led, for a short time, by Sir William Fox; it came back to power in 1879 as a Hall-Atkinson-Whitaker combination; Hall retired in 1881, but Atkinson and Whitaker continued to direct it to the end. There is another thing to be noticed in connection with the Parliament of New Zealand. For about three decades the Maoris have sent four members of their own race to the House. When speaking they ordinarily use an interpreter; despite which, when discussing affairs concerning their own country-men, they often display great fluency and become really eloquent.

In the year 1864 the Government had confiscated more land than the settlers could then utilise, and a portion of the alienated territory remained unoccupied. In the province of Taranaki, the unoccupied land fell into the possession of its original Maori owners, who built houses, cultivated farms, and exercised all the other rights of ownership thereon. A promise had also been given to the natives of Taranaki that the Government would give them a certain sum per acre as a solatium for the confiscation of their lands. Time passed on, the occupiers remaining undisturbed, and actual ownership and exclusive possession were at times somewhat offensively asserted. Moreover, religious fanaticism gave cohesion to the Maoris who occupied the confiscated lands and caused them to gain adherents from many places until a large settlement became established in the Ngatiruanui country, at a place called Parihaka, under the leadership of a Maori prophet or soothsayer named Te Whiti. For some time it appeared as if the

disposal of the disputed lands would result in another outbreak of war, but the decisive action of Mr. Bryce, Minister for Native Affairs, averted such a contingency. At the head of a force of armed constabulary, Mr. Bryce proceeded to Parihaka, where Te Whiti and Tohu allowed themselves to be quietly arrested. They were detained in custody until March, 1883, when they were taken back and placed on the reserves measured out for Maori occupation. Since then the natives have either become reconciled to dominance by the whites, or lack the power and desire to organise further resistance. At the time of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi the Maoris may have numbered 70,000; at the census of 1858 the returns gave 56,049; at that of 1886 (including half-castes) 41,627; while at the census of 1891 the number was returned as 41,993.

During the period occupied by the foregoing political and social events, the colony had several times changed her government. The Marquis of Normanby surrendered the reins of office on the 21st February, 1879. The government was then administered by Chief Justice James Prendergast, till the arrival of Sir Hercules G. R. Robinson, who ruled the colony from the 27th March, 1879, till the 8th September, 1880. During his régime, in the year 1876, Rewi, the hero of Orakau, visited Auckland for the first time in twenty years, and was lionised by the citizens. He returned to the Waikato in company with the Governor, Sir Hercules Robinson, deeply impressed by the marvels wrought by the all-subduing "pakeha." On the retirement of Sir Hercules Robinson, on the 8th September, 1880, Chief Justice Prendergast again administered the Government. He was relieved of his post by the Hon. Sir Arthur H. Gordon, who was Governor of the colony from the 29th November, 1880, to the 23rd June, 1882; when Chief Justice Prendergast, for a third time, administered the Government till the coming of Lieutenant-General Sir William F. D. Jervois, on the 20th January, 1883. It was during Sir Arthur Gordon's Governorship, early in the year 1882, that Tawhiao, the "King of the Maoris," came forth from his long seclusion and visited Auckland, where all sorts of honours were lavished upon him. He subsequently visited England, and then returned to his home on the Waikato, where he lived quietly for several years. At the beginning of 1888, Tawhiao held a meeting at Maungakawa, at the invitation of the Ngatihaua tribe, when the following lines of policy were affirmed: "That the Maoris and pakehas shall be as one people; obey the laws of the Queen, and respect them in every way as loyal subjects; and, that every native acting contrary to the Queen's laws shall undergo the same punishment as the 'pakeha'; that all natives avoid intoxication and other abuses; that no objection be offered to the Lands Court selling, or otherwise, so long as it is done legally." With this declaration the long dispute between the two races, which lasted from the very beginning of colonisation, may be said to have come to a conclusion.

Legislatively New Zealand has been a country of experiments. As far back as the year 1869 an Act was passed enabling the Government to grant life assurances and annuities on the security of the Colonial revenue ; and the Government Insurance Department is now a prominent institution of the State. In 1873 a Public Trust Office was founded, by which it was sought to insure the faithful discharge of trusts, to relieve individuals from the responsibilities of trusteeship, and to substitute a permanent officer of the Civil Service in place of guardians. Notwithstanding the lavishness of its public works policy, the Government of the colony always manifested a reluctance to divert any of its revenues from the ordinary channels of public expenditure to any costly schemes of coastal defence. New Zealand was more backward in this respect than any of her sister Australian colonies. It is, perhaps, largely due to the exertions of one of the Colony's Governors, Sir William F. D. Jervois, that much was done to remedy this condition of things. Soon after his arrival in the colony, in January, 1883, His Excellency made a tour of inspection of the coastal defences, with a view to the elaboration of a homogeneous scheme. He subsequently, by lectures and by personal influence aroused public attention to the risk which the colony would run in the event of a European war, and under his direction the chief ports have been strongly fortified and furnished with effective battery and torpedo defences. As a direct result of the native wars, there is, and has always been, a large military element in the population ; and New Zealand is now one of the best equipped of the Australasian colonies, either for putting down an insurrection that might arise within its own borders, or for repelling an attack from a foreign enemy.

The period marked by the Governorship of Sir William F. D. Jervois was probably the worst, in a financial sense, that the Colony had hitherto seen. Prices of staple produce continued to fall year after year. Those who had purchased landed estate with borrowed money for a speculative rise, one after another failed ; next came the turn of their mortgagees, and then that of the minor financial companies, whose speculative holdings were unsaleable, and whose funds were exhausted. All this disaster was placed on the shoulders of the Vogel policy of public works and internal expansion ; but it was really due to several other causes. The truth is, that it was the private indebtedness of individuals at a time of slump after a period of inflation of values, together with an appalling fall in the price of raw products, rather than the spending of borrowed money on reproductive works, that plunged the Colony so long and so deeply in the mire of financial difficulties.

Political life during this period became chiefly the history of a series of expedients for keeping the Treasury from absolute depletion, and carrying on the settlement of the land. The industrial outlook in New Zealand was probably never worse than in the years 1885 and 1886. The policy of retrenchment had been tried before with some results of partial salvation. It was tried again. The salaries of the Governor

and the Ministers were diminished, as also were the size and the pay of the House of Representatives; the Customs duties were raised, and the taxes on property were increased. The result of these exertions to restore financial balance was a measure of strained but solvent success, and is creditable to the Hall, Atkinson, and Whitaker Ministry, which was called upon to meet the emergency.

While the provinces had their own Governments, they had also their own Land Laws. With these the General Assembly of the colony had little to do. With the abolition of the provinces, the management of the public lands came into the domain of the central parliament, and some fifty-four divergent statutes and ordinances had to be repealed. Uniformity could not, of course, be at once secured, as land was under occupation under nine different systems, as representing the methods of dealing with the public estate by nine different Provincial Councils. Gradually these various regulations were brought together in a coherent whole; but it was not before the year 1892 that one Land Act contained the law on the subject, and could be made equally applicable to the whole of New Zealand. According to the Statute Books of 1877 to 1887, the land was the thing of first importance engaging the attention of New Zealand politicians. It was the one central question, complicated with the claims of native ownership thereto, first-comer settler's ownership, colonising companies' ownership, and Government and provincial ownership—ownership by fraud, by conquest, by purchase, and by confiscation.

One of Sir George Grey's favourite projects was the re-purchase by the State of private lands, with or without the owner's consent. Sir George Grey did not remain in public life long enough to see it become law; and keen has been the fighting over this principle. But Mr John McKenzie, one of the most masterful and resolute of the Ministers of Lands put in power by the Liberal Party, carried it into law, and administered it with a strenuous ability, which constitutes an effective example to succeeding holders of his portfolio. Under this law £700,000 has been spent in buying forty-nine estates, or portions of estates, for closer settlement. The area bought was 187,000 acres. Some of the purchases have not yet been assigned to occupation. On the rest, 2,300 persons have been settled, paying a rental which represents 5·2 per cent. on the cost of the land to the Government; while 700 new houses have been built, and some £100,000 expended in improvements.

In 1886 the Hon. John Ballance held the portfolio of Minister of Lands. The period was one of intense financial depression, and hundreds of unemployed artisans and labourers wandered about the country, in a state bordering on famine, looking for work. Then it was that this most radical of all New Zealand's statesmen made a courageous attempt to solve the unemployed difficulty by placing the workless upon the soil, and making of them producers. Blocks of Crown land were taken up in various parts of the colony. These were divided into allotments of from 20 to 30 acres, and let to the village settlers on perpetual lease at

a rental equal to 5 per cent. on the prairie value of the lands. Some of these experimental farms collapsed, others succeeded. According to latest reports, the village settlers and their families occupy about 35,000 acres, in allotments of an average size of about 24 acres. About £27,000 has been advanced them by the Government, of which sum they have returned some £3,000. The Government has, however, been paid £27,000 in rent and interest, and the improvements made by the settlers on their allotments are valued at about £110,000.

Sir William F. D. Jervois' term of office ended on March 22nd, 1889, and the Chief Justice, Sir James Prendergast, was thereupon called to the post of Administrator till the 2nd May of the same year, when the Earl of Onslow arrived to take up the reins of Government. It was during the last-named gentleman's term of office that the disruption of the "Continuous Ministry" (representing the Conservatives) was accomplished, partly by radical persistence in attack, and partly by internal disaffection. Sir Frederick Whitaker was fast sinking under advancing years, Sir John Hall was too ill to take office; and then fell the greatest blow of all—Sir Harry Atkinson the fighting leader died suddenly in harness in the Legislative Council in 1892.

The Earl of Onslow resigned his office on the 24th February, 1892, and the post of Administrator of the Colony, was again discharged by Chief Justice Prendergast until the arrival of the Earl of Glasgow, who assumed the duties of Governor on the 7th June, 1892. During the year 1893, the Liberal Party became disrupted on the liquor question, the opposing factions ranging themselves under the respective leaderships of Mr. Seddon and Sir Robert Stout. A duel between these gentlemen then ensued, but was ended by the retirement from public life of Sir Robert Stout in 1898. The liquor question, indeed, had the effect of strangely complicating political matters in New Zealand—and is, moreover, doing so at the present time. In 1893, the prohibitionist party, led by Sir Robert Stout, and organised outside the House by two clergymen named Isitt and Walker, thought the time opportune to press their demands to the uttermost. John Ballance, the Premier was just dead, and his party, on the eve of a general election, was supposed to be moribund. The Ministry tried a measure of progressive legislation, and sacrificed all their enactments—land, labour, and other wise—excepting the Female Franchise Bill, to the exigencies of the situation, and passed a Local Option Bill. This hasty measure was of a purely tentative character, and had to be expanded and amended in 1895 and 1896. It is admitted that, as it now stands, though it may not give the most ardent of the prohibitionists satisfaction, it nevertheless embraces a complete and elaborate system of local option. Publicans' licenses fall in with the death of the triennial parliaments of the colony; and the licensing poll takes place on the same day as the general elections, at which every male and female over the age of 21 may vote. The licensing districts occupy the same areas as the electoral districts, and the poll decides, by a majority of votes in

each district, to retain all existing licenses, to reduce their number, or to abolish them altogether; but in order to carry the article of total abolition of licenses in any electoral and licensing district, a majority of three to two is necessary. The Act does not provide for compensation. Two local option polls have been held under the measure, the first resulting in the closing of about seventy houses, and in totally prohibiting the retail of liquor in the Clutha district. The second general licensing poll was held in December, 1896, when, for the first time, it was taken on the same day as the parliamentary elections, and, as a consequence, the prohibitionist vote was nearly doubled. The result, however, was unexpected. The prohibitionists were everywhere defeated, except in the Clutha district, by the moderate party.

During the Earl of Onslow's administration, about the year 1890, the organised Labour Party made an assault on the political citadel and practically carried it by storm. New Zealand had passed through the old days of pioneering, whaling, sealing, alluvial gold-digging, native warfare, and mammoth pastoral enterprise, when acres were many and men were few. A new civilisation had grown up, fashioned on old-world lines, and ripe with a heavy harvest of old-world troubles. The colony had entered upon a commercial and industrial period, with an ever-present labour trouble, unorganised at first, and inarticulate, but rapidly organising and learning the alphabet of its power. When the organisation was complete, the Labour movement found its voice, and sought to make it heard in the councils of the State. The gold was gone, and the lands were all occupied, and the pressure of new conditions forced into prominence the new factor in politics. Somewhere about this time occurred two great strikes—one in England, thousands of miles distant; the other in Australia, in the very heart of the Newer World. One was the London dockers' strike; the other the great maritime strike of 1890. Smarting under the rebuff that it met with in Australia all along the line, the baffled cause of labour sought redress for its wrongs in Parliament. In none of the Australasian Colonies was the new movement so vehement as in New Zealand. The way, however, had been prepared. The voice of Grey had long been lifted in advocacy of measures deemed by opponents as ultra-democratic. The new Labour movement entered politics, and fell into line with the existing Liberal Party, and the coalition was strong enough to indulge in legislation denounced by conservatism as the wildest experimentalising. The State was a landlord already, a great owner of property, a large employer of labour. The new legislation embraced eagerly the theory of practically-applied socialism, and extended the functions of the State.

It is said that the Opposition of 1889-90, though containing some conservative elements, was on the whole radical, and had always supported Sir George Grey in his efforts to widen the franchise—efforts which, in 1889, were finally successful in obtaining the one-man-one-vote principle of Parliamentary election. In the year 1889 John

Ballance was the head of the Opposition in Parliament. This man, who may fairly lay claim to the title of statesman, was by profession a journalist ; but he had sprung from the people, and knew their needs and their weaknesses, their strength, and their ways of life and methods of thought. On the 24th January, 1891, John Ballance took office as Premier, though the elections (which in New Zealand take place on one day) had already pronounced their verdict on the 5th December of the preceding year.

The legislation initiated by Ballance, and continued by the Seddon Ministries (in reality they are but one Administration), during the past eight years or so, may be divided into enactments relating to Finance, to Constitutional Reform, and to Labour. The principal source of direct taxation was the Property Tax. It consisted of a penny in the £ on the capital value of every citizen's possessions, less his debts and exemption of £500 ; and was a rough-and-ready method of raising revenue. It was, however, inequitable, as it taxed stock that was frequently unmarketable—an exaction that fell upon values—while incomes, as such, were untouched. Moreover, years of high returns and loss were treated alike. The tax did not discriminate between good seasons and bad, and Ballance determined to introduce a more equitable system of revenue-raising.

The Property Tax was abolished, and its place taken by a progressive Land Tax and a progressive Income Tax. These passed both Houses after a bitter conflict ; and a light Absentee Tax also became law. Land is not encumbered with an Income Tax, and holders of less than £500 worth of bare land value pay no Land Tax. On all land above that value 1d. in the £ is paid, less amount of mortgage, the tax in respect of which is paid by the advancer of the loan. An additional graduated tax begins on holdings worth £5,000—at that stage it is $\frac{1}{3}$ d. The tax rises by progressive steps till, on estates assessed at £210,000, it is 2d. in the £. Thus, under the graduated and simple Land Tax together, the holders of the largest areas pay 3d. in the £ ; while the small farmer, whose holding is worth less than £500, pays nothing. The graduated tax brings in about £80,000 per annum ; the 1d. in the £ Land Tax about £200,000 ; and the Income Tax about £70,000. The earners of incomes less than £300 per annum pay nothing. Between £300 and £1,300 the tax is 6d. all round ; over the latter sum it rises to a shilling. Joint Stock Companies pay a shilling on all income. Another law authorises local governing bodies to levy their rates on bare land values. The Bill passed the House of Representatives three times, and was three times rejected by the Legislative Council. It became law in 1896. The adoption of the principle permitted by it is hedged about by various restrictions, but some fourteen local bodies have voted in its favour. A Bill that found much favour with the local small farmer is the Advances to Settlers Act of 1894. Under it a State Board may lend Government money on leasehold and freehold security, but not on urban or suburban lands, unless occupied for

farming or market gardening. The loan may amount to three-fifths of the value of the security when freehold, and one-half when leasehold. The rate of interest charged is 5 per cent., but the borrower pays at the rate of 6 per cent., in half-yearly instalments, the extra 1 per cent. being by way of gradual repayment of the principal. Mortgagees must in this manner repay the principal in seventy-three half-yearly instalments; if able to pay sooner they can do so. About a million of money has been lent under the Act.

The Legislative Council of New Zealand is nominated, not elective, and there is no fixed limit to the number of members. Prior to 1891 the nominations were for life. At that time, however, the period of tenure of a seat in the Upper Chamber was reduced to seven years. It was found, also, that the Liberal Party was almost altogether unrepresented in the Council; so, in 1892, Ballance requested the Governor, the Earl of Onslow, to call twelve fresh councillors. His Excellency demurred at the number. There was then about to be a change of Governors, and the matter remained in abeyance. On the 7th June, 1892, the Earl of Glasgow assumed the governorship; but he proved as obdurate with regard to the fresh appointments as did his predecessor. Ballance insisted that it was the Governor's duty to accept the advice of his responsible ministers in this as well as in other affairs. His Excellency did not think so. The matter was then, by mutual consent, referred to the Colonial Office, and Lord Ripon decided in favour of the Premier. Twelve new councillors were accordingly nominated. The submission of this question to the arbitration of Downing-street was attacked by the Conservatives. It was attacked also by Sir George Grey, the democrat; but it was highly approved of by the House of Representatives, and by the people generally.

A measure that Ballance had much at heart was the carrying into law of the principle of one man one vote. He did not live to see it passed. During his lifetime his Electoral Bill was thrown out twice by the Council, and went through only some months after his death. Under this Act, one man has not only one vote, but only one registration; he cannot have his name upon more than one roll. The right to vote by letter was conferred upon shearers, as it had been previously conferred upon seamen; and the franchise was extended to women. This article of the Electoral Bill passed by the narrowest majority on the eve of the general elections. There was a rush of women to be put on the rolls—and then the unexpected happened: they did not vote solidly on a conservative ticket; their vote, on the contrary, buttressed the position of the Liberal Party in power.

The Labour Laws of New Zealand are twenty-six in number, and comprise Acts, amended Acts, and portions of Acts. Some twenty of these laws have been passed during the last seven years. One of these, the Employers' Liability Act, worked in conjunction with a law for the inspection of machinery and a thorough-going system of factory inspection, has lessened accidents without leading to litigation. A

Truck Act declares the right of every wage-earner to be paid promptly, in full, in current coin, and to have an individual choice in the expenditure of wages. Two more enactments deal with the earnings of the workmen of contractors and sub-contractors, make them a first charge on all contract money, give workers employed on works of construction a lien thereon, and compel a contractor's employer to hold back at least one-fourth of the contract money for a month after the completion of a contract, unless he shall be satisfied that all workmen employed have been paid in full. A Wage Attachment Act limits, without entirely abolishing, a creditor's right to obtain orders of court attaching forthcoming earnings. The Factories Act of 1894, slightly extended by an amending Act in 1896, consolidates and improves upon no less than four previous measures, two of which have been passed by the Ballance Government. Under this Act all workshops, where two or more persons are occupied, are declared to be factories, must register, pay an annual fee, and submit to inspection at any hour of the night or day; a master and servant working together count as two hands, and inspectors have absolute power to demand such cubic space, ventilation and sanitary arrangements generally as they may consider needful to preserve life and health. The factory age is 14; there are no half-timers. In New Zealand, primary education is not only free, but compulsory: any child under 15, therefore, must undergo an education test before being allowed to go to factory work. Children under 16 years must be certified by an inspector to be physically fitted for factory work. Women and children under 18, may not work before 7.15 a.m., or after 6 p.m., nor more than forty-eight hours per week. All factory workers (time or piece) are entitled to the half-holiday, after 1 p.m. on Saturday—in the case of time workers, without deduction from wages. The rates of pay and hours of labour have to be publicly notified and returned to inspectors. Overtime may be permitted by inspectors on twenty-eight days a year, but overtime pay must not be less than 6d. per hour extra. Even the huts in which the nomadic shearer lives while working on a sheep station are placed under the operation of this Act.

The Labour legislation of the Ballance Ministry dealt with the abolition of the disabilities of trades unionists, the supervision of servants' registry offices, the incorporation of Trades Unions, the creation of Boards of Conciliation and a Central Court of Arbitration, the passing of a Shipping and Seamen's Act, and so on, all framed in the widest spirit of democracy.

The Earl of Glasgow left the Colony on the 6th February, 1897, and Chief Justice Sir James Prendergast administered affairs from that date until the arrival of the Earl of Ranfurly. During the Record Reign rejoicings, the Premier, the Hon. Richard Seddon, and some of the New Zealand troops were present in London, with other Australasian Premiers and troops, and took part in the festivities. One of the Universities made Mr. Seddon a Doctor of Laws, and Her Majesty made him a Privy

Councillor. Sir George Grey, who for a great portion of his career had been so intimately connected with the Colony's affairs, died in England in 1898, the news of his death causing a feeling of profound sorrow throughout New Zealand. In the same year also occurred the death of Bishop Selwyn, of Melanesia. On the 1st November, 1898, another addition to New Zealand's democratic legislation became law, in the form of an Old Age Pensions Act. Up to the 31st March, 1899, the total number of pensions granted under the Act was 7,487, representing a yearly payment of £128,082, the average pension being about £17 2s. Early in 1899 the Colony lost another of its foremost politicians in the person of Sir Julius Vogel, who died on the 13th March of that year.

In the following table will be found a list of the successive Ministries which have held office in New Zealand from the inauguration of Responsible Government up to the date of publication of this volume:—

No. of Ministry.	Name.	Date of Appointment.	Date of Retirement.	Duration.	
				Months.	Days.
1	Bell-Sewell	7 May, 1856	20 May, 1856	0	13
2	Fox	20 May, 1856	2 June, 1856	0	13
3	Stafford	2 June, 1856	12 July, 1861	60	10
4	Fox	12 July, 1861	6 Aug., 1862	12	25
5	Domett	6 Aug., 1862	30 Oct., 1863	14	24
6	Whitaker-Fox	30 Oct., 1863	24 Nov., 1864	12	25
7	Weld	24 Nov., 1864	16 Oct., 1865	10	22
8	Stafford	16 Oct., 1865	28 June, 1869	44	12
9	Fox	28 June, 1869	10 Sept., 1872	38	13
10	Stafford	10 Sept., 1872	11 Oct., 1872	1	1
11	Waterhouse ..	11 Oct., 1872	3 Mar., 1873	4	21
12	Fox	3 Mar., 1873	8 April, 1873	1	5
13	Vogel	8 April, 1873	6 July, 1875	26	28
14	Pollen	6 July, 1875	15 Feb., 1876	7	9
15	Vogel	15 Feb., 1876	1 Sept., 1876	6	16
16	Atkinson	1 Sept., 1876	13 Sept., 1876	0	12
17	Atkinson	13 Sept., 1876	15 Oct., 1877	13	2
18	Grey ..	15 Oct., 1877	8 Oct., 1879	23	23
19	Hall	8 Oct., 1879	21 April, 1882	30	13
20	Whitaker	21 April, 1882	25 Sept., 1883	17	4
21	Atkinson ..	25 Sept., 1883	16 Aug., 1884	10	22
22	Stout-Vogel	16 Aug., 1884	28 Aug., 1884	0	12
23	Atkinson	28 Aug., 1884	3 Sept., 1884	0	6
24	Stout-Vogel	3 Sept., 1884	8 Oct., 1887	37	5
25	Atkinson	8 Oct., 1887	24 Jan., 1891	39	16
26	Ballance.....	24 Jan., 1891	1 May, 1893	27	7
27	Seddon	1 May, 1893