

A HISTORY OF NEW ZEALAND

SHRIMPTON
& MULGAN

Revised and Enlarged

Shrimpton, A. W.
A history of New
Zealand

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE EDITION

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A HISTORY OF NEW ZEALAND

BY

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AND

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and "The English of the Line."*

Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged



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BY
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PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

This book was planned to supply the long-standing demand for a short, popular, and reasonably up-to-date history of New Zealand. It is intended to be at once a narrative of outstanding events and movements, and a work of reference suitable for the requirements of the average man. It is hoped that it will serve as an introduction to the history of the Dominion, and stimulate readers to make a deeper study. For this purpose a brief bibliography has been appended.

In the first edition the accession of the Massey Ministry in 1912 was chosen as the point of ending, partly because the authors felt the difficulty of dealing fairly with events nearer to the time of writing. They considered, however, that a reference to the Great War would be looked for, so a short chapter on the greatest of New Zealand's experiences was supplied. In this present edition a chapter has been added dealing with events between 1912 and 1922, including the War. In dealing with events so recent, the authors are aware of the same difficulty, and the course of post-War history has been sketched very briefly.

This history has been jointly planned and revised. The actual work of writing was divided into two parts, Mr. Shrimpton being responsible for the period up to 1853, and Mr. Mulgan for the period from 1853 to 1922.

Grateful acknowledgment of indebtedness is made to the authorities consulted, and to those gentlemen whose assistance in revising the proof-sheets has been generously given: To Dr. James Hight; to Mr. T. Lindsay Buick for the period up to 1853; to Mr. S. Percy Smith for the chapter on the Aborigines; to Mr. Paul Kavanagh for facts relating to Baron de Thierry and to the Roman Catholic Mission; to Mr. James Cowan, for the chapters on the Maori Wars; and to Dr. T. W. Leys, and Mr. C. E. Wheeler, for the more recent period.

CONTENTS

PART I. OLD NEW ZEALAND (1642-1840)

CHAPTER	PAGE
I Discovery	7
II The Aborigines	19
III The First Immigrants	27
IV The Missionaries	32
V Tomahawk and Musket in the Brave Days of Old...	39
VI First Attempts at Systematic Settlement ...	47
VII Early Coastal Tragedies	54
VIII Origin and Growth of British Influence ...	59
IX The Eve of Systematic Colonization	68

PART II. THE CROWN COLONY PERIOD (1840-1853)

I General Survey	83
II Treaty of Waitangi and Establishment of British Sovereignty	86
III Constitutional and Legal	93
IV Land Laws and Land Claims	105
V Early Settlements of the New Zealand Company ...	119
VI Conflicts with the Maoris	127
VII The Foundation of the Southern Settlements ...	140
VIII Public Finance	150
IX The Establishment of the Church of England ...	154
X The End of the Company	158
XI The Work of the Early Governors	163

PART III. THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT PERIOD. (1853-1875)

I Responsible Government	170
II The Drift into War	199
III The Taranaki War	212
IV The Waikato and Later Campaigns	226
V Public Works and Immigration	266
VI Abolition of the Provinces	288

PART IV. THE PERIOD OF GENERAL GOVERNMENT. (From 1876 onward)

I The Continuous Ministry and the Bad Times ...	297
II Liberalism and Good Times	324
III The Last Years of Liberalism	361
IV The Massey Government: and the War	376
Men of Mark in New Zealand—Biograph al Notes	389
Bibliography	407
Governors of New Zealand	410
Executive Council, 1841-1856	411
Parliaments of New Zealand	412
Successive Ministries	413
Chronology of Events in New Zealand History ...	414
Index	434

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

Parliament House, Wellington	....	....	<i>Frontispiece</i>
			Facing page
Sir George Grey	....	....	16
Captain James Cook	....	....	17
Edward Gibbon Wakefield	....	....	32
Signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, 1840	....	....	33
Early Governors of New Zealand (1)	....	....	48
Bishop Selwyn	....	....	49
Te Aro Flat, Wellington, 1843	....	....	64
Wellington in 1930	....	....	65
Auckland from Hobson Street in 1852	....	....	80
Auckland in 1930	....	....	81
The Canterbury Provincial Council Chambers	....	....	96
Wiremu Tamihana, the so-called King-Maker	....	....	97
Founders and Superintendents of Provinces	....	....	112
First Parliament House, Auckland	....	....	113
The Second Maori King (Tawhiao) and his descendants	....	....	lineal 144
Governors of New Zealand (2)	....	....	145
The Lowest Rung: A Bush Shanty	....	....	160
The Topmost Rung: A Squatter's Homestead	....	....	161
Dunedin in 1863	....	....	176
Governors of New Zealand (3)	....	....	177
Governors of New Zealand (4)	....	....	192
Notable New Zealand Premiers (1)	....	....	193
Map of Maori Wars	....	....	211
Notable New Zealand Premiers (2)	....	....	224
The Seddon Administration	....	....	225
Kawau, the Home of Sir George Grey	....	....	240
Kauri Forest	....	....	241
Dunedin High School	....	....	272
Massey Memorial, Point Halswell, Wellington	....	....	273
Mosgiel Woollen Mills	....	....	288
<i>Pataka</i> , or Maori Food Store	....	....	289
Colonial Office	....	....	320
An Exhibit of Lamb Carcases	....	....	321
A New Zealand Forest Scene	....	....	336
A Maori Carver at Work	....	....	337
Site of Waimangu Geyser, now extinct or dormant	....	....	352
Maori <i>Wharepuni</i> or Meeting House	....	....	353
Queenstown and the Remarkables	....	....	368
Sutherland Falls, near Milford Sound	....	....	369

A History of New Zealand

PART I.

OLD NEW ZEALAND

(By A. W. SHRIMPTON)

CHAPTER I.—DISCOVERY.



NO claims to the discovery of New Zealand prior to Tasman's visit in 1642 have been substantiated by reliable testimony or authentic record. The first indubitable evidence we have of the discovery is that contained in the journal of Abel Janszoon Tasman, a distinguished Dutch navigator, who first sighted its western shores on December 13th, 1642. At this date the Great Civil War was monopolising the attention of Englishmen, so that the Dutch met little opposition* from them in their efforts to rise on the ruins of the Spanish and Portuguese colonial empires to a position of commercial and maritime supremacy. By the second quarter of the seventeenth century the forceful Hollanders had outstripped all trade rivals in the Far East. Batavia, their chief station in the East Indies, was an exceedingly valuable trading post, and every opportunity was sought for extending trade with neighbouring lands. Though their voyages to the desolate northern and western shores of the Great South Land (Australia) near by had brought them

*Holland's trade rivalry with Britain, however, inspired much of her activity in discovery at this time.

nothing but disappointment, their thirst for discovery was far from quenched. Accordingly in the spring of 1642 Tasman was despatched by the Governor-General and Council of the Dutch East Indies to continue the discovery of the great southern continent then believed to stretch across the South Pacific from Australia to South America as a counterpoise to the extensive land area of the Northern Hemisphere. The Company also hoped that the expedition might discover a short and convenient trade route to Chili. The conduct of the expedition was entrusted to Tasman and an advisory council of six members, a form of control that was cumbersome in the extreme, and fatal to prompt and decisive action in moments of emergency.

Leaving Batavia on August 14th, with two small vessels, the *Heemskerck* and the *Zeehaen*, Tasman visited Mauritius, whence he set a course to the south and then to the east. On November 24th, he discovered new land, which he named Antony Van Diemen's Land,* in honour of the Governor-General at Batavia. Twelve days later he resumed his journey to the eastward. At length, when seven days' sail from Van Diemen's Land, and four months out from Batavia, about noon of December 13th, he saw "a large, high-lying land" to the south-east. This was probably a fifty-mile stretch of the high land of Westland from the latitude of Hokitika southwards. Following the uninviting coast to the northward, in view of "a very high double land with the mountain tops lost in the clouds," Tasman anchored on the 14th near Cape Foulwind (Rocky Cape), and on the 17th off the extremity of Cape Farewell Sandspit.

As Tasman's claim upon our attention is due solely to the priority of his discovery, the story of his visit

*Officially renamed Tasmania on 1st January, 1856.

may be recounted very briefly. The course he followed may readily be traced in his chart,* and the coast features he named, though nearly all renamed later, may also be noted there. In all, twenty-five days were spent off the north-westerly shores of the new land, nine or ten of them either at anchor or beating about in the large bight to the west of Cook Strait. It was on December 19th, while the ships were at anchor off Waramanga beach, near Separation Point, that four out of seven men comprising the crew of one of his boats, were clubbed by natives. This misadventure and the warlike and hostile bearing of the natives, apparently paralysed the enterprise of the Dutch, and rendered abortive their visit to these shores. Upon the scene of the disaster Tasman bestowed the significant name of Murderers' Bay, which has successively been changed to Massacre and now to Golden Bay.

After riding out a five days' gale at the mouth of the Pelorus stream in Admiralty Bay, the expedition put to sea on December 26th, intending to seek the passage to the south-east which the set of the flood tide convinced the navigators must exist in that direction. An unlucky change of wind to the south-east, however, prevented the prosecution of this design, and compelled the Dutch to pursue their journey to the northward. By how narrow a margin the discovery was missed may be gathered from the fact that the map produced by Visscher, Tasman's pilot-major, in 1642-3, shows a break in the coast where the Strait actually lies.

Passing northward, Tasman named Cape Pieter Booreel (Egmont), which, without actually seeing, he knew must exist, noted a high mountain (Mt. Karioi) which he at first took to be an island, named

*See McNab's "Murihiku" pp. 8-9.

Cape Maria Van Diemen after the Governor's wife, and finally, on Twelfth Night Eve, discovered and appropriately named Three Kings Island* which, after failing to effect a landing, he next day (Epiphany)† made his point of departure. He sailed away to the east and then to the north to complete the prescribed voyage, finally reaching Batavia after an absence of eight months.

The practical results of this expedition, which engaged the attention of two vessels and 110 men for a period of three and a half weeks, and merely charted some hundreds of miles of coast line, were acknowledged by the Dutch authorities to be very slight. Throughout the visit, all attempts to effect a landing so as to replenish their watercasks were unavailing, and every overture to open friendly intercourse with the natives by the exchange of presents for fresh provisions or other products of the country proved equally futile. Perhaps the failure of the expedition as regards New Zealand should not be held to detract from Tasman's personal fame, since his own resolute policy may have been rendered nugatory by the decisions of an irresolute or pusillanimous council. The fact remains, however, that neither then nor afterwards did the Dutch turn to any advantage the fine discovery they had made.

The new land, the second important discovery of the voyage, Tasman named Staten Land (State Land) which, though admittedly uncertain, he hoped might prove to be part of the great polar continent then believed to stretch southwards and eastwards from Tierra del Fuego, and already named Staten Land (in honour of the States-General of the Dutch Republic) by its Dutch discoverers in 1616. As the latter was found by Brouwer early in 1643 to be only

*The name is now Three Kings Islands. † i.e. January 6th.

a small island, Tasman's discovery was renamed Zeelandia Nova (New Zealand), after one of the provinces of Holland, and its name so appeared in a Dutch map at Amsterdam about the year 1665, though the full appropriateness of the title Zeeland (or Sea Land) could not have been realised by anyone at that time.

Within a generation of Tasman's discovery, the star of Holland's maritime greatness was on the wane, and the decline of her sea power precluded further exploration of distant lands. For many years no other nation thought this land worthy of a visit, so that nearly a hundred and twenty-seven years elapsed before New Zealand was again seen by European eyes. This time it was an English expedition under Lieutenant James Cook that, forestalling the French navigator De Surville by a few weeks, lifted the veil of the unknown; and his success was much greater than Tasman's in that he not only made many landings on the coast and prepared a fairly accurate survey of its configuration and adjoining waters, but also opened up a friendly, if necessarily cautious, intercourse with the formidable aborigines of the country, concerning whom and the resources of the land much reliable information was recorded.

Cook's vessel was the barque *Endeavour* of 370 tons, which had been despatched in the summer of 1768 by the British Government, at the request of the Royal Society of London, to take observations at Tahiti* in the South Seas of the transit of Venus, which was known to be due early in June of the following year. The command of the expedition had been conferred by the Admiralty upon Cook, as a practical seaman whose record of active service in merchant vessels and in the British Navy and whose

*Called King George's Land, or Georgeland, by Wallis in 1768, and Otaheite by Cook in 1769.

keen interest and research in astronomy had already won him some distinction. A secondary object of the voyage was to make discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, where it was still thought a great southern continent might be encountered. Cook's instructions were to proceed as far south as Lat. 40° and then, if he found no land, to sail westwards till he fell in with New Zealand, which he was to explore thoroughly. Thence he was to return to England by such route as he should think proper.

The *Endeavour* was victualled for eighteen months and fully armed. Her complement consisted of eighty-five persons, amongst whom may be mentioned Charles Green, astronomer; Joseph (afterwards Sir Joseph) Banks, a student of science and a gentleman of large private fortune; Dr. Solander, a botanist and librarian in the British Museum and a member of Banks's suite; and Lieutenant Hicks. The barque left Deptford on July 21st, 1768, reached Plymouth on August 14th, and finally departed from the latter port on her famous voyage of research and discovery on August 26th.

Cook's route to the South Pacific was *viâ* Madeira, Rio de Janeiro, and Cape Horn, Tahiti being reached on April 13th, 1769. The primary object of the voyage having been successfully attained during a three months' sojourn at this enchanting island, Cook proceeded to carry out the explorations detailed in the instructions already quoted. At the instance of Banks, and in opposition to his own wishes, he acceded to the urgent request of Tupaea, a native priest of rank, to be allowed to accompany the expedition. The chief was received on board with his servant Taieto, a lad of about twelve, prior to the departure of the vessel on July 13th. It is not unlikely that Cook's subsequent success and his superiority to other

explorers in gaining information regarding New Zealand and its inhabitants were largely due to the fortunate circumstance that Tupaea proved to be able to converse freely with the Maoris, who, as we shall see, are an offshoot of the same race as himself.

Cook knew of New Zealand only as a short and irregular line on the map. His approach to it from the east, a century and a quarter after Tasman's departure, makes his first visit rank almost as a distinct discovery. The coast was first sighted on October 7th by a boy on board named Nicholas Young. The point of land seen, a white, cliffy headland forming the southern extremity of the entrance to Poverty Bay, was accordingly named by Cook, Young Nick's Head. In the afternoon of Monday, October 9th, anchor was dropped about two miles from the mouth of a small river—the Turanganui, on which Gisborne now stands. The same evening Captain Cook, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and a party of marines, landed in two boats on the east side of the harbour at a point now called Boat Harbour, and marked by a monument erected in 1906, just 137 years after the event.

The natives here proved hostile in spite of the fact that Tupaea could make himself understood quite well, and Cook's men were compelled to shoot six during their three days' stay in the Bay. Thus the first encounter between Englishmen and Maoris was unfortunately stained with bloodshed. While ashore on the 10th October, Cook hoisted the Union Jack and took possession of the country for King George III.

Leaving Poverty Bay, as he quite excusably misnamed this inlet, Cook coasted south as far as Cape Turnagain, but failing to find a harbour he turned back and retraced his course. As he passed north he examined the coast with all possible care. He

frequently came into contact with natives, some of whom proved very friendly and others equally hostile. Small shot or cannon ball fired over them usually nipped in the bud any violent behaviour, though occasionally no other course was open but to shoot a determined aggressor. Some days (November 4th to 16th) were agreeably spent at Mercury Bay (Cook Bay), where the Maoris were found to be amicably disposed. Before Cook left the Bay, the British flag was hoisted for the second time and possession taken of the country in the name of the King. The date was either the 13th or 14th of November. The same spirit of friendliness was evinced by villagers at the River Thames, as Cook designated the stretch of water now known as Hauraki Gulf, the Firth of Thames, and Waihou River. From here Cook visited the Bay of Islands and Doubtless Bay, forestalling De Surville's visit to the latter haven by only a week. He then continued his way north only to experience incredible difficulty in doubling the north of the Island. After battling with contrary winds for sixteen days, he succeeded in passing outside the Three Kings discovered by Tasman, and began following the route charted by the Dutch navigator. On January 11th, 1770, he discovered Mt. Egmont, which was in sight till the 14th. Next day, when off Wanganui, he sighted the South Island, and made for it, intending to enter Admiralty Bay. On the 16th, the *Endeavour* having been carried to the eastward off Queen Charlotte Sound, Cook entered this haven, and the vessel was towed past Motuara Island to an anchorage at the historic spot now called Ship Cove. After a stern lesson in the shape of a charge of small shot, amicable relations were established with the inhabitants of the neighbourhood.

The expedition remained in the Sound for twenty-two days. The ship was careened and scraped, and the necessary attention given to refitting and provisioning. On the 23rd and 27th of January, Cook climbed a thickly-wooded hill, from which he saw that the northern part of New Zealand was an island. Prior to his departure, Cook repeated the ceremony of taking possession of the country in the name and for the use of the King. Permission having been obtained from the resident chief, this interesting formality was carried out on February 1st, 1770, on Motuara Island, where the flag was hoisted, a post erected, and the Sound named after the Consort of King George. Another post was erected at the watering place at Ship Cove. Some 1,200 acres overlooking the anchorage, to which Cook returned four times during his later voyages, have been created a scenic reserve, and a memorial stone was set up at the watering place in 1912.

On leaving the Sound, Cook passed through the Strait, and to satisfy his officers, sailed north till Cape Turnagain was recognised in the distance. Hauling his wind, he then bore south, noting Lookers On (Kaikoura), Banks Island,* Akaroa Harbour Entrance, Cape Saunders, Saddle Hill, Molyneux Bay, Ruapuke, and The Traps; then sailing round the southern extremity of the land (South Cape) and past Solander Island without discovering Foveaux Strait,† he turned north and followed the western coast till he came to Admiralty Bay. Having now circumnavigated both islands, he decided what was to be his homeward course, and made preparations for departure. He bade farewell to New Zealand on March 31st, 1770, and proceeded to the north-west to

*Discovered to be a peninsula by Captain Chase in 1809 ("Murihiku," p. 161.)

†Discovered by sealing vessels in 1809.

explore the eastern coast of New Holland (Australia), afterwards passing through Torres Strait and touching at Batavia and Cape of Good Hope on his way to England, which he reached on 13th July, 1771.

From the standpoint of New Zealand, Cook's first voyage was by far the most important, though he visited the islands four times subsequently during his two later voyages. In all, Cook paid five visits to these shores, the first of which occupied nearly six months or 175 days, and the others 74 days, 36 days, 22 days, and 13 days respectively. The valuable work of surveying and charting was carried out mainly during the first visit and completed during the second, the primary object of all the later visits being to refit and to obtain refreshment. He was not unmindful, however, of the betterment of the native inhabitants, whom he brought goats, sheep, pigs,* fowls, and various vegetable seeds, but we have no definite knowledge whether any of these evidences of his humanity made a permanent addition to the native dietary.

The following table shows the successive visits in order of time and the duration of each:—

Cook's First Visit—First Voyage (Oct. 7th, 1769—March 31st, 1770).

Cook's Second Visit—Second Voyage (March 25th, 1773—June 7th, 1773).

Cook's Third Visit—Second Voyage (Oct. 21st, 1773—Nov. 26th, 1773).

Cook's Fourth Visit—Second Voyage (Oct. 19th, 1774—Nov. 10th, 1774).

Cook's Fifth Visit—Third Voyage (Feb. 12th, 1777—Feb. 25th, 1777).

Thus there was an interval of three years between his first and second visits, and a lapse of two years and three months between the fourth and last visits,

*Known by the early colonists as "cookies," though McNab asserts that Cook is not to be credited with their introduction into New Zealand. Indeed there is good authority for the assertion that Governor King is responsible.



[By courtesy of Canterbury Museum
Sir George Grey (1812-1898).]



Captain James Cook.

while a period of seven and a half years was covered by the five visits. It was in March and April, 1773, during his second voyage that Cook in the *Resolution* spent several weeks in re-fitting and charting at Dusky Bay. Here he established friendly relations with the few natives found there. On the 17th December in the same year occurred the first British tragedy associated with the early exploration of the new country; for on this date a boat's crew of ten men of Cook's consort the *Adventure*, under Captain Furneaux, was massacred and eaten at Grass Cove, now known as Nott's Bay, opposite Ship Cove in Queen Charlotte Sound.

The visits of Tasman and Cook appeal strongly to the imagination of British New Zealanders, and those of the latter possess not only deep romantic interest but high economic value as having paved the way to future colonization. Cook is pre-eminently the discoverer of New Zealand, and carried out his task of coastal exploration with a thoroughness that left little for his contemporaries or immediate successors to do. His was the lion's share in New Zealand discovery, all other discoverers merely correcting the minor errors or filling in the details of the map he charted. Their work, though individually insignificant, was collectively, however, of too great importance to be entirely ignored in any comprehensive historical account.

There were two French seamen whose visits occurred in 1769 and 1772 respectively. The first was M. De Surville, whose arrival, as we have seen, Cook just forestalled, and the other was the ill-fated Marion du Fresne, who had with him Crozet as his second in command. In December, 1769, De Surville, who was in charge of a private commercial expedition, sighted the north-west of New Zealand near Hoki-

anga, and coasting northward in Tasman's track doubled North Cape and finally anchored his vessel, the *Saint Jean Baptiste*, at Mangonui in Doubtless Bay, which he named Lauriston. Prior to his departure on New Year's Day, after being hospitably treated, this navigator followed his usual practice and kidnapped a native, the chief Naguinodi (or Naginouï), who died on board in a few weeks from grief and privation.

The sequel, as French authorities assert, to this incident, which occurred three years later, is worthy of record. Marion du Fresne, another notable French sailor, left Mauritius (then Isle de France) in October, 1771, with two vessels, the *Mascarin* and the *Marquis de Castries*. A month's idyllic life at the Bay of Islands (named Port Marion) terminated in a tragedy to which various causes have been attributed; for Marion and sixteen of his men, having been enticed into the bush, were tomahawked, cooked, and eaten. For this crime, Crozet, who then assumed command, exacted a terrible vengeance with fire and sword.

Another Frenchman of note, Captain J. S. C. Dumont D'Urville, paid three visits to New Zealand, first as lieutenant in the *La Coquille* in 1824 under Duperrey, then as commander of the *L'Astrolabe* (the same vessel renamed) for three months in 1826-1827, and finally in charge of the corvettes *L'Astrolabe* and *La Zélée* in 1837-1840. In April, 1840, four days were spent in Port Otago, and D'Urville gives an account of the whaling settlement, and comments on the wretched condition of the natives and their chief Taiaroa. He visited Akaroa and reported on its suitability as the site of a projected French settlement. The Bay of Islands was entered on April 26th, 1840, where a week's stay was made during the period of

excitement that followed upon the arrival of Captain Hobson. D'Urville's journal gives accounts of Kororareka, of his interview with Baron de Thierry, of the missionaries and whalers, as well as of the opposition he found to the new colonization.

CHAPTER II.—THE ABORIGINES.

The journals of Tasman and Cook, as well as those of the navigators who succeeded them, devote considerable space to the description of the native New Zealanders. From his longer sojourn among different tribes, his more intimate relations with them, and his possession of an educated interpreter, Cook was enabled to record impressions with greater wealth of detail. Subsequent research has corroborated the truth of the information supplied by the early navigators. It is not definitely known when the name Maori was first applied to the aborigines. In their tongue the word means "native" or "indigenous," and McNab asserts that it was not used up to 1818. Captain Cook always called them Indians.

Tasman described the natives as of the stature of Dutchmen, strong-boned, and having a rough voice. Their complexion was between brown and yellow, their hair black and tied up on the crown of the head in the manner of the Japanese, with a large white feather worn upright in it. They had double canoes* consisting of two long canoes fastened together and covered by a decking of boards. The paddles used were over six feet long and were pointed at the end. Their clothing appeared to be of mats or cotton, though the upper portion of the body was bare. The weapons seen were a long staff or blunt-pointed pike

*The Maoris' single canoes were of later date.

and a short thick club. The Dutchman gave no hint that the natives were thought to be cannibals.

This description corresponds very closely with that given by Cook of the first native unfortunately shot by his men at Poverty Bay, except that the latter wore no feather, his mat was of a fine cloth of an unknown manufacture, and one side of his face was tattooed with spirals of regular figure.

There must always be an element of uncertainty with regard to the origin of a race which has no written language. Failing such authentic records of the events of the past, ethnologists rely upon such evidence as is afforded by physical characteristics, language, customs, and, above all, the current legends and traditions to which primitive peoples cling with remarkable tenacity. A close study of the races of south-eastern Asia discloses the strong probability that Maoris are a mixed race, mainly Polynesian but partly Melanesian. The former race, characterised by tall figures, a brown complexion, and wavy hair, is descended from Aryan or Caucasians of northern India, whence it migrated nearly three thousand years ago to Indonesia and Malaysia, and thence, at intervals of considerable length, through Melanesia and Fiji to Samoa, Tahiti (Society Islands), the Cook Islands, and Hawaii.

More recent researches, including a comparative study of the languages of Polynesia and the Indo-European languages, and particularly their phonology, furnish grounds for tracing the descent of Polynesians from the primeval Aryans whose fatherland is believed to have been located either in Mid-Europe or in the region lying to the east of the Caspian Sea, where they flourished in the Stone Age and whence successive migrations occurred eastward many thousands of years ago.

With respect to the more recent movements of the race, Polynesian ethnologists are now of the opinion that they migrated eastward from Indonesia, if not from India, in three distinct migrations, each of which probably, and the last two of which certainly, provided ultimate immigrants to New Zealand. The first and second led through the Straits of Malacca along the north-eastern shores of Sumatra to Java, thence south of Celebes to Gilolo, and north of New Guinea and the New Hebrides to Fiji, and thence by way of Savaii, Upolu, and Tutuila to Raiatea and Tahiti. The third led north-east from Sumatra, south of Borneo, and north of Celebes by way of the Caroline and Marshall Groups to Hawaii, and was the first migration thither.

Tahiti, the traditional Hawaiki* or fatherland of the Maori, apparently formed a centre from which the race swarmed off by different migrations, north to Hawaii (Sandwich Islands), east to Easter Island, and south-west *viâ* Rarotonga to New Zealand, which was also reached by direct migration from Raiatea. Through intermarriage with the conquered inhabitants of lands visited by the first and second migrations, the race acquired the more distinctive Melanesian traits, namely dark complexion, frizzy hair, and strong beards. Among the pure-blooded Maoris are to be found persons distinctly Caucasian, others strongly Melanesian, and some peculiarly Mongolian in complexion and features. The majority, however, resemble Polynesians very closely in stature and other physical characteristics.

The last-named people are to-day excellent sailors, and their successive migrations bespeak a skill in navigation unrivalled among the native races of the world. With the facilities for sea travel that exist

*Hawaiki—the womb of the race. The name was applied in turn to each home in their migrations.

to-day, we cannot but marvel at the enterprise and skill required to accomplish journeys of thousands of miles in the double canoes which they invariably used. That they did so is vouched for by reliable native tradition and corroborative evidence.

It is probable that the migration of the Polynesians to New Zealand began in the twelfth century or about five hundred years before Tasman's visit, and was the result of previous voyages of discovery by adventurous Polynesian navigators who returned with a favourable report of the new land. The first discoverers of New Zealand are believed to have been the great Polynesian navigators, Kupe, of Raiatea in the Society Group, and his companion Ngake, who lived about 925 A.D. These intrepid sailors reached New Zealand in two canoes *viâ* Rarotonga, and having sailed round both islands, returned home in safety to report the discovery of a rich, uninhabited land which Kupe called Ao-tea-roa, or "The Land of Long Daylight." It is surmised that two and a quarter centuries, however, elapsed before advantage was taken of the knowledge to settle the new discovery. In the meantime, however, a Melanesian-Polynesian people from the Western Pacific had settled large parts of the country. These were the *tangata-whenua* or aboriginal inhabitants* of the country.

The ancestors of the present Maori race reached New Zealand in a series of migrations which began about 1150 A.D., and continued for some two centuries, the natives arriving at intervals in their canoes and settling in favoured spots after slaying or enslaving the *tangata-whenua*. The principal canoes, which arrived about 1350 A.D., have been remembered by name, Arawa, Takitimu, Tainui, Aotea, Tokomaru, etc., and the point of landing of each approximately ascertained.

*The Morioris of Chatbam Islands are their descendants.

As we have seen, the last home of the Maori was probably Tahiti and adjacent islands, for it is to them that all their traditions go back. These traditions have been carefully preserved for centuries, having been transmitted with truly marvellous accuracy from generation to generation of *tohungas* or priests, who are at once the repositories of tribal history and lore as well as intermediaries with the spirit world, and consequently persons of power and influence in every tribe.

The food of the old time Maori was of the plainest, though it varied with the location of the tribe, and also with the season of the year. The staple food of the sea coast tribes was fish, with the vegetables kumara, taro, and gourd brought from far Hawaiki. Dogs' flesh* was a delicacy, birds (pigeon, quail, kaka, kiwi, weka, parson bird, and in the far south, the mutton bird) were commonly used, berries in season (konini and karaka) were gathered, bread was made from raupo pollen in autumn, and fern-root was used as a stand-by. Human flesh, which at a later date came to be callously but appreciatively designated "long pig," was in great favour, though the practice was to eat only the slain in battle and the slaves. In war-time, indeed, cannibalism was to some extent a religious rite. Flesh and vegetables were always cooked, the operation being skilfully performed in a large hole (*hangi*) dug in the ground.

The Maoris were even more limited in the variety of materials for clothing than they were in their articles of diet. The commonest material was dressed flax, from which they made waist-mats and shawls. Dog-skin mats were rare and accordingly highly prized. Garments were also woven of kiwi and pigeon

*Dogs and rats, which differed greatly from the European species, were introduced by the Maoris.

feathers, though none but persons of distinction could wear them. Articles of personal adornment were combs, necklets and ear ornaments made from bone, shell, or the highly treasured greenstone. The custom of tattooing (*moko*) or indelibly marking the skin of the face and often also of the body, with spirals of various designs by means of a dark blue pigment, was another link with their Polynesian ancestors. In the case of females this form of adornment was confined to the lower lip and chin. The whole process was exceedingly painful, and was necessarily so slow as to occupy years before it was completed.

The villages of the Maoris, called *pas*, usually covered several acres of ground, and contained *whares* or huts of wood or raupo, besides store-houses for food (*patakas*) and *whare-punis* or tribal council houses. The meeting-houses and sleeping quarters, being devoid of means of ventilation and usually crowded, were unhealthily close. Being primarily required for defence, *pas* were frequently situated on spots naturally adapted for that purpose, as on an inaccessible hilltop or on an easily defended island. The outer defence comprised stout palisades of wood, which were often encircled by a deep ditch, and the skill exhibited in *pa* construction often called forth the unstinted admiration of European military critics.

During the long periods of peace the Maoris occupied themselves in snaring birds, in fishing, and in tilling the soil. The latter task was menial and was a duty which devolved upon women and slaves. The Maoris had no knowledge of metals or of pottery, and among their higher arts was the manufacture of wooden spades and other garden tools, and weapons of stone, wood, or bone. The art of carving was carried to a high pitch for ornamenting canoes, houses, and objects of worship, while flax-dressing and the weaving of cloth and the making of fishing nets and

baskets required no little skill and gave employment to many hands.

In their religion the Maoris were strongly linked with their kinsmen in Polynesia. They deified natural objects and believed implicitly in the existence of good and evil spirits, the latter being most numerous and needing frequent acts of sacrifice and propitiation. They were heathens but not idolaters. As has already been stated, the exponents of their religion were the *tohungas*, who, it is believed, utilised the art of ventriloquism to play upon the credulity and superstitious fears of their countrymen. This terror of the unseen formed an extraordinary amalgam with the qualities of truculence, cruelty, deceit, and treachery inherent in the savage breast. The custom of *tapu* or making certain places or objects sacred and inviolate from common gaze or touch, may be found in all countries on the routes of the Polynesian migrations.

The unit of Maori life was the family, groups of families being formed into *hapus*, while an assemblage of *hapus* comprised a tribe or *iwi*. Over each tribe was a principal hereditary chief (*ariki*), and there were other chiefs (*rangatiras*) of more or less inferior rank. The relations between the sexes were loose until marriage, but strict thereafter. Polygamy was practised by men of rank, and on the death of a chief it was customary for some near male relative to take over his wives and marry them himself. Occasionally a favourite wife would hang herself so that her spirit might accompany that of her beloved. All menial work was performed by the women, or by slaves, who were prisoners of war captured and spared during the inter-tribal wars that were frequently waged. The prevalence of wars among the Maoris may be traced to an innate love of fighting, as well as to the custom of *utu*, by which it was a point of

honour among them to revenge every insult and wrong, if not upon the perpetrator, then upon someone else, the most trivial incidents occasionally precipitating a war that was continued from time to time, and often ended only with the complete subjugation and enslavement of one or other of the belligerents. At the same time, the Maoris were capable of warm affection and noble generosity and unselfishness, the chronicles of their wars affording numerous striking illustrations of these admirable traits of character. Previous to the advent of the white men, they had no weapons for striking at a distance. All fighting was hand-to-hand, and personal prowess with *taiaha** and *mere* (club) determined the status of every warrior in the estimation of his fellows. They were well skilled in ambushes and in every artifice of war, and the rapidity and avidity with which they seized upon European weapons and improved upon European methods of warfare, revealed a degree of intelligence, adaptability, and fighting quality unsurpassed by any other native race.

Any estimate of the numbers of the Maori population in pre-European days can be little more than conjecture, as was Cook's own estimate of 100,000, and even that of the Rev. Henry Williams of 200,000 in 1835. It is certain, however, that the Middle Island, as the South Island was formerly called, was relatively sparsely occupied. No doubt before European diseases and vices played havoc among them, their numbers were kept in check by cannibalistic wars and the practice of infanticide. The latter was a vicious custom which, even when regarded as an artificial check upon the increase of population beyond the limits of the food supply, inspired in the European mind no less horror than the barbarous practice of cannibalism.

*A flat weapon of hard wood, about 5 ft. long, used for striking.

As in post-settlement days the Maori land laws came to assume very great importance, a brief statement of the guiding principles is necessary, but this will be more appropriately deferred to a later chapter.* It will suffice to say here that the Maori social fabric was communistic in principle as regards their chief possessions—land and the food supply; and the custom of *muru*, which laid any victim of ordinary misfortune, such as the father of a child accidentally injured, open to be stripped of most of his treasured possessions, discouraged the accumulation of private wealth. Such losses were regarded with philosophic resignation as coming to everyone in turn.

CHAPTER III.—THE FIRST IMMIGRANTS.

Cook's discoveries and his tragic death at Owhyheet in 1779, as well as the establishment of adjacent penal settlements in New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, and Norfolk Island, had made the name of New Zealand more or less familiar to Englishmen, but no step was taken to follow up the great navigator's acts of taking possession by establishing a British colony. During the sixty years immediately following Cook's last visit, when the country was a veritable "no man's land," white settlement in New Zealand was sporadic, unorganised, and totally unauthorised. It was none the less real, and provocative of events which ultimately forced the British Government with very great reluctance to step in and establish a civilized government.

The magnet which first drew the white man to the shores of New Zealand was the profitable whaling and sealing industries which sprang up within a couple of decades of Cook's last visit. The decline

*Page 105.

†Hawaii.

of whaling in the Northern Ocean drove whalers into the Southern Seas. First of all the Cape of Good Hope and then the Australasian coasts drew these daring profit-seekers farther and farther afield. At first the ocean whalers hunting the sperm whale found the Bay of Islands afforded them secure and free anchorage,* and the means of re-fitting their ships after storms or long voyages, as well as of replenishing their watercasks and obtaining fresh provisions for their scurvy-afflicted crews. Sperm whaling was carried on off the north coast of Auckland as early as 1792, and the first white men to form homes in the country were doubtless runaway sailors. Then, when once it became a regular practice for vessels from the adjacent penal settlements at Van Diemen's Land and Australia to touch at the Bay of Islands, convicts began to find their way to these shores; for in spite of all the New South Wales Government could do by strict regulations and search to prohibit or prevent it, such persons often found sailors, if not sea-captains, willing to connive at their escape. White residents were welcomed by the Maoris as a means of ready communication with the outside world. By their agency they could trade their timber, flax, corn, pigs, potatoes, native weapons, and garments for the coveted muskets and ammunition, tobacco, blankets, knives, tomahawks, nails, and fish hooks of the Europeans.

It may readily be believed that the first immigrants to New Zealand were sparsely distributed as *pakeha* Maoris or Maorified Englishmen among the various tribes desirous of trading with European vessels. The attractions of the new land lay in the idyllic life of ease and freedom from the restraints of civilisation that it offered to those who preferred license to regulation of life. The former terror of

*There were port charges at Sydney.

the cannibal Maori ceased to deter the more reckless, virile, and turbulent spirits among the whites, so that the country slowly gathered to its bosom a sprinkling of the dregs of white humanity, the flotsam and jetsam of civilised life: shipwrecked and runaway sailors, beach-combers, escaped convicts, ex-convicts, and the like, very many illiterate and nearly all vicious. By the second decade of the nineteenth century, a period of lawlessness had set in at the Bay, where a heterogeneous assemblage of the coarsest types of whites numbering several hundreds lived, without law or even the pretence of a government. Restraint there was none beyond what conscience imposed, so that crime was rampant, and where backed by power practised with impunity. Here white license outvied native savagery and outraged the very names of civilisation and Christianity. Some few there were who were well-intentioned farmers and settlers or honest traders, but these were unfortunately outnumbered by ten to one.

Reference to the literature of the day supplies proof of the depravity at the Bay. Captain FitzRoy, who spent ten days at the Bay of Islands in 1835 in the *Beagle*, gave evidence in 1838 that he saw eight or ten respectable white families there, but the rest were "ragamuffins." Other authorities refer to the "shoals of profligate and reckless adventurers" continually flocking from New Holland, and again to the "frightful extent of demoralization known to prevail." Lord Normanby, in his instructions to Captain Hobson in 1839, thus referred to the early inhabitants: "These people, unrestrained by any law, and amenable to no tribunals, were alternately the authors and the victims of every species of crime and outrage." The arrival of missionaries in 1814 in some degree leavened the mass, but their efforts being directed to benefit the Maoris, and the whites being

mostly incorrigible, the influence of religion failed to elevate the tone of life at the Bay. In the eyes of the missionaries these white men were without the pale. The noble labours of this courageous and unselfish body of pioneers in temporal no less than in spiritual affairs will be sketched in the next chapter. If the northern whaling settlement was evil, those of later foundation further south were little better; for the testimony of Lieutenant Chetwode of H.M.S. *Pelorus* in 1838, and of the Rev. Mr. Bumby in 1839 regarding the whaling stations at Cook Strait, concur in the opinion that every species of iniquity was practised without restraint and without concealment.

Contemporary with the pursuit of ocean whaling, sealing vessels began to visit the southern shores of New Zealand as early as 1792, when the first sealing gang is said to have been left at Dusky Sound. The practice was to land a boat's crew with provisions at a suitable spot and leave it to collect a supply of skins, while the vessel went in search of whales or other cargo. The shore whaling stations at Chalky Inlet (1829) and Preservation Inlet also engaged in sealing. The favourite grounds for hunting the fur and hair seals and the sea elephant were Campbell Island, Auckland Island, The Snares, and Macquarie Island; but so ruthless was the slaughter of both sexes by rival Australian and American sealers that after 1826 the industry declined, subsequent visits to the islands proving that the seals had been cut off root and branch, or had been driven from those breeding grounds.

Shore or bay whaling did not spring up till the third decade of the nineteenth century, when it was discovered that the right or black whales frequented the bays of the New Zealand coast from April to September while calving. Then the plan was adopted

of establishing stations ashore. Look-outs were kept, and crews of the whalers were kept in readiness to set out in pursuit of any whales that appeared. Whatever was caught was towed ashore, and the operations of flensing and trying-out were carried out on land. Whaling ships visited the stations at intervals to carry away to Sydney or Europe the oil and bone accumulated. These stations were located on all harbours that were safe for whale boats, from Cook Strait down the east coast of the South Island, on the shores of Foveaux Strait, and at Preservation Inlet; for the whales visited all these points during the season. The first stations established were at Te Awaiti in Tory Channel about 1827; and at Cloudy Bay or Port Underwood, Evans Island, Kapiti, and Mana in Cook Strait, and at Preservation Inlet in the South in 1829. In 1835, northern stations were at Porirua, Mana, Kapiti, Taranaki, Kidnappers, Hawke Bay, Mahia, Portland Island, and Cape Runaway. Southern stations were at Kaikoura (South Bay), Chatham Island, Banks Peninsula (Piraki, Ikolaki, Oishou (Goashore)), Moeraki, Waikouaiti (established 1838), Otago, Bluff, New River, Jacob's River (established 1836), Paterson River, and Preservation Inlet (1829). The names of Guard, Thoms, Barrett, and Evans are closely associated with Cook Strait whaling, as are that of George Hempleman with Banks Peninsula, and those of Johnny Jones, Joseph Weller, and Billy Williams with most of the stations further south. The vessels participating in the industry were chiefly Australian, British, American, and French.

Evidence given by Charles Enderby in July, 1840, before a Committee of the House of Commons, showed

the decline in British fisheries in the Pacific. Excluding colonial vessels, the numbers were:—

	Northern Fishery.	Sperm Whale.	Blk. Whale and Sea Elephant.	Sealskin.	Totals.
1821 ..	158	95	33	36	322
1840 ..	31	72	—	1	104

He asserted that a revival was possible if New Zealand was colonized, as it was in the heart of the fishery, but no port charges should be levied on whaling ships.

As early as 1832 Lieutenant Breton, R.N., in his "Excursions in New South Wales, Western Australia and Van Diemen's Land during 1830-33," reported that there were about 150 Europeans in the islands of New Zealand. Seven hundred and forty-four tons of New Zealand flax worth £14,000, and timber and spars worth £4,000, were exported in 1832. The trade was not all on one side, and imports were probably proportionate.

CHAPTER IV.—THE MISSIONARIES.

Amid the acts of brutality and vice that stain the early pages of New Zealand's story, the heroic self-sacrifice and noble lives of the pioneer missionaries stand out in strong relief. The fount of inspiration of the missionary brotherhood was the Rev. Samuel Marsden, senior chaplain in the convict settlement of New South Wales, whose interest in the Maori race was first roused in 1805 by contact with the chiefs Te Pahi and Ruatara, the latter being one of the stalwart rovers who entered as common sailors on whalers and other ships trading to Sydney. These wanderers ever found a warm welcome extended to



Edward Gibbon Wakefield (1796-1862).



Paraune Patuone Rev. Henry Williams Wm. Shortland
Waka Nene Kawhiti Governor Hobson

Signing the Treaty of Waitangi, 6th February, 1840.

[From a bas-relief on the Diamond Jubilee Monument of Queen Victoria in Wellington]

them at Marsden's hospitable parsonage at Parramatta. Of Te Pahi, Marsden afterwards spoke as "the man who had planted the mission acorn in New Zealand, but had died* before the oak appeared."

While on a visit to England in 1808 Marsden conferred with the Church Missionary Society, which authorised the establishment of a New Zealand Mission. Two mechanics, William Hall and John King, were selected, and accompanied the colonial chaplain on his return to Sydney by the convict ship *Ann* in August, 1809. On the outward voyage Marsden observed among the sailors the melancholy figure of a sick and emaciated native. To his surprise he recognised Ruatara, a young Maori chief† from the Bay of Islands. His ready sympathy elicited a pitiful tale of native credulity and defencelessness victimised by European deceit and brutality. Under good treatment Ruatara recovered his health and strength, and an undying affection for his preserver thenceforth animated the grateful chief, who promised a hearty welcome to the missionaries who should visit his home.

Four years, however, elapsed before an opportunity came to carry out the apparently quixotic project which Marsden had zealously cherished. Having purchased a brig, the *Active*, he despatched Messrs. Hall and Kendall as a preliminary expedition to the Bay of Islands, and the promises freely made by Ruatara were now abundantly fulfilled. The objects of the mission having been explained, the missionaries returned to Sydney with Ruatara and six other chiefs.

After an interval of three months a party of thirty-five, including Mr. Marsden, Messrs. Hall, Kendall, and King with their wives and children, a Mr. Nicholas, eight New Zealanders, and several convict servants, embarked on the *Active*. Some valuable

*See page 56.

†Of the Ngapuhi tribe.

live stock presented to the expedition was also taken on board.

On arrival at the Bay, whither his fame had preceded him, Marsden found that a desperate war, the outcome of an unjust English vengeance for the *Boyd* massacre,* was in progress, and with characteristic courage determined to establish peace between the belligerents. Already the declared friend of one party, he visited the enemy at Whangaroa, spent a night with the murderers of the *Boyd's* crew, and by personal influence succeeded in effecting the desired reconciliation. Two days later the *Active* anchored at the Bay of Rangihoua, in view of Ruatara's pa.

The first Christian missionary service held in New Zealand was celebrated at Oihi, Bay of Islands, on Sunday, Christmas Day, 1814. The "Old Hundredth" was sung, the service read, and the worthy chaplain preached a memorable and appropriate sermon from the text, "Behold, I bring you glad tidings of great joy," to a large gathering of natives, to whom Ruatara acted as interpreter. This historic spot is marked by a stone cross monument, unveiled by Governor Plunkett on March 12th, 1907, over 92 years later.

Marsden busied himself in earnest daily talks with the natives and in visits to neighbouring tribes. As a site upon which to establish the mission, he purchased, for twelve axes, two hundred acres of land at Rangihoua on behalf of the Church Missionary Society, and the deed of sale on 24th February, 1815, is remarkable as the first conveyance of Maori land to white men. Here, then, was established the first Church of England Mission, which was in those early days conducted by secular teachers of the simpler European arts.

Marsden returned to Sydney on March 23rd, 1815,

*See page 54.

with ten Maori chiefs, the brig carrying also a cargo of spars and dressed flax valued at £450. Four days after his departure, Ruatara, who had some time before contracted a chill and fever, died, his noble mind still groping for the truth, and his heart still in the grip of the superstitious fears that held his countrymen in bondage.

Four years later Marsden paid his second visit to the Bay and founded the second station at Kerikeri near Hongi's pa, establishing there the Rev. John Butler, the first clergyman missionary, as well as a teacher and a smith. On his return to Sydney, he took steps which induced the Rev. Samuel Leigh to establish a Wesleyan Missionary station at Kao (Whangaroa) in 1822. In 1823 Marsden founded the third Church Missionary station at Paihia, of which the devout and scholarly Rev. Henry Williams took charge, and in 1830 established an agricultural mission and school at Waimate, 12 miles inland. During these visits Marsden made long and arduous overland journeys in the company of Maoris through country hitherto untrodden by white man, and was everywhere treated with respect and hospitality.

The early Wesleyan mission had a chequered career. In 1823 the Rev. N. Turner and the Rev. John Hobbs came over with Marsden on his third visit, and relieved Mr. Leigh, whose ill-health obliged him to retire. The post at Kao was no sinecure, as the native chief George was a truculent savage, while petty thieving and cannibalism were rife. The climax came on January 9th, 1827, with the pillage and destruction of the station by Hongi's tribe. The missionaries and their families found refuge at Kerikeri and Paihia, and afterwards with Marsden at Parramatta. Six months afterwards Mr. Hobbs opened a Wesleyan station at Mangungu on the

Hokianga, and a few years later the Kaeo station was re-opened and new western stations established at the Kaipara and Kawhia.

Despite the apparently insuperable obstacles in their path, the labours of the missionaries were crowned with a large measure of success. Though for the first ten years few converts were made, again and again their heroic intercession between contending tribes averted sanguinary conflicts, while for full fifty years not a single missionary met with a violent death.

The task of evangelisation was made possible by a close study of the Maori language, which had first of all to be reduced to written form. In 1815 Mr. Kendall prepared a primer, which was printed in Sydney. Between 1817 and 1821 a Maori dictionary was compiled by Professor Lee of Cambridge University, with the aid of Tui and Titori, two of Marsden's Maori students, and later of Mr. Kendall, Hongi,* and Waikato.* Several of the missionaries occupied their leisure in compiling collections of Maori words. From 1830, when translated portions of Scripture, the Catechism, and a selection of hymns were first printed in Sydney, till 1835, when the first printing press was set up at Paihia, the labour of translating and printing went on apace, though for years the demand far exceeded the supply. With these labours the names of the Rev. W. Yate, the Rev. R. Maunsell, the Rev. William Williams, and the Rev. William Colenso are intimately associated. Eventually the British and Foreign Bible Society lent invaluable aid when once the Maori translations were available.

As time passed by, the tide of missionary zeal flowed more and more strongly, and stations were opened at isolated points through the length and breadth of the

*Ngapuhi chiefs who accompanied Mr. Kendall to England in 1820. See page 40

land. Between 1814 and his death in 1838, Marsden paid no less than seven strenuous and inspiring visits to the New Zealand missions. A return of the Church Mission Stations in 1838 testifies to the progress made. There were two Mission districts, a northern and a southern, with five stations in each. The former included Rangihoua, founded in 1814 and removed to Te Puna in 1832; Kerikeri (1819); Paihia (1823); Waimate (1830); and Kaitaia (1834). The southern included Puriri (1834); Mangapouri (1834); Matamata (1835); Rotorua (1835); and Tauranga (1835). At all these stations there were 54 schools, 1,431 scholars, and 2,476 churchgoers. Besides the ordained missionaries, some of whom have already been named, there was an efficient body of laymen or catechists as well as many able and zealous native teachers. Such was the noble work in one field alone which the venerable Marsden could look back upon with gratitude and satisfaction, if not with pride, when he came to breathe his last at Parramatta on May 12th, 1838.

The disciples of the Church Missionary Society had thus been labouring in the field for nearly a quarter of a century, and the Wesleyans over a decade and a half, when the Roman Catholic mission was established in New Zealand by Bishop Pompallier, who arrived at the Hokianga in 1838. He was accompanied by a priest and a religious brother. The Maoris called them "Pikopos," a corruption of the word bishop (episcopus). Some time afterwards the Bishop moved his headquarters to Kororareka and thence, on its destruction in 1845, to Auckland. Within three years this missionary body numbered thirteen priests and ten religious brothers, all Frenchmen, and members of the Society of Mary (Marists). Some were located at permanent stations, as at Hokianga, while others travelled the country. Though

poor, all were very zealous in the work of conversion and in the social improvement of the natives. Eight pioneer Sisters of Mercy, who had been invited by Bishop Pompallier to come to New Zealand to assist with the tuition and training of Maori and half-caste girls, arrived in Auckland in April, 1850, and carried on valuable educational work. On the arrival of Bishop Pompallier the Protestant missionaries reversed their policy, and urged instead of opposed the intervention of the British Government. Their fear of French occupation, already aroused by the extravagant claims of Baron de Thierry, was increased by an ill-founded assumption that the Roman Catholic missionaries were emissaries of France.

Although the early efforts of the missionaries were confined to the North, between 1835 and 1840 their ministrations were extended to Cook Strait and the South, both the Wesleyans and the Church Mission participating in the work. In 1837 the aged Marsden, when returning from his last visit to New Zealand in H.M.S. *Rattlesnake*,* touched at Cloudy Bay, and afterwards reported to the Society the need for a missionary in Cook Strait. The Wesleyan missionaries, Messrs. Bumby and Hobbs, visited Port Nicholson in 1839 and secured a *tapu* over land for a mission, but Colonel Wakefield did not ratify the option, though he offered to reserve other land for the purpose. To quote McNab's account, in which explanatory parentheses have been interpolated: "The honours of the coming of the Church to Cook Strait were fairly divided between Wesleyan and Anglican. The first native teacher was Ripahau, an Anglican (at Waikanae); the first visiting missionary was Mr. White, a Wesleyan (Queen Charlotte Sound and Cloudy Bay, 1836); the first mission stations

*Under Captain Hobson.

established were the Wesleyan ones, by Bumby and Hobbs (Port Nicholson and Mana, in 1839); the first European preacher stationed was Mr. O. Hadfield, an Anglican (located at Waikanae and Otaki by the Rev. Henry Williams in 1839, in response to the request of Tamihana Te Rauparaha); finally, the first service preached to the Company's immigrants was by Mr. Buller, a Wesleyan (at Port Nicholson in January, 1840).'' It may be added that in May, 1840, the Rev. James Watkin, a Wesleyan, went south with his family and established a mission at Johnny Jones's whaling station at Waikouaiti.

CHAPTER V.—TOMAHAWK AND MUSKET IN THE BRAVE DAYS OF OLD.

No account of the history of Old New Zealand would be complete without a passing notice of some of the leading lights in the galaxy of great chiefs, who, during two decades prior to systematic colonization of the country, dominated various regions, and whose lust of power and unsatiable appetite for slaughter and the sight of human agony plunged the country into internecine wars and covered the land with blood and misery, involving the destruction of quite a quarter of the total native population. During this period, Te Morenga, Hongi, Pomare, Te Waharoa, Te Wherowhero, Te Heuheu, Te Rauparaha, Te Puoho, and a score of others attained the pinnacle of Maori *mana* or prestige, and inscribed their names indelibly on the scroll of Maori fame. The responsibility for this wholesale bloodshed must be laid upon the shoulders of the white man, who alone supplied the means, though the incentive was, of course, inherent in the nature of the untutored Maori.

Superiority in offensive weapons has always proved a safe road to victory, and the immense superiority of firearms over weapons of wood and stone was bound, sooner or later, to seize upon the imagination of some ambitious chief. Notwithstanding his warm friendship for the missionaries and constant protection of them, the first New Zealand savage to be obsessed by the bright picture his fancy painted of a royal road to the joys of revenge and conquest was the ruthless Ngapuhi chief, Hongi Hika, uncle of the gentle-mannered and peace-loving Ruatara.

How Hongi acquired the coveted means of slaughter is a familiar story. His journey to England in 1820 in company with a fellow chieftain, Waikato, and Mr. Kendall, his welcome there, and the accumulation of valuable gifts including a suit of armour presented to him by King George IV., his conversion of most of this treasure into more highly treasured muskets and ammunition at Sydney, and his return home to the Bay of Islands, were but steps leading to a prolonged orgy of slaughter and rapine. The storming of Mokoia and the capture of Te Totara at the Thames by treachery were but the prelude to a war of extermination, a holocaust of destruction of the ancient foes of his tribe. For seven years Hongi, "making each summer a shooting season," carried war and savagery into the region extending from the East Cape and Waikato in the south, to Whangaroa and Kaipara in the north. Barbarism in its most appalling forms stalked the land as though no peaceful, kindly lessons of the brotherhood of man had ever been preached with missionary fervour within its confines.

Hongi's reign of lust and blood terminated as abruptly as his rise to fame was achieved. Struck down by a musket-ball in a bush-fight at Whangaroa,



[J. McDonald photo]
James Kemp's house at Kerikeri Mission Station, built in 1819, and the
oldest house in New Zealand.



[Radcliffe photo]
Paihia, Bay of Islands, where a Church of England Mission was
established in 1823.



Pompallier House at Kororareka (now Russell), Bay of Islands, the early headquarters of the Catholic Mission in New Zealand. [By courtesy of "The Month"]

he lingered on for some months a stricken man, wielding a mere shadow of his former power till his death at Mawhe in 1828. His evil example, however, lived on, and continued for another decade in more remotely extending waves to deluge the land with Maori blood.

Even more ruthless, cunning, treacherous, and vindictive than the chief already described was another great conqueror of Old New Zealand. This was Te Rauparaha, the Ngatitooa chief, who made the middle portion of the New Zealand islands his own particular sphere of action, his deeds therein surpassing anything else known in the annals of the land in every refinement of savagery and barbarism, and his title to the cognomen "the Napoleon of the South" being founded on a long record of successful diplomacy and intrigue, which paved the way to twenty-two years of the most extensive and decimating conquests.

Born about 1770, the son of an inferior chief of the Ngatitooa tribe inhabiting the region about Ka-whia, Te Rauparaha was endowed with personal courage and prowess, and a gift for leadership which early raised him to pre-eminence in his tribe. The growing strength of the Waikato under Te Wherowhero, bounding his territory on the east, becoming a deadly menace to the Ngatitooa, Te Rauparaha made every effort, about the year 1815, to cement a strong alliance to crush this dreaded foe. Meeting with no success, he welcomed, in 1819, the proposal of Tuwhare and the brothers Tamati Waka Nene and Patuone to raid the southern portion of the island. A combined war-party a thousand strong, with many muskets, travelled south ravaging the country from Patea to the Wairarapa, Te Rauparaha visiting Kapiti on the way. It was the sight of a vessel in Cook Strait that caused

Waka Nene to suggest to him the idea of transferring his tribe to Kapiti, a location which he could see possessed excellent facilities for defence, for trading with Europeans, as well as for plundering Te Wai Pounamu, or the Middle Island.

Shortly after his return, Te Rauparaha, now chosen leading chief of the Ngatiraukawa, who could not then be prevailed upon to accompany him, made peace with his neighbours preparatory to carrying out his cherished scheme of migration, which had necessarily to be organised with extreme care. It being impossible to carry sufficient provisions for the whole journey, a halt was decided upon in Taranaki among friendly Ngatiawa and Ngatitama, while additional supplies were being grown and harvested. With tears and lamentations the pa at Te Arawi was burned and the *heke* (migration) begun in the summer of 1821. During the sojourn in Taranaki Te Rauparaha successively defeated a pursuing *tauā* of vengeful Ngatimaniapoto and a powerful force of Waikato under Te Wherowhero and Te Waharoa.

After paying another apparently fruitless visit of appeal to relatives and friends as far remote as Tauranga, Te Rauparaha, with Ngapuhi and Ngatiawa adherents, continued his migration by easy stages *viâ* Patea, Waitotara, Wanganui, and the Rangitikei and Manawatu river mouths to Ohau, which was within the borders of the promised land. The dispossessed tribes were Ngatiapa, Rangitane, and Muaupoko. The latter, under the pretence of a friendly gift of canoes, slew several of Te Rauparaha's wives and children, including his eldest son, a dastardly act such as he himself loved to perpetrate, but for which he pursued the Muaupoko with unabated vengeance for many years.

Though master of the mainland from Ohau to Otaki, the coveted island of Kapiti had still to be won from the watchful Ngatiapa. At length the cunning chief threw the latter completely off their guard by departing with his forces to the Manawatu. Meanwhile his veteran uncle, the trusty and intrepid Te Pehi, crossed the strait, and taking the islanders by surprise drove them ignominiously from their pa with great slaughter. This was about the year 1823. Thereafter the Ngatitoa made the island their permanent home.

The next few years witnessed the successive defeat of the Muaupoko at their pas on Lakes Horowhenua and Papaitonga, the arrival of reinforcements of Ngatiawa and Ngatiraukawa, and continual conflicts between invaders and the original tribes, with a balance of advantage to the invaders. About 1824 Kapiti itself was within an ace of annihilation by an overwhelming force, but a brief truce gave Te Rauparaha time to arrive and convert the threatened defeat into a decisive victory. The chief's song of triumph was typical of the occasion.

Disputes having arisen about 1824 between parties of Ngatiraukawa and Ngatiawa concerning land, Te Rauparaha asserted his authority, and the former accepted Ohau, and the latter Waikanae, while one *hapu* of Ngatiawa, under Pomare in 1825-26, first occupied Wanganui-a-tara or Wellington Harbour.

Reinforced by fresh adherents from the Ngatitama and Ngatiraukawa, made rich and powerful by his intercourse with whalers from whom, by cajolery or intimidation, he obtained ample supplies of firearms, and by Te Pehi's return from his determined journey to England for arms, Te Rauparaha now turned an envious eye upon Wai Pounamu. Proceeding south with a well armed war-party, he made Rangitoto

(D'Urville Island) his base for the conquest of the luckless Rangitane inhabiting the southern shores of Cook Strait. Thence he launched an attack upon Kaikoura, where the unsuspecting Ngaitahu fell an easy prey, some 1,400 being slain or carried prisoners to Kapiti.

Te Rauparaha's next design was to capture the Ngaitahu stronghold at Kaiapohia (now Woodend). Traversing the east coast he drove the natives before him to Omihi, where he fell upon them with irresistible force. Pushing south with a small party he came upon Kaiapohia, which he found to be strongly built and protected on all sides but one by a deep swamp. Here his crafty pretence of friendliness was met by the massacre of his uncle Te Pehi and seven other Ngatitoo leaders. Bitterly chagrined, Te Rauparaha hastily retired, vowing to take ample vengeance later.

Some two years passed by, and the diabolical plan was conceived of secreting a war-party upon a European ship and so baiting a trap to catch Tamaiharanui, the principal Ngaitahu chief and high priest at Akaroa, who, while at Kaiapohia, had counselled Te Pehi's murder. The willing tool made use of for this infamous deed was a Captain Stewart, master of an English brig named *Elizabeth*. In return for the promise of a cargo of dressed flax, this despicable person conveyed some hundred or two Ngatitoo in secrecy to Akaroa (then Whangaroa), where the vessel anchored in the guise of a peaceful trader. This was in November, 1830. The Ngaitahu fell easy victims, and after ravaging the land in a night attack the victors carried their prisoners to torture and death at Kapiti or Otaki.

Resolved to glut his vengeance still more deeply, Te Rauparaha made a second attempt upon Kaiapohia. The pa was weakly defended, as many Ngaitahu were

at Port Cooper farewelling the great Otago chief Taiaroa. Word being carried to him, the whole party returned, and passing through the swamp were admitted under cover of the cry "Taiaroa to the rescue!" During the long siege that followed, Taiaroa left for the south to seek reinforcements, while the besiegers sapped up to the palisading and heaped against it great quantities of brushwood. When this was dry the defenders sought to take advantage, as they thought, of a favourable nor'-west gale to forestall their foes by a premature conflagration. A sudden shift of wind which then occurred was their undoing. The defences were soon in a mass of flames, and in the panic which ensued the Ngatitoa massacred hundreds and secured many prisoners. The escapees were the young and active, who clambered over the palisading into the shelter of the swamp.

Te Rauparaha next destroyed the pa at Ripapa (Ripa Island), and then turned his attention to Banks Peninsula, where the Ngaitahu had a strong fort on Onawe. Here his guile and the terror of his name won a rich victory with but little resistance.

While Te Rauparaha returned home to celebrate his triumphs the Ngaitahu obtained the alliance of the great southern chief Tuhawaiki (or Bloody Jack) of Ruapuke Island, and travelled northward to Cape Campbell to seek vengeance for their losses. The great Ngatitoa was almost caught while snaring ducks on Kapara Te Hau (Lake Grassmere). He returned in force and followed Tuhawaiki to the Flaxbourne mouth, where a sanguinary but indecisive battle was fought.

Affairs nearer home now began to claim Te Rauparaha's attention. Under pressure from the Ngati-manipoto and the Waikato, other migrations of Ngatiawa and Ngatiruanui had occurred from Tara-

naki, but fresh quarrels arose between the Ngatiawa and Ngatiraukawa. Civil war ensued, and after the defeat of the Ngatiawa at Pakakutu near Otaki, peace was again established, the latter occupying the region from Waikanae southwards.

While peace reigned at home Te Rauparaha had more than one brush with the Ngaitahu of the south, who still burned to wipe out the stain of earlier defeats. In the intervals of this warfare he pursued unabated his ancient grudge against the harassed Rangitane and Muaupoko, then living under the protection of Te Whatanui.

About this time a *tangi* or funeral ceremony held on the death of Te Rauparaha's sister, Waitohi, at Mana Island, led to the resumption of the civil war between the Ngatitama and Ngatiraukawa, and the resulting battle at Te Kuititanga, near Waikanae, was fought on October 16th, 1839, the day of the arrival at Kapiti of the *Tory*, whose surgeons were in time to bind up the wounds of the principal sufferers, the Ngatiraukawa. Te Rauparaha took no part in the actual fighting, retiring when the Ngatiraukawa, whom he favoured, began to be worsted.

Any dreams Te Rauparaha may have had of further conquests were now dispelled by the arrival of white settlers, and his energies were subsequently confined to treating with Colonel Wakefield for the sale of land or resisting what he regarded as encroachments on his territorial ownership. His subsequent career will be revealed as the story proceeds.

Like Te Waharoa* this great chief left a son, Tamihana Te Rauparaha, who, as an active and eloquent native missionary, was destined to play an important rôle in the early history of his race under British Government.

*Te Waharoa's son was William Thompson, the Kingmaker. See page 207

CHAPTER VI.—FIRST ATTEMPTS AT SYSTEMATIC SETTLEMENT.

1. CAPTAIN HERD'S EXPEDITION.

The decade which followed the overthrow of the great Napoleon in Europe brought much poverty and distress to the labouring population of Great Britain. Though colonisation, being synonymous in the public mind with emigration or the "shovelling out of paupers," had long been discredited, it was again resorted to in 1825, as a means of relieving the existing depression, by a society of some fifteen influential persons, including the Earl of Durham (then Mr. Lambton) and Colonel Torrens, afterwards a prominent South Australian colonist. These gentlemen formed the New Zealand Company with the object of despatching a number of mechanics to settle in New Zealand, establish a factory there, and procure spars and flax for export to England. Some initial difficulty was experienced owing to the fact that New Zealand was not a British possession, but on the Dutch government, which was appealed to by the promoters on the score of prior discovery by Tasman, warmly supporting the proposal, the British Ministers reversed their policy and gave the Company every encouragement. Mr. Huskisson, then President of the Board of Trade, signified his approval of the project and promised the grant of a royal charter should the settlement prove a success. The barque *Rosanna* was accordingly equipped and loaded with saw-milling and flax-dressing plant as well as agricultural implements and gunpowder, the command having been conferred upon a Scotch seaman, Captain James Herd, who had already in 1822 paid a successful visit to the Bay of Islands and Hokianga for

ships' spars. Two other ships were to follow if the first expedition succeeded in its object.

The *Rosanna* with some 50 or 60 mechanics and many live stock aboard, accompanied by the cutter *Lambton*, under Captain Barnett, sighted the south of New Zealand early in 1826 and coasted northwards, calling at Port Pegasus, Port Otago, Port Underwood, and Port Nicholson, and reaching Hauraki Gulf about April. Here, besides some land on the Thames, two islands, Waiheke and Pakihi were bought, the latter because it was reported by the ship's mineralogist to be rich in iron; but the ferocious aspect and behaviour of the Maoris prevented the emigrants from landing, and after a stay of several months the ships left for Hokianga. The expedition called at the Bay of Islands on October 26th, but their visit was distinctly unwelcome to the missionaries, who were then very jealous of the least encroachment upon their influence over the natives.

On arrival at Hokianga early in 1827, Captain Herd purchased from three leading chiefs a piece of land, long known as Herd's Point and near the present site of Rawene, the sale of which was never afterwards disputed. The harbour was found to be thickly populated, as many as 2,000 men armed with muskets being seen at one gathering. A constant watch was maintained on board to prevent the seizure of the ship whose valuable cargo, including 10 tons of gunpowder, intended for the purchase of land, greatly excited the cupidity of the natives. The demeanour of the latter was the usual combination of friendliness, intimidation, and acquisitiveness, and their war dance of welcome was misinterpreted by the intending settlers, who, after spending some ten months in New Zealand waters, ultimately decided to abandon the enterprise. The *Rosanna* conveyed them to Sydney, which was



Captain William Hobson
Jan., 1840, to Sept., 1842



Lieutenant Shortland
Sept. 1842, to Dec., 1843



Captain Robert Fitzroy
Dec., 1843, to Nov., 1845



Lieut.-Col. Robert Henry Wynyard
Jan., 1854, to Sept., 1855



Colonel Thomas Gore Browne
Sept., 1855, to Oct., 1861

[By courtesy of Canterbury Museum
Early Governors of New Zealand.



Bishop Selwyn (1809-1878).

reached on February 11th, 1827, and here the ship's cargo was sold by auction. The "Sydney Australian" states that only twenty-five colonists were then on board. The authority of the missionary Mr. Fairburn is given for the statement that many of these persons afterwards embarked in the pearl fisheries. The loss on the expedition amounted to £20,000, which sufficed to discourage further efforts at colonisation at that time. Subsequently at least four of the Company's emigrants returned and settled at Hokianga. The land purchased by Herd was visited by Colonel Wakefield* in 1839 as part of the assets of a company incorporated with that which he represented, but he found its extent to be too limited for the location of a township.

2. BARON DE THIERRY'S KINGDOM.

Another abortive attempt at systematic colonisation, though quite unlike that of Lord Durham's except in its failure to found a colony, was made by Baron Charles Philip Hippolytus de Thierry of Bathampton, Somerset, England, and of Queen's College, Cambridge, a gentleman of French parentage who had been educated partly in England. He is known to have been in the diplomatic service of Portugal and to have served as an officer in an English regiment of cavalry. Being at Cambridge during the visit of Hongi, Waikato, and Kendall in 1820, he had cultivated their friendship, and arranged with the latter gentleman to purchase land for him in New Zealand on which to plant a colony, entrusting the missionary with £1,100† for the purpose. This commission the latter reported that he carried out at Hokianga on his return. The deed of sale dated August 7th, 1822, specifies the boundaries of 40,000 acres sold by Mudi Wai (Muriwai), Patuone,

*See page 77.

†E. J. Wakefield says £700.

and Nene, three chiefs at Hokianga, in return for 36 axes, and was witnessed by James Herd, master of the *Providence*, then loading kauri spars at Hokianga as related above; Thomas Kendall, missionary; and William Edward Green, first officer of the *Providence*. The document was entrusted to the care of Mr. Francis Hall for conveyance to England, and in 1823 it reached the hand of the purchaser, who immediately applied to the Foreign Office in London for an acknowledgment of his proprietorship. The reply given him in December, 1823, was that New Zealand was not a possession of the Crown. Later he sought financial aid from the Government to enable him to establish a colony in New Zealand. His appeal to the French Government meeting with no better success, he made strenuous but vain efforts to raise a party of emigrants in London.

After some years of roving, he reached Tahiti in August, 1835. Here he issued a proclamation styling himself "Sovereign Chief of New Zealand, and King of Nukuhava,"* which aroused the ire of the British Resident, Mr. James Busby.† In a printed letter addressed to His Majesty's subjects residing or trading in New Zealand, dated October 10th, 1835, Busby exposed the ambitious project and claims of this "adventurer," appealed to them to exert their influence to counteract the efforts of any of his emissaries, and gave notice of his own intention of calling together the native chiefs to advise them to assert their independence and so demonstrate the hopelessness of any attempt upon their liberties.

The meeting of the chiefs referred to was convened at Waitangi on October 28th, when a declaration of independence of the whole of New Zealand as one nation with the title of the "United Tribes of New

*Nukahiva, one of the Marquesas Islands (French).

†See page 64.

Zealand'' was signed by thirty-five hereditary chiefs whose collective rule extended from North Cape to the Thames. Consideration of the details of this document and its futility may for the moment be postponed, and De Thierry's narrative continued to its inglorious close.

Two days after the meeting of chiefs, Busby wrote to De Thierry denying his title to sovereignty and enclosing copies of the Declaration of Independence, and of his appeal to all British subjects to resist the Frenchman's claims. The latter was shrewd enough to estimate Busby's communication at its true value, for his reply stated that New Zealand was not a British possession and that no warning of danger from natives or settlers would prevent him from occupying his purchase. A copy of this reply he also forwarded to Governor Bourke in New South Wales.

De Thierry arrived at Sydney on June 30th, 1837, in the American brig *Draco*, with his wife and family. There he interviewed the Governor, offering to abandon his claims to royalty if protection were guaranteed to him. This Bourke declined to give, though he expressed equal opposition to his seeking protection under the French or the American flag. At the same time he interposed no obstacle to his proceeding to New Zealand, as De Thierry disclaimed any idea of prejudicing British interests there, his intention being merely to occupy the land he had purchased, and maintain his authority therein by the exercise of moral influence only. This disclaimer, however, did not prevent De Thierry from issuing a consequential "Address to the White Residents" of New Zealand, from Sydney on September 20th, in which he appealed for justice to the honour, honesty, and integrity of all concerned,

and assured the residents of Hokianga of his brotherly and friendly intentions, and of the benevolence of the authority which he proposed to exercise over them as guardian of their safety and prosperity.

The *soi-disant* king made a dignified landing, and unfurled his flag in parody of royalty at Hokianga on November 4th, 1837, with a preliminary colony of ninety-three followers, including the heads of the various departments of his government—a motley rabble, collected for the most part in Sydney, and furnished with very little provisions and less money. Disappointment and misfortune met the aspirant to royalty at every turn. The white settlers whose land claims were in conflict with his, regarded his pretensions with scorn and derision; his followers, discovering his poverty, were enticed from him; and the natives, who despised him as a *pokanoa* or pretender, repudiated the sale on the score that full payment had never been made by Kendall, who, just prior to this date, had been dismissed by the Missionary Society. Instead of a desmesne of 40,000 acres in extent, he ultimately found himself in possession, through the kindness of Nene, of a paltry 300 acres, on which, at a point called Mount Isabel, he hoisted his discredited flag and established his Lilliputian Kingdom. Here, in a condition of genteel poverty and at times of no little alarm, he pursued an unobtrusive and discontented existence, corresponding with France and in other ways employing every effort to obtain a full recognition of his claims. In 1839 he found in Colonel Wakefield a sympathetic listener to his tale of woe. While the French frigate *L'Aube* was at the Bay of Islands, he bitterly blamed Commodore Lavaud for not aiding him to assert his rights by force of arms. His efforts to secure French

intervention helped to arouse the fears of missionaries and settlers, and thus no doubt had a share in making New Zealand a British colony. His hopes finally fell to the ground on the establishment of British sovereignty in 1840.

The unfortunate gentleman, acting upon the advice of Governor FitzRoy, in the troublous times of 1845 removed to Kororareka and thence with the refugees from the sack of that town to Auckland, where he lived in comparative obscurity till his death in 1864. De Thierry might in other surroundings have proved an admirable Robinson Crusoe, but situated as he was he appeared but an ill-fated dreamer and visionary, whose extraordinary self-importance, grandiloquence, and absurd pretensions to sovereignty, completely robbed him of the respect and influence due to his personal worth, and obscured a generous and humane spirit worthy of much better fortune than befell him. The tone of the historical records he left betray a clear intellect and a lofty purpose. His eulogy of the Maori race, his perception of the expediency of temperate and friendly relations with them, and his deprecation of the amalgamation of the two races, as well as his appreciation of the fecundity and prospects of New Zealand as the home of agriculture, are eloquent testimony to the fine quality of his moral fibre and the shrewdness of his judgment, biased as the latter undoubtedly was where his own personal interests were concerned.

3. CAPTAIN STEWART'S TRADING SETTLEMENT.

A third colonisation scheme contemporary with that of Herd, and with De Thierry's earlier efforts, and one that was intended to include trading in seal-skins, timber, and flax, was set on foot in London in 1824 by Captain William Stewart, the whaler whose

name was given to Stewart Island. The site of the settlement was to be Port Pegasus, already surveyed by Stewart in 1809, where a timber and ship-building yard was to be established. A speculative syndicate equipped two vessels, the *Prince of Denmark* and the *Lord Rodney*, at a cost of £5,000, but though three trading voyages were made from Sydney between 1825 and 1827, settlers were few and trading unsuccessful, so that the scheme ended in total failure.

CHAPTER VII.—EARLY COASTAL TRAGEDIES.

The successful conduct of trade with early New Zealand demanded a rare amalgam of tact, courage, and caution in ship masters, and there is little wonder that tragedy was occasionally the outcome of trading visits. The ferocity, covetousness, and revengefulness of the uncivilised Maori, no less than the brutality and injustice of the white sea-captains of the time, ignorant as they often were of native customs, and callously indifferent to the most sacred feelings of the Maori, are exemplified by the stories of infamous deeds committed before systematic colonisation began on these shores.

One disaster has always been a landmark in the early history of the country. This was the capture of the English ship *Boyd*, whose captain, crew, and passengers were massacred and eaten by the Maoris of Whangaroa, in December, 1809. The following narrative is compiled from the conflicting accounts of the crime. The vessel, of about 500 tons burden, owned by Mr. George Brown, of London, and commanded by John Thompson, had transported con-

viets to Sydney and had sailed thence with over forty Europeans and one or more Maoris, to complete her rich cargo of “coals, cedar, and other plank and timber” by taking in a number of New Zealand spars. One of those on board was a young Maori chief, Tara or George, a truculent, swaggering savage whose home was at Whangaroa, whither the vessel was bound.

Some punishment for a theft or other indignity put upon a chief either during the voyage or while the vessel was in harbour, roused the revengeful passions of the natives. Dissembling their resentment, they first established a feeling of security by a show of warm friendship and welcome. The captain and a small party were then enticed on shore on the pretext of selecting suitable trees for spars, and when far from the ship he and his men were surprised and massacred. After dark the Maoris dressed in the murdered seamen’s clothes, approached the ship in safety, clambered on board, and continued the slaughter almost without opposition. A woman, two little girls, and a boy alone were saved. Four or five men had escaped to the rigging, and at daybreak were assisted ashore by Te Pahi, a chief from the Bay of Islands, who had just arrived at Whangaroa to trade with fish. These unfortunate men, however, were pursued by Whangaroans and killed. The four prisoners were taken ashore, and the ship was plundered, run ashore, and finally burned to the water’s edge. Retribution came swiftly, however, to a dozen or more of the ill-doers, including Tara’s father, who were killed by the explosion that ensued upon the snapping of a musket over an open barrel of gunpowder.

Several weeks after the massacre, rumours of the tragic event having reached the Bay of Islands, some fifty miles to the south-east, Mr. Alexander Berry,

supercargo of the *City of Edinburgh*, with a view of learning the truth and rescuing any survivors, proceeded with three armed boats to Whangaroa, and with the aid of a Bay of Islands chief named Metenangha, ransomed the prisoners and recovered the ship's papers. Unfortunately, his version of the catastrophe, hastily compiled from Maoris who were doubtless lying to shield themselves, and whose language he imperfectly understood, was probably erroneous, and fixed the principal blame for the dastardly deed upon the innocent chief Te Pahi already alluded to. The mistake was doubtless due in the first instance to the similarity of this chief's name to that of Tara's brother, Te Puhi, who was one of the most active participators in the crime.

The fears of visiting whalers were aroused by the atrocity, and the captains of five vessels at the Bay decided that an example should be made of Te Pahi, who was condemned unheard, as his recent behaviour gave colour to the idea that his friendly feelings towards Europeans had undergone a change. In March, 1810, a punitive force therefore attacked this chief's island* pa under cover of darkness, slew about sixty of his people, and carried off considerable plunder. Te Pahi himself was wounded and fled to the mainland, and was afterwards killed by hostile Whangaroans. Many months elapsed before the truth came to light, and it appeared that, though guiltless of the murder, by participating in the plunder Te Pahi became an accessory after the fact. The act of mistaken retribution perpetrated by the whalers stirred up a feud between the Whangaroan and Bay of Islands natives, which lasted until a reconciliation was effected by Marsden in the manner already described.†

*Near the northern headland of the Bay.

†See page 34.



The Rev. Samuel Marsden, senior chaplain at Sydney, who in 1808 was given authority by the Church Missionary Society of England to establish a New Zealand Mission.



[H. Winkelmann photo, by kind permission of Wanderlust Magazine]

The old wooden church at Russell. To this little church, ninety years ago, Captain Hobson walked from the boat to perform his first official act as accredited representative of the British Crown,

In March, 1829, the brig *Hawes* was at Motuhora (Whale Island). While the captain and most of the crew were ashore curing pork at a hot spring and only the mate and three men left on board, the vessel was attacked by Whakatane natives led by Ngarara, captured, and pillaged. The three sailors were killed and afterwards eaten on shore. The mate was kept a prisoner until ransomed by chiefs sent from Tauranga, whither the captain escaped. The brig was salvaged by the *New Zealander*, which the captain found there.

A remarkable illustration of the far-reaching effects of Maori *utu* is to be seen in the series of events which formed the sequel to this massacre. Ngarara was shot dead by a Ngapuhi chief from the deck of the *New Zealander*, as requital for his share in the outrage. His tribesmen, not to be outdone in observing the punctilios, organized an expedition to their enemies at Hicks Bay, who were known to have two pakeha-Maoris. A pa was taken and one pakeha killed, the other making a miraculous escape to a European ship, whose boat's crew fired on his captors. Then a force of Ngapuhi warriors, passing Whakatane homeward, were attacked and severely handled. And so the pursuit of *utu* went on in the old Maori days, the chain of revenge being forged link by link to an incredible length, and the innocent frequently suffering for the guilty.

The year 1834 witnessed a double tragedy in a horrible massacre by Maoris at Taranaki, and an even more atrocious slaughter perpetrated in revenge for it by a whaling crew assisted by the full force of a British man-of-war. The *Harriett*, bound from Sydney to Cloudy Bay, was wrecked at Cape Egmont on April 29th, 1834. Among those on board was John Guard, the whaler

of Te Awaiti, with his wife and two children. The whole party got safely ashore, but being poorly armed fell a prey to a large force of the Ngatiruanui. Over a dozen were slain, Mrs. Guard and her children were retained as prisoners, while Guard himself and fifteen others fled towards Moturoa (Sugar Loaf Island) and surrendered to the Ngatiawa.

A fortnight later, Guard, having offered to ransom the party with a cask of powder, left with six men and several chiefs for Cloudy Bay and Port Nicholson. At the latter port he found the *Joseph Weller* loading for Sydney, and arranged with her to call at Moturoa and effect the ransom. Stormy weather, however, compelled the ship to make for Sydney. Here Guard abandoned the idea of ransom, and obtained the consent of the Legislative Council and of Governor Bourke to use H.M.S. *Alligator* and a company of soldiers to effect a rescue.

The warship and the colonial schooner *Isabella* set out, and after protracted delays due to bad weather and the persistent refusal to pay any ransom, eight men were eventually exchanged for four chiefs, and Mrs. Guard and one child for another chief who had been captured. Before the other child could be rescued Waimate pa was bombarded, many canoes destroyed, and later a number of natives ruthlessly shot down. The warship made for Kapiti, where Te Rauparaha was most obsequious, and thence for the Bay of Islands.

When Governor Bourke's report of the *Alligator* expedition was published in London in 1835, and the passionately indignant "personal narrative" by that vessel's surgeon, Dr. Marshall, appeared in 1836 impugning the severity and injustice meted out to the natives, the British Government had to face much scathing comment; and a Committee of the House of

Commons set up in 1837 to consider what steps should be adopted to protect native inhabitants in British settlements animadverted strongly upon the conduct of the affair. The worst feature was the purposeless slaughter of natives after the last prisoner had been surrendered. It will thus be seen that the British soldier had no reason to be proud of his first entry into the arena of New Zealand warfare.

CHAPTER VIII.—ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF BRITISH INFLUENCE.

New Zealand owes its existence as a British settlement less to its re-discovery and exploration by Englishmen than to the fact that the nearest centres of European population, viz., New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, were British, and their influence in shipping, trading, and missionary matters paramount in the South Seas. The earliest settlers were thus mainly British in birth or allegiance. The growth of British authority in Old New Zealand was at first exceedingly slow, and the early stages of the transition from a lawless community to one of organized government were marked by a train of futile efforts at restraint.

Man's inhumanity to man was nowhere and at no date more abundantly illustrated than in and around New Zealand in those early days. At various dates from 1806 onwards, the New South Wales Government and the British Parliament were moved in the interest of humanity to take steps to protect natives from the rapacity and cruelty of ship masters. Such were Governor King's proclamation, about 1806, against the practice of flogging Maoris; Governor Macquarie's proclamation of December 1st 1813.

requiring masters and owners to enter into a surety of £1,000 to "be of good behaviour;" the Government order of 1814, providing for the prosecution of delinquent ship masters who should return to England without calling at Sydney; Governor Macquarie's appointment of the chiefs Hongi and Korokoro to act with Mr. Kendall as magistrates at the Bay of Islands; the Act of June, 1817, by the British Parliament "for the more effectual Punishment of Murders and Manslaughters in Places not within His Majesty's Dominions;" another of July 19th, 1823, enlarging the jurisdiction of colonial courts to cases of treasons, piracies, felonies, robberies, etc.; Governor Brisbane's proclamation of May 17th, 1824, enforcing the above; and, finally, the Imperial Act of 1828, further strengthening the power of the colonial Supreme Court to try such cases.

Though in 1827 the *Wellington* pirates* were brought to justice, the urgent need for drastic legislation and stricter enforcement of the law was exemplified in 1831, by the ease with which punishment for a most atrocious crime was evaded by Captain Stewart, whose nefarious association with Te Rau-paraha in the murder of Tamaiharanui and his people has already been related. The Sydney trial was a deplorable travesty of justice, and Stewart's release conclusive proof of the futility of a legal system which could, as McNab says, allow the gallows to be cheated of so deserving a case.

It was on April 16th of the same year that Governor Darling issued his proclamation forbidding the gruesome and degrading traffic in preserved and tattooed heads, under a penalty of £40. As this proclamation could not be evaded, the revolting trade ceased.

*Convicts who captured the vessel.

The year 1831 is also memorable for the fear of French annexation that was prevalent. For some years a French man-of-war detailed to protect and control the French whaling industry had visited the Bay, while Dumont D'Urville's visit in 1827 was well known. Now, on October 3rd, 1831, the French warship, *La Favorite*, came to refresh its enfeebled crew, and its captain declared the country suited for French possession. The missionaries induced thirteen chiefs of the Bay to sign a letter to King William IV., which was forwarded through the Church Missionary Society, pleading for protection: "We have heard that the Tribe of Marion (*i.e.*, the French) is at hand, coming to take away our land. Therefore we pray thee to become our friend and the guardian of these islands . . ."

In 1832 Marsden wrote to the Church Missionary Society, adding insistence to the reiterated plea for parliamentary redress of natives' wrongs.

The final stage of futility in the attempted control of British settlers in New Zealand, and of traders thereto, was reached by the appointment of a British Resident, which came by way of a royal reply to the petition of the thirteen chiefs, and as an authoritative protest against crimes like that of Stewart. The idea was conceived by Governor Darling and reported by him to the Colonial Office. The appointment of consular agent or British Resident was made by Lord Goderich in June, 1832, and Darling's successor, Bourke, carried the proposal into execution. The office was conferred upon James Busby, a Sydney civil engineer, then in England publishing a book on the Colonies.

Mr. Busby arrived in Sydney on October 15th, 1832, received his instructions and credentials to the missionaries from Governor Bourke, and reached the

Bay of Islands on May 5th, 1833, in H.M.S. *Imogene*. His formal entry into public life took place on May 17th, when he landed under a salute of seven guns, and was received with dignity and kindness by the missionaries and with speeches and dances of welcome by the Maoris. Mr. Busby first read a letter from the King and then an address of his own, Mr. Williams translating each into Maori. A number of chiefs spoke in reply, and presents having been distributed, the ceremony concluded with the customary feast.

The King's message to the chiefs, which expressed his regret for the injuries they had suffered from English subjects, and his confident expectation that they would support Mr. Busby whom he had sent to reside among them for their protection, was a satisfactory answer to their petition, provided that Mr. Busby could make good the promises it contained. In this, as will be shown, he completely failed. In his own address Mr. Busby explained the purposes of his residence among them, namely, to foster and maintain a friendly feeling between Maoris and whites, and to prevent the recurrence of misunderstandings and quarrels between them.

Governor Bourke's copious instructions, under date April 13th, 1833, told the British Resident vaguely what it was he had to try to do, and then how it was he would be unable to do it. His principal duty was "to conciliate the good-will of the native chiefs," which was to be done "by the skilful use of those powers which educated man possesses over the wild or half-civilized savage." He was to avail himself of the knowledge, influence, and advice of the missionaries and co-operate cordially with them. As he could not be clothed with any legal power or jurisdiction, he was to rely upon the influence he could

obtain over the native chiefs. A circuitous and expensive process, and one rarely practicable, was detailed for bringing escaped convicts and others to trial in Sydney. He was to mediate with the chiefs to prevent intestine wars, and to educate them towards a settled form of government, and the establishment of a system of jurisprudence and courts for the trial of offences.

Mr. Busby, whose arrival was not very welcome to many of the trading community, removed himself from Kororareka, and fixed the site of the Residency on the north bank of the Waitangi, about a mile to the north of the mission station at Paihia. His position carried a salary of £500 a year, besides an additional allowance of £200 a year for the purchase of presents for the native chiefs. These sums were taxed upon the finances of New South Wales, as a portion of the Civil Establishment of that Colony.

The salient incidents of Mr. Busby's rule were trivial enough, and may be dismissed briefly. His first notable act was the choice of a national flag. On his suggestion, Governor Bourke despatched three flags, and at the Residency, on March 20th, 1834, after an explanatory address, the assembled chiefs finally chose a white flag with a large St. George's Cross and with another red cross and four white stars on a blue ground in the quarter next the staff. The flag was hoisted beside the Union Jack and honoured with a royal salute of 21 guns by H.M.S. *Alligator*.

In June, 1835, Lieutenant Thomas McDonnell, R.N., a large landowner at Hokianga, was appointed an Additional British Resident for New Zealand. He was to act in concert with Mr. Busby, but disclaimed any wish for emolument for his services.

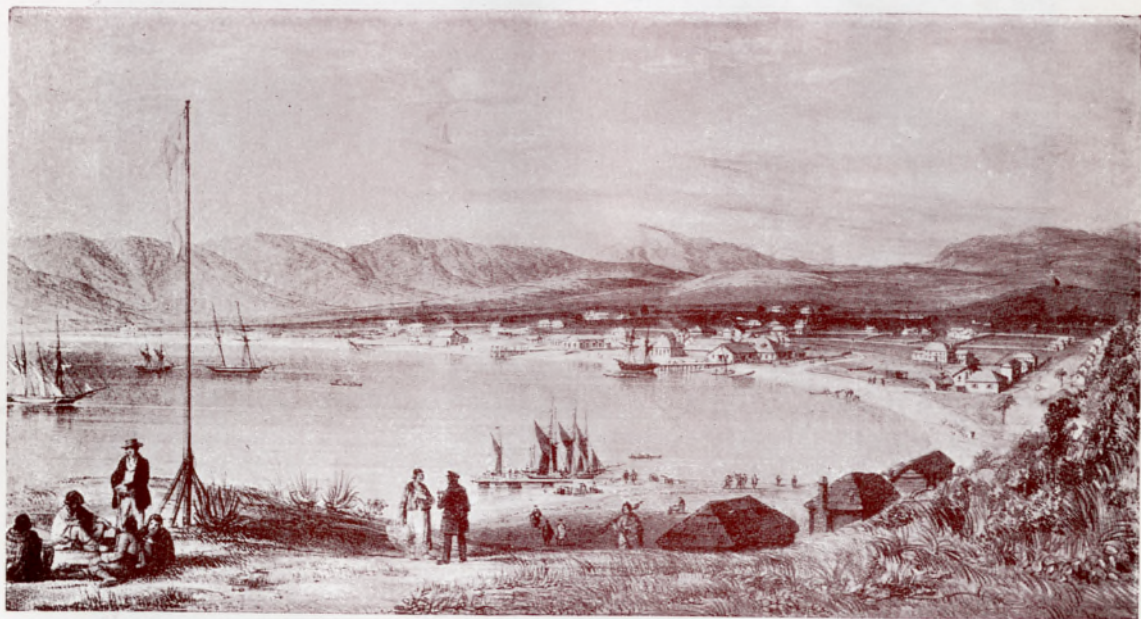
It was in October of the same year that Mr. Busby

addressed the British settlers concerning Baron de Thierry's pretensions.* In their Declaration of Independence the chiefs claimed all sovereign power and authority within their territories, agreed to meet annually in congress at Waitangi to frame laws for the dispensation of justice, the preservation of peace and good order, and the regulation of trade, and in return for the friendship and protection they had shown to his subjects, they entreated the King to continue to be the parent of their infant state and the protector of its independence. The idea of maintaining a native sovereignty was mere mockery, and that of the Maoris meeting in congress was extremely ludicrous, in view of their ignorance of parliamentary institutions and legal procedure and the lack of cohesion among the tribes. Mr. Busby was ridiculed by Governor Bourke for his "stillborn constitution," and by Governor Gipps for his "paper pellet fired off at the Baron de Thierry."

Mr. Busby having forwarded a copy of the Declaration to the Colonial Office, Lord Glenelg replied through Governor Bourke in a despatch dated May 25th, 1836. It was a mere expression of goodwill and proffer of such protection as might be consistent with the rights of others. Seeing that the British Government had then no intention of taking any effective steps for the protection of New Zealand, these were but empty words.

The last ten days of 1835 were memorable for the visit of H.M.S. *Adventure* (Captain King) and H.M.S. *Beagle*, then on a voyage of scientific discovery and exploration. The latter vessel was commanded by Captain Robert FitzRoy, who eulogised the work of the missionaries in the country, and with him as naturalist was the then little known Charles

*Vide page 50.



Te Aro Flat, Wellington, 1843.



Waterfront of Wellington in 1930, Government Buildings on the left. [Govt. Publicity photo]

Darwin, who apparently saw little virtue in the people of New Zealand outside of Waimate.

According to statistics furnished by Mr. Busby, during the year 1836 one hundred and fifty-one whaling and trading vessels visited the Bay, of which sixty-one per cent. were either British or British Colonial, and the remainder French and American.

The impracticability of Mr. Busby's scheme of government was fully realized and expressed in documentary form in March, 1837, by one hundred and ninety-two persons, including the principal missionaries, traders, and residents of the Bay of Islands, who were moved by the threatened usurpation of power over New Zealand by Baron Charles de Thierry, by the robberies and all kinds of depredations committed on shipboard and on shore, and by the powerlessness of the Resident, to petition King William IV. to accord them whatever relief should appear to him to be expedient.

Owing to internecine warfare at the Bay of Islands, Captain Hobson was despatched by Governor Bourke in H.M.S. *Rattlesnake*, to report upon the state of affairs in New Zealand, and to suggest the best means of securing the common interests of natives and settlers. He arrived at the Bay on May 28th, 1837, and remained in New Zealand waters for several weeks. His report dated August 8th, 1837, stated that he found the native quarrel was about to be adjusted, and commented upon the immunity of missionaries and whites during the most desperate fighting. He recommended the establishment of factories of English under the control of factors who should be political agents and magistrates accredited to the chiefs, at the Bay of Islands, Hokianga, Cloudy Bay, and elsewhere, to restrain licentious whites, and the conclusion of a treaty with the chiefs for the

recognition of these factories and the protection of British subjects and property.

In a long letter to the Colonial Secretary of New South Wales, dated June 16th, 1837, Mr. Busby reported the warlike and unruly state of the natives and the urgent need for some paramount authority, such as the protection of Great Britain supported by an adequate force of British troops. He recommended the establishment of a government by the sovereign chiefs under missionary guidance and the protection of Great Britain. Of this scheme Governor Bourke expressed his disapproval in a despatch to Lord Glenelg, on 9th September, 1837.

The severest stricture upon the inefficiency of Mr. Busby's rule may be construed from the proceedings of the Kororareka Association formed on May 23rd, 1838, by the more respectable of the white settlers at the Bay. A president and other officers were elected by the members, who styled themselves the Vigilants, and fifteen resolutions passed indicating the procedure to be followed for the protection of their families and properties from vicious whites and truculent natives. The decisions of their court were to be carried out, if need be, by force of arms. Fines, mostly ranging from £5 to £10, were to be exacted from offenders, horsewhipping was to be inflicted upon defaulting debtors, while tarring and feathering was reserved for more serious delinquents. The Association continued to exercise some restraint upon the lawless for a period of nearly two years.

In his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Lords in 1838, Captain FitzRoy blamed Busby for failing to acquire the moral influence which was the only instrument of power allowed him, and for separating himself from, and even acting in opposition to, the missionaries.

That Mr. Busby held a very difficult post cannot be denied. At best, the influence of the Resident could only be local, and could not control settlers or visiting seamen at a score of other points on the extensive New Zealand coasts. Without legal authority or police force of any kind, and relying entirely upon moral influence, he was expected to create order out of chaos. Everything therefore depended upon the individual force and calibre of the man. Only a strong personality, at once eminently tactful, discerning, and fearless, would be anything but a non-entity in the position. Had he united in himself the intimate knowledge of the Maori and the personal prowess of a Maning, the tact and magnetism of a Cook, and the rare force and disinterested benevolence of a Marsden, he might have achieved the end for which he was appointed; but his mind and character were not cast in the heroic mould that such an exacting post demanded. He was no dullard and no weakling, but a reputable gentleman of the professional class, without special training or talent to qualify him for his formidable task. Since he was ignorant of the Maori language, customs, and character, and held aloof from the better class of settlers and to some extent even from the missionaries who were his only staff of support, any influence he might have won soon slipped from his grasp.

Whatever the cause, the result is certain. Mr. Busby's authority, even in mild official language, "from various causes proved for the most part inoperative." Indeed, that gentleman came to be regarded as a mere figure-head, possessing only the semblance of power and the shadow of authority. This toothless watchdog, or, in the time-honoured phrase of Carleton, "this man-of-war without guns," was a dismal failure, and his ineptitude was too

obvious to be endured for long. A change was inevitable if the community was to be rescued from the welter of disorder and crime into which it was plunged. On December 1st, 1838, Lord Glenelg desired Governor Gipps to acquaint Mr. Busby with his intention of discontinuing the office of Resident, and of appointing a British Consul at New Zealand instead. The *deus ex machina*, though an unconscious agent in this change, was the New Zealand Company, whose origin and early history will be next recounted.

CHAPTER IX.—THE EVE OF SYSTEMATIC COLONIZATION.

It is necessary to turn now to the Motherland, where forces had been long working in the teeth of active opposition from the British Government and the three missionary societies,* and in the face of more or less passive resistance from the public, towards the establishment of systematic colonies in Australasia. The opposition of the Government may be traced to unwillingness to shoulder fresh responsibilities and expenses from a fixed conviction that the Empire was already large enough, to which may be added a strong disinclination to entrust colonists with the self-government warmly advocated by the promoters of colonization; the hostility of the missionary societies was based upon jealousy of interference with the proselytising efforts of their teachers; while the opposition of the public was attributable largely to ignorance of the distinction between emigration and colonization, which first began to emerge in the third decade of the 19th century.

*The Church Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and the London Missionary Society.

The failure of the New Zealand Company of 1825,* though a severe set-back to colonization, was only temporary in its deterrent effects. By 1830, when the agitation for the reform of parliamentary representation was progressing, the advocates of systematic colonization had recovered from the shock, and with the enlistment of new constructive talent and energy, formed a society in London called the Colonization Society, which formulated a new theory of colonization and entered with enthusiasm upon the strenuous task of educating public opinion and enlightening the officials of the Colonial Office.

The fount and origin of the new colonizing movement, as well as its chief executive agent, was Edward Gibbon Wakefield, whose genius for nation-building has placed him without compeer in the gallery of noble souls who may justly be called builders of Greater Britain. Being debarred by an early indiscretion from an active public career, wherein his remarkable mental and physical vigour eminently fitted him to command success, he was compelled for some years to labour unseen, to exert a more or less secret influence, which was nevertheless powerful and effective. His was often the brain which conceived and the energy which inspired, while others whose names were free from stain moved in response to his guidance.

The experience of past failures in colonization, in particular that of the Swan River Settlement of 1829, convinced Wakefield that nothing short of a complete revolution in the methods of emigration adopted would ensure success. For the haphazard and unmethodical emigration of the past he would substitute a complete colonizing system built up on rational principles. These were only gradually evolved, and after much bitter opposition slowly won

*Vide page 47.

their way to general acceptance. The fundamental principles referred to were the following:—

1. That emigrants should not be convicts, but judiciously selected young free settlers in equal proportion of the sexes, and a vertical section or slice of English society from highest to lowest.
2. That waste lands should not be given away but sold at a sufficient price, a portion of the purchase money being expended in assisted passages of free labourers so as to balance the supply of and the demand for labour as nearly as possible, and thus give value to the land.
3. That land-jobbers should be checkmated by throwing sufficient land into the market to render all jobbing futile.
4. That original endowments should be created for religious and educational purposes.
5. That liberal powers of self-government are essential to the prosperity and contentment of a colonial population.

That Wakefield and his circle of colonizing reformers on the one hand and their opponents, the Missionary Societies, on the other, were successful in awakening the sluggish interest of the Legislature in their objectives and propaganda, is evidenced by the various committees set up by Parliament during this transition period in 1833, 1836, 1837, and 1838, to examine witnesses and collect evidence concerning colonial affairs.

Hoping to have a freer hand for a fair trial of his system than had been accorded it in Australia, Wakefield turned his attention to New Zealand, where a very undesirable form of colonization was in progress. His condemnation of this in June, 1836, in evidence given before the Parliamentary Committee, led to the formation of The New Zealand Association of 1837 to organise the systematic colonization of the country. From the first, the promoters met with the most determined opposition from the Colonial Secretary, Lord Glenelg, a strong missionary

sympathiser, and despite the fact that missionaries in New Zealand had already petitioned for protection, from the three missionary societies as well. The leaders of this influential Association, boasting a membership of 300, included Mr. Francis Baring, Mr. Charles Buller, Lord Durham, Lord Petre, and other notables, and the first meeting took place on May 22nd, 1837, about a month prior to the accession of Queen Victoria. The promoters were disinterested persons with no pecuniary interest in the concern, and were not intending colonists. A prospectus penned by E. G. Wakefield stating the objects of the Association and describing New Zealand, was issued, and supplemented by a pamphlet in October, 1837. The Church Missionary Society's Secretary, Mr. Coates, attacked the Association, and Wakefield rejoined in a trenchant letter to Lord Glenelg. A heated controversy now raged for some time upon the colonization of New Zealand in the leading journals of the day.

Early in December, a deputation from the Association was received by Lord Melbourne and Lord Glenelg, and its scheme opposed, but a week later a second deputation to Lord Glenelg was informed that the Government would grant the Association a charter of incorporation on condition of its becoming a joint stock company. This was so contrary to the aims of the Association that the offer was declined. In a letter to Lord Durham dated December 29th, Lord Glenelg admitted that recent advices from New Zealand made it absolutely necessary to establish British authority in New Zealand, but proposed reservations and limitations to the powers of the Association to which it was unable to assent. It therefore decided to endeavour to obtain parliamentary sanction for its colonizing project. A bill was

accordingly introduced into the House of Commons on June 19th, 1838, but to the surprise and chagrin of its supporters, was defeated by nearly three to one.

The only course now open was to transform the Association into a joint stock company. In October, 1838, therefore, the prospectus of the New Zealand Colonization Company with a paid-up capital of £250,000 was issued privately. The company's mission was to assemble colonists for an expedition to be despatched in the following year.

Meanwhile, Lord Glenelg, moved by Busby's failure and the abortive congress of the chiefs, notified Governor Gipps by a despatch dated December 1st, 1838, of the Government's intention to appoint a British Consul at New Zealand. Lord Palmerston, Foreign Secretary, intimated his concurrence on December 31st, with a promise to include the salary and expense of that Consul in the Consular Estimate. The appointment was conferred in the following year upon Captain Hobson, R.N., whose report upon the state of New Zealand in 1837, already referred to, had been received through Governor Bourke.

In February, 1839, the inefficient Glenelg was replaced by Lord Normanby, who, however, proved equally hostile to the Company, as when notified on March 4th that the conditions required by the Government had been fulfilled, and asked to grant an interview, he replied that the offer of the Government in 1838* having been rejected once, he declined to recognise any further responsibility in the matter.

The *impasse* spelt ruin to the Association but not to its aspirations, for within a few weeks the sanguine and resourceful Wakefield built up from the wreck of the various colonizing societies a powerful joint stock company, at first styled the New Zealand Land Company, and afterwards the New Zealand Com-

*Actually December, 1837. Vide page 71.

pany. "A capital of £100,000 was paid up and 100,000 acres of land in New Zealand were sold in London before a title to one had been acquired." The Earl of Durham was first Governor, and Mr Joseph Somes Deputy-Governor. Among the original directors were Lord Petre, Mr. William Hutt, M.P., and Colonel Torrens. E. G. Wakefield's name first appeared in 1840.

On April 29th, 1839, the Directors informed Lord Normanby that the Company intended to form a settlement in New Zealand. A copy of the instructions issued to their principal agent, Colonel Wakefield, whom they proposed to despatch on May 1st to endeavour to make purchases of land at Port Nicholson, was sent to him with a request that he would be so good as to furnish Colonel Wakefield with letters to the colonial Governors. Lord Normanby's reply was a hostile indictment of the Company's proposals, proceedings, and very existence, and a point blank refusal of its request.

On May 2nd, the new Company's prospectus was issued, and by the 20th of the month a society called the "First Colony of New Zealand" was formed, distinct from, but in connexion with it, "consisting exclusively of heads of families and others, intending to settle permanently in New Zealand, on lands purchased from the Company." The qualification for the membership of this society was the purchase of one hundred acres of land, and members were to be admitted by ballot only.

Undismayed by official frowns, but fearful of the balking of his plans, Wakefield stole a march on the Colonial Office by hastening the departure of the Company's armed exploring ship, *Tory*, which was despatched from London on the 5th of May, 1839, and from Plymouth seven days later. The vessel was under the command of Captain Chaffers, form-

erly master of the *Beagle*. The six passengers in a ship's company of 35 persons were the promoter's brother, Colonel William Wakefield; his son, Edward Jerningham Wakefield; Dr. Dieffenbach, naturalist; Nayti, a Maori; Charles Heaphy, draughtsman; and Dr. Dorset. The object of the expedition was to prepare the way by the exploration and purchase of lands for the first company of emigrants, who were to follow in a vessel which was to rendezvous with Colonel Wakefield at Port Hardy, in Cook Strait, on January 10th, 1840. A second vessel, the *Cuba*, with thirty passengers aboard, including the Company's surveyors, left for Port Nicholson at the end of July, partly to perfect the contemplated arrangements, and partly to provide against any mishap to the first expedition.

The company's admirable instructions to their principal agent, drafted mainly by Edward Gibbon Wakefield and couched in dignified language, were necessarily general in character, covering the objects of the expedition. The instructions for the purchase of lands and the treatment of natives were apparently dictated by sentiments of justice and humanity. The missionaries were to be shown the respect they deserved for the sacrifices they had made as pioneers of civilization.

The Company in England, having apparently won in the first encounter with the Government, continued to pursue its aims with vigour. Wakefield now hoped that Parliament might be induced to legalise and regulate the colonization of New Zealand. Though in August Lord Normanby chose to deny all knowledge of the Company's proceedings, he had in the previous June intimated to the Treasury his intention to make New Zealand a dependency of New South Wales, and to promote Captain

Hobson, the intended Consul, to the dignity of Lieutenant-Governor. Letters Patent were issued dated June 15th, authorizing Governor Gipps to include within the limits of New South Wales any territory that might be acquired in sovereignty by Her Majesty in New Zealand. The proposed arrangement was sanctioned by Treasury Minutes issued in June and July. Captain Hobson's commission as British Consul was signed by Lord Palmerston, who also forwarded the instructions necessary for the conduct of the Consulate. Captain Hobson was to avail himself of every opportunity for collecting and transmitting to the Foreign Secretary useful or interesting information relating to commerce, navigation, agriculture, etc. His salary was to be £500 a year, and he was restricted from engaging in mercantile pursuits. He was to report also to the Colonial Department in accordance with instructions he would receive from the Secretary of State for the Colonies. These were issued by Lord Normanby on the following day, which was just two days before the *Tory* sighted New Zealand.

That pioneer vessel had made a quick passage of ninety-six days and arrived in sight of Cape Farewell on August 16th, 1839, and anchored at Ship Cove on the 18th, where she remained till the end of the month, while Queen Charlotte Sound, Te Awaiti, Cloudy Bay, and Pelorus were all examined. Then with the influential Dicky Barrett of Te Awaiti as intermediary, Wakefield sailed for Port Nicholson where the *Tory* anchored off Petone beach on September 20th. Te Puni and Wharepouri, the two leading chiefs of the district, were aboard to welcome the coming of the Company before the anchor was down. After examining the harbour, the Colonel addressed the natives relative to the sale of their land, and

despite some opposition, obtained their consent to a transfer. After viewing the various articles of payment (muskets, gunpowder, ball cartridges, soap, tobacco, pipes, Jews' harps, fishing hooks, iron pots, duck, calico, print, blankets, shirts, jackets, trousers, looking-glasses, shaving-brushes, slates and pencils, pocket-knives, scissors, axes, spades, etc.), the native chiefs signed the deed of sale on the 27th, and the goods having been distributed in bulk to the different tribes, the New Zealand flag was hoisted on shore and saluted with twenty-one guns on September 30th. A white trader from Te Awaiti was then left in charge to prepare dwellings and collect food supplies for the anticipated immigrants.

On October 4th, Wakefield proceeded in the *Tory* to Cloudy Bay, whence with John Brooks as interpreter he made for Kapiti Island, arriving as already related, to find consternation and grief reigning as a result of the Ngatiraukawa defeat at Waikanae. The Colonel's diplomacy and courageous bearing prevailed over all difficulties, and the chiefs on October 24th finally signed a deed of conveyance, by which the Company acquired possessions "extending from the 38th to the 43rd degree of latitude on the western coast, and from the 41st to the 43rd on the eastern." On October 27th, Wakefield visited the missionary natives at Waikanae and found them willing to sell their land, but only in exchange for munitions of war. He then took several of their chiefs aboard and sailed for East Bay, Queen Charlotte Sound, where, on the 8th of November, he completed the purchase of a large district, which the deed described as extending south to 43 degrees latitude and north to about 38 degrees on the west coast and about 41 degrees on the east, exclusive of Kapiti and Mana. Next day the Colonel went ashore

and took possession. The Strait divided these purchases into two regions, which the Colonel named North and South Durham respectively.

Postponing the completion of the purchase at Waikanae, the Colonel decided to proceed to Taranaki with Barrett and two chiefs from Port Nicholson, to secure that rich region from its sparse occupants. Calling at Kapiti on the journey northwards, he arranged with some Wanganui chiefs there a provisional purchase of their land, but bad weather prevented a landing at Wanganui to complete the bargain, and the vessel passed north to the Sugar Loaf Islands. Here Barrett and the two Maori deputies landed and opened negotiations with their old acquaintances and relatives. As a week would elapse before the scattered natives of the district could be assembled, and as Wakefield was desirous of hastening to the Kaipara and Hokianga to view property there to which the Company already had rights, he put Barrett ashore to prepare the natives for the sale. Dr. Dieffenbach was also landed to make a geological examination of Mount Egmont and its neighbourhood.

On December 2nd the *Tory* entered Hokianga and anchored twenty-six miles from the mouth, near the Mangungu Wesleyan Mission, from whose pastor, Mr. Bumby, the party received every civility and consideration. Here the Colonel took possession of Herd's Point, the purchase of the New Zealand Company of 1825, and likewise of the opposite piece of land at Motukaraka, bought from Lieutenant McDonnell. Colonel Wakefield also bought from "the widow of Captain Blenkinsopp some deeds professing to be the original conveyances of the plains of Wairoa* by Te Rauparaha, Rangihaeata and others to that gentleman in consideration of a ship's gun."

*i.e., Wairau.

Subsequent investigation proved that the documents were but copies of the originals, and that the drawee had fraudulently inserted Ocean Bay and Wairau Plain instead of a right to obtain wood and water for the consideration named.

The *Tory* next left for Kaipara to take possession of land there, purchased also from Lieutenant McDonnell, who had claimed a right of pre-emption over it. Here the ship ran aground on a sand bank, and when floated off proved to be unfit for service for a month or two. As it was now nearly the end of December, Colonel Wakefield was anxious to get back to Cook Strait to meet the first emigrants at Port Hardy on January 10th. Finding the native chiefs laughed at his claim to any of their land, he crossed over to the Bay of Islands, where he chartered the brig *Guide*, in which he proceeded to the rendezvous, arriving there on the 11th. Much relieved to find he was yet in time, he arranged with a whaler to keep a lookout for the expected arrivals and pilot them to Port Nicholson. He despatched the *Guide* to bring off the party left at Kaipara, and proceed thence to Taranaki to complete the land purchase there, while he himself, hearing of the arrival at Port Nicholson of the *Cuba* survey-ship, took a boat to that port, where he arrived on the 18th. During his absence, other land-seekers had arrived and were bargaining independently for land, while the Rev. Henry Williams had visited the settlement, claiming to have bought land for his mission from a native teacher.

Two days later the *Aurora* anchored at the Heads, where she was compelled to remain for two days, the 148 immigrants she carried landing on the 22nd; that day has since been annually commemorated as the foundation of the settlement. This was just a week

before Captain Hobson arrived at the Bay of Islands clothed with authority from the British Government. The next emigrant ships to arrive were the *Oriental* on January 31st, with 155 passengers; the *Duke of Roxburgh* on February 7th, with 167 passengers; and the *Bengal Merchant* on February 21st, with 160 passengers.

Meanwhile, the *Guide* had reached Kaipara, taken on board Dr. Dorset, E. J. Wakefield, Doddrey, and the necessary goods, and finally succeeded in making Moturoa, the inner of the Sugar Loaf Islands, on February 1st. A dispute regarding the purchase of the land with a private claimant, Mr. White, a former Wesleyan missionary and now a landowner and trader, accompanied by several days of storm, postponed the land purchase till February 15th, when the deed was taken ashore, translated and explained by Barrett, and forty-seven signatures of Ngamotu natives obtained thereto. Another adjacent tract of land was then purchased from the owners thereof, the two purchases covering an area extending "from a spot half-way between the mouth of the Mokau River and the Sugar Loaf Islands, to a river called Wangatawa, south of Cape Egmont; and inland, to the summit of the mountain, and thence to a spot on the banks of the Wanganui River, high up its course." On the 16th the brig left for Port Nicholson, where she arrived on the 21st.

While the Company was thus establishing itself in the central portion of the islands, the British Government, had at last been spurred to take active steps to set up some authority in New Zealand. Captain Hobson's instructions indicated a *volte-face* in the policy of the Colonial Office. Lord Normanby avowed that the Government departed from its previous course with extreme reluctance. It still regarded New

Zealand as a sovereign and independent state, and disclaimed every pretension to seize upon the islands, or to govern them as part of the dominion of Great Britain, unless the free and intelligent consent of the natives should be first obtained. Captain Hobson was authorised to treat with the aborigines for the recognition of Her Majesty's sovereign authority over the whole or any parts of those islands which they might be willing to place under her Majesty's dominion. He was to induce the chiefs to contract with him that henceforward no lands should be ceded, either gratuitously or otherwise, except to the Crown of Great Britain, and to announce by proclamation that while it was not intended to dispossess the owners of any property acquired on equitable terms or upon a scale not prejudicial to the interests of the community, Her Majesty would not acknowledge as valid any title to land not either derived from or confirmed by a grant from the Crown.

These instructions were slightly modified in the direction of greater freedom of action by Lord John Russell, who superseded Lord Normanby as Colonial Secretary in August. In a despatch to Governor Gipps on December 4th, Lord Russell revealed the first sign of relentment towards the New Zealand Company's emigrants, who, however unjustifiable the action of the Company, were "to be regarded with consideration and kindness."

Captain Hobson left England in H.M.S. *Druid* towards the end of August, 1839, and arrived at Sydney on December 24th, where he remained nearly a month. He conferred with Governor Gipps who, on January 14th, 1840, administered the oaths of office as Lieutenant-Governor, and furnished him with a letter of instructions. On the same day Gipps prepared three proclamations, which he issued on



[From "*The City of Auckland*" by J. Barr
Auckland from Hobson Street in 1852, Rangitoto Island in the background.]



[By courtesy of Auckland Weekly News]
Queen Street, Auckland in 1930, Post Office on the left.

the 19th inst., immediately upon Captain Hobson's departure for New Zealand. The first extended the boundaries of New South Wales to include any territory which had been or might be acquired in sovereignty by Her Majesty in New Zealand; the second appointed Captain Hobson Lieutenant-Governor of any such territory as above; and the third declared that Her Majesty would not acknowledge as valid any title to land in New Zealand which was not either derived from or confirmed by a grant from the Crown, and that all existing claims would be investigated by Commissioners, and all purchases from chiefs or native tribes subsequent to the date of the proclamation would be null and void.

Several officials were appointed by Governor Gipps to accompany Captain Hobson and assist him in the duties of government. They were George Cooper, Collector of Customs and Treasurer, at a salary of £600 a year; Felton Mathew, Acting-Surveyor-General, £400 a year; Lieutenant Willoughby Shortland, Police Magistrate, £300 a year; besides two clerks and a sergeant and four troopers of the New South Wales mounted police.

H.M.S. *Herald* with the official party on board reached the Bay of Islands on Wednesday, January 29th, 1840, and Captain Hobson at once issued an invitation to all British subjects to meet him at the Church Missionary Society church at Kororareka on the following day. On January 30th he accordingly landed, hoisted the Union Jack, and performed the ceremony of reading his two commissions, one extending the limits of the Colony of New South Wales, and the other appointing him Lieutenant-Governor of such parts of New Zealand as had been or might be ceded in sovereignty. A document attesting the fact was thereupon subscribed to by forty persons in-

cluding the late British Resident. Governor Hobson then read and published two proclamations framed by Governor Gipps and his Council, the first recapitulating the steps taken during 1839 relative to the government of New Zealand, and proclaiming his having that day entered upon the duties of Lieutenant-Governor; and the second in pursuance of Lord Normanby's instruction making reference to titles to land in New Zealand.

With Governor Hobson's arrival and proclamation of prospective sovereignty at the Bay of Islands, and the establishment of the New Zealand Company's first settlement at Port Nicholson, the erratic, spasmodic, and unauthorized settlement of Old New Zealand ceased, and a new era of systematised colonization, mainly upon the principles conceived and elaborated by Edward Gibbon Wakefield, was inaugurated. New Zealand was no longer "the preserve of missionaries and whalers," but a free field for the establishment of a new British Colony.

PART II.

THE CROWN COLONY PERIOD (1840-1853).

(By A. W. SHRIMPTON.)

CHAPTER I.—GENERAL SURVEY.

The narrative has now progressed so far as to record the prospective political metamorphosis of the country into an appanage or sub-colony of New South Wales. Before continuing the story it will first be well to visualize the numerous difficulties which confronted the early Governors, and rendered their task exceptionally onerous and sometimes actually distressing.

The isolation of the country was a double disadvantage. By removing the rulers from the advice of their official superiors, it threw them too much upon their own initiative, while these superiors themselves, whose policy was for some years characterised by extreme parsimony, were kept out of touch with current events, and, to some extent, out of sympathy with a possession so remote and insignificant. Even during the short term of dependency upon New South Wales, Hobson was a month's journey away from such advice and aid as Governor Gipps could afford.

Subsequent to that, owing to slow sailing-ships, the vagaries of the weather and the lack of shipping, communication between New Zealand and Downing Street occupied from ten to fifteen months.

The early settlements, being all coastal, and located at several widely separated points, communication between them was slow and infrequent, a circumstance which tended to foster the rivalry and ill-feeling which their different origins engendered, and which also sadly hampered the Local Government by separating the Governor from the governed. Coastal vessels, which had to be specially chartered for every voyage, were few and small in number and dependent upon the fickle winds of heaven, so that Auckland news frequently reached Wellington, and even London, more quickly by way of Sydney than direct. Though the first steamer to visit New Zealand arrived in 1840, it was not till Grey's term that steps were taken to provide this means of more rapid inter-provincial communication. The country itself, being rugged and mountainous in contour, and covered with dense forest and huge swamps, offered insuperable obstacles to rapid inland communication or transport. Native tracks were of the poorest description, and extensive and costly road building and bridge construction were necessary before the few horses and carts available could be utilised. The native inhabitants, in character, habits, and number as previously described, demanded firm but tactful handling. Of the early Governors, Grey alone had previous experience, coming as he did fresh from his victory over similar difficulties in South Australia.

The land laws, founded on the Treaty of Waitangi, which checkmated the original land claimants by making all purchases except from the Crown null

and void, rendered obligatory the establishment of an expensive Land Claims Court, whose costly process and vexatious delays produced financial distress, and helped to stir up strife with the natives. Indeed, disputes concerning land soon became the chief obstacle to progress and the radical cause of Maori wars. As soon as Hobson's appointment became known, the country was flooded with land speculators from Australia. Their extravagant claims hampered the Land Court, and the spirit of speculation they introduced raised the prices of land at the first Auckland land sale to an extravagant figure. The result was to impoverish the settlers and create a lack of capital for developmental work and agriculture.

Most of the articles consumed came from abroad, and the lack of exports to pay for them led to a great scarcity of coinage, and, under FitzRoy, to the creation of an inconvertible paper currency, which enhanced the shortage of gold and silver. Monetary difficulties at times reflected a condition of stringency in the Sydney money market. There was too large a preponderance of shopkeepers and mechanics in the community and not enough tillers of the soil, upon whom the country should have relied for the production of articles for export. The colonising efforts of the New Zealand Company, whose settlements contained the bulk of the white population, were seriously impeded by its disputes with the Colonial Office; and the protracted delay in the settlement of its land claims, which led to the occasional suspension of its operations, grievously distressed its emigrants. Last, but not least, the extravagance of the first three Governors and the incompetence of Shortland, if not of FitzRoy also, aggravated instead of alleviating the prevalent misery. Not till after

Grey's arrival at the close of 1845, did any hopeful sign appear, and then the growing desire for self-government began more and more to influence the actions of the colonists.

CHAPTER II.—THE TREATY OF WAITANGI, AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BRITISH SOVEREIGNTY.

Having issued the proclamations of January 30th, Captain Hobson's next task was to endeavour to procure from the Maori chiefs a surrender of their acknowledged rights of sovereignty over the land to the Queen. In order to achieve this important object, the Governor relied mainly upon the influence of the Protestant missionaries, and particularly upon that of the Rev. Henry Williams. Having entrusted Mr. Busby with the task of drafting a treaty, which was translated into Maori by Mr. Williams, he arranged for a mass meeting of the Maoris for February 5th on the north* bank of the Waitangi river mouth. Here, surrounded by his staff, the officers of the H.M.S. *Herald*, Mr. Busby, and other leading citizens, as well as the principal missionaries, of whom the Rev. Henry Williams acted as interpreter, he announced the object of his mission and the reasons for his appointment, and assured the chiefs most fervently of the good faith of Her Majesty's Government in the matter. He then read and propounded the celebrated Treaty of Waitangi. As the Queen was desirous of establishing a settled form of civil government, the Maoris were besought to cede all their rights of sovereignty over their respective territories to Her Majesty, who in turn would guarantee

*The Waitangi Treaty monument stands on the south bank.

to them the full use and occupation of their lands and properties so long as they wished to retain possession of them. They were also to yield to Her Majesty the sole right of pre-emption, at prices to be arranged, of such lands as the proprietors wished to alienate. In consideration thereof Her Majesty would extend her protection to the natives, and confer upon them all the rights of British subjects.

A heated discussion followed, several chiefs expressing violently hostile views, until a vigorous speech by Tamati Waka Nene, a Ngapuhi chief, always distinguished by his attachment to the white man, created a favourable impression. The final decision was postponed till the next day. An hour before the appointed time on February 6th, the chiefs signified their eagerness to accept the Treaty, and the document was accordingly signed by forty-six head chiefs (including twenty-six of the thirty-five who had signed the Declaration of Independence*) in the presence of at least five hundred of inferior degree.

The Governor's object now being to secure the assent of as many chiefs as possible to the Treaty, he set out with a small following for Waimate and Hokianga, re-enacting the same drama and meeting similar opposition and ultimate success. Being attacked by paralysis on March 1st, while on a visit of inspection to the Waitemata, Hobson was compelled to delegate to others authority to obtain further signatures. Copies of the Treaty were despatched to the various mission stations for the signatures of the local chiefs, while special officials were commissioned to visit certain districts. Thus Mr. Willoughby Shortland secured sixty signatures at Kaitaia, Captain W. C. Symonds won over the chiefs at Manakau and the West Coast, the Rev.

*Vide pages 50 and 64.

Henry Williams met with remarkable success in the Cook Strait region, and Major Bunbury,* in H.M.S. *Herald*, visited a dozen harbours from Coromandel to Stewart Island with a like result. By the end of June, five hundred and twelve signatures, including those of all the head chiefs of New Zealand, except the remote Te Heuheu and Te Wherowhero, were subscribed to the Treaty.

While to the Maoris the Treaty became the sheet-anchor of their liberties and territorial ownership, to the white settlers and the New Zealand Company it came as a staggering blow. The land proclamation did good by foiling the land-jobbers and land-sharks, but it was none the less a bolt from the blue to struggling settlers, to whom insecurity of tenure spelt ruin. All might have been well had claims been promptly settled, but when months ran into years and nothing was decided, poverty and suffering became inevitable.

The severest indictment the Treaty received was contained in the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed in April, 1844, to enquire into the state of the Colony of New Zealand and into the proceedings of the New Zealand Company. Therein the Treaty was stigmatised as part of a series of injudicious proceedings commenced several years previously. The acknowledgment of a right of property on the part of the natives was held not to be essential to the true construction of the Treaty, and to be an error productive of very injurious consequences. This was the view of the New Zealand Company, which regarded the Treaty "as a praiseworthy device for amusing and pacifying savages for the moment." Such a pronouncement, however, was obviously too late, and Lord Stanley would have

*Arrived from Sydney on April 16th in charge of a small detachment of 80th Regiment.

none of it; for, as he pointed out* to Governor Fitz-Roy, it was futile to discuss principles already sanctioned by Acts of Parliament, and any change in the interpretation of the Treaty at that stage would have been inconsistent with justice, good faith, humanity, and policy.

Governor Hobson had received word that signatures to the Treaty were being freely obtained, and was awaiting the final returns from his agents before proclaiming British sovereignty, when news reached him of the provisional government set up in the New Zealand Company's settlement at Port Nicholson. The incident, trivial enough in itself, was magnified by prejudice or alarm into sufficient importance to warrant the precipitate issue of two proclamations of sovereignty on May 21st, 1840, followed on the 23rd by another. The first announced the sovereignty of Her Majesty over the Northern Island by virtue of the Treaty of Waitangi; the second announced her sovereignty over all three islands; the third ordered the dissolution of the "illegal association" at Port Nicholson, and the submission of all residents to the "proper authorities," "legally appointed."

The origin of the "illegal association" may be briefly told. The New Zealand Company having appealed in vain to the British Government in 1839 to afford its intending settlers the protection of British law, Edward Gibbon Wakefield had drafted a plan of self-government to which all the emigrants subscribed. Subsequently, learning that this course was illegal, the Directors wrote to Colonel Wakefield instructing him to support Captain Hobson. Meanwhile, the colonists had settled first at Petone and soon afterwards at Thorndon†, and a Committee of safety had been set up and arrangements made for enrolling

*Despatch August 13th, 1844.

†The transfer was made owing to the unsuitability of the Petone site. The new settlement was first named "Britannia" and afterwards Wellington.

and drilling citizens, and for the arrest, trial, and punishment of offenders. The spark that kindled the conflagration was supplied by Captain Pearson of the barque *Integrity*, who was arrested at Port Nicholson on April 14th for contempt of court. The captain passionately defied the authority of the Committee, escaped to his ship, and carried his grievance to the only lawful guardians of order at Russell,* nearly seven hundred miles away. Without an hour's delay, active preparations were made to suppress the "high treason" and the usurpation of Her Majesty's power by "demagogues" in the south. The Colonial Secretary, Lieutenant Willoughby Shortland, probably the author of this burlesque, guarded by a detachment of soldiers and police, and armed with the three formidable proclamations already described, set off in the *Integrity* on a mission to assert that very supremacy of British law for which the Company had previously pleaded in vain. On his arrival at Port Nicholson, Mr. Shortland found, instead of the anticipated hot-bed of rebellion, a band of very loyal Britons, so that the long-sought British sovereignty was proclaimed on June 4th, amid the acclamations of the whole assembled population.

The day following this important act was notable as that on which Major Bunbury, on his commission to procure signatures to the Treaty, landed at Southern Port (Port Pegasus) in Stewart Island, and took possession in the name of Her Majesty by right of Captain Cook's discovery seventy years before. On his return northwards, the *Herald* called at Cloudy Bay, and the signatures of the local chiefs having been secured, the same ceremony was repeated on June 17th, based this time on cession by the Maoris. Thus, as Dr. McNab points out, the sovereignty over the Middle Island was first *asserted* by Governor

*That is, Kororareka, vide page 92.

Hobson's second proclamation of May 21st, was at various times *ceded* by the chiefs, and was finally *declared* at an official ceremony conducted by Major Bunbury at Cloudy Bay on June 17th, 1840.

The question of British sovereignty over the whole of New Zealand having been thus apparently clinched, it is matter for no little surprise to find that it was considered expedient to assert the claim of sovereignty at Akaroa on August 11th, 1840. It appears that in July a French frigate, *L'Aube*, commanded by Commodore Lavaud, put in at the Bay of Islands, and was hospitably welcomed by the Governor and his staff. As the Commodore made no secret of the fact that he was bound for Akaroa to take possession of a land purchase there, as precursor to the *Comte de Paris* emigrant ship, then on her way to establish a French colony, Captain Hobson despatched Captain Stanley in H.M.S. *Britomart* ostensibly to convey magistrates to Port Nicholson, but in reality to make assurance of British sovereignty at Akaroa doubly sure by the opening of civil courts. Captain Stanley landed there on August 11th, and hoisted the British flag three days before the French frigate entered the harbour. The *Comte de Paris* arrived on the 15th, and her fifty-seven French and six German passengers took provisional possession of their five-acre allotments. Commodore Lavaud, disclaiming "any national intrusion on the part of his Government," was allowed to afford protection to the settlement. The French immigrants remained at first under the direction of the agent of the Nanto-Bordelaise Compagnie, but the settlement languished for some years, owing to the delay in obtaining legal possession of the land. A number left for Tahiti and the Marquesas. The Germans

formed a distinct settlement at German Bay, renamed Takamatua in 1916.

Though sent to New Zealand ostensibly to set up a Government, Hobson took it upon himself to found a settlement. Disappointed with Kororareka as a seat of Government, he made two abortive attempts to establish settlements, first at Russell, derisively christened "Hobson's Folly," some four miles from Kororareka, and then at Churchill, on the Hokianga, before he hit upon a worthy choice at the Waitemata. Having purchased* the land from the local chiefs, he finally decided to transfer the seat of Government from Russell† to the new site, which he named Auckland, after Lord Auckland, then Governor-General of India. The Union Jack had already been hoisted there at Fort Britomart on September 18th, 1840. The removal thither was completed in March, 1841, and the first land sale of town sites was held in April.

The choice of an uninhabited site, remote from the majority of the settlers, as the seat of Government, in preference to that of Port Nicholson, naturally gave great umbrage to the New Zealand Company and its people, and a bitter controversy arose in the colonial newspapers respecting the relative merits of Auckland and Wellington. The northerners vaunted their capacious, sheltered harbours on the east and west coasts, and their proximity to a rich hinterland and a very large native population, and decried the dangerous harbour entrance, the hilly location, and the lack of back country possessed by their rival. The latter eulogised their deep, land-locked harbour, their location in the middle of the Islands, and their large white population, and belittled the remoteness, the insignificance, and

*Deed of purchase is dated October 20th, 1840.

†That is, Kororareka, to which the name Russell was given after the attempt to found the new township of that name failed.

the acquisitiveness of "Hobson's Choice." Each pleaded its case in its Home correspondence, the one in Hobson's despatches to Lord Stanley, and the other in letters to the New Zealand Company. Hobson was deaf to all entreaties to transfer the capital to Wellington. The matter was finally settled by Lord Stanley signifying the Queen's approval of Auckland as the seat of Government, and the fact was officially notified in the *New Zealand Government Gazette* by Acting-Governor Shortland on 26th November, 1842, an honour the town retained until February, 1865.

CHAPTER III.—CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL.

What has been designated the Old New Zealand period of our country's history came to a close with Hobson's proclamations of British sovereignty, events which ushered in a new epoch that is fittingly styled the Crown Colony period. The essential characteristic of Crown Colony government was that all legislative and executive powers were vested by the British Government in a representative appointed by it and owing responsibility to it alone. The Crown maintained its supreme authority by reserving a right of veto over all acts of its representative, the Colonial Governor. The powers of the Governor, as being delegated powers, were partly discretionary and partly defined by his instructions. Within the limits which his instructions prescribed, his authority was absolute. Indeed, a Governor of initiative, prescience, and courage might act in defiance of instructions and have his action approved. A Legislative Council nominated by the Crown was appointed to advise the Governor. Through it his legislative acts were done, and through its leading

members, viz., the Colonial Secretary, the Colonial Treasurer, and the Attorney-General, acting as an Executive Council, many of his administrative acts were carried out. The Crown Colony was thus in effect an autocracy, limited from the viewpoint of the Governor, but absolute from that of the governed. While New Zealand was a dependency of New South Wales, its Lieutenant-Governor was directly responsible to the Governor of that Colony, but on its becoming a separate colony its official head became directly responsible to the British Government, as represented by the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

In New Zealand the period of personal rule continued until the representative form of government granted by the Constitution Act, which passed the British Parliament on June 30th, 1852, came into force in January, 1853, though the first General Assembly summoned under the Act did not meet in Auckland till May 24th, 1854. Its duration, from 1840 to 1853, was thus about fourteen years, the first fifteen months of which was the country's period of tutelage as a sub-colony of New South Wales. From March 10th, 1848, the Colony was divided into two provinces, the northern being named New Ulster and the southern, New Munster. The officers who in turn held the responsible position of local autocrat were, like the Mother Colony's early governors, either sailors or soldiers. These were Captain Wm. Hobson, Lieutenant Willoughby Shortland (Administrator), Captain Robert FitzRoy, and Captain (afterwards Sir George) Grey. But unlike the exercise of authority by certain Australian Governors, the rule of these officers was far removed from any form of tyranny. In common parlance, the Crown Colony Government was termed the Local Government, to distinguish it

from the Home Government to which it was subordinate. The representative government set up by the Constitution Act developed, in 1856, into responsible government, out of which a system of complete autonomy afterwards gradually evolved.

Intimately connected with the constitution of a country is the legal system in force therein, which comprises an essential portion of the machinery of government. Immediately upon the proclamation of British sovereignty on May 21st, 1840, the laws of New South Wales became law in New Zealand. As soon as New Zealand became a separate Crown Colony it became expedient to utilise some available code of laws, pending enactments by the local Legislature. Accordingly, the first ordinance passed (on June 3rd, 1841) by the newly-constituted Legislative Council extended the laws of New South Wales to New Zealand so far as they could be made applicable. Any changes that were desired in the New South Wales law thus introduced were provided for by new ordinances. By March 15th, 1842, fitting provision had been made for the good government of the Colony of New Zealand by the Governor and Legislative Council thereof. Accordingly, on that date the first ordinance was repealed, and no law act, or ordinance of New South Wales had any force whatever in the country after the date April 25th, 1842, then described as a red letter day in our history, when the Repealing Ordinance came into force.

Reference has been made to the separation from New South Wales. The first movement in this direction was the direct consequence of the intense indignation aroused both throughout New Zealand and in London by the earliest land laws. Public meetings held in New Zealand clamoured for separation. A petition from London merchants, bankers, and ship-

owners, supported by the evidence of the New Zealand Company, convinced a Committee of the House of Commons in August, 1840, that separation was expedient. It came in the form of a Charter or Letters Patent issued by Her Majesty under the New Zealand Government Act of 1840. Acting under this authority, Captain Hobson issued two proclamations at Auckland on May 3rd, 1841. The first announced the separation of New Zealand from New South Wales and its erection into a distinct Crown Colony (and naming the three principal islands New Ulster, New Munster, and New Leinster), and the other, his appointment as Governor and Commander-in-Chief thereof. The necessary oaths of office were then taken and the new Crown Colony Government became formally established.

This first New Zealand Charter gave the Colony a Legislative Council and an Executive Council, and defined the Governor's authority. The constitution of the Legislative Council was to be the Governor and not less than six other persons designated by Her Majesty, such councillors to hold office at her pleasure. Its duty was to make such laws and ordinances as might be required for the peace, order, and good government of the Colony. The Executive Council was to advise and assist the Governor in the administration of the government.

The Charter was shortly followed by Royal Instructions which further defined the constitution, procedure, and powers of the Legislative and Executive Councils. Besides the Governor, the six members constituting the former were to be the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, and the Public Treasurer, together with the three senior Justices of the Peace. Four, in addition to the Governor, were to form a quorum. Minutes were to be kept of pro-



The Canterbury Provincial Council Chambers opened in 1865.

[J. Martin photo



Wiremu Tamihana (William Thompson), the so-called King-Maker. He was a son of Te Waharoa, a great fighting chief.

ceedings, and a copy transmitted to a Secretary of State, through whom, also, all enactments were to be submitted for Her Majesty's assent or disallowance. The Executive Council was to consist of the Governor and the three public officials named above, two forming a quorum. The Governor was enjoined to consult his Executive Council on all matters except such as were too urgent to admit of delay, but all important measures so adopted were to be afterwards submitted to it for sanction. He was to cause a survey of all lands to be made and to select land to be reserved for public purposes. Expenditure on annual surveys was to be limited to one-fifth of the estimated land revenue. Lands vested in the Crown were to be sold at one uniform price per acre, to be fixed from time to time and conveyed to the Governor by a Secretary of State. The Governor was authorised to suspend or appoint any official pending Her Majesty's approval, and to pardon or reprieve convicted prisoners.

The first appointees to the Legislative Council, as pioneers in this sphere of public duty, are worthy of being named. They were Willoughby Shortland, Colonial Secretary, who held office till the close of 1843; Francis Fisher, Attorney-General, who was succeeded on August 10th, 1841, by William Swainson; and George Cooper, Colonial Treasurer, who was succeeded on May 9th, 1842, by Alexander Shepherd. Shortland's successor was Andrew Sinclair. The holders of these offices were nominated by the Queen as *ex officio* members of the Executive Council. The three Justices of the Peace appointed to complete the Legislative Council were E. S. Haswell, J. R. Clendon, and W. F. Porter; G. B. Earp was appointed in October, 1841, after the retirement of Mr. Clendon.

Though the Legislative Council was nominally the Governor's adviser, in reality it only carried out his will; for the three official members were bound by an established rule of bureaucratic government to support his Excellency in every measure which he chose to regard as a policy measure. Besides his deliberative vote the Governor had a casting vote, so that the Administration always had four, if not five, votes to three. As the *Nelson Examiner* pithily expressed it in 1844, in putting forward the powerlessness of the non-official members as an argument for representative government: "they legislate by arithmetic; their decisions are right according to Cocker—all the arguments and public opinion in the world cannot make three outnumber four."

There were in all twelve sessions of the Legislative Council held during the period. Of these, two were summoned by Hobson, three by FitzRoy, and the remaining seven by Grey. In framing Ordinances, Hobson availed himself of Lord John Russell's recommendation to consult the laws in force in New South Wales and other Australian States. Chief Justice Martin and Attorney-General Swainson were two able officials sent out from England by the Secretary of State, the latter being responsible for the admirably drafted enactments subsequent to those of the first session.

The first ordinance which rendered the laws of New South Wales applicable to New Zealand has already been referred to, as also that of 25th April, 1842, which repealed it. Others had reference to the land, to public finance, including the establishment of customs duties, the appropriation of revenue, banking, and the administration of justice. The latter involved the institution of Courts of Justice and the establishment of a jury system. In 1844 was established the Supreme Court as it existed down to

1858. Grey established an improved system of appeal from it to a colonial Court of Appeal. An ordinance of Hobson, appointing Police Magistrates, was superseded in 1846 by Grey's Resident Magistrates' Courts Ordinance. Among minor social legislation may be named ordinances regulating the naturalisation of aliens, marriage, the law of assault, the use of intoxicants by Maoris, cattle trespass, and education, and prohibiting the distillation of spirits. Examples of the regulation of matters subsequently delegated to local bodies, were the taxation on raupo or thatch houses in towns, and the provision for abating the nuisance of dogs in towns. Illustrations of military ordinances were FitzRoy's enactment of 1845 enrolling British subjects for training in the militia, and Grey's prohibition of the sale of arms and ammunition to natives. Among ordinances disallowed by the Crown was one of 1842 establishing municipal corporations by proclamation. Under this Act Wellington had become a borough and elected a council on October 3rd, but the notice of disallowance in September, 1843, terminated its existence. Hobson's Postage Ordinance was disallowed, as this service was under the control of the British Postmaster-General. New regulations issued by that official were gazetted in New Zealand in September, 1843. The Post Office, however, came definitely under the control of the Local Government in 1848.

When the colonization of New Zealand was first mooted, one of the features which roused the opposition of the Colonial Office was the desire expressed for representative institutions. From the very genesis of the Colony, the settlers were dissatisfied with the nominee form of government imposed upon them. When, after the lapse of a very few months, economic and political troubles came thick and fast

upon them, the invariable panacea for their woes was representative government. This was the plea in several petitions emanating not only from the New Zealand Company's settlements, but from the "nominee" Government strongholds as well, and all the early newspapers were unremitting in the zeal with which they pleaded for this reform.

In 1847 news reached the Colony of the passing of the New Zealand Government Act on 28th August, 1846, by the British Parliament, and the issue of a Royal Charter, accompanied by copious Instructions, on the 23rd December. Hopes now ran high that the popular desire would be realized. The Act was largely the outcome of the report of a Special Committee of the House of Commons in 1844, which was characterised by its strong, though belated, disapproval of the Treaty of Waitangi, and its partiality towards the New Zealand Company. Lord John Russell, who succeeded Sir Robert Peel as Prime Minister in June, 1846, was favourably disposed towards the Company, and the measure was drafted by his Colonial Secretary, Earl Grey, in ignorance of the actual state of affairs in New Zealand.

The Act repealed the Charter of 1840, authorised the creation of municipal corporations, the division of the islands into two or more provinces, and the establishment in each of a Provincial Assembly, including an elective Legislative Council, as well as a General Assembly for the whole Colony. The far-sighted Grey perceived insuperable objections to the enactment, and consulted Bishop Selwyn and Chief-Justice Martin. Finding these two philo-Maoris of a like opinion, he availed himself of his authority to postpone the date of bringing it into operation, pending consideration by the Colonial Office of his request for the suspension of the constitutional clauses of the

Act for four or five years. From time to time he also made recommendations for a new Constitution Act to come into force at the end of that time. His chief objections were founded on its unjust disfranchisement of the Maoris, who were perhaps ten to one of the white population, and paid most of the taxation, by the requirement of an English reading and writing test, and its endowment of a small minority of whites with power to legislate for the large majority. Its flagrant violation of the Treaty of Waitangi he deemed it politic at first to ignore, and later to gloss over and explain away. Never was protest received more amiably than this. The Colonial Office freely acknowledged its error, and on 7th March, 1848, Parliament passed an Act suspending for five years (or less, at the option of the Crown) the clauses relating to the Constitution. The Governor was given authority to appoint additional members to his Council, and to establish a Legislative Council in each province. As an additional mark of ministerial confidence and approval, Grey was now honoured with a knighthood.

Though by his action Grey probably averted a disastrous war with the Maoris, he did not escape censure and even obloquy from many whose judgment was less astute. While he received cordial support from Selwyn, Martin, and many others, he was attacked on all sides, and in particular by Mr. Fox,* Dr. Dorset, and the Settlers' Constitutional Associations, as the enemy of representative institutions. Autocrat though he undoubtedly was, his despatches containing his conception of the form of Constitution desirable completely disprove this accusation.

In pursuance of these Acts certain changes in the Government were made. On January 1st, 1848,

*Afterwards Sir William Fox.

Grey became Governor-in-Chief of New Zealand, and Governor of each province. Though a Lieutenant-Governor was appointed in each province his authority was purely nominal, as the Constitution Act was in abeyance. On January 3rd Grey appointed Major-General Pitt, Commander of the Forces, to be Lieutenant-Governor of New Ulster, whose Legislative Council was practically identical with that for the whole Colony. After Pitt's death in January, 1851, he was succeeded in April by Lieutenant-Colonel Wynyard. On January 28th, 1848, E. J. Eyre, the Australian explorer who had been appointed in London Lieutenant-Governor of New Munster, assumed office. On the 10th of March, 1848, Grey proclaimed that the portion of New Ulster south of a line extending due east from the mouth of the Patea River was henceforth to be part of New Munster. In 1848, the Legislative Council was for the first time summoned to meet in Wellington. The first enactment, the Provincial Councils Ordinance, passed on November 18th, 1848, created a nominee Legislative Council for each province. Under this Ordinance a Council of New Munster was appointed, and held one session in 1849. Though the Ordinance was disallowed by Earl Grey in April, 1851, Grey did not announce the fact till July, 1852. In 1851 there assembled a General Council, which comprised the above provincial council as well as the previously established body. As the agitation for representative government continued to grow in intensity, advantage was taken of the authority granted by the Suspending Act of 1848 to pass an Ordinance in July, 1851, making provision for Provincial Legislative Councils that were to be largely elective. This Ordinance would have come into force in 1852, as the New Ulster elections were

actually held when news arrived of the Constitution Act of that year.

The Constitution Act came in response to unanimous appeals from all parties. The foundation of Otago and Canterbury settlements in 1848 and 1850 respectively added cumulative weight to the demands of the settlers, and the consistent advocacy by Sir George Grey and the directors of the New Zealand Company contributed to the final victory. The Russell Ministry was on the point of introducing a measure in 1852, when their defeat brought Lord Derby into short-lived power, with Sir John Pakington as Colonial Secretary. The change of Ministry was, however, immaterial, as Sir John made extensive use of the notes he found already prepared for the Bill. With the assistance of E. G. Wakefield outside the House, the friends of the measure within succeeded in carrying it against all opposition. It became law on the 30th June, 1852, and was promulgated in New Zealand on the 17th January in the following year. The Act provided for a Colonial Legislature including a Governor and a General Assembly for the Colony, and six provincial legislative bodies. The General Assembly was to comprise a Legislative Council of not more than twenty, nominated for life by the Crown, and a House of Representatives of some thirty-seven members, elected for five years. This nominee Legislative Council was the chief change made in Grey's draft constitution. His proposal had been to have the legislative councillors elected from time to time by the Provincial Councils. The franchise, which was extended to every man owning land valued at £50, or leasing a house of the annual value of £10, or occupying a tenement valued at £10 if in a town, or £5 if in the country, excluded few Europeans, but

included few Maoris, as the property of the latter was mostly held collectively. Any person qualified as an elector could be a candidate for election. The General Assembly was empowered to make "laws for the peace, order, and good government of New Zealand," provided they were not repugnant to the law of England. It could make certain alterations in the constitution of the House of Representatives, subject to the consent of Her Majesty. As regards revenue, after certain specially authorised payments had been made, the remainder was subject to the control and appropriation of the Colonial Legislature, while any unappropriated revenue was divisible among the provinces.

Each Provincial Government was to be presided over by a Superintendent, who was to be elected by the people every four years, the franchise being the same as for the election of members of the House of Representatives. The Provincial Legislative Council was elected for a similar term by the same electors divided into convenient electorates, and any elector could be a candidate for election. The Governor was to have the power of dissolution, as well as a veto upon Provincial Ordinances. Among the subjects exempt from provincial legislation were customs, superior courts of law, coinage, postal service, Crown and native lands.

CHAPTER IV.—LAND LAWS AND LAND CLAIMS.

The ancient Maori system of land tenure was not individual, like the European system, but communal. Private ownership in land was entirely unknown. Hence the alienation of tribal land required the consent of all free members of the tribe. This territorial right could be destroyed only by conquest and perpetual enslavement, followed by permanent occupation of the land by the conquerors. Occupation, however, was so elastic a term, that claims came to be based on the flimsiest foundations,* and being incontrovertible, had to be allowed by the Land Courts set up to settle the titles to land.

The legal title of the Maoris to their land was created by the Treaty of Waitangi and Governor Gipps's land proclamation.† The land claimants may be conveniently grouped into two classes. On the one hand there were the early immigrants, certain of the missionaries, and the later speculators and land-sharks, who claimed nearly 26 million acres, chiefly in the north. On the other hand were the confiding settlers of the New Zealand Company, which claimed, through Colonel Wakefield's hasty and incomplete purchases, some 20 million acres, extending from Taranaki to the Wairau. As the claims of these two classes were settled on different lines, separate treatment will be accorded them.

Governor Gipps followed up his Land Proclamation with a New Zealand Land Claims Bill, under which, in September, 1840, he appointed three Land Commissioners to adjudicate upon claims in the north.‡

*See Maning's "Old New Zealand" (1930 edn.) pp. 84-85.

†See p. 81.

‡For the New Zealand Co.'s claims see p. 112.

They were Francis Fisher, Edmund Lee Godfrey, and Matthew Richmond. Before any substantial progress was made, separation was proclaimed,* and Hobson re-enacted Gipps's Bill in his Land Claims Ordinance, and re-appointed the two last-named Commissioners, Mr. Fisher having been appointed Attorney-General. These Commissioners adjusted claims at an extremely slow rate. The fictitious nature of many of the claims is borne out by the fact that "out of 26 millions of acres claimed by less than 300 persons . . . Crown grants were awarded for about 100,000 acres."† The Commissioners were ruthless in cutting them down. Of the 1,037 original claims submitted to the Auckland Land Court, decisions on 104 were announced on 5th October, 1842. Within the ensuing eight months, 450 additional claims were decided, 304 were still under investigation, and the whole were expected to be settled early in 1844.

The Crown having reserved for itself the exclusive right to purchase lands from the Maoris, the Protector of the Aborigines was deputed to undertake this task. The area purchased was limited by the immediate needs of new settlers, the Government's lack of funds, and the inadequate means of survey available. The first purchase was 8,000 acres at Mangonui, on June 24th, 1840. Perhaps the most important was that of 3,000 acres at the Waitemata, on 20th October, 1840. A total area of 227,200 acres was acquired by the Government in three years for £4,000, half in specie and the remainder in goods and stock.

Hobson's first important land sale was held on the 19th and 20th April, 1841, and consisted of town lots

*See p. 96.

†See Brett's "Early History of New Zealand," p. 509.

at Auckland. Forty-four acres were sold in 119 allotments, which, owing to the competition of Sydney speculators, realized £24,275. Though the result was very satisfactory to the Governor, it displeased those purchasers who reflected upon the relative cheapness of land in the south. It also gave rise to a land boom, which absorbed the settlers' available capital, and it raised false hopes of a large annual return from the sale of Crown lands, which thereafter fell away disappointingly. The total receipts fell far below Hobson's sanguine estimate of £50,000 a year. Another incident in connection with the Auckland land sale was the reservation of certain allotments for sale as residential sites to Government officers at special rates. As a piece of official jobbery the episode stirred up considerable rancour towards the Governor, and brought upon him a rebuke from Lord Stanley.

In February, 1842, Hobson passed through the Legislative Council an Amendment to his Land Claims Ordinance. The new measure differed widely from the old. An endeavour was made to compel settlers to take their lands in one or other of the three settlements already surveyed. The Ordinance declared all lands validly sold by the Maoris to be vested in the Crown. The method of valuing the land to be granted was entirely changed to accord with the arrangement which the British Government had entered into with the New Zealand Company in November, 1840.* This Ordinance, however, was disallowed by Lord Stanley, as the British Government had no intention of extending these favourable terms to all settlers. It was in force, however, from the date of passing to that of the notification of disallowance on 6th September, 1843.

*See page 113.

Meanwhile, the colonial land question was receiving attention at Home. In 1842 was passed the Australian Land Sales Act. Hobson received it in June. By it Crown Lands could be alienated only by sale. It defined the appropriation of land revenue, and directed separation of lands into three classes, with a fixed minimum price for each. The most valuable lands were to be sold by auction. None was to be sold at less than 20s. an acre. The Act continued in force in New Zealand till abolished by an Imperial Act in 1846. New regulations for the disposal of waste lands were issued under the Constitution Act of that year.

Though Shortland was prodigal of promises, little progress was made during his interregnum towards the settlement of claims. In September, 1843, it was conceded that claimants who had established their titles might exchange awarded lands for others in the Auckland district. It was also notified that lands to which claims had been confirmed must be surveyed, either by contract or by Government, before grants would be issued. On receipt of news of the Wairau massacre, Shortland issued a proclamation dated July 12th, 1843, warning all persons claiming land, in all cases where the claim was denied or disputed, against exercising any acts of ownership until the question should have been decided by the Land Claims Commissioners. Though of doubtful legal force, this proclamation checked further surveys, and led to increased truculence on the part of natives, and further aggressions upon unprotected settlers.

The chief event of FitzRoy's administration was his waiving of the Crown right of pre-emption, which, of course, took effect only in New Ulster. Without waiting for authority from England, FitzRoy,

following a course recommended by Shortland in October, 1843, yielded to the insistence of northern settlers, who were aggrieved at having to pay higher prices for their land than prevailed in the Company's settlements, by issuing a proclamation permitting limited sales of native lands on the payment by purchasers of 10s. an acre to the Government. This was in March, 1844. As relatively few purchases were made under this proclamation, Maoris desirous of disposing of their lands showed resentment at a charge which appeared to them to be a contravention of the Treaty of Waitangi, and was obviously a serious hindrance to land sales. In October, six months after his first proclamation, FitzRoy was induced to issue a second, reducing the fee from 10s. to the nominal amount of 1d. A much larger area of native land now changed hands. While the first proclamation was not entirely condemned by the Colonial Office, the second, being contrary to the Australian Land Sales Act of 1842, was disallowed, and FitzRoy's recall decided upon.

Shortly after his assumption of office, Grey revoked both proclamations, and called for applications from claimants under them to have their claims investigated. After June, 1846, no further claims were accepted, and Grey denounced those under the penny an acre proclamation as unjust to natives and to other settlers. His strictures were resented by missionary land claimants, and led to a bitter quarrel with Archdeacon Henry Williams. In all, 148 claims were made, 47 under the March proclamation, and 101 under that of October. Under an ordinance passed in November, 1846, claimants able to prove claims under the latter Proclamation could, on application, have their titles extinguished by the payment of compensation in Colonial debentures for their

proven outlay in purchase and subsequent improvements, with the option* of paying £1 an acre in cash for the tenth part required by the terms of the Proclamation to be reserved for public purposes. In 1847 two additional modes of obtaining the satisfaction of proven claims were opened to claimants, at the suggestion or with the approval of Earl Grey.

Another ordinance passed by Grey in November, 1846, provided for the taking of summary proceedings against persons purchasing lands from natives or occupying native land without a license from the Government. As grants issued under Hobson's Land Claims Ordinance were frequently vague as to specific quantity and location of purchases, Grey found it necessary, in August 1849, to remove the difficulty by passing an ordinance for quieting titles to land in the Province of New Ulster. Grants were to be valid, provided the actual quantity did not exceed by more than one-sixth the quantity specified, and if the native title was not fully extinguished, compensation was to be payable therefor out of the general revenue of the Province, but charged on the land and repaid to the Colonial Treasury. Where boundaries were not defined, grantees could make their selection out of the whole area in dispute, provided selection was made before July 1st, 1851.

Grey being *persona grata* among the Maoris, and having a Treasury better supplied with funds, was able to purchase native lands on an extensive scale. Important purchases he made were the Wairau in 1847, the Waitohi block in 1848, over 500,000 acres in the Wairarapa in 1853, and from 1847 onwards, the purchase of the remainder of the South Island, some 30,000,000 acres. Mr. Kemp, Mr. Mantell, and Mr. McLean were notable among the officers of the

*The reason for this option was that the required reservations could not in many cases be conveniently made.

Lands Department of the Government who carried out this responsible work.

In March, 1853, Grey secured the approval of his Executive Council for a reversal of the former minimum price policy in the disposal of the waste lands of the Crown, the control of which, having previously been in the hands of the Colonial Office, had been handed over to the Governor-in-Council by the new Constitution Act. The step taken was of questionable legality, anticipating, as it did, the action of the prospective General Assembly. Grey's regulations reduced the price of Crown land, outside of the proclaimed hundreds, from £1 to 10s., and under certain conditions to 5s. an acre. The Governor's intention was to enable every man to acquire a freehold, but he judged with less than his customary foresight, for the ultimate result was that anticipated by Earl Grey. Runholders and speculators "picked the eyes out of the land," and so monopolised large blocks at small cost. Large estates became locked in the hands of a few land kings. The State has since, in the past generation, been compelled, for closer settlement purposes, to re-purchase at very high cost land thus sold for a mere song. While strong disapproval of the measure was expressed by settlers in the south who had paid higher prices, Greytown, Masterton, and Carterton, townships in the Wairarapa, owe their origin to it, and it had considerable influence upon the settlement of rural lands in the Auckland province.

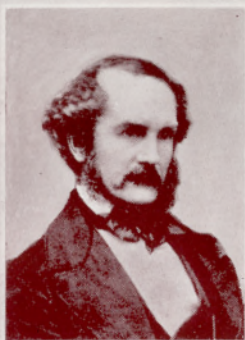
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In June, 1839, the New Zealand Land Company issued proposals in London for the sale of nine-tenths of a township of 110,000 acres, on a site yet to be chosen in New Zealand, in lots of 101 acres, each lot comprising 100 acres of country and one town acre, for £100. It undertook to expend in emigration 75

per cent. of the purchase money, reserving 25 per cent. to defray the expenses of survey and management of the land, and for a profit upon the capital invested. The remaining one-tenth of the township was to be appropriated for the benefit of the natives. The priority of choice for the sections purchased, as well as for those appropriated to the natives, was to be decided by lot. The whole township offered for sale was purchased in England in a few weeks, yielding £100,000, of which £75,000 was expended in conveying 1,500 persons, capitalists and labourers and their families, to land in New Zealand purchased from the natives at Port Nicholson.

Colonel Wakefield's claim at Port Nicholson on behalf of the New Zealand Company was for about 400,000 acres. There is no doubt that in all his purchases he acted with such extreme haste as to leave many native claims unextinguished, being actuated by a keen anxiety to provide the land wherewith to enable the Company to fulfil its engagements to colonists already on the way. Purchases of territory according to latitude and longitude were undoubtedly meaningless to the Maoris, and could not therefore be recognised by the Government. The Land Proclamation rendered all his purchases prior to January 14th subject to proof, and the outcome was that the validity of the Company's purchases was everywhere challenged both by Maoris, who in some cases denied that particular lands were within the region sold, or in others declared they had not been consulted in the sale, and by whites, who asserted prior purchase.

Failing to obtain any promise of satisfaction for their claims from Hobson, the Port Nicholson settlers sent a deputation to Governor Gipps, and his favourable report was received in Wellington in December, 1840. Gipps's award was a promissory grant of 110,000 acres in one block around Port



Dr. Isaac Earl Featherston
*Superintendent of Wellington
for 18 Years*



James Edward FitzGerald
*First Superintendent
of Canterbury*



John Robert Godley
Founder of Canterbury



Captain William Cargill
*Founder and
First Superintendent of Otago*

Founders and Superintendents of Provinces.



[Brett Printing Co. photo

The First New Zealand Parliament House, Auckland, since demolished.

Nicholson. The award contained other recommendations that were for Lord John Russell's approval; but these were never carried out, as in November of that year Russell had, in response to its appeal, entered into quite a different arrangement with the Board of Directors in London. Meanwhile, fresh settlers sent out by the Company kept arriving, and Colonel Wakefield found himself obliged to exceed the 110,000 acre limit prescribed by Gipps, and survey settlements for their location at Wanganui and Taranaki. This encroachment, as Hobson termed it, continued, despite Gipps's prohibition notified through the Police Magistrate at Port Nicholson.

By the November arrangement referred to above, an estimate of the Company's antecedent expenditure in emigration was to be made by a nominee of the Government, Mr. James Pennington, and in respect to this amount the Company would be granted four times as many acres of land as they had expended pounds sterling, the said land to satisfy all their claims, and to be granted to them in that part of the Colony at which their settlement had been formed, viz., either Port Nicholson or New Plymouth. The lands selected were to be in blocks in the shape of a parallelogram, and not to exceed 160,000 acres. The cost of survey by the Company was to be repaid to it in the shape of additional land. From the lands so granted the Company was to fulfil its contracts with individual purchasers. A charter of incorporation was to be granted to the Company for forty years. The terms of further purchases and emigration were defined, and Port Nicholson was to be incorporated as a municipality.

The charter of incorporation promised to the Company was executed on the 12th February, 1841. In April, Russell announced that he would appoint a

special commission to adjudicate upon the Company's claims. The award of Mr. Pennington, reported to the Company on the 28th of May, 1842, showed that its outlay in emigration up to 31st December, 1840, entitled it to 531,929 acres at once. Finally, by November he reported that its total outlay entitled it to 712,593 acres. The Directors were notified on 11th January, 1843, that instructions had been forwarded to Governor Hobson.

Modifications or extensions of the November arrangement were subsequently granted during Lord John Russell's term in the Colonial Office, and further concessions were made after the Melbourne Ministry was superseded, on 6th September, 1841, by Sir Robert Peel with Lord Stanley as Colonial Secretary. One of these permitted the Company to receive 100,000 acres for an expenditure of £40,000 on emigration and £40,000 on public works within two or three years of 1st January, 1842. In 1843 the New Zealand Company received the option, granted to settlers generally, of exchanging land to which it was entitled in the more remote positions for proportionate grants near Auckland.

Meanwhile, Colonel Wakefield had been endeavouring in vain to obtain from Hobson, under the November agreement, recognition of the Company's claims. On the 6th September, 1841, the Governor informed Wakefield that the Crown would forgo its right of pre-emption to the lands within the limits laid down in an accompanying schedule, and that the Company would receive a grant of all such lands as might by anyone have been validly purchased from the natives, the Company compensating all previous purchasers according to a scale to be fixed by a local ordinance. The schedule referred to specified 31,200 acres in the immediate neighbourhood of Wellington,

including the 1,100 one-acre lots in the town itself, 78,000 acres lying between the Hutt and the Manawatu, 50,000 acres at New Plymouth, and 50,000 acres at Wanganui, totalling an area of 210,000 acres. Lord Stanley subsequently approved of this arrangement as regards the Company's claims.

Hobson further stated that the local government would sanction any equitable arrangement for extinguishing native claims, though no force or compulsory measures would be permitted. In pursuance of this arrangement Colonel Wakefield made, at the request of the Protector of Aborigines, further payments to natives. As one instance, a payment to the amount of £700 in goods was made to natives in the Manawatu district. Similarly during 1844 the Company made the following payments as compensation to native claimants: £1,500 for land at Port Nicholson, £350 for land at New Plymouth, and £400 for land at the Hutt.

The single Commissioner appointed by Lord John Russell was Mr. William Spain. This gentleman arrived at New Zealand after a protracted voyage, landing at Port Nicholson in December, 1841, but departed almost immediately for Auckland, where he was unaccountably detained, and did not return to Wellington till the 22nd April. His Court was first opened at Wellington on 16th May, 1842, and all hopes of the speedy settlement of land disputes were soon dissipated. At first Colonel Wakefield brought into Court six purchase deeds of the Company and commenced giving evidence. After Mr. Spain insisted on calling further evidence in addition to that of Te Puni, the Agent's manner changed. Later, the Company appeared to rely upon Russell's November agreement, to preclude any necessity to prove the validity of their purchases. Hobson and his suc-

cessors, however, refused to grant any title until the Commission had adjudicated upon the purchases. Ultimately four years elapsed before the Court closed. By Mr. Spain's award the Company's immoderate claim for 20,000,000 acres was pared down to a modest grant of 283,000 acres. Worse than all, the protracted delay led to a condition of stagnation, which exasperated all settlers, ruined many, and contributed largely to the ultimate failure of the Company.

The purchase of lands in Taranaki* for the location of settlers long proved a fruitful source of dispute, and led ultimately to war. Wakefield's vague purchase in 1840, through the agency of John Dorset and Dicky Barrett, from the few natives resident there, has been recounted. The district was, however, claimed by the Waikato, under Te Wherowhero, by right of conquest during the early thirties; by the Ngatiawa, under the powerful *ariki* Te Rangitake,† who had migrated south to Waikanae; and subsequently by the Ngatiawa captives whom the Waikato had in the early forties liberated and permitted to return to their homes. In January, 1842, Governor Hobson, while at Wellington, induced Te Wherowhero to relinquish his claim by conquest for £150 in money, in addition to a hundred blankets and some other goods. The Maoris resisted settlement in the district, though Mr. Wicksteed, the Company's agent there, endeavoured by acts of violence to assert his claims. On these proceedings being reported, Shortland strongly advised the settlers to exercise forbearance until claims could be decided by the Land Court. It was not till May, 1844, that Mr. Spain's Court sat in New Plymouth to decide the Company's claims. Though Te Wherowhero had, as related above, sold

*For sketch of foundation see next chapter.

†Otherwise known as Wiremu or Wi Kingi.

his rights, Mr. Spain regarded the Waikato's claims as superseding those of the conquered Ngatiawa. His judgment, the only one he gave that was favourable to the Company, ignored the claims of Ngatiawa absentees and returned captives. He recommended a grant to the Company, not of their whole claim, but of 60,000 acres. This judgment was the beginning of the long dispute which ultimately led to war. The Ngatiawa who had returned to Taranaki, and others, including Te Rangitake, who announced their intention of returning, urged that their claims were not extinguished, and vehemently asserted that they never would give up their land. In the unrest that ensued, the efforts of Bishop Selwyn and the Rev. Mr. Whitely were directed towards preventing any outbreak of the natives.

In August, 1844, Governor FitzRoy met the natives at New Plymouth, and after hearing their case assured them that they would not be dispossessed. Just at this juncture the news of Heke's exploit at Kororareka in July arrived, and FitzRoy returned to the capital, and it was November before he was back in New Plymouth to give his decision. This was a reversal of Mr. Spain's judgment, and acknowledged the claims of emigrant and absentee Ngatiawas. The Company was to receive a title to 3,500 acres for the £350 in goods, money, and animals that had been paid. He would waive the Crown's right of pre-emption, in favour of the Company only, within a block of 60,000 acres already surveyed at its expense. This meant that the Company would still have to treat with the natives for the purchase of this area. The Governor urged the Company to concentrate its settlement, and to wait till all the rightful owners returned before purchasing country lands. Wakefield did not accept this ruling, but

adhered to the more favourable judgment of the Land Commissioner.

The dispute had not reached settlement by March, 1847, when Governor Grey went to Taranaki. Though he could not but acknowledge the Ngatiawas' claims, his decision was tantamount to a reversal of that of his predecessor and a modification of that of the Land Commissioner. He notified that after making the most ample reserves for the present and future needs of the natives who had returned, or were about to do so, the remaining portion of the district would be resumed for the Crown and the use of Europeans. A Commissioner would assess the value of the lands and a Court inquire into native titles, so that those natives who established valid claims would be paid therefor. Though this was a compromise which should have satisfied all parties, it did not please the native claimants. Grey, however, made every effort to carry it into effect. He directed Donald McLean, the Commissioner, to do his best to acquire, for the purpose of European settlement, the whole of the area included in Spain's award. Te Rangitake having offered to sell the Ngatiawa lands at Waikanae, the Governor sought to make it a condition of the purchase that the tribe would relinquish all their Taranaki lands south of the Waitara River. McLean purchased for the Government a block of 10,000 acres at Taranaki, known as the Grey Block, for the sum of £390. During 1847 Grey set every obstacle in the path of the Ngatiawas' return to Waitara, but submitted to the advice of Selwyn and Martin not to attempt any coercion. The return migration took place in April, 1848, numbers of the remigrants locating themselves between Waitara and New Plymouth, so that the dispute was still far from a definite settlement.

CHAPTER V.—EARLY SETTLEMENTS OF
THE NEW ZEALAND COMPANY.

The settlement of Wanganui was begun as early as 1840 by the second series of sectionists from Wellington, the preliminary survey being made at Colonel Wakefield's direction by W. Carrington in December of that year. The terms of purchase were $\frac{1}{4}$ acre at Petre and 100 acres of country land for £100. Reference has already been made to Hobson's protest and Gipps's proclamation directed against this encroachment upon lands which were beyond the limits of the Port Nicholson grant. The township was first designated Petre, and this name was proclaimed by Shortland in November, 1842. It was not till 1854 that an Act of the Provincial Council changed the name officially to Wanganui. The settlers here, also, long suffered from the vexatious delays in the settlement of their land claims, which were further prolonged by Colonel Wakefield's hesitation in paying the compensation to native owners awarded by Mr. Commissioner Spain.

The next colony to be founded under the auspices of the New Zealand Company was Taranaki or New Plymouth, which in the early days claimed to be the "Garden of New Zealand." Colonel Wakefield's hasty purchase of this locality was obviously very imperfect, and led to a rich harvest of trouble. The Plymouth Company, under the governorship of the Earl of Devon, had arranged with the New Zealand Company, in which it shortly afterwards became merged, for the purchase of 50,000 acres, including the site of a town to be called New Plymouth, on the next most eligible site within the Company's lands on either side of Cook's Straits.* In August, 1840,

*Now called Cook Strait.

Colonel Wakefield despatched a party of surveyors overland to Taranaki. They returned in November with the report that a very large district was available. Mr. F. A. Carrington, chief surveyor to the new Company, was sent out from England, and first reached Wellington on December 12th, 1840. After conferring with Colonel Wakefield, he set out in the barque *Brougham* to fix the location of the settlement. Some weeks later he returned from a visit to the Sugar Loaf Islands, Dicky Barrett's former whaling station, as well as Port Hardy, Motueka, and Queen Charlotte Sound, with a decision in favour of the first named locality. Early in February, 1841, he left Wellington in the *Brougham* with sixty persons for Taranaki. After attempting to settle at the Waitara mouth, the party was induced by the difficulty and danger of crossing the Waitara bar to remove to a spot near the Sugar Loaves, where there was safe anchorage except in rough weather. The surveyors met with opposition from the natives from the very first.

Meanwhile, a quantity of land had been sold in England to intending emigrants, and preparations made for their despatch to New Zealand. The settlement was to comprise 66,000 acres, of which one-eleventh was reserved for the natives. The pioneer emigrant vessel was the barque *William Bryan*, which arrived at Cloudy Bay on March 19th, 1841, and, when furnished with a pilot from Wellington by Colonel Wakefield, sailed for Taranaki, arriving at New Plymouth on March 30th. The passengers comprised 140 emigrants, chiefly from Devonshire and Cornwall. The Company's first agent at Taranaki was Captain Liardet, who was succeeded in 1842 by Mr. Wicksteed. The Government representative was Captain King. Three more vessels arrived before

the close of the year, and several emigrant ships were subsequently welcomed almost every year throughout the Crown Colony period. According to a statement by F. A. Carrington, the New Zealand Company had received nearly £26,000 for land in the district up to February 28th, 1844. Two boatloads of goods to the value of £500 was all the payment made. Many of the goods sent from Wellington for this purpose were lost in the wreck of the *Jewess* at Kapiti. A return of 1851 shows that the amount of land originally sold by the Company at New Plymouth was only 15,000 acres.

The unauthorised establishment of this settlement roused Governor Hobson's ire, as did that at Wanganui; and New Plymouth also shared in Governor Gipps's ban for its location beyond the limits of his 110,000 acre grant at Port Nicholson. The Company's officials, however, coolly ignored the prohibition, though settlers in both localities were soon involved in disputes with natives, some account of which is given in the next chapter.* In 1843, owing to the non-settlement of the land claims, the Company was very short of funds, and was obliged to enter upon a policy of severe retrenchment.

The avidity with which land in New Zealand was bought in England by prospective colonists and speculators, induced the New Zealand Company to issue a prospectus in 1841 for a second† colony, to be called Nelson, on the best available site at the time of selection.

According to the Nelson prospectus, land was to be offered in 1,000 allotments of 201 acres each, comprising one town acre, fifty acres of accommodation land in the immediate proximity of the town, and one hundred and fifty acres of rural land. The price

*Vide page 127.

†Wanganui was an offshoot of Wellington, and New Plymouth an enterprise of the Plymouth Company.

of each allotment was to be £300. A deposit of £30 was required on application. On payment of full purchase money on a notified date, purchasers would receive three separate land orders, one for each class of land. Selections were made according to priority of choice, to be determined by lot in London, actual choice being made at the settlement on completion of the requisite surveys. One-tenth of the total area of 221,000 acres was to be reserved for the natives. The town was to occupy 1,100 acres, the Company reserving the right to purchase 100 town lots for its own benefit on the same terms as other purchasers. The total amount of £300,000 to be received by the Company was to be appropriated as follows:—£150,000 to emigration to Nelson; £50,000 to expenses of selecting the site and establishing the settlement; £50,000 to public purposes, including £15,000 for religious endowments, £15,000 for the establishment of a college, and £20,000 for the encouragement of steam navigation; the remaining £50,000 to the Company for expenses and profit. The whole of the emigration fund except £20,000 was to be expended in conveying eligible labourers to the new settlement, and the £20,000 was to be expended in allowances to purchasers towards the cost of cabin passages. Such were the original terms of sale, though force of circumstances afterwards caused them to be materially modified.

No time was lost in getting the new settlement under way. The preliminary expedition on board two vessels, *Whitby* and *Will Watch*, to choose and survey the site of Nelson, sailed from London in April and from Gravesend in May, 1841, under the direction of Captain Arthur Wakefield. Three weeks later the brig *Arrow* was despatched with stores. The three vessels reached Port Nicholson in September.

ber, during Hobson's visit to Wellington. The Governor strongly recommended some location near Auckland, such as Mahurangi, the river Thames, or the Waipa district, but Wakefield was equally desirous of securing the plains near Port Cooper. Three weeks' fruitless parleying resulted in Wakefield's decision to seek a site on Blind Bay. Early in October the ships sailed to Cloudy Bay. Thence Captain Wakefield went in the *Whitby* to Kapiti, and obtained the consent of Te Rauparaha to his intended settlement. The three vessels then made for Blind Bay and anchored in Astrolabe Roads, while boats were despatched daily in search of a suitable site. A survey had been commenced at Kaiteriteri, where neither the harbour nor the acreage gave satisfaction, when a party crossed the Bay and discovered Wakatu or Nelson haven. After a two days' inspection, the expedition was removed to the new site and the Union Jack hoisted. The date was November 7th, 1841. Friendly natives were soon upon the spot, and survey parties set to work cutting tracks through the bush, fern, flax, and toe-toe which covered the ground. The Company's men were under a two years' engagement, at a minimum wage of 28/- per week for labourers and 35/- for foremen. Payment was made by order on the Company, and rations were supplied at 1/- a day deducted from the weekly wage.

An interval of five months elapsed after the departure of the preliminary expedition, before the first fleet of four emigrant ships was ready for despatch from London. The first to arrive at Port Nicholson was the *Fifeshire*, which left a week later for Nelson, entering the harbour on 1st February, 1842, the date subsequently commemorated as the foundation day of the settlement. The first to land was Mr. Alfred

Saunders, afterwards a Superintendent of the Nelson Province. Within a few days the *Mary Anne*, the *Lord Auckland*, and the *Lloyds* had also made the port. The first ship, the *Fifeshire*, proved unlucky, as she lost seventeen of her passengers from fever, and on leaving Nelson was wrecked at the harbour mouth. Then the *Lloyds*, which carried the wives and children of the preliminary expedition, lost sixty-five children by death, and the loose living on board during the outward voyage emphasized the folly of separating women emigrants from their male relatives. Vessels continued to arrive in quick succession, so that within seven months of the arrival of the first immigrant ship there were 2,000 people in the district. The emigrants at first settled where they pleased, and were soon housed in tents and huts or in wooden houses brought from England. Early in March the *Brougham* arrived from London, bringing Colonel Wakefield and Mr. F. A. Thompson, the newly-appointed Police Magistrate, from Wellington. A gaol was erected in May. The month was also notable as witnessing the publication of the first Nelson newspaper, the *Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, for many years probably the most literary of New Zealand journals.

The land surveys were very backward, the 11th of April having dawned before the distribution of town lots commenced. The selection of Maori reserves was made by Mr. Thompson, P.M., and Mr. Tuckett, Chief Surveyor. After allotment, many town acres were subdivided and re-sold. Those settlers who found that they had located upon reserves or even roads refused to budge, and these squatters, as they were called, eventually had their own way.

Mr. Saunders, the settler already referred to, and later a historian of New Zealand, stigmatised the

system pursued by the Wakefield brothers, if a system at all, as "a system of unfulfilled promises, of shuffling procrastination, and of helpless executive incapacity, which could succeed nowhere." The Company's failure to carry out its original agreement with the colonists bred discontent among both land-owners and labourers. The initial mistakes of selling land in London in excess of the amount purchased, and of shipping shoals of emigrants to the settlement before the sections were ready for their selection, led to intense hardship and suffering. Instead of being able to occupy their land immediately, many were compelled to loiter about the town. Eleven months elapsed before the suburban sections were allotted, while the rural sections were then not even located, and after that had to be surveyed. Indeed, some two years elapsed before sufficient rural lands were available to enable the Company to fulfil its engagements with its emigrants. Complaints were rife about the delay, the remoteness, and the inferiority of the land in suburban sections. Work grew scarce while the labour market was flooded, so that wages fell and great numbers of settlers were reduced to the verge of starvation. The Company itself got into very low water, and suspended operations in February, 1844. Its poverty was reflected in the distress prevalent in Nelson, no less than in each of the other settlements, and continued with brief periods of improvement till 1846. In 1843 the Company had as many as 300 labourers in its employ, and discontent and idleness were rife among them.

Meanwhile, work was never quite at a standstill. Streets and roads were laid out, bridges and houses built, allotments ploughed and crops raised. The first stock (cattle, horses, and goats) were imported from Sydney. The Waimea Plains were

explored, and expeditions of discovery gradually found their way north-westward to the Moutere, Motueka, and Massacre Bay districts, and eastward to the Wairau valley and plain. Gold, coal, and limestone were discovered at Massacre Bay, and as the Maoris obstructed the removal of coal at Motupipi, Captain Wakefield set out with the Police Magistrate and a number of special constables and arrested the principal offender. He was fined, and the Maoris submitted peaceably. This incident, by misleading the Nelson authorities into the belief that the game of bluff would always succeed, contributed a few months later to the Wairau disaster. Mr. William Fox succeeded Captain Wakefield as the New Zealand Company's agent in Nelson, and when he became Principal Agent and removed to Wellington after Colonel Wakefield's death in 1848, Mr. F. Dillon Bell took his place. The appointment of Mr. Chapman as Supreme Court Judge for Wellington and the South Island, made by the Colonial Office after the Wairau tragedy, was one in which Nelson had a direct interest.

Despite the numerous difficulties with which the settlement had to contend, by 1845 considerable progress was recorded. The town population numbered nearly 1,500 and the rural population exceeded that figure. The livestock included over 5,000 sheep and 900 cattle, besides horses and goats. Over fifty-four miles of roads had been made in the town and country, and over 1,200 acres of land were under cultivation, chiefly for cereals and potatoes. There was a bank, a flour mill, three saw-mills, and a rope-walk. Several churches provided for the spiritual needs of the various denominations. No less than five schools had been established for the education of the young. Wages, however, were exceedingly low, mechanics

earning from 18s. to 21s. a week and labourers only 10s. In January, 1848, Nelson came under the nominal rule of Lieut.-Governor Eyre. During 1847-48, the West Coast as far south as Milford Sound was first explored by a Government Surveyor, Mr. Thomas Brunner. The first coal-mining company to work seams to the westward of Nelson began its operations in 1852.

Nelson's entry into colonial politics began in 1848, her leading citizens proving capable of making their mark in the wider sphere of action. Sir George Grey appointed Mr. Alfred Domett, his Colonial Secretary; Mr. William Fox, Attorney-General; and the Hon. Constantine Dillon, a member of the Executive Council in Auckland. The agitation for representative government in New Zealand was actively taken up in Nelson in 1850. At a large public meeting on the subject, resolutions were passed in favour of vote by ballot, triennial parliaments, and making six months' residence the qualification essential for registration as a voter.

CHAPTER VI.—CONFLICTS WITH THE MAORIS.

In the early days of settlement, troubles with the Maoris were of frequent occurrence, more particularly at first wherever the New Zealand Company's rural settlers were endeavouring to locate themselves. The origin of every dispute of consequence was invariably the occupation of land. In the town of Wellington the Port Nicholson natives inhabiting Pipitea and Te Aro pas complained to Hobson in August, 1841, of settlers encroaching on their pas and cultivations, which they declared they had not and never would sell. At Porirua, to the north of Wellington on the

west coast, the natives denied the sale of that district, and successfully resisted occupation. Rangihaeata and his followers destroyed bridges on the bridle-road, felled trees across it, and even demolished buildings. An application for a warrant to arrest Rangihaeata for the latter offence was finally refused by Judge Martin, after judgment had been reserved for four months. At the Manawatu a partial sale was admitted, though the natives themselves were in dispute over the matter. At Wanganui a sale was admitted to a very small extent only. In 1842 Colonel Wakefield received reports almost every week of natives obstructing settlers at the latter township.

A dispute at the Upper Hutt was typical of the aggressiveness of the natives, and the kind of conflict that was arresting the progress of settlement. In July of 1842 a native chief of Kaiwarawara named Taringa Kuri had, at the instigation of Rangihaeata and of Te Rauparaha, gone with about forty of his tribe to the Hutt, which had never before been under the cultivation of natives, and located himself on Mr. W. Swainson's property, to which, however, he admitted he had no claim. He there dispossessed tenants and felled trees in defiance of the united efforts of the local authorities to restrain or remove him, and despite his own repeated promises to desist and retire.

Though repeatedly applied to by Mr. Swainson, the Chief Police Magistrate, Mr. Murphy, took no steps to restrain or coerce the natives into obedience to the law, asserting the matter to be out of his jurisdiction. Taringa Kuri was still in occupation of the land he had usurped at the Hutt in January, 1843, when the matter was reported by Mr. Murphy to Lieutenant Shortland. The Acting-Governor decided that, as Mr. Swainson had entered into some civil agree-

ment with Kuri, the Government, beyond authorising the mediation of the Protector of Aborigines, could only interfere to enforce the decision of a Court of Justice.

The weakness of the police authorities and the Courts of Justice was evidenced by their temporising and procrastinating policy, warrants for the arrest of Maoris being usually refused, and attempts made instead to pacify the natives. Evidence of the wisdom of a pacific policy was afforded in June, 1843, by a tragedy known as the Wairau Massacre, which ensued upon a departure from it by the Nelson authorities. Here, again, the occupation of land lay at the root of the matter, though the immediate cause was made to appear something very different. Having allotted to their settlers the requisite town and suburban sections in and around Nelson, the Company found itself compelled to resort to the Wairau, an extensive plain about seventy miles to the east, for the rural lots. This land Te Rauparaha and Rangihaeata claimed, and declared had never been sold, while the Company's agents insisted upon the validity of an original purchase* by Colonel Wakefield. In pursuance of the purpose in view, contracting surveyors set to work at the Wairau in April, but were repeatedly interrupted by natives and at last had their belongings carefully moved from a hut and the hut burned. Mr. Cotterell, one of the surveyors, having applied in Nelson for a warrant for the arrest of the two chiefs on a charge of arson, Mr. Thompson, the Police Magistrate at Nelson, Captain Wakefield, Captain England, and a party of armed Europeans, numbering forty-nine persons, went to the Wairau to execute the warrant. Misled by their previous success on a somewhat similar errand at Massacre Bay, the Company's officials

*Vide page 77.

anticipated that their show of force would intimidate the natives into surrender.

A party of natives, about eighty strong, armed with muskets and tomahawks, was met close to the present settlement of Tuamarina*, near a stream of that name which flows into the Wairau. The chiefs firmly resisted arrest, urging the postponement of the matter until Mr. Spain's anticipated arrival to settle the land claim. The police magistrate, a very passionate man, unwisely persisted in serving the warrant. While a number of his party were crossing the stream to his support, the accidental discharge of a gun was taken as the signal for combat. As the Europeans began to fall, the others, unaccustomed to fighting, deserted their leaders and retreated up the neighbouring hill with natives in pursuit. Seeing defeat inevitable, Captain Wakefield gave the order to surrender, and he and eight others gave themselves up. Mr. Frederick Tuckett and others escaped to White's Bay, whence they carried the news to Wellington.

Meanwhile, Rangihaeata, one of whose inferior wives had been shot, fell with his followers upon the prisoners and massacred them to a man as *utu* for the slain. After the conflict the Maoris, who had lost several in killed and eight or ten in wounded, withdrew to Otaki to await the vengeance of the white man. Three days after the massacre Mr. Samuel Ironside, Wesleyan Missionary at Cloudy Bay, received news of it, and took steps to inter the bodies of all the victims who could be found. In all, twenty-two fell in this misguided and but thinly-veiled attempt to obtain forcible possession of land under the cloak of lawful authority.

On receipt of news of the disaster at Wellington

*See map, page 211.

and Nelson, great alarm and consternation prevailed and continued for some months. Each settlement anticipated a general rising of the natives. Some settlers even left hastily for Sydney. Mr. Spain and the Rev. O. Hadfield visited the natives at Otaki and Waikanae to allay the excitement among them. A Committee of Public Safety was set up in Wellington and volunteers enrolled. The Acting-Governor, Shortland, who heard of it on July 8th, sent a report to Lord Stanley condemning the proceedings as illegal and unjustifiable, but despatched fifty-three soldiers from Auckland to Wellington and appointed Major Richmond, one of the Land Commissioners, to be Police Magistrate. The latter immediately ordered the disbanding of the corps of volunteers assembled for the defence of the town. H.M.S. *North Star* was despatched from Sydney, under Sir Everard Home, *viâ* Auckland to Cook's Straits for the protection of life and property, and arrived at Wellington on August 31st. After visiting Mana and Nelson and finding all peaceable, the captain decided to return. The Nelson settlers, fearing attack, erected a block-house or fort. Insistent in their demands for the punishment of the murderers they sent a deputation to Mr. Shortland, who declined to take any steps beyond issuing the proclamation already referred to.*

The sequel to the Wairau affair may be briefly related. As all the leading Nelson officials in any degree responsible for the conduct of the expedition were slain, we can only conjecture what were the motives which prompted their course of action, and there is no evidence that the principal agent of the New Zealand Company attempted to justify it. The fact remains that all persons in authority whose duty it was to pass judgment on the affair—the Protector of

*See page 108.

Aborigines, the Commissioner of Land Claims, the Acting-Governor, the Attorney-General, and finally the Secretary of State for the Colonies—on sifting the evidence, were unanimous in the opinion that the conduct of the Europeans violated the principles of law, justice, and prudence, and stigmatised the affair as illegal, unjust, and imprudent in the highest degree. The leading Nelson settlers, however, took the very opposite view, publishing as they did a largely subscribed opinion in the *Nelson Examiner* of July 22nd, imputing the whole criminality of the conflict to the natives, to whom they alluded as “savages who in cold blood massacred our friends.”

Governor FitzRoy's arrival at Port Nicholson was awaited with intense interest, but his decision based, without any form of trial, on the judgments already quoted, gave general dissatisfaction. His reply of 29th January, 1844, to an address from the inhabitants of Wellington, threw the blame on his countrymen as the aggressors, and on the magistrate for acting illegally, and closed with a defence of the conduct of the natives. On 12th February, 1844, the Governor met Te Rauparaha and Rangihaeata at Wai-kanae. After delivering a speech admitting that the pakeha had been in the first instance very much to blame, he called upon Te Rauparaha for his story. Soon after Te Rauparaha had finished his relation, the Governor announced his decision, that, as the white men were in the wrong, he would not avenge their deaths. The effect upon the natives, who instinctively interpreted clemency only as weakness, was to increase the growing contempt for the white man. But, violently as the course the Governor adopted was impugned by most of the Company's settlers, and weak as it may appear, it is inconceivable

that any other policy was open to him, or could have been pursued either with justice or with safety.

So great was the terror inspired by the massacre, that all settlement in the Wairau was postponed till 1845, when a party of venturesome spirits, Messrs. Fox, Redwood, Ward, and Goulter, discovered the route *viâ* Top House. A little later the same year, the route *viâ* Picton and Waitohi Pass was discovered. Then in 1847, Sir George Grey paid Te Rauparaha £1,600, with a promise of more, for his claims. This enabled Messrs. Charles Clifford and Frederick Weld to land sheep from Sydney at Port Underwood and settle at Flaxbourne. By 1848 there were less than a hundred settlers on the Wairau plain, but after the dissolution of the New Zealand Company, Governor Grey secured the final cession of the district for another £3,000, and the Nelson settlers finally got their coveted rural allotments.

Though collision with the Maoris was more frequent in the Company's early settlements, the North did not escape scatheless. In November, 1841, a dastardly murder was committed by a Maori named Maketu, at the Bay of Islands, the victims being a widow named Robertson, her two children, a half-caste child, and a man in her employ. The murderer was eventually surrendered to the police by his father, and having been duly tried by jury was hanged in Auckland in March, 1842, the first notable instance of the vindication of British justice on the person of a native. In December, 1842, Acting-Governor Shortland interfered in a native disturbance at Tauranga, the sequel to a long-standing native quarrel, and would have employed the small military force at his disposal in Auckland had not the earnest advice of Bishop Selwyn, Mr. Clarke, and Attorney-General Swainson prevailed upon him to abandon so

reckless and futile a proceeding, and finally the Protector of the Aborigines was left to reconcile the contending parties.

The far north, too, was the scene of the first Maori war, known as Heke's War or the War in the North. While the Maoris at the Bay of Islands continued to regard the settlers in a most friendly spirit, a feeling of antagonism towards the Government had been growing up amongst them, almost from the foundation of Auckland and the imposition of shipping dues and customs duties. The Governor's coming had brought poverty instead of wealth to the district; for the growth of Auckland was largely at the expense of Kororareka, and the latter's declining prosperity directly affected the natives by rendering scarce and dear the European articles, such as axes, blankets, and tobacco, which had become necessities of life to them. The natives were also disappointed because the Government did not buy their land as they had been led by the Treaty to anticipate, and this feeling changed to bitter resentment when they saw the settlers dispossessed by the land commissioners of a portion of the lands they claimed and the surplus appropriated by the Government. Then the pride of the chiefs was touched by the contrast between their former dignity and independence, and their present condition of comparative servitude.

The smouldering embers of revolt were fanned by the more unscrupulous and selfish of the pakeha Maoris and visiting whalers, who felt the pinch of the languishing trade of the district, and taunted the Maoris with having sold their freedom. The latter's vengeance was eventually directed to the flagstaff upon Maiki Hill overlooking Kororareka, from which fluttered the symbol of the Government's obnoxious authority.

One of the most courageous, chivalrous, and far-seeing among the malcontent natives was a well-read missionary-educated Ngapuhi chief named Hone Heke, nephew and son-in-law of the redoubtable Hongi, who, on his death-bed, had warned his people to welcome the black-coats but to beware of the red-coats. Animated by a sincere and passionate love of his people, and deeply grieved at their dependent and decadent condition, he became fired with a longing for revenge upon the Government. His impassioned appeals soon brought him numerous adherents.

The spark which fired the train was accidentally struck. The Maori wife of a European at Kororareka named Lord, spoke contemptuously of Heke. The latter chief desired *utu* from Lord for the insult, and as Lord was unable to pay the demand, its value had, according to native custom, to be exacted from other Europeans. The mediation of Archdeacon William Williams and Mr. Maunsell proved unavailing. While under arms, the natives took the opportunity to strike a blow at the Government by cutting down the flagstaff. This act of rebellion was perpetrated on July 8th, 1844.

Reinforced by troops from Sydney, the Governor was preparing to take the field when Waka Nene and other friendly chiefs met him at Waimate, and having stated the rebels' grievances undertook, if these were redressed, to restrain Heke. The troops were accordingly sent away, the flagstaff set up again, customs duties abolished (September, 1844), and the fee payable to Government on the purchase of Maori land reduced (in October) from 10s. to 1d. per acre, as related elsewhere.*

Minor quarrels, however, soon arose, and in January 1845, Heke cut down the flagstaff twice within ten days. He was subsequently joined in rebellion by Kawiti and his followers, the combined forces numbering

*Vide page 109.

seven hundred men. A new source of dispute arose, the natives fearing for the possession of their land. Meanwhile, the flagstaff was restored, and this time set in concrete with a casing of iron at the base, while a block-house was built near by for a guard of soldiers. The next stage in the drama was a native attack in force upon Kororareka on March 11th, and the flagstaff was cut down for the fourth time. The townsmen and the military garrison, assisted by the sailors from H.M.S. *Hazard* under Captain Robertson, made a gallant defence against overwhelming numbers, but finally retreated on board ship, leaving the town to be plundered and burned by the natives. Three ships containing refugees departed for Auckland, their advent arousing considerable alarm. This was partially allayed by the arrival of H.M.S. *North Star* from Sydney, though citizens were enrolled as a militia to aid in the defence of the capital.

At this stage the Ngapuhi chiefs Waka Nene and Taonui allied themselves actively with the Government, and engaged in skirmishes with the rebels. In April it became necessary to proclaim martial law at Kororareka. In May a badly equipped force of soldiers, under Bvt.-Lieut.-Colonel Hulme, with their native allies, attacked Heke's pa near Lake Omapere* but was beaten off. More desultory native fighting ensued till a crisis was reached on July 1st, when the British, under Colonel Despard, sustained a humiliating and disastrous defeat in attempting to storm Heke's pa at Ohaeawai.† Thus encouraged, the rebels continued in arms and ignored the terms of peace offered by the Governor in September. This was still the condition of affairs on Governor Grey's arrival in December.

Regarding Captain FitzRoy's proffered terms of peace with disapproval, as clothing rebels with too

*Named Puketutu.

†Vide map, page 211.

much dignity and exhibiting too obvious a desire for peace, Grey made a final effort to obtain the submission of the rebels. This having failed, he assembled a well equipped force of Europeans and native allies to the number of 1,500 under the command of Colonel Despard, and advanced in person upon Kawiti's stronghold of Ruapekapeka (or the Bat's Nest). The year 1845 closed while men were strenuously engaged in road construction to enable the troops and their supplies to be brought up. Then a vigorous bombardment was begun from all the big guns. Before any breach was made, Colonel Despard would have ordered an assault, and repeated the previous disaster at Okaihau, had not the chief Mohi Tawhai with great difficulty dissuaded him from so reckless and futile an expenditure of life. The pa's defences were much broken when Heke, who had recovered from his wound, arrived with seventy men and urged the defenders to retire to the bush where the big guns could not follow. Only Kawiti and a few men remained.

The end came on January 11th, 1846. The day was Sunday, and not expecting an attack, the Maoris kept no watch. While Heke's people and most of the soldiers were at prayer, Waka Nene's brother discovered that the pa was ill-defended, and signalled up his people. The fort was at once rushed by Maoris, followed by soldiers and sailors. Taken completely off his guard, Kawiti retreated with his men, and effected a junction with Heke. The rebels then advanced to regain possession of their own pa, but finding the troops were not to be enticed away from its shelter into an ambush, and having already lost twenty-three men, Heke gave the signal for retirement. So decisive a blow established the *mana* of the new Governor, and convinced the rebels of the futility of resistance. Being entirely without the means of continuing the

struggle, the rebel chiefs wrote to the Governor asking for peace. On a free pardon being granted, the rebellion collapsed. Thereafter the northern Maoris continued to be staunchly loyal subjects of the Crown, giving no trouble even during the stormy days of the Waikato war. Heke himself held aloof, disdaining to curry favour with a victorious enemy. This heroic rebel did not long survive the extinction of his hopes, as he died four years later at the age of forty-two. For their invaluable services in this war Tamati Waka Nene and his brother Patuone were pensioned by the Government.

Grey had no sooner brought the northern rebels to their knees than he was summoned to Wellington by a recrudescence of the native trouble at the Hutt. Though Governor FitzRoy had met Te Rauparaha and Rangihaeata in November, 1844, and induced them to accept £300 as compensation* for their lands there, the natives remained in possession, and continued their attacks on the settlers. In February, 1846, Grey arrived on the scene and proceeded with characteristic vigour to cope with the rebels. When he left for Auckland in April all seemed quiet, but in May and June Rangihaeata again instigated attacks on the settlers and the troops located there for their protection. Grey accordingly returned to Wellington at the end of June. Having long treated with Te Rauparaha, who was profuse in protestations of friendship, he resolved to remove his influence from the conflict. On the 23rd of July an armed party landed at Porirua at night and seized the old chief in his bed and bore him off to captivity on board H.M.S. *Driver* and thence to H.M.S. *Calliope*. After detention on board for many months he was kept on parole at Auckland until finally released at the urgent request of Te Wherowhero and Waka

*£400 was paid by the Company. Vide page 115.

Nene in 1848. He died the following year. Rangihaeata, arriving too late to effect a rescue, could only lament the indignity put upon his *ariki*. He pursued guerilla tactics until driven to seek refuge in the forest and mountain fastnesses of the Horokiwi Valley. In this warfare Wiremu Kingi (Te Rangitake) rendered the military invaluable aid.

In April of 1847 another collision with the Maoris occurred, this time near Wanganui. A young midshipman of H.M.S. *Calliope* had accidentally shot a chief in the head, and a party of young natives, according to Maori custom, avenged the insult by massacring a woman and children named Gilfillan. Five of the culprits were seized by friendly natives and handed over to the authorities, and having been tried by court-martial, four were hanged. War broke out, and an attack made on Wanganui was repulsed. Captain Grey arrived with more troops, accompanied by Waka Nene and Te Wherowhero, who rendered efficient aid in the desultory fighting that ensued. By cutting them off from the coveted luxuries to be obtained only at Wanganui, the Governor finally induced the rebels to sue for peace, which was granted in February, 1848.

In this connection it is important to note the military force at Grey's disposal. By May, 1846, he was convinced that New Zealand required a permanent military force, and appealed to the British Government for 2,500 soldiers of the line. FitzRoy had repeatedly but vainly requested military aid from England, though he had named a force of only 2,000 men as requisite. Grey already had 1,100 men under arms. In addition, 900 regulars were sent him from Sydney, and the remaining 500 was made up by a body designated the Royal New Zealand Fencibles. These were selected English pensioners or ex-soldiers

who were engaged for a term of seven years, despatched with their families to Auckland, and located in four pensioner settlements on the isthmus. Thus were founded Howick, Onehunga, Otahuhu, and Panmure. The first of the pensioners arrived in September and October, 1847. The privileges enjoyed by these men included a cottage and one acre of land on arrival, with permission to work for hire in the neighbourhood. At the end of their term of service the lots occupied became their own, and they had the option of purchasing four more acres at a low price. The terms for officers were proportionately liberal. In return for these grants the men were required to attend for exercise on twelve days a year, and to enrol when summoned to act in aid of the civil power. For the latter service a scale of pay ranging from 2s. 6d. to 4s. a day was provided. The Fencibles proved to be admirable colonists, most of them becoming small landowners on the expiry of their term of service.

CHAPTER VII.—THE FOUNDATION OF THE SOUTHERN SETTLEMENTS.*

The New Edinburgh or Otago project was first conceived by Mr. George Rennie, a Scotchman and British politician, and propounded by him in the *Colonial Gazette* of London in July, 1842. The New Zealand Company, to whom he appealed, promised support if he could win the co-operation of the Government. Though this was a forlorn hope, Mr. Rennie gained a coadjutor in Captain William Cargill, a Peninsula veteran. In May, 1843, these two colonisers proposed to the Company the foundation of a Scottish-Presbyterian settlement with

*The extinction of the native land title prior to settlement obviated all conflict with the Maoris.

ample endowments for religious and educational purposes, the whole emigration fund to be expended in promoting the emigration of selected Scotch labourers. The Company's provisional acceptance being almost coincident with the "Disruption" in the Established Kirk of Scotland which led to the creation of the Free Church, the latter body was induced to identify itself with the undertaking, and the Rev. Thomas Burns was selected as minister for the colony. In June, Captain FitzRoy, the newly-appointed Governor, sailed for New Zealand, leaving assurances of support. The name New Edinburgh was in 1846 changed to Dunedin, the old Celtic name of the Scottish capital.

The selection of the site was made by the Company's surveyor, Mr. Frederick Tuckett, who was despatched by Colonel Wakefield with Governor FitzRoy's sanction in the *Deborah*, in company with Mr. J. J. Symonds as representative of the Government. A most exhaustive investigation of all coastal sites from Port Cooper southward to the Bluff and Riverton convinced Mr. Tuckett that Oteputi, a spot on Otakou (Otago) Harbour, was the most advantageous. A protracted dispute between Tuckett and Symonds was finally settled only by the arrival of Colonel Wakefield and Mr. Spain on 15th July, 1844. A week's exploration of the neighbourhood sufficed, and on the 31st July the deed of sale was signed at Koputai (Port Chalmers) covering 400,000 acres extending from the Taieri to the Molyneux, by Tuhawaiki, Karetai, Taiaroa, and other chiefs, and the payment of £2,400 made in bank notes, gold, and silver. Out of the block purchased, the Company was to select the 150,000 acres immediately required, for which a Crown grant would be issued. Further areas were to be

available as required. Unfortunately, the Company had now reached a crisis in its affairs, and instructions reached the Colony enforcing retrenchment. A period of fourteen months of stagnation ensued, during which several families, including the Andersons and the McKays, arrived from Nelson to await the coming of the anticipated emigrants. In February, 1846, Mr. Kettle appeared on the scene in charge of a surveying party, as the first indication of renewed activity.

At Home the difficulties encountered led, in 1845, to the formation of a Lay Association to purchase the land required. This influential body continued in existence for about eight years, and afforded invaluable assistance in founding Otago. After the famous three nights' debate in the House of Commons in June, 1845, on the state of New Zealand and the New Zealand Company, the Government was induced to assist the Company's finances with a loan of £100,000,* and to instruct Governor FitzRoy to make a grant of the Otago block. The surveyors under Mr. Kettle's supervision were now empowered to complete their arduous task of selection and sub-division. This was done in blocks by contract. The survey of the site of Dunedin was completed by the middle of 1847, and all was ready for the advent of the pioneer emigrant ships.

Fresh obstacles, however, interposed by the British Government, precluded further progress till the fall of the Peel Ministry on 29th June, 1846, brought Lord John Russell into office with Earl Grey as Colonial Secretary. The agreement and additional loan then effected enabled the Company to complete arrangements with the Lay Association. According to the final terms of purchase, a property of 60½ acres comprised a town allotment of ¼-acre, a suburban

*Vide page 158.

allotment of 10 acres, and a rural allotment of 50 acres, the price of which at £2 an acre was £120 10s. The block which comprised 144,600 acres would realise £289,200, of which three-eighths was to be appropriated to emigration and labour, one-fourth to surveys, roads, bridges, etc., one-eighth to religious and educational uses, and one-fourth to the Company for its capital and risk. The suburban allotments were located on the outskirts of the town as far distant as Anderson's Bay, and the rural lots in the Taieri, Tokomairiro and Molyneux districts.

In August, 1847, the newly-appointed secretary of the Lay Association, Mr. J. McGlashan, infused fresh life into its efforts. The ballot for priority of choice was held on the 10th of November. The first two emigrant ships chartered by the Company, the *John Wickliffe*, 662 tons, and the *Philip Laing*, 547 tons, laden with 343 emigrants, left Britain in December, 1847, and arrived at Otago on the 23rd March and 15th April, 1848, respectively. Within a few weeks all were landed and accommodated in barracks previously erected. Work was provided at the rate of 3s. per day for labourers and 5s. for tradesmen. On the 21st April the town allotments were selected, and the trustees of the religious endowments made their choice. Most of the early houses were primitive structures of wattle and dab, thatched with tussock, and their internal appointments were equally crude. In June Bishop Selwyn paid a two days' visit to the settlement. Governor Grey, who had visited Otakou early in 1848 and expressed warm approval of the location, now appointed two Government officials from Wellington, one to act as deputy-inspector of police, and the other as sub-collector of customs, sub-treasurer, etc. It is noteworthy that, though this was a Free Church settlement, out of a population of nearly

750 persons, about one in four belonged to other Protestant Churches, chiefly the Church of England. The class character of the settlement was further broken down in subsequent years, an Episcopalian church being established in 1851.

In July, 1850, the New Zealand Company duly surrendered its charter, the Lay Association parting from it without regret. The latter had met with poor success in its efforts to sell land. Mr. McGlashan strove in vain to secure from either Earl Grey or his successor, Sir John Pakington, a charter similar to that of the new Canterbury Association. The Constitution Bill was in embryo, however, so the energetic secretary went down to London to assist at its birth. The Association was finally dissolved at Edinburgh in May, 1853.

While the material progress of the settlement was not at first as rapid as was anticipated, it was substantial, and the comparative stagnation that prevailed was due to causes beyond the settlers' control. Complaints were general against the treatment meted out to the settlement by the Local Government, its extravagance, its misapplication of revenue, and its neglect of public works including roads and bridges. There was uncertainty about the pasturage regulations, and Grey's new regulations increased the discontent. So great was the dislike for autocratic government that the news of the passing of the Constitution Act was welcomed with every demonstration of rejoicing.

* * * * *

It was in 1847 that E. G. Wakefield's project of a Church of England settlement in New Zealand, first mooted in 1843, began to take definite shape. In that year the practical idealist, John Robert Godley, accepted Wakefield's invitation to organise the colonizing venture. In January, 1848, he joined the Board



Tawhiao, the second Maori
King.



Mahuta, son of Tawhiao.



Rata Mahuta, son of
Mahuta.

The Second Maori King (Tawhiao) and his lineal
descendants.



Sir George Bowen
Feb. 1868 to Mch. 1873



Sir James Fergusson Bart
June 1873 to Dec. 1874



The Marquis of Normanby
Jan. 1875 to Feb. 1879



Sir Hercules Robinson
April 1879 to Sept. 1880



The Hon. Sir Arthur Gordon
Nov. 1880 to June 1882

[By courtesy of Canterbury Museum
Governors of New Zealand.

of Directors of the New Zealand Company and began his labours. A strong committee interested in the project was got together and a document was published entitled "The Plan of the Association for Forming the Settlement of Canterbury in New Zealand," detailing the whole design. The members of the new Association included the Archbishop of Canterbury, besides bishops, peers, members of parliament and clergy. A General Committee of twenty members was formed under the Chairmanship of Lord Lyttelton. In May an advance of £25,000 was obtained from the New Zealand Company, of which £20,000 was sent out to New Zealand for preliminary operations. Earl Grey in a letter to Governor Grey in June, 1848, approved of the project and the intention of the Company to despatch Captain Thomas to New Zealand as confidential agent to select a site.

Captain Thomas left England on his important mission in July, 1848. While Grey showed his predilection for either the Manawatu-Rangitikei district or the Wairarapa, Captain Thomas favoured Port Cooper from the reports available and particularly a laudatory one by the Deans Brothers. The latter choice was notified in April, 1849, by Mr. William Fox, then principal agent for the New Zealand Company, subject to the approval of the Governor and Bishop Selwyn. The Governor's consent was given in May. Twelve months after his departure from England, Captain Thomas was at Port Cooper with instructions to commence the work of survey. A start was made at Lyttelton, and the survey of Sumner and Christchurch began shortly afterwards. At this time, the Deans family, and another named Cass, at Riccarton Bush, comprised the only European inhabitants of the Plains.

The plan of Christchurch was completed in March, 1850, and a copy transmitted to London. Meanwhile, the Association had obtained a Charter of Incorporation in the previous November, and executed an agreement with the New Zealand Company on December 1st. By it 2,500,000 acres were to be reserved for ten years for optional purchase by the Association, which undertook to sell £100,000 worth within six months. The land was to be sold at £3 an acre to selected emigrants of good character who were members of the Church of England. A capital city of 1,000 acres was to be divided into quarter-acre sections; a like area of suburban land was to be divided into ten-acre lots. The price for the former was to be £25; that of the suburban blocks was £150. Rural land was to be sold in lots of not less than 50 acres at a fixed price of £3 per acre. All applications received within six months were to rank equally; after that priority of application was to decide allotment. Rights of pasturage over unoccupied lands were also given to land purchasers. The proceeds of the land sales were to be appropriated as follows: one-sixth of town and suburban lands, and 10s. per acre for rural land was to be paid to the New Zealand Company; one-sixth for general expenses, survey, roading, etc.; one-third to an emigrant fund; and the remaining third to religious and educational endowments in connection with the Church of England.

Though Godley had up to the close of 1848 closely identified himself with the labour of organising, it was not till 1849, when his health began to decline, that he adopted Wakefield's suggestion to proceed to New Zealand. Leaving England towards the close of the year he reached Port Cooper in April, 1850. Though much valuable work had been done, he found cause for dismay in the fact that the preliminary

fund of £20,000 was already overspent. Having stopped the work he returned to Wellington, and joined the party in opposition to Governor Grey.

At Home the Canterbury Association had begun, in January, 1850, to offer its land for sale. In July it was found that the high price made the demand small. To add to this difficulty, on the 5th of the month the Company surrendered its charter. Mr. Henry Sewell, M.P., Deputy-Chairman of the Association, promptly saved the situation by obtaining the sanction of Parliament to an Act by which the Crown superseded the Company in the agreement.

Just prior to these happenings, the Committee of Management of intending colonists developed into a Society of Canterbury Colonists, consisting exclusively of land purchasers who were to sail in the first four ships or had previously sailed. Its chief object was to represent the colonists in Canterbury in all negotiations with the Association and with the Government, and so bridge the interval expected to elapse before representative government was actually realised in Canterbury.

The pioneer emigration fleet consisted of four ships, the *Randolph*, *Charlotte Jane*, *Sir George Seymour*, and *Cressy*, which left London early in September, 1850, and reached Lyttelton on the 16th, 17th, and 27th of December. The Canterbury Pilgrims were welcomed by Governor and Lady Grey, who had come south for the purpose, and by Mr. Godley, the forceful founder of the settlement. The latter was appointed Resident Magistrate and Commissioner of Crown Lands, Mr. J. E. FitzGerald appointed Emigration Agent, and Mr. W. G. Brittan put in charge of the Land Office. Christchurch was reached either by boat past Sumner and up the Avon, or over the Port Hills by the bridle path.

The choice of the capital city lay with the land purchasers in the Colony, and four days after the landing Christchurch was fixed upon. Bishop Selwyn arrived on January 3rd, 1851, on his first pastoral visit. He was to return in February to meet the Bishop-designate of Lyttelton, Dr. Jackson, who, however, resigned before consecration. On February 17th and 18th the allotment of sections took place at the Land Office. All the first selections were made in Lyttelton. In Christchurch, the first selections were made near the wharf on the Avon. Two months later the first auction sale was held of town sections in Christchurch and Lyttelton, the upset price being £24 each. Lyttelton sections fetched by far the highest figures. The ownership of property having been decided, there followed a brisk period of building, fencing, and planting. The framework of some houses had been imported, and timber was available either from local supplies or from stocks imported from Australia and the North Island by the Canterbury Association.

At this juncture the settlement was invaded by a number of Australian stock-owners, nicknamed "Shagroons," who were possessed of both money and experience, which most of the Canterbury Pilgrims lacked. Being excluded by the regulations of the settlement from the Canterbury block they began squatting outside its boundaries. Mr. Godley, with characteristic foresight and decision, drafted new pastoral regulations to meet the wishes of these new immigrants, and after securing their ratification by the Land Purchasers' Society, took it upon himself to guarantee the assent of the Association and put them into force.* The Australian immigration com-

*These regulations, however, did not deserve the extravagant praise bestowed on them by J. E. FitzGerald.

pleted the collapse of the original scheme of an exclusive Anglican settlement in Canterbury.

The chief political question which now agitated the settlement was the growing desire for a separate province with representative government. On his arrival in New Zealand, Godley had allied himself with the Wellington settlers, who were attacking Sir George Grey for withholding self-government. Canterbury was regarded with disfavour by the Governor as an *imperium in imperio* and a class settlement. Public meetings were held in August, 1851, both in Lyttelton and in Christchurch, resolutions being passed in favour of constituting Canterbury a separate Province, and condemning Sir George Grey's recent Provincial Councils Ordinance* as ineffective from the standpoint of granting real self-government.

The first year of settlement closed with a disturbing influence due to the discovery of gold in Australia, which attracted many labourers and produced a serious rise in the price of the necessaries of life. Nineteen emigrant ships had arrived during the year bringing upwards of 3000 persons. Early in 1852 the Society of Land Purchasers was superseded by separate Colonist Societies for Christchurch and Lyttelton. In March Sir George Grey paid his second visit to Canterbury, but his welcome was far from cordial.

Meanwhile, the divergence of opinion between the Association at Home and the settlers in Canterbury had grown to such a pitch that in May Godley felt that the Association's interference was no longer tolerable, and he resigned. He afterwards withdrew the resignation at the Committee's request and its promise to apply to Parliament for a transference of its functions to the Provincial Government about

*Vide page 102.

to be constituted. The passing of the New Zealand Government Bill on June 30th, 1852, provided the Committee with the means of effecting its own dissolution. Godley was requested to accept nomination as the first Superintendent of Canterbury but declined the honour, and left for England on December 21st, 1852, where he held various appointments under Government till his death nine years later. He was succeeded as agent for the Canterbury Association by Captain Simeon, until the arrival of Mr. Henry Sewell, who landed in Canterbury in company with E. G. Wakefield in February, 1853, to carry out the transference of the Association's powers to the Provincial Council when it came into being. The poll for Superintendent took place on July 20th, 1853, and Mr. J. E. FitzGerald secured election, the contest being decided on the cry of dear land *versus* cheap land. The former was the watchword of the Canterbury settlers and the latter that of Governor Grey as reflected in his Land Regulations of March 1853.

CHAPTER VIII.—PUBLIC FINANCE.

Public finance, which is indissolubly associated with public welfare, ranked next to land as a fruitful source of difficulties with which our early Governors had to grapple. The preliminary expenses of establishing the Government were advanced as a loan by the New South Wales Treasury. In this way were incurred debts totalling over £43,000; but as New Zealand could not refund the amount, it was taken over by the British Treasury in July, 1842.

Hobson's instructions were emphatic upon the need for frugality and economy. He was empowered through his Legislative Council to pass ordinances to

provide a revenue and determine the appropriation of it. The chief sources of revenue were the sale of Crown lands, customs duties and shipping dues, duties on auction sales, license fees, and fees and fines of courts.

The combination of untoward circumstances which kept the infant Colony in an impecunious condition has already been reviewed.* Despite the lack of funds the Government was conducted with hardly a pretence of economy. The Governor's estimates of the receipts from land sales and customs proved over-sanguine. Early in January, 1842, Hobson besought the financial assistance of the Home Government. Before he could receive a reply he had appropriated over £16,000 from the land fund required to be set apart for expenses of immigration, surveys, and the aborigines. But this sum was insufficient. It was found that £25,000 more would be required. Hobson therefore adopted the forbidden expedient of drawing bills on the British Treasury. Though the British Government kept a tight rein upon its expenditure on behalf of New Zealand, the Colony was indebted to it during Hobson's term for nearly £64,000.

The financial embarrassments of Hobson's last year became more acute as time went on. The expenditure of the Government continued to exceed the revenue. Lieutenant Shortland was directed by Lord Stanley in March, 1843, to effect retrenchments amounting to £5,750, while parliamentary aid to the amount of £7,545 was promised to provide for all the necessary machinery of the executive government. Of the £25,000 which Hobson had drawn on the British Treasury only £10,000 was allowed. The remaining bills were returned to New Zealand with instructions to Shortland to issue debentures for their amount, payable from the revenues of New Zealand,

*Vide pages 83-85.

and bearing interest at 5 per cent. Shortland continued to draw upon the British Treasury, and by unwarrantably increasing the army of officials in the Government's employ completely impoverished the Treasury.

FitzRoy was no stronger in financial ability than his predecessors, and his distress was more acute. The expedient of drawing bills upon the Imperial Treasury being denied him, he adopted the device of issuing debentures for use as currency. After a brief trial of the plan he obtained the authority of his Legislative Council to issue debentures up to £15,000, in amounts varying from 5s. to £50, bearing interest at 5 per cent., and to declare them legal tender. Though this measure afforded temporary relief it was *ultra vires*, and brought condign censure upon the Governor. The depreciation of these "government rags" was rapid, but despite the royal disallowance and vigorous protests from merchants and traders, FitzRoy felt impelled to continue the policy. He soon exceeded the limit of £15,000 allowed by the Ordinance, and some three times that amount was eventually in circulation.*

Disastrous as proved FitzRoy's venture with irredeemable debentures, his other financial measures were hardly less harmful. With both the chief sources of local revenue, customs and land, he pursued a vacillating policy. Though he came to the Colony imbued with the new free trade principles, within six months he endeavoured to obtain funds by extending and increasing the customs duties. The measure raised such opposition from Maoris and settlers that three months later (September, 1844) he abolished customs duties altogether, and substituted a combined property and income tax. This proving too costly to collect as well as unfair in incidence, it was abolished after seven

*Government debentures were issued for amounts as low as 2s. Private firms followed suit and issued paper money for small amounts, viz., 3d. and 6d.

months' trial, and the customs duties revived. While the total revenue from all local sources was at its lowest ebb in 1845, the military expenditure was the highest during the Crown Colony period.

It was left for Governor Grey to repair the blunders of his predecessors in finance as in other departments of administration. This he could not have done had he not possessed the entire confidence of the Colonial Office, and received the requisite support in money and men that had been consistently refused his predecessors. The stormy three nights' debate in the House of Commons in June, 1845, apparently taught the Colonial Office that New Zealand could no longer be stinted with impunity. Then Grey had the intellectual capacity to know the right policy to adopt, and the vigour and courage needful to carry it through. With commendable foresight he had brought £6,000 in specie as a loan from the Treasury of South Australia. Immediately upon his arrival he turned his attention to financial reform, the first step in which was to provide a sound circulating medium. Having been supplied by the Home Government with only £15,000 for the redemption of the debentures issued under FitzRoy's Ordinance, he announced that he would pay one-fourth in specie and the remainder in funded debentures at eight per cent. interest. These measures met with the approval of the Colonial Office. In 1847 he obtained the authority of his Legislative Council to make the outstanding debentures a charge upon the general revenue of the Colony, and permitted the conversion of the former eight per cent. debentures into new five per cents.

Grey's reliance upon the customs duties as the principal source of local revenue was justified by events, for the annual receipts between 1846 and 1853 increased from £21,000 to over £70,000. The

land revenue, too, recovered, but much more slowly at first, owing to the previously tardy settlement of land claims and the slow recovery of the financial condition of the settlers. Grey received substantial aid from the British Government in annual grants, ranging from nearly £42,000 in 1850 to £5,000 in 1853, after which no aid except for naval and military purposes was needed. It was his anticipation that the Colony would thereafter be self-supporting, a necessary preliminary to the grant of self-government. The expenditure for military purposes declined steadily from £190,000 in 1846 to under £91,000 in 1853.

CHAPTER IX.—THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

The introduction of a Church of England hierarchy into New Zealand was the work of an influential society formed in England in 1840 under the Earl of Devon, and its success was largely due to the sympathy and co-operation of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the New Zealand Company, all of which offered financial aid to the project. After the result of Hobson's mission was known, the British Parliament was induced to pass a bill creating the New Zealand Episcopal See, and Royal Letters Patent were issued under which the Rev. George Augustus Selwyn was consecrated first Bishop* of New Zealand on 17th October, 1841. The prelate reached Auckland with several attendant clergy on 29th May, 1842. New Zealand was thus the first British Colony to have an episcopal establishment almost from its foundation.

*New Zealand Church affairs had previously been under the care of the Bishop of Australia.

Bishop Selwyn was eminently fitted by personal qualities and education for the mighty responsibilities and labours of church pioneering. Endowed with a stalwart, athletic frame which no amount of hardship or labour could tire, and a zeal in his Master's service which no difficulties or personal dangers could abate, he set about his noble task with a resolution and a vigour that never knew defeat. Declining the Company's invitation to settle at Wellington, he fixed his abode at the missionary settlement of Waimate, where were stationed the largest number of schools for native children and candidates for Holy Orders. Here, in 1843, he founded St. John's College, which he organised entirely upon communistic principles.

While the Bishop's sympathies were inclined towards the missionaries rather than the Company, it was not in his nature to neglect the welfare of any portion of his diocese. One of the first duties he felt incumbent upon him was to visit the centres of white population and then the various native missions, so as to get into personal touch with his flock. This he achieved in an arduous six months' journey by boat, on horseback, or on foot, in the course of which he established the Rev. C. L. Reay at Nelson, the Rev. R. Cole at Wellington, and installed the Rev. William Williams, of Turanga, as archdeacon of the eastern district, finally returning much travel-stained to Auckland on the 9th of January, 1843. As a result of his journey he was unfeignedly pleased with the prospects of the Church in New Zealand, highly gratified by the warmth of his reception everywhere, and deeply grateful for the "goodly heritage" which had fallen to his lot. And the people of the diocese were no less pleased with him than he with them. His obvious sincerity, his ready sympathy, his urbanity,

no less than his iron will, endeared him to the hearts of primitive Maori and rugged, stalwart pioneer. Unlike Marsden, Selwyn was unable to act in unison with the Wesleyans, and his journey had one result to be deplored; for sectarian strife arose between the native adherents of the two churches, and led to much bitterness of feeling.

The Bishop made his winter abode at his College, while each summer he devoted to travelling about the diocese. Thus in 1843 he visited the missions in the heart of the North Island, on his way to the Cook Strait settlements. This was the year of the Wairau Massacre, when the Rev. Octavius Hadfield's influence with Te Rangitake and the natives about Otaki and Waikanae, where he alternately resided, probably saved Wellington from an overwhelming attack.

Early in 1844 the fearless Bishop journeyed south with the devout Tamihana, son of Te Rauparaha, and nine other Maoris, visiting all the pas and whaling stations as far south as Foveaux Strait. On returning to Wellington, he found the newly-appointed Governor FitzRoy there, and arranged with him for the site of a church. At Auckland he consecrated the new St. Paul's Church. On his return to Waimate he secured the services of four of his clergy, including Archdeacon William Williams, to revise the Maori Prayer Book. In September, Brown, of Turanga, and Henry Williams were installed as archdeacons, and several clergy ordained.

In October, 1844, the Bishop removed to Auckland, owing to a disagreement with the Home Committee of the Church Missionary Society, which, though it paid only half his stipend, insisted upon retaining in its own hand the placing of its agents. He now utilised a portion of a bequest from the Rev. Thomas Whytehead to found St. John's College at Tamaki. To this

institution he transplanted the old communistic life of the college at Waimate. In 1844, and again in 1847, the Bishop summoned his first synod meetings of missionaries, the beginnings of a wider form of church government.*

During the anxious time of Heke's War, the Bishop and the Rev. Henry Williams were active and fearless in their labours for peace and for the relief of suffering. At the sack of Kororareka in March, 1845, they were foremost in the task of saving life and property. One of the unfortunate results of the war was the persecution of Archdeacon Henry Williams. His remarkable influence over the natives at the Bay brought upon him the extraordinary accusation of treachery from the defeated military at the sack of Kororareka, and the persecution was continued in a disguised form by Governor Grey in his famous "blood and treasure" despatch of June, 1846, attacking the land purchasers under FitzRoy, and accusing the missionaries of claiming excessive tracts of Maori land and so inciting the natives to rebellion. Williams's land, bought for his sons, was held under Crown grant, and though Selwyn joined forces with the Governor, the archdeacon refused to surrender his deeds, as tantamount to a confession of dishonour. He was dismissed by the Church Missionary Society in 1850, together with Clarke and Fairburn, but tardy reparation was made to him by reinstatement five years afterwards.

A grievous blow came to the Bishop and the Church in the total failure of St. John's College at Tamaki in 1853, swept away, as Marsden's seminary at Parramatta had been, by evil influence and example which proved incapable of control; and in the throes of grief and distress that came upon him the founder sought relief in a journey to England.

*The Constitution of the New Zealand Church was drafted by Sir George Grey in 1850, and consummated in 1857.

CHAPTER X.—THE END OF THE COMPANY.

We have had frequent occasion to remark upon the chequered career pursued by the New Zealand Company, and the causes of its varying fortunes have been sufficiently revealed. It was in a state of constant discord with the Colonial Government, its "ups" being due to periods of high favour with the British Government, and its "downs" to the combined disfavour of both authorities, often in conjunction with other temporary difficulties. A period of great activity in 1839-42 was followed by the suspension of operations, which were temporarily resumed in May, 1843. A complete stoppage of payments came in February, 1844. In May and June, 1845, during one of its sanguine periods, it conceived the project of a separate proprietary government of the whole southern portion of the Colony under its own sway. The whole country from the Mokau and Cape Kidnappers southwards was to comprise the New Province of Victoria, in which the Treaty of Waitangi was to be null and void, though reserves were to be set aside for the natives. Needless to say, this was too presumptuous to be regarded with approbation by the British Government, even in its most complaisant mood.

Under Earl Grey's control of the Colonial Office, which began in August, 1846, the Company rose from a condition of despair to the pinnacle of its favour with the British Government. Two loans of £100,000 and £136,000 were obtained in 1846 and 1847, and an arrangement reached by which, if these sums could not be repaid in 1850, the Company was to be wound up. Neither Crown nor Company land in New Zealand was to be sold for less than £1 an acre, of which not less than 10s. must be expended in emigration. Wakefield, who had been incapacitated by illness,

condemned these loans as a degradation from the former high ideals of the Company, and on his recovery prophesied the coming dissolution of the Company as a blessing to the Colony. A further stage was reached by an agreement with the Government to allow Grey to arbitrate between the Company and its settlers, and the Company under the superintendence of the Local Government bought millions of acres. Just as the news of this step, which was to strip him of all real power, reached New Zealand, Colonel Wakefield was struck down by apoplexy, and the career of this injudiciously faithful servant of the Company came to an untimely end.

When on July 4th, 1850, the stipulated period of three years expired and the Company was required to meet its obligations, it was so deeply involved as to be obliged to throw itself upon the mercy of the Government. In 1851 Parliament came to the rescue by remitting the debt of £236,000, and by transferring its unsold lands, amounting to upwards of a million acres, along with its debt of £268,000 to its shareholders, to the Government of New Zealand, the liability with interest thereon to be made good by a charge of 5s. an acre on all future sales of Crown land. The Constitution Act of 1852, re-affirmed this obligation on the part of the New Zealand Government. The final scene in the drama opened with an Act of the New Zealand Legislature in 1857, which empowered the Government to discharge its debt to the Company by the payment of £200,000. This sum was paid out of loan moneys in April, 1858, when the Company's existence terminated.

In appraising the work of the Company it must be remembered that it had found no friend in any of the autocratic Governors Hobson, though in

general a fair-minded man, was prejudiced from the outset, and his obligation to enforce the Treaty of Waitangi and the early land proclamations, and to uphold the Land Claims Courts corollary to those enactments, set him at variance with the Company as the largest and most grasping of the land claimants. Having crushed the provisional government at Wellington, which he chose to regard as a usurpation of authority, he attempted in 1841 to draw off the Company's labourers, thus earning the title of "Captain Crimp" from the settlers there, and the just censure of Lord Stanley, while ill-health and the lack of funds and of any means of rapid communication obliged him to neglect the Company's settlements. Shortland followed in his footsteps with a policy of procrastination and indifference, and FitzRoy, who held a brief for the missionaries, showed apparent hostility in his decision upon the Wairau Massacre and unveiled antagonism in his Taranaki land decision, while his two land proclamations, by cheapening land in the north, seemed to the Company like a direct blow aimed at its colonizing efforts. Grey exhibited no less hostility than his predecessors. He resented the Company's arrangement with the Government as a limitation of his own autocratic powers, and he curiously objected to the shareholders receiving any portion of the proceeds of land sales. His treatment of Otago and Canterbury was far from liberal, and his pastoral land regulations were inimical to those settlements. His antipathy to the terms of the dissolution which gave the shareholders a lien over the land revenues of the whole Colony, carried him to the point of insubordination.

The Company had conducted active operations from May, 1839, to July, 1850, a period of eleven years, during which it had despatched ninety-five vessels to



The Lowest Rung — A Bush Shanty.

[F. G. Radcliffe photo



The Topmost Rung — A Squatter's Homestead.

[McCusker photo

New Zealand, bearing nearly 12,000 emigrants.* Its labours during that time fall roughly into three periods of varying activity. The first period, that of 1839 to the beginning of 1843, was the most active, as it witnessed the despatch of 57 ships and some 8,600 emigrants to New Zealand. During the second period, from 1843 to 1847, when the Company was almost overwhelmed by troubles which had been accumulating from the commencement, though 20 ships were despatched, they contributed only 656 new settlers to the Colony. During the third period, between November, 1847, and June, 1850, were carried out the arrangements which led to the purchase of the Nanto-Bordelaise Company's claims on Banks Peninsula, while the despatch of 18 ships supplied nearly 2500 emigrants for different parts of the Colony, including the new Otago settlement.†

While much criticism had been aimed at the Wakefield system of colonisation, enough has been said to show that the comparative failure with which it has been taunted was due rather to the imperfection of its administration than to its inherent defects. Neither the Company nor its agents, separated as they were by half the world, could always adhere to abstract principles of conduct.

After reviewing the career of the Company and estimating the value of its achievements, it must be admitted that while it worked much mischief, there is a substantial balance of good to its credit. Promoted by profound thinkers and great-hearted philanthropists, it gradually abandoned their lofty ideals owing to the bitter and protracted obstruction of the Government, engineered by the missionary societies and other philo-Maoris. Its conversion into a joint stock company having been made at the direct instance of the Government, its directorate cannot fairly

*Vide 27th Report of N.Z. Co., page 24.

†For emigration to Canterbury, see *ante* pp. 147, 149.

be censured for demanding dividends. At the same time it must be admitted that its agents in New Zealand pursued a grasping land policy. On the other hand, it is incontestable that the Company awakened dull and phlegmatic Englishmen to the rich possibilities of efficient colonisation. It forced the hand of the dilatory British Government, compelled the establishment of British sovereignty in New Zealand, and so planted the Union Jack where otherwise the tricolour of France would surely have waved. It conveyed a vertical section of English society, from intellectual gentry to sturdy labourers, to a virgin land, and thus sowed the seed of Empire in a new Britain of the South. It fathered four distinct settlements, colonising half the North Island and the whole of the South, and establishing three out of the four leading cities. To its rigid selection may be partly attributed the absolute freedom from extreme poverty which has distinguished this favoured land. It is no slight gain to escape to a new environment which is free from the worst blemish that disfigures the old. Then the Company laboured unremittingly to secure for its settlers the boon of self-government, and ably seconded their strenuous efforts to escape from the indignity and injustice inseparable from crown colony government, however beneficent. It may also take some credit that its settlers were unanimous in indignant repudiation of Earl Grey's offer in 1848 to ship convicts to New Zealand. They were perhaps the more resentful because the pill was sugared by the sweet thought of cheap labour and easy money at a time when depression was prevalent, due to such incidents as the severe Wellington earthquake of 1848, and the scarcity of labour consequent upon the gold discoveries in California and Australia. It is surely just that the accomplishment of so much good should condone a little evil.

CHAPTER XI.—THE WORK OF THE EARLY GOVERNORS.

As we opened the narrative of this period with some account of the difficulties with which the early governors were beset, it will be appropriate to conclude with an estimate of the success which attended their efforts to grapple with them.

Hobson's training was that of the average naval officer of his day, and beyond the fact that he belonged to the class from which such appointments were usually made, our first Governor was in no way specially qualified for a difficult administrative post. A sincere, sensitive, honest, and kindly gentleman, he possessed no special equipment for the appointment besides the slight knowledge he had gained of the country during his brief visit in 1837. Within a few weeks of his arrival in New Zealand he was attacked by paralysis, and though he recovered sufficiently to pay his long deferred visit to the southern settlements in August, 1841, his health was permanently broken and continued to decline until his death in September, 1842. The indignation and opposition which his measures necessarily excited roused up a very vigorously hostile faction against him. With mind and body racked by suffering, he possessed a disposition too gentle and sensitive to bear up long against the vindictive abuse to which he was constantly subjected in the Press of the Colony. His physical and mental infirmity forced him to place more and more reliance upon his subordinates. It is therefore practically impossible to differentiate between the acts of the Governor and those of the subordinates he favoured, the Colonial Secretary and the Protector of Aborigines.

Though it is thus obvious that many of Hobson's difficulties were mainly attributable to causes beyond his own control, his government furnishes some evidence that he was not as completely obsessed by the imperative need for economical expenditure as his instructions and the lack of funds at his disposal urgently demanded. Instances may be quoted in which his judgment of the necessity of an expenditure may be severely impugned. Such, for example, were his Clendon Land Purchase* in April, 1840, his outlay on Auckland Government House and grounds, and his ready appointment of government officials when lacking legitimate means of remunerating them.

When due allowance is made for the sea of troubles that all but engulfed him, Hobson can show a record which, when crowded into a period of less than three years, is highly creditable. After carrying out the task entrusted to him, of concluding a treaty with the Maoris by which they transferred their sovereign rights in New Zealand to the British Crown, he took steps to establish British sovereignty in New Zealand to the exclusion of the French, who were also embarked upon the same project. With commendable foresight he founded the city of Auckland, destined probably to be always the largest and wealthiest of the Dominion's cities. He established British law and British institutions in the new colony and kept it at peace. He curbed the land-sharks on the one hand, and the too acquisitive New Zealand Company on the other. Had he been adequately supported from Home, and in the enjoyment of robust health, his record would doubtless have been still more laudable, for though many malcontents acting under the provocation of frustrated self-interest vilified him, all recognised the uprightness and integrity of his

*Vide "Hobson's Folly" on page 92.

character, so that the encomium embodied in the Maori address to the Queen after his death was no less than his due: "Let not the new Governor be a boy or one puffed up; let not a troubler come amongst us; let him be a good man like this Governor who has just died."

Immediately upon Hobson's demise, on September 10th, 1842, the Colonial Secretary, Lieutenant Willoughby Shortland, assumed the office of Administrator in conformity with the New Zealand Charter of 1840. As Hobson's successor, Captain Robert FitzRoy, did not take office until December 26th, 1843, Shortland acted in the dual rôle of Colonial Secretary and Administrator for a period of over fifteen months. This gentleman, who had been a lieutenant under Captain Hobson on board H.M.S. *Rattlesnake* when he visited New Zealand in 1837, and had first been appointed to Hobson's staff by Governor Gipps as Police Magistrate, was far less fitted for the work of administration than his former commander. He was deficient in education, if not as illiterate as his enemies asserted, and was, moreover, untrained for the onerous duties of the post; while his vanity, ostentation, and pompous quarter-deck manner made him generally unpopular.

Shortland recognised that he was only a stop-gap and contented himself, wisely perhaps, with marking time. While he occasionally availed himself of the advice of his Executive Council, he summoned no meeting of the legislative body. At the same time he was culpably negligent in his attention to the essential and urgent business of his office. Many of the settlers of his day expressed their utter want of confidence in him, and their conviction that his appointment as Governor would spell ruin to the Colony. Some of the complaints urged against him

were the uncertainty and vacillation attending all his acts; the continued delay in the settlement of the southern land claims; the limited amount of land offered for sale by the Government; his reckless squandering of public money in extravagant works; the encouragement of natives in acts of oppression and outrage by the lack of a settled policy. The latter was exemplified by his intention to interfere, with the whole military force of the Colony, in a trivial native quarrel at Tauranga,* in contrast to the apathy he subsequently displayed after the Wairau massacre. Mr. Shortland was also severely criticised for his lavish appointments of public officers, some sixty in the course of twelve months. As his financial measures were unsound and the public coffers empty, this prodigality was the more culpable.

When Governor FitzRoy arrived in December, 1843, he was studiously discourteous to Mr. Shortland, who promptly resigned his office. Despite the local discredit thrown upon the Acting-Governor's work in New Zealand, it is curious that Lord Stanley took occasion in July, 1845, to express the confidence of Her Majesty's Government in his character and capacity, and to notify his appointment to administer the government of the West Indian island of Nevis.

Nor was Governor FitzRoy's character cast in the right mould to rescue the Colony from the slough of difficulties and distresses into which in the short space of three years it had sunk. This officer's previous knowledge of New Zealand was acquired in the ten days' visit which he had paid to the Bay of Islands in command of the surveying ship *Beagle*, in 1835, a fact which led to his being summoned to give evidence regarding New Zealand before the House of Lords Committee in 1838. While an excellent naval officer

*Vide page 133.

he had few, if any, of the personal qualities essential in a successful autocrat in a struggling colony of free settlers. Though honourable and well-meaning, he was self-opinionated, quick tempered, and tactless. His hasty and choleric temper frequently disturbed his mental poise and temporarily obscured his judgment. His apparent coldness and austerity of manner, and his excessive bias in favour of the missionaries and the Maoris, militated against his popularity with the great body of settlers. He seemed incapable of formulating a sound policy or of adhering to any policy consistently. In addition to this vacillation of purpose, his reckless disregard of official instructions based on time-honoured principles of conduct in public affairs did incalculable harm. For various reasons, of which the difficulty of communication was probably one, and the prevailing depression another, he was just as remiss as Shortland in regard to his duty of collecting and transmitting information and statistics for the use of the Colonial Office.

While FitzRoy can claim some credit for his success in keeping the Company's settlers from further conflict with the natives, his recall, notified in April, 1845, was the natural consequence of the errors of policy already detailed. At the same time there is no doubt that he continued to be grievously hampered by the same troubles, and shackled by the same limitations as his predecessors, and was thus to a considerable extent the victim of uncontrollable circumstances. Money and soldiers were as essential to his success as a sound and vigorous policy, and these, which could come only from Home, he received but in stinted measure, and after delays protracted too long to afford him an opportunity to retrieve his mistakes and save the situation. This, accordingly, became the task of his successor.

It was left for Governor Grey to do for New Zealand what he had just done for South Australia. Responding promptly to the supreme test of administrative capacity, he re-established its bankrupt finances on a sound basis, and by other judicious measures set its feet firmly upon the path to material well-being and prosperity. He abolished the useless Protectorate Department. He grappled with the military situation, and subdued the rebel Maoris in all parts of the country by force of arms or by strategy. At the same time he established a powerful ascendancy over the native race by personal influence, by the intimate knowledge he acquired of their language, customs, and history, by affording them employment as constables and in public works, and by building hospitals and schools for their amelioration and civilization, though he unwisely took no steps to revive the declining authority of the chiefs.

Grey was not to be deterred from beneficial measures by the strongest opposition, as his prohibition of the importation and sale of arms and ammunition and the sale of spirits to the natives clearly revealed. He founded settlements of military pensioners* in the neighbourhood of Auckland. He completed the establishment of law courts to meet the growing needs of the community. He hastened the settling of land claims to give the security of tenure which lies at the foundation of all material progress. He established a system of education by subsidising the only available teachers, the churches. Finally, he helped to raise the political status of the country, exchanging the swaddling clothes of its infant rule for the more mature apparel of self-government. Nor was he afraid to run counter to instructions, for in two

*In pursuance of Earl Grey's instructions. Vide page 139.

memorable instances, Earl Grey's belated and impolitic interpretation of the Treaty of Waitangi as shown in his ill-timed and ill-drafted Constitution Act of 1846, and the arrangement of the British Government with the New Zealand Company in the Constitution Act of 1852, he coolly set aside the authority of his superior.

This is no mean record for eight years' service, and that he was enabled to achieve so much was due to a happy combination of remarkable personal capacity for statesmanship with relatively liberal support in money and men from the Home Government. Richly endowed by nature with a clear, incisive brain, and eloquent and forceful speech, Grey used the whole force of a dominant personality to gain submission to his will. Those whom his winning manners could not cajole, he silenced by the exercise of ruthless personal invective. In a wide field of practical activities, he represented the highest type of a benevolent despot. A man of ripe scholarship, wide outlook, and imperial vision, his personal faults were those which seem inseparable from strong natures, and the errors of his judgment may be condoned on the score of the enormous balance of good his measures effected. His avowed enemies, and they were numerous, acknowledged his genius for autocratic government and his undeniable success, even while they misinterpreted his motives, derided his secretiveness and fondness for tortuous ways, and censured his policy. The knighthood conferred upon him in 1848 signified the approbation of the British Government. His achievement in New Zealand stands uneclipsed by the record of any rival in the history of colonial government.

PART III.

THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT PERIOD (1853-1875).

(BY ALAN E. MULGAN.)

CHAPTER I.—RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

To the thoughtful New Zealander the year 1854 may well have seemed a wonderful landmark in the history of his infant country. Only fourteen years had passed since Hobson hoisted the flag at the Bay of Islands, and now the meeting of the first elected Parliament was at hand. He might reflect that Sydney had been founded in 1788, but that New South Wales had not yet been granted a Constitution so liberal as that of New Zealand.* Canada had had to wait much longer for this right. What sort of a community was it, that after an official life of fourteen years, was to take charge of its own affairs? It was wide geographically, but in numbers very small. Little settlements were scattered about the long, narrow islands, and means of communication were primitive. From Hokianga in the North to Invercargill in the South was six hundred miles as the crow flew, and the sea route was much longer. "The geographical position of the settlements, and their distance from each other, may be taken to be repre-

*Full representative government was instituted in Australia in 1855.

sented by Edinburgh, Hull, London, Dieppe, Brest, and Bordeaux," says Swainson, who was Attorney-General at the time; "with this material difference, that there were no roads between any two of the settlements for wheeled carriages." The overland journey between Auckland and Wellington commonly occupied from three weeks to a month. Steamers were coming in, but a great deal of sea travelling was done by sailing vessels. A journey from Dunedin to Auckland was an undertaking requiring as much deliberation as a trip to England does to-day. The European population of the Colony in 1853 was 31,272, divided as follows:—Auckland 10,853, Wellington 7,000, New Plymouth 1,985, Nelson 5,148, Canterbury 3,895, and Otago 2,391. This was a small community for a system of government made up of two central Houses of Parliament and six Provincial Councils, but the key to the understanding of the situation is the isolation of the settlements. Imports were valued at £59,700 in round figures, and exports at £30,300, and nearly half of this trade was done in the Auckland province. Since Grey had shelved the first Constitution* some years before, the position had been changed materially by the planting of the Canterbury and Otago settlements; but these remarkable and highly successful enterprises, which were destined to add enormously to the wealth and prosperity of the Colony, had not had time to develop greatly. The returns of 1851 showed that only 40,000 acres were fenced, and that cattle numbered 35,000 and sheep 233,000. The increase in the next few years was to be striking.

It was in January, 1853, that the receipt by the Governor of the Constitution Act of 1852 was formally notified to the people of New Zealand, who celebrated

*Vide page 100.

the event by public rejoicings. In the following month six provinces were created and their boundaries defined, electoral districts proclaimed, and dates fixed for elections. Auckland extended as far south as the Mokau and the southern end of Lake Taupo; Wellington included what afterwards became the province of Hawke's Bay; and the South Island was cut into three provinces, each running from eastern to western sea—Nelson, Canterbury, and Otago. From the first, the little communities took the keenest interest in their new rights and privileges. Leading citizens were elected superintendents. Otago chose Captain William Cargill, the foremost man in the community that had planted the province, of whom Sir George Grey said that he almost believed that nobody more wise and sagacious ever existed. Canterbury chose James Edward FitzGerald, one of the "first ships" pioneers, a brilliant and lovable man, who, besides taking a prominent part in politics, left an abiding mark on the culture of Christchurch. Nelson chose Edward William Stafford, one of the founders of the settlement, who was destined to play a leading part over a lengthy period on the larger stage of Colonial politics. New Plymouth elected Charles Brown, son of that Brown who had been a friend of Keats and moved in high literary circles in London, and whose sudden departure for New Zealand in middle age was a mystery to his friends. Wellington's experience was to be unique. Dr. Isaac Earl Featherston, its first Superintendent, did not court popularity, but held the office from 1853 to 1870, an unbroken period of strong and wise rule. Auckland's choice was the most curious. Its first Superintendent was the popular Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Henry Wynyard, commander of a British regiment, whom we shall soon consider in a more exalted sphere. In the new

Provincial Councils the customs and style of Westminster were copied with an amusing fidelity and seriousness. These miniature Parliaments had their Speakers, maces, Chaplains, Sergeants-at-Arms, and ministerial crises.

The Maoris, brought for the first time into contact with European democracy in action, were at first comically puzzled. Voting was open, for in those days men distrusted the idea of the secret ballot. Swainson gravely shook his head over it, and implied that if voters proved to be "so poor in spirit as to be open to venal influences in the exercise of a great public trust," and therefore had to be "screened" by the secrecy of the ballot, they were not fit to have any share in government. The natives therefore witnessed an old-fashioned election such as Dickens described. "When they heard the shouts of the electors before the hustings," says Dr. Arthur Thomson, referring to the Auckland provincial election, "and saw the violent gesticulations of the speakers, they withdrew to a distance; but when roars of laughter were mingled with angry words, they looked perfectly amazed. Suddenly, as if comprehending the spirit of the strange scene, so unlike anything they had ever seen before in the manners and customs of the English, they joined in laughing at the practical jokes played off on the occasion." It was their first glimpse of the fact that the white man's politics were partly a game. It was a game in which they had little or no share.

Elections for the House of Representatives followed those for the Provincial Councils, and aroused less interest. Provincial government was in operation some time before the Colonial Parliament met. Grey has been criticised for what has been called "putting the cart before the horse," and it is charged against

him that he played into the hands of the provinces in every possible way. It was a mistake, so it is contended, to erect provincial government without a central parliament to keep it in check, with the result that for nearly twelve months the Provincial Councils ran riot, and strove to get into their hands the greatest possible amount of power. There is, however, a good deal to be said in Grey's defence. It must be remembered that Grey regarded provincial government as a highly important part of the Constitution; twenty years later he was to come out of retirement to lead passionately the opposition to the abolition movement. The principal argument for the course he took was geographical. In the then condition of the Colony, local government affected the colonist much more intimately than central government. The process of election to the General Assembly was longer than that of provincial election. Some of the Otago members of the first House actually spent eight weeks in getting to Auckland to take their seats. To have deferred the inauguration of provincial government until after the meeting of the Assembly would have seriously delayed the starting of half the constitutional machinery. The fact that during the first ten years of the General Assembly's life, there were two years during which it did not sit, gives point to the contention that it was originally not intended to meet so frequently as the Provincial Councils, which by law had to be called together annually. However, there can be no doubt that Grey's course gave a great stimulus to provincial government, and made more difficult the task soon to be laid on the Central Government, of curbing the Provincial Councils and harmonising colonial and provincial interests.

On the last day of 1853 Sir George Grey left New Zealand. He sailed for England on leave, but fate

had strange and almost unimaginable things in store for him. He was to be called to a post of extreme difficulty in South Africa, and was not to see New Zealand again for eight years. For leaving at this stage he has also been censured. He should, his critics say, have waited to guide the General Government in its first steps, and he has been accused of going because he did not wish to act as Governor with restricted powers. This charge, a matter of opinion, is of a kind difficult to meet. Grey certainly loved power, and never worked happily under restraint. It may be pointed out, however, that he had drafted a Constitution that was in one important respect more democratic than the one from which his critics accused him of trying to escape. It has even been said that his very departure was "an act of mutiny," in that, wanting the holiday, he took it without asking for it. Yet in defending Grey in the House of Lords against the charge of deserting his post, the Duke of Newcastle clearly stated that he had applied for leave of absence. He certainly deserved a holiday. The Duke pointed out that in seventeen years of difficult and sometimes dangerous colonial service, Grey had spent only three months in England, and His Grace added that the reason for the journey to England was Grey's wish to see his mother, who died just before he arrived. The conclusion must be, however, that it was a great pity Grey left when he did. It was not only that his ability was missing when the first Parliament met, but that the representation of the Crown at this critical juncture devolved on a temporary Governor with little political experience.

In Sir George Grey's absence, the position of representative of the Crown descended upon Lieutenant-Colonel Wynyard, Officer Commanding the 58th Regiment, and Senior Military Officer in the Colony. This

He had given permission earlier for Wynyard to stand for Superintendent

was unfortunate, and it was still more unfortunate that twenty months were to pass before Grey's successor arrived. Colonel Wynyard's position was curious and indeed quaintly humorous. He was an honest, conscientious, and popular soldier, with only average ability. With a strange notion of propriety, he stood for election to the office of Superintendent of Auckland, and actually saw nothing objectionable in combining the post with that of Acting-Governor. There was nothing in the Constitution Act against a man doing this, but when the Secretary of State was appealed to, he declared such a combination incompatible with the spirit of the Constitution. The same officer was at the same time Acting-Governor, Superintendent of Auckland, Senior Military Officer, and Officer Commanding a Regiment, and one can readily believe the historian who remarks that the quadruple position "had occasionally its ludicrous aspect in the interchange of official, and sometimes controversial, correspondence between the high authorities." One is reminded of Pooh-Bah — "They were all present, Your Majesty. I counted them myself." Colonel Wynyard had for advisers two lawyers who left their mark on New Zealand legislation. As Acting-Governor, he was advised by Swainson, a skilful and astute man, who had done valuable work for the young Colony in framing statutes. As Superintendent, he was advised by Mr. Frederick Whitaker, then Provincial Solicitor and afterwards Minister of the Crown, Premier, and for many years an open or secret power in politics.

Parliament was appropriately summoned for May 24th (1854), the Queen's birthday. The House of Representatives consisted of thirty-seven members, of whom Auckland returned twelve, New Plymouth three, Wellington eight, Nelson six, Canterbury five, and

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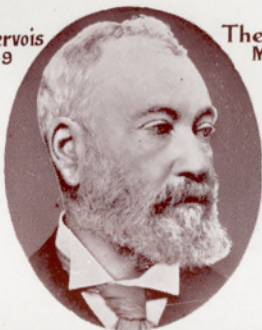
High Street, Dunedin, in 1863.



Lieut.-Gen. Sir Willm. Jervois
Jan. 1883 to Mch. 1889



The Earl of Onslow
May 1889 to Feb. 1892



The Earl of Glasgow
June 1892 to Feb. 1897



The Earl of Ranfurly
Aug. 1897 to June 1904



**The Rt Hon. William Lee
Baron Plunket**
June 1904 to June 1910

[By courtesy of Canterbury Museum
Governors of New Zealand.]

Otago three. Thirty members voted in the first division. In this first House there was plenty of education, ability, and character. Foremost among the South Island members for brilliant qualities was FitzGerald of Christchurch—an impulsive Irishman, witty and winning, a gifted orator and writer, but lacking in the steadier qualities that make for solid success in politics. His picturesque qualities flash across those times and he helped to make history, but he failed to fulfil the promise he showed in the early 'fifties. Featherston of Wellington had the qualities that FitzGerald lacked. But towering over all in personal interest and romantic circumstance was Edward Gibbon Wakefield, the man whose presence there was most appropriate. Wakefield had the strongest single claim to be considered the founder of New Zealand. He had formed two colonies, South Australia and New Zealand; he was known throughout the Empire as the author of a new system of colonisation; he had striven with all his might for his ideals of organised colony planting and representative government; he had been associated with Lord Durham's epoch-making mission to Canada and the granting of self-government to that Colony; and he had helped to draft the very Constitution under which the first Parliament of New Zealand had now been summoned, and to secure its passage through the Imperial Parliament. In short, in combination of ideas and action, he was the foremost Empire-builder of his time. Wakefield arrived in New Zealand from England in February, 1853, at a time when the Colony was beginning to seethe with the new political ferment. Settling in Wellington, whose people presented him with an address of thanks for his efforts in the cause of self-government, Wakefield plunged at once into the strife with a boyish enthusiasm stimulated by better health

and renewed spirit and hope. He was elected to the House for the Hutt district. Thus he took his place at the first meeting of the Parliament for whose creation he had worked, in the Colony which his genius and vision had done so much to secure for the British Empire and develop on idealistic lines. On that day he must have realised the truth of his own words that "the utmost happiness which God vouchsafes to man on earth" is "the realisation of his own idea."

After the House had chosen its Speaker and done a little other business, Parliament was formally opened by the Acting-Governor on May 27th. The scene of the deliberations was unimpressive. New Zealand's first Parliament House was an ugly wooden building, which survived the occasion by more than sixty years. For more than thirty of these it served as part of Auckland's University College, and disappeared when that dilapidated block was pulled down to make way for a road. Of the people in Auckland not one in a hundred knew its history. Thought of the noble and beautiful stone chamber that links Canterbury with the early days of self-government intensifies regret at the absence of any similar link with the first work of the colonial legislature. Colonel Wynyard delivered a long and earnest address, which Wakefield's biographer thinks bore traces of Wakefield's pen. The reasons he gave for summoning members showed that he felt keenly his responsibility as temporary Governor, and in view of what afterwards happened his words are worth quoting. "Holding office but temporarily; feeling myself bound not to embark in any measure which may embarrass the policy or affect the duties of a permanent Governor of the Colony; and believing

that statesmanlike qualities of a high order are needed for conducting to a successful issue the experiment in constitutional government about to be attempted in New Zealand; I might well have shrunk from the responsibility of calling together the first and most momentous meeting of the General Assembly." His Excellency surveyed the situation, and referred pointedly to the danger of the Provincial Councils acquiring too much power. It would rest with the General Assembly "whether New Zealand shall become one great nation, exercising a commanding influence in the Southern Seas, or a collection of insignificant, divided, and powerless petty States." The representative of the Sovereign appealed to members of the Assembly to confirm by their prudence and moderation the fitness of their countrymen for representative institutions.

"Entering, then, as we are about to do, on the discharge of important and responsible duties, believing that our example and that the character of our proceedings will be influential in after times and on those who shall succeed us, and seeing in this Assembly the germ of what will one day be the great Council of a great nation, I cannot conclude my address on opening the first session of the General Assembly of these Islands without the expression of an earnest prayer that the Divine Blessing may direct and prosper all our consultations, and that all things may be so ordered and settled upon the best and surest foundation that peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, may be established among us for all generations."

The address was worthy of an occasion that must have touched the imagination of the most stolid. The atmosphere was charged with joy and hope. What

followed was a sad anti-climax, a spreading of swift waters over sands and swamps. At the outset two difficulties arose which for some time absorbed the energies of the Assembly. There was no provision in the Constitution for an essential part of responsible government, a ministry responsible to Parliament. Secondly, by a defect in the wording of the Constitution, "the power of the purse" was limited. Government was representative but not responsible. When the Act was passed, the Governor's Ministers were the Colonial Secretary, the Colonial Treasurer, and the Attorney-General, officials appointed by the Crown, and holding their positions on good behaviour. They were not elected by the people, they did not sit in Parliament, and they were not responsible to Parliament. There was no provision in the Constitution by which these Ministers could be superseded by representatives of the people responsible to Parliament. There was no means of making personal contact between Parliament and Ministers. The situation then revealed is of exceptional interest to students of politics, for the New Zealand Parliament was in the position from which the British Parliament had freed itself long before. Ministers were independent of a Parliamentary majority; were chosen by the Crown, and might be chosen without regard to the opinion of the House; and might act in direct conflict with the sentiment of the House. It may be asked why the framers of the Constitution did not provide against a situation that violated cherished rights established in the Motherland as a result of long and violent struggles. The explanation seems to be that this was not foreseen, and that the British Government and Parliament assumed that a responsible government would grow naturally out of the Constitution. As the

British Government subsequently ruled, responsible government was a matter not of law but of usage. For the second defect there was less excuse. A clause in the Act limited financial control by Parliament to future revenues levied by virtue of legislation; the old sources of revenue could not be touched. This denied to the House the heroic remedy of refusing Supply. The relations between Ministers and Parliament, and the control of Parliament over finance, were thus similar to those limitations in the German political system which were thrust on the world's attention many years later. The Emperor appointed and dismissed Ministers, and the Reichstag's power of financial veto was blunted by the provision that if a budget was rejected, the taxes of the previous year could still be collected. The German system had this point of superiority, that Ministers could address Parliament. So on the small stage of this infant Colony was played again the drama of contest between Parliament and Crown for the real power to govern. Unfortunately, to the spectators the play looked like a farcical comedy.

Wakefield fired the first shot, and his biographer thinks that the action was preconcerted with the Acting-Governor. He immediately moved: "That amongst the objects which the House desires to see accomplished without delay, both as an essential means whereby the General Government may exercise a due control over the Provincial Governments, and as a no less indispensable means of obtaining for the General Government the confidence and attachment of the people, the most important is the establishment of ministerial responsibility in the conduct of legislative and executive proceedings by the Governor." Fitzgerald, in moving the Address-in-Reply, expressed the

opinion, afterwards confirmed by the British Government, that to introduce the principle did not require a new law, but a simple act on the part of the executive power. Wakefield's motion was debated for three days, "if debate it may be called," says Swainson, "in which no difference of opinion was expressed." Thus at the outset Wakefield placed himself at the head of a movement for responsible government, and to the observer all things might have seemed possible to him. An amendment to refer the matter to a Select Committee was supported by only two members, and Wakefield's motion was carried by twenty-nine votes to one. It was followed by an Address to the Acting-Governor praying him to take it into "his early and serious consideration."

Colonel Wynyard's position was difficult. "He was," says Reeves,* "wax in the hands" of Swainson. It was not surprising, however, that a soldier with little experience in politics should lean on an expert for advice on constitutional questions. One must try to put oneself in Wynyard's place. He was *locum tenens*, and in such circumstances responsibility is keenly felt. He was called upon to administer a brand new Constitution in a remote country, where the ruling race was much inferior in numbers to the warlike aborigines. Responsible government to-day is taken as a matter of course, as much as is the air we breathe, but it was then a new thing in the Colony. There in front of Colonel Wynyard was the Constitution in black and white. It contained no authority for him to supersede Ministers of the Crown then in office, and no instructions on the point had reached him. That he might have asked for instructions beforehand is a fair point of criticism. These Ministers, appointed permanently by the Crown, were not prepared

*The Hon. W. P. Reeves, in "The Long White Cloud," page 253

to give up their offices until ample provision had been made for compensation. What gave the situation now created a humorous tinge, was that these Ministers, as the Governor's advisers, were called upon to advise him on their own fate. Swainson tells us that he and his colleagues stressed the necessity for prudence and discretion, at a time when a single false step on the part of the executive would again have involved the country in a native war. They all "declared their readiness to retire from office, if called upon to do so by His Majesty's Representative; but under the circumstances of his position, they refused to advise him either to call upon them for, or even to accept, their resignations."

Common sense suggested a tactful compromise, pending reference of the point to London, and in effect this course was taken; but such an amount of feeling was engendered as to produce not peace, but war. The compromise consisted of arranging that Ministers should continue in office until they could "with propriety retire," and adding to the Executive, which the Government had power to do, a number of members of Parliament. Messrs. FitzGerald, Sewell, and Weld, from the House, and Bartley from the Upper House, were accordingly appointed to the Executive Council as Ministers without portfolios. They were entrusted with the duty "of conducting the Government business through the two Chambers, and of preparing, and superintending in their progress, the measures that might be necessary to giving effect to the policy of the Government." They were to hold office only so long as they retained the confidence of the Legislature. FitzGerald was, therefore, in a limited sense, the first Premier of New Zealand. The exultant

Wakefield wrote Home that New Zealand had undergone "neither more nor less than a revolution," and that he was as happy as anybody could be in this world. "A little child," he said, "might guide New Zealand members in the right way." It is a pity that after this the child grew tired.

The arrangement did not work well. It would have been surprising if it had; for asking representatives to serve in a Cabinet with permanent officials, not responsible to Parliament, was like trying to mix oil and water. A period of unedifying wrangling, bitterness, and futility ensued. FitzGerald announced several Bills, including one for granting pensions to the three old Executive officials. Before long he and his representative colleagues were urging the Governor that Swainson and his colleagues should be retired on pension. They advanced in support the arguments that the House would be willing to entrust to only a fully responsible Ministry, the important powers contained in proposed legislation. It was afterwards alleged that there had been a private understanding that Swainson and his colleagues would retire. The Acting-Governor replied that he was not prepared to disturb the officers appointed by the Crown, or in any way to establish a new form of government, without reference to the Colonial Office; that if the formation of a completely responsible government was in keeping with the views of the authorities at Home, the present arrangements would not last long; if, on the other hand, it was not the wish of the Home Government, it was the more necessary that he should await instructions. Here, again, the hand of Wakefield is suspected. At any rate, he was soon to be known to the political world as the unofficial adviser of Colonel Wynyard. On August 2nd FitzGerald and his colleagues resigned. The Acting-Governor

accepted their resignations, and consulted Wakefield on the formation of a new Ministry. Wakefield now became an object of suspicion and dislike in the Assembly, as an apostate from the cause of responsible government, and was strongly assailed by members. The House not only replied to the Governor's acceptance of Ministers' resignations by reaffirming the principle of ministerial responsibility, but gravely begged His Excellency to consult his Executive Councillors and not his irresponsible adviser. Wakefield was certainly trying. His career showed that his capacity for getting things done lay in exercising unofficial influence, and a man with such a capacity is not necessarily successful in a deliberative assembly. He made the mistake of openly emphasising the part he was playing behind the scenes. Once when a message from the Acting-Governor was being read and it was found that a page of the document was missing, Wakefield promptly pulled a draft from his pocket and supplied the part—a monumental piece of tactlessness that proved his unfitness for the very system of politics he had striven to erect.

Things went from bad to worse. The agitation for a responsible Ministry was coupled with a sweeping attack on the Government's administration. Violent resolutions, acrimonious speeches, and personal altercations occupied the time of the House, which refused to do other business until the question of the hour was settled. On August 17th matters reached a crisis. The Governor sent a conciliatory message to the House. He regretted the deadlock; expressed the hope that much needed legislation would be considered; stated his intention of proroguing Parliament for a short period, during which recess he would try to add members of Parliament to his Executive Council; and promised to send without delay an

earnest request that the Imperial Government would establish responsible Government in the Colony. On the heels of this message there came a second one, which was handed to the Speaker. Here was a pretty dilemma. It was probable that this message contained the prorogation just mentioned. If this was read, the angry House could do no more business, and so would have to forgo the satisfaction of telling the Governor what it thought of him and his advisers; yet by the rules of the House, which gave precedence to messages from the Governor, it must be read at once. A confused, bitter, and disorderly debate followed. It was proposed that the Standing Orders be suspended. The Speaker ruled that the House could not adopt that course, but added that the House could over-ride his ruling. Several members in the minority, who thought that the Governor was taking a reasonable course, made as if to leave the House. Cries of "Lock the door!" were raised, and the Sergeant-at-Arms turned the key. Most of the dissentient members clambered over the railing into the strangers' gallery, but Sewell jumped into the gallery and locked the door there. However, before the division was taken on the Standing Orders suspension, the doors were unlocked and the minority left the House. Sewell then moved a series of resolutions protesting against Parliament being prorogued before Supply had been asked for; declaring that expenditure of public revenues without the House's authority would be illegal; threatening to take proceedings against public servants who spent revenues without authority; praying the Governor to remove Wakefield from his councils; and addressing the Queen for the establishment of responsible government. During the discussion, Mackay, member for Nelson, entered the Chamber, hat on head, and walked

to his seat to get his umbrella. "Take off your hat!" cried the House. Mackay said he meant no disrespect, but here — pulling papers out of his pocket — were copies of a *Gazette* he had obtained in the street. The production of the *Gazette* that members must have realised contained the prorogation notice, was fuel to the flame. Mackay's papers were snatched from him and crumpled up, and Sewell seized him with one hand by the collar and punched him in the ribs with the other. Mackay escaped from the crowd that hustled him, brandished his umbrella, and then climbed into the gallery. The Speaker was sent for (the House had been in Committee), and irony was added to the farce by the solemn decision that Mackay had been guilty of "a gross and premeditated contempt." Ignoring the fact that with the issue of the *Gazette* the House had no authority, members passed Sewell's resolutions, and the reading of the prorogation message closed the sitting. An Auckland newspaper remarked mordantly that to constitute a session it was necessary that at least one Bill should pass both Houses, and in its deliberations, lasting two and a half months, Parliament had fulfilled this condition; it had produced an Act authorising the sale of liquor within its own precincts. If the Legislative Council had not been productive, it had conducted itself with dignity and good sense. It, too, had passed a resolution approving of responsible government. So ended the first session of that Parliament which at the outset had raised so many hopes. The public received the story of the final scenes with indignation and derision. Australia was amused and shocked, and even Englishmen found time to turn from the events of the Crimean War to be interested in the antics of a distant colony. However, the subsequent history of the New Zealand Parliament

contains no similar chapters, and the House established a high reputation amongst Colonial Assemblies for decorum and dignity.

A fortnight's prorogation gave time for passions to cool. Wakefield retired from the position of unofficial adviser. The Government was master of the situation, partly because by the existing law the State's debts could still be met. Members found themselves still far from their homes, with no vote for their expenses. When Parliament reassembled on August 31st, Colonel Wynyard had called to his Council Messrs. Forsaith (Auckland), E. J. Wakefield (Canterbury), Travers (Nelson), and Macandrew (Otago), on the understanding that they would resign if they failed to command a parliamentary majority. Having failed to get satisfaction from the majority of the House, the Governor was now trying the minority. The Governor's speech explained that he had acted thus as a temporary expedient, pending the passing of an Act, which would be reserved for Her Majesty's assent, making full provision for ministerial responsibility. He also proposed to alter the Constitution by making the Legislative Council elective, to appoint a Lieutenant-Governor for the province of Auckland, to enable the Superintendents to dissolve their Provincial Councils, and to form a Federal Convention apart from the General Assembly—surely a curious legislative programme from the mouth of a Governor who shrank from the responsibility of sanctioning complete responsible government. The Secretary of State, while approving his handling of the political situation, told him that these proposals of his went beyond the constitutional powers of the Assembly. In the meantime, Colonel Wynyard's troubles continued. The Forsaith "Ministry" was promptly defeated on a want of confidence

motion, which condemned the system of mixed executive government. The combination has two claims to fame. It lived for only three days, and it is known as the "Clean Shirt Ministry," because Forsaith announced to the House that he changed his shirt when summoned from his shop to the Governor's presence. However, feeling ran much less high, and members wished to go home. Peace was made. The House agreed to work with the old Executive, pending the decision of the British Government on the question of responsible government. In a fortnight a dozen Bills were passed, and on September 16th Parliament was prorogued until the winter of 1855.

During the recess the Governor received the opinion of the British Government on the question of the hour. Sir George Grey, the Colonial Secretary (who is not to be confused with the ex-Governor of New Zealand), stated that the Government had "no objection whatever to offer to the establishment of the system known as responsible government in New Zealand," for which no legislation was required. Responsible government "rested on no written law, but on usage in England." The only condition laid down was that the officers who would be superseded should be provided with pensions. It was also announced that the other Sir George Grey had been appointed to the Cape of Good Hope, and that his successor would be Colonel Gore Browne, Governor of St. Helena. The third session was opened on August 8th, 1855. Colonel Wynyard had advised members by circular that after pensioning the old Executive officers and passing Supply, the House would be dissolved, so that the people could elect members from whom a responsible ministry should be chosen; consequently few Southern members attended. Sewell was chosen as Leader of the House.

Members declined to pass the Pension Bill, on the ground that they would not pay for responsible government until they got it. One other financial item is worthy of note. The principle of religious freedom was affirmed by the refusal to grant, on the recommendation of the Secretary of State, £600 to Bishop Selwyn. The new Governor, Colonel Browne, arrived on September 6th, and dissolved Parliament a week later. Colonel Wynyard had governed New Zealand for twenty difficult months, and whatever may be thought of the stand he took on responsible government, it can hardly be questioned that in maintenance of dignity he was superior to his opponents. He had been called upon to deal not only with the political problems just described, but with serious native trouble in Taranaki, which will be treated in a subsequent chapter, and he had kept the peace. Colonel Browne, who was to play a prominent and unfortunate part in affairs during the next few years, was an English officer in the prime of life, who had distinguished himself and won promotion in the Afghan War. Gisborne* whose portraits of men of his time are so valuable to the historian, describes him as simple minded, conscientious, intelligent, morally courageous, and endowed "with that chastity of honour which feels a stain like a wound."

Elections were held at the end of 1855, and on April 15th, 1856, three years after the first steps in bringing the Constitution Act into operation had been taken, the Parliament assembled that was to be the first to enjoy a full measure of responsible government. Sixteen members of the first Parliament returned to Auckland, and all six Provincial Superintendents were elected to the House, a fact of some importance in the struggle for mastery between Provinces and

*"New Zealand Rulers and Statesmen," by William Gisborne.

Central Government. A group of able men destined to play leading parts in the Colony's history took their seats for the first time in this session. Edward Stafford, Superintendent of Nelson, was to lead the Centralist Party, and to be Premier for two long terms. William Fox was to be for many years the political rival of Stafford, and several times Premier. Impulsive, vehement, aggressive, and brilliant in debate, Fox is one of the picturesque figures of the time. He wrote one of the best books on the Maori troubles, and was an early leader in the temperance movement, which he lived to see become a great national force. With these men came John Hall of Canterbury, afterwards Premier, and while a chief in the Conservative Party, principal advocate of Women's Suffrage, one whose public career closed only a little while before his death, more than half a century later; C. W. Richmond, who in the coming native troubles played a prominent part on the side of coercion, and whose fine intellectual gifts adorned the Supreme Court Bench for 33 years; and Alfred Domett, the "Waring" of Browning's poem, a great lover of literature, and author of that famous, extraordinary, but little read epic of Maori life, "Ranolf and Amohia." The amount of ability in the Assembly was remarkable, and the level of education and culture higher than in Parliaments of the last 30 years chosen under a wider suffrage. The most prominent parliamentary figure in the drama of 1854 was not there. Wakefield's labours in that session were too much for his impaired constitution, and the bitter enmity he inspired must have preyed on his spirit. He took ill some months later, and passing the rest of his life in Wellington in pathetic seclusion, died there in 1862. His bust stands in the Colonial Office, and the spirit and fruits of his work live, but in this colony of his foundation there is too

little knowledge of his achievements and no public recognition of his contribution to history. Even Parliament House contains no memorial to him.

The new Parliament promptly voted the necessary pensions to the retiring Executive. On May 7th, 1856, Sewell formed the first Ministry under full responsible government. He himself was Colonial Secretary, F. D. Bell, of Wellington, Treasurer, and Whitaker, Attorney-General. Sewell was in trouble from the outset, for he announced the policy of centralisation as against provincialism, and Dr. J. Logan Campbell, Superintendent of Auckland, known afterwards as the father of his city, carried a motion against him on the ground that his policy was incompatible with self-government. The majority could not form a Ministry, so Sewell remained in office, to be defeated a few days later by the Provincialists under Fox, who moved resolutions that were to be the basis of what was known as "the compact of 1856." These fixed the provinces' share of customs duties, and gave them control over land sales and land funds. Fox became Premier, but his Ministry was also short-lived. With the assistance of newly-arrived members, Stafford carried a motion of no confidence, by one vote. On June 2nd, Stafford took office in a Ministry that was destined to be permanent, and the system of responsible government began to operate in earnest. With Stafford were associated Sewell as Treasurer, Whitaker as Attorney-General, Richmond as Colonial Secretary, and Campbell as Minister without portfolio. It was not surprising that the first month should have been one of confusion and change, for responsible government was new; and in place of the party lines that marked politics in the Motherland, there were only the differences between the central and provincial schools of thought.



**The Rt Hon John Poynder
Dickson-Poynder
Baron Islington**
June 1910 to Dec. 1912



The Earl of Liverpool
Dec. 1912 to July 1920



Visc. Jellicoe of Scapa
Sept. 1920 to Nov. 1924



Gen. Sir Chas. Fergusson Bart
Dec. 1924 to Feb. 1930



Lord Bledisloe
Mch. 1930

[By courtesy of Canterbury Museum
Governors of New Zealand.]



Alfred DomeH, C.M.G.,
Aug. 1862 - Oct. 1863



Hon. Sir E.W. Stafford, G.C.M.G.,
June 1856 - July 1861, Oct. 1865 - June 1869
Sept. 1872 - Oct. 1872



Sir Julius Vogel, K.C.M.G.,
April 1873 - July 1875,
Feb. 1876 - Sept. 1876



Sir Harry A. Atkinson, K.C.M.G.,
Sept. 1876 - Oct. 1877, Sept. 1883 - Aug. 1884
Aug. 1884 - Sept. 1884, Oct. 1887 - Jan. 1891



John Ballance
Jan. 1891 - May 1893

[By courtesy of Canterbury Museum

Notable New Zealand Premiers.

Indeed, it was time that a strong and stable general government was established. The provinces had had three years' start of the capital, and had been active in the many spheres assigned to them by the Constitution. Thrown on their own resources, isolated from the over-riding Governor and Parliament, and provided with miniature parliamentary machinery of their own, they had plunged enthusiastically into the work of colonisation. On the borders of the little settlements were great areas to be explored and settled. The southern provinces, free from native troubles and provided by nature and circumstances with immense areas of open land, made rapid progress. The danger was that the provinces would get out of hand politically, and that clashes between the two authorities would cause confusion and hamper progress. It was not to be expected that a Constitution drawn up as it was, and for such conditions, should be anything like perfect, and on the whole it may be said to have worked well; but the relations between the Central Government and the Provincial Councils were badly in need of definition and adjustment. The Councils could legislate on all subjects except a few specifically named, which included Crown and native land, but their laws were liable to be superseded by those of the Colonial Parliament or to be vetoed by the Governor. Through a curious flaw in the Constitution, a vetoed provincial law was null only from the time of veto, so that under a law that was no law, legal action might be taken. The conditions in the different districts varied greatly, and made it all the more necessary that the Colonial Government should deal with the Provincial authorities firmly and wisely. The treatment that might do well for Canterbury, with its broad treeless acres, where plenty of land unburdened by any native

difficulty could be had for £2 per acre, might not do for Taranaki, where only a strip between the sea and the dense forest had been purchased from the natives, and, as we shall see presently, acute difficulty was arising between clamorous colonists desiring land and suspicious natives refusing to sell it. Relations between the capital and the provinces stood in urgent need of definition. Finance was the main difficulty. The provinces were carrying on nearly the whole work of colonisation, and it was impossible under existing physical conditions for the General Government to do it equally well; but at first the only revenue at the disposal of the provinces for this development was what the General Government gave them. Land was the basis of colonisation, but the Constitution Act excluded both the disposal of public land and the appropriation of land revenue from provincial direction. The difficulties of the situation were increased by the seriousness with which these communities took their politics. Elections were keenly and even bitterly fought. Swainson noted that in a province whose entire population hardly then exceeded two thousand, a "ministerial crisis" in its Council of nine members was by no means an unusual occurrence. One province had no fewer than five elections in a little more than three years. Superintendents who made profuse promises to the electors were by no means always able to fulfil them. A strong and aggressive provincial spirit was created, which, admirable though it was up to a certain point, engendered, in the words of Reeves, "a mild edition of the feeling which set Greek states and Italian cities at each other's throats." Provinces were jealous of each other and of the General Government, and since superintendents and members of Provincial Councils were eligible to sit in the Colonial Parliament, the desires,

prejudices, and passions of the various settlements were carried into the larger arena. While provincialism fought centralism, outlying parts of provinces complained that they were not fairly treated by their own Councils, and petitioned the Colonial Parliament for separation.

Such was the position with which Stafford's ministry was faced. The provinces had to be kept in check, lest they absorbed the functions of the General Government, and perhaps made New Zealand a collection of federated states, but it was possible to fetter them too much. Stafford, who may be described as an enlightened Centralist, was handicapped by the fact that he depended for his political life on a majority in a House in which Provincialists were strongly represented. He had to walk warily among many pitfalls. In the first session, measures were taken to put finance on a better footing. A loan of £500,000 was authorised, of which £320,000^a was to discharge the debt due to the New Zealand Company and other liabilities, and £180,000 was to be used to buy native land in the North Island. The South Island provincial land funds were to be charged with the interest on the money paid to the Company. On the other hand, the Provinces were given the power of regulating the disposal of public land and of using the land revenue for their own purposes. The Provinces were also allotted a share in the customs revenue. This transfer of the power over land revenues gave a good deal of trouble, partly because proposals had to be referred to the Imperial Government. The original Constitution Act provided a wide field of reservation for royal assent. These restrictions on the power of the New Zealand Parliament to deal with the provisions of the Consti-

^a£120,000 was for the ordinary Public Debt of the Colony. See also page 159.

tution as occasion arose were eased by an Imperial Act of 1857, the first of a series of enactments that gave New Zealand the more complete system of self-government that it has long enjoyed. The handing over to the Provinces of control of their lands was a highly important change. It gave an immense advantage to the South Island, where land was open and not owned by Maoris; whereas in the North Island nine-tenths of the land was in the hands of natives, many of whom were unwilling to sell, and much of the Crown's estate had been bought at low prices by speculative capitalists. Canterbury and Otago were placed in a much stronger position than the other provinces. Nelson, the third South Island province, had suffered through the purchase of great tracts by "wool kings," under Grey's cheap land regulations of 1853.* The problem was difficult. Pooling the land revenue would have given the less fortunate provinces more money, provided they had got it in the general scramble, but at the expense of districts that raised nearly all the funds. The Wakefield system of Canterbury was based on the assumption that money paid for land would be used for developing the district in which the land lay. The result of the "compact" of 1856 was to raise and accentuate anomalies that became intolerable. The poor provinces were obliged to supplicate the Colonial Treasurer for money. Loans were another source of embarrassment. Provinces were naturally anxious to borrow money for public works, which they were permitted to do on condition that the Colony was not made liable for their debt. This they did at rates of interest higher than the Colonial Government was charged. In the end the General Government agreed to guarantee

*Vide page 111.

these loans. Provincial finance must have caused endless worry to Colonial Treasurers. It had a great deal to do with the abolition of the provinces, and it produced political waves that have affected the history of New Zealand down to this day.

It helps one to realise the importance to the average New Zealander of the Provincial Council, to note that while the Councils met annually the General Assembly was not summoned in either 1857 or 1859. Thirty-six Bills were passed in the session of 1856. The subjects included currency, adoption of English law, marriage law, customs tariff, and the now gravely important question of native land tenure. A feature of the session of 1858 was an Act permitting the formation of new provinces from discontented portions of the old. As we shall see later on, liberal use was made of this measure, so that while the cause of local government was served, the difficulties of the Central Government were increased. In 1856 an honorarium of one pound per day was voted to members of the General Assembly who left their homes to attend Parliament, the precursor of fixed honoraria for all legislators. The progress of the Colony was marked. Sheep were increasing rapidly, especially on the wide runs of the plains and tussock hills of the South Island. By 1856 the number of sheep had risen to a million, and the value of the wool exported to £146,000. Gold was discovered in 1852 at Coromandel, forty miles from Auckland, but the objection of the Maori chiefs to prospecting deferred the development of mining in what was to prove a rich area. A little later it was discovered in Nelson, and the first export of a product that was to add many millions to the wealth of the Colony occurred in 1857. The population in 1858 was 60,000, about double the

total when the Constitution had been introduced. A line of steamers maintained a monthly mail service between the provinces, and negotiations were opened with New South Wales for a joint service with England *viâ* Panama. The loyalty of the colonists was displayed in an address to the Queen from the Assembly, congratulating Her Majesty on the fall of Sebastopol, and more practically in the contribution of £9,000 to the British Patriotic Funds.

An event in 1855 was another reminder that nature had not been uniformly benign in its endowment of this extraordinarily well favoured country. The series of earthquakes of January 23rd, 1855, were more disastrous than the visitation of 1848. In Wellington there was a night of terror, during which, in the words of a chronicler, "the town trembled like a shaking jelly." When day came, it was found that half the chimneys in the town were down, and £16,000 worth of property had been destroyed—no small loss for a community at that stage. Land round the harbour was elevated five feet. The earthquakes were felt in varying degrees of severity in other parts. Naturally this second visitation caused much depression, but these things are soon forgotten, and the very appreciable earthquake risk has not prevented numbers of tall buildings from arising in Wellington. Events were moving towards developments that were to be much more serious than earthquakes, and to these we must now turn.

CHAPTER II.—THE DRIFT INTO WAR.

The year 1860 is another important landmark in New Zealand history. It saw the beginning of the longest and most serious war, or series of wars, between Maori and white man, a struggle that began in Taranaki, moved to the Waikato and the Bay of Plenty, broke out again in Taranaki like a grass fire, spread to the Wanganui district amid the grotesque horrors of Hauhauism, was kindled on the East Coast, and ended in the hunt after Te Kooti in the fastnesses of the Urewera country. This series of campaigns, which stretched from the fight at Waireka near New Plymouth in 1860, to the flight of Te Kooti to the King Country at the end of 1871,* will be considered here as one connected chapter in New Zealand history, and other events and developments of this period will be dealt with later. It is hoped that by this method the unity of the story and its essential features will be briefly and clearly outlined. One campaign grows out of another. The blunder of the Waitara purchase bore fruit in the Waikato as well as in Taranaki, and in its far-reaching consequences set the stage for the defeat at Te Ngutu-o-te-manu and the Poverty Bay massacre.

Before we begin the story, it is advisable to consider for a moment the relations between native and white on the eve of the struggle, to review the factors that inclined the balance to war and not to peace. At the risk of doing scant justice to a large and fascinating subject, the survey must be brief. It was twenty years since the signing of the Treaty

*The last shots in the war were fired in a small engagement in the Urewera Country, in February, 1872.

of Waitangi, in which a savage race acknowledged the "sovereignty" of one highly civilized, and in the interval, relations between the races had in important respects deteriorated. There has been much debate as to how far even the shrewdest and most attentive of the Maori chiefs realised what was involved in the Treaty. Even against authority which the historian must respect, it may be doubted whether the finest intelligence of a race so highly endowed with brains could grasp all that was ultimately implied in the word "sovereignty" used in the European sense. The Maoris had never known what it was to be governed by one authority that made its power felt throughout the country. When the Treaty was signed, sovereignty was the shadow; the substance was the land. The Maoris' anchor in the Treaty was the assurance that their land interests would be protected. But as time went on and the pakeha, from being a light skirmishing line on the coast, became an army advancing into the interior, as the grip of the white man on the country was tightened and extended, the Maori began to fear that the shadow was something dangerously substantial and boded no good to his people. Would the substance of his land guarantee prevail against the advancing shadow? It was the old story, always a problem and often a tragedy, of the clash between civilized and uncivilized races. It was the inevitable conflict, which could have but one end, between the strong who wished to expand and the weak who wished to hold more than they could use, and saw their ancient ways of life threatened with submersion by an alien people.

The British had declared their sovereignty over the country, but it was one of the indirect causes of the wars of the period 1860-1871 that that sovereignty was not made effective. In some parts the natives

accepted magistrates and obeyed their decisions, but over great areas the Queen's writ did not run. Even in the white settlements it did not always run where natives were concerned. Sir John Gorst* mentions as an example of the defiance of English authority, a visit by a party of Waikato natives to Auckland. In broad daylight the party carried off from the house of her mistress a half-caste girl who had refused to return to her tribe and marry a Maori, and they took her past police, soldiers, and all. There were native areas that had never been visited by a white official. Realising that a war with the natives would be a grave matter for the infant white colony, especially if the Maoris combined, the Government shrank from acts that would cause trouble, and in doing so neglected a Government's first duty, the keeping of order. There were two methods by which this could be done, the employment of force, and the encouragement of self-government among the natives with British help and guidance. Force was not employed until it was used to support a blunder by the State, and little or nothing was done to give the natives local self-government until the King movement was firmly established. Missionaries carried Christianity and education to the Maori, but the amount spent by the State on native betterment was trifling. The Native Department was poorly organised. It lacked what was perhaps most essential, a sufficient supply of men trained and qualified for dealing with the natives. The results of this policy of neglect were disastrous. Tribes in the interior quarrelled among themselves. Magistrates sent there had no authority, and the native officials and bodies ultimately set up by the State were a failure for the same reason. One of the Maoris' objects in setting up their King was to stop inter-tribal quarrelling, and to secure that

*See page 230.

order which the white government should have actively fostered. Sir William Martin, ex-Chief Justice, and one of the Maoris' staunchest and most authoritative friends, drew attention to the fact that in 1858-1859 three inter-tribal wars in the Bay of Plenty went practically unrebuked by the Government. But such were Maori character and institutions that the authority of the new King and his advisers proved little better than that of the Government. While the Maori in the disaffected districts feared the encroachment of the white man, he was encouraged to consider the Government weak by its failure to punish natives in its own sphere of influence. Besides, the War in the North* had convinced the native that, man for man, he was a better fighter than the white soldier. In Maori opinion the white man was superior merely by virtue of his more efficient weapons.

There were other causes. The Constitution of 1853 as interpreted, made practically no provision for the participation of the native race in general government. The Maori franchise was so severely restricted by the communal ownership of land as to be almost non-existent, and some years passed before Maori representatives took their seats in Parliament.† Native affairs were under the control of a Department supposed to be responsible, not to the New Zealand Parliament, but, through the Governor, to a Government on the other side of the world. Colonel Browne made a tour of the Colony shortly after his arrival, and enquired into the relations between the races. What he saw and heard disturbed him. He reported to the Colonial Office that the Maoris mistrusted the new Parliament, partly because they did not understand its powers—how should they?—and partly because they believed

*Vide page 134.

†Four Maori electorates were created in 1867.

it to be less scrupulous than the Queen's representative in obtaining land. The almost unanimous opinion of upwards of forty persons who had a good knowledge of the Maoris, was that native affairs could not be safely left to a political Ministry. Appealed to for instructions by the anxious Governor, the Colonial Office said that with all respect due to the principle of responsible government, the management of native affairs should remain for the present "mainly" in the hands of the Governor. "Mainly" was dangerously vague. When Colonel Browne met the first responsible Ministry, what was intended to be a clear understanding was arrived at, that on native affairs the Governor was to hear his advisers but to reserve power to act on his own opinion, pending reference to England. That this arrangement was anything but clear was shown by the Native Reserves Bill of 1856. This Bill was a step towards the individualisation of the communal land rights of natives, a question as dangerous as it was difficult. Common ownership was a basic Maori custom, and as such was protected by the Treaty of Waitangi and the Constitution. The Bill provided that acts under it should be done "only with the advice and consent of the Executive Council"—that is by Ministers—and the Attorney-General asserted that the subject was not a "native question." A number of Legislative Councillors protested to the Governor. Colonel Browne gave his assent and forwarded the problem to the Colonial Office, which did not over-rule him. Swainson might well say that it was not clearly defined where the Governor's responsibility ended and where that of Ministers began. There was also this difficulty: the Governor might claim

control of native affairs, but he was dependent on Parliament for any money he needed for native policy.

Last, but unfortunately by no means least, there was the irritating and sometimes offensive attitude, born of ignorance and prejudice, displayed by many colonists towards a proud and sensitive race. To such men the finest of savages were simply "niggers." It was not to be expected that newcomers from England could grasp at once the intricacies of Maori law and custom, especially when these ran counter to that desire for land which had brought them to New Zealand. They wanted land and they saw immense acres being held back by a few natives. It was little use pointing out to exasperated men that large sales had already been made for a few pence per acre, and that the Maoris under the Treaty of Waitangi had a perfect right to withhold their land. Much less pardonable was that attitude of personal contempt illustrated in the complaint of a great chief that when Maoris approached the white man's doors dogs were loosed at them. Sir John Gorst contrasted the courteous and personal hospitality of a Maori chief towards a white visitor, with the indignities that were liable to be placed upon the same chief if he went to Auckland. "I have heard the Bishop of New Zealand say he is quite ashamed to travel with his native deacons, men who dine at his own table and behave there like gentlemen, because he cannot take them into public rooms where a tipsy carter would be considered perfectly good society."

Hostility to the white men took shape in two movements, the Land League in Taranaki, and the election of a Maori King in the Waikato. The land question was most pressing in Taranaki, where a flourishing settlement based on New Plymouth had

been established. Confined to an area twenty miles long and six or eight broad, "rather less than 3000 settlers," says Reeves, "restricted to 63,000 acres, fretted at the sight of 1750 Maoris holding and shutting up 2,000,000 acres against them." That the Maoris should hold on to land of which they used only a small amount roused bitter feelings in the colonists. The Maori Land League not only refused to sell land to whites, but coerced natives who wished to do so. When in 1854 a chief named Rawiri went out to cut a boundary line on land accepted by the Government, he was fired on by a party of another chief, Katatore, and Rawiri and several of his men were killed. Enemies of Katatore lay in wait for him by the roadside near New Plymouth and murdered him. Fighting between the tribes lasted for some time, and was sometimes conducted so close to the settlement as to bring British sovereignty into contempt. Skirmishing would go on behind the hedge of a settler's farm, and bullets would pierce his dwelling. Although Rawiri had been a British subject, and held the Commission of the Peace, the Government thought it unsafe to intervene, and was content with accepting a surety from Wi Kingi, a local chief, that no colonist should suffer. When Bishop Selwyn went to Taranaki in October, 1861, to make peace between the tribes, he was abused by an angry Press as a friend of the Maoris and a condoner of murder, and hooted through the streets of New Plymouth. He replied in terms that were telling but probably did not improve matters. He declared that he stood for the legitimate wants of the settlers and against selfish monopoly by the Maori; but he pointed out that a great deal of land had already been purchased for tenpence an acre,

and he denounced "the covetousness which Ahab found to be the first step to blood-guiltiness." Finally he gave the solemn warning, soon to be tragically justified, that "while nothing is more easy than to extinguish the native title, nothing will be found more difficult than to extinguish a native war."

While Taranaki was drifting towards war, the King movement was making headway. A gathering of chiefs that assembled at Taupo in 1856 to consider the idea, was not the first of the kind, but it will serve as a starting point. The assembled chiefs did not elect a king, but they declared that in a great area stretching from the Hauraki Gulf to the Wanganui district, there should be no sales of land, and sentiment was largely hostile to the Queen's sovereignty. The centre of interest soon moved to the Waikato district. The basin of that great river was inhabited by the Ngatimaniapoto, Ngatihaui, and Waikato tribes, and the name Waikato was sometimes applied to the whole of this powerful confederation. The tribes had embraced Christianity, missionaries and other white men had settled among them, and the presence of ploughs, flour-mills and schools told of the advance of civilisation. Many of the natives were students of the Bible, and the exploits of the Old Testament Kings encouraged their desire for something that their race had never known, a ruler over all the Maori tribes. Of the chiefs of this loose confederation of tribes, fissured by the immemorial rivalries and jealousies of the Maori, three demand our attention. Te Wherowhero, otherwise Potatau, was a famous warrior, who had acquired a greater *mana* than any of his contemporaries. He was an old and firm friend of the British, but he was now old and feeble, and retained little but his great

reputation. A younger and much more influential man was Wiremu Tamihana, otherwise William Thompson, who has been described by New Zealand's most brilliant historian as the best of his race. Thompson's father was Te Waharoa, one of the greatest fighting chiefs of the previous generation, a soldier as blood-thirsty as he was able. The son was a Christian, a man of peace, a statesman who sought the middle way, and altogether far above his fellow chiefs in mental and moral qualities. Thompson wished to keep the peace with white men, and laboured to this end; but he held that contact with the European was fatal to his race, and therefore wished to provide the Maori with a Government of his own that would give him order and protection from the inroads of newcomers. The third chief was Rewi, the most notable figure among the Ngatimaniapotos, who was to win fame as the chief author of the historic defiance at Orakau. Rewi represented the uncompromisingly hostile wing of the King movement. He was the typical fire-eating soldier who thinks that the politician is a calamity, and much of the King drama in the Waikato was a duel between his bellicosity and Thompson's state-craft and desire for peace.

A circle drawn round Tamihana and Rewi would have enclosed the motives of the King movement. Warlike feeling, distrust of the white man and his Parliament elected almost entirely by whites, offence taken at his slights and insults, fear lest he should overwhelm the Maori by weight of numbers once the barriers were let down, fear of his vices, a sincere desire for peace and better government among the officially neglected Maori tribes—all these played their part. The most powerful causes were the land question and the

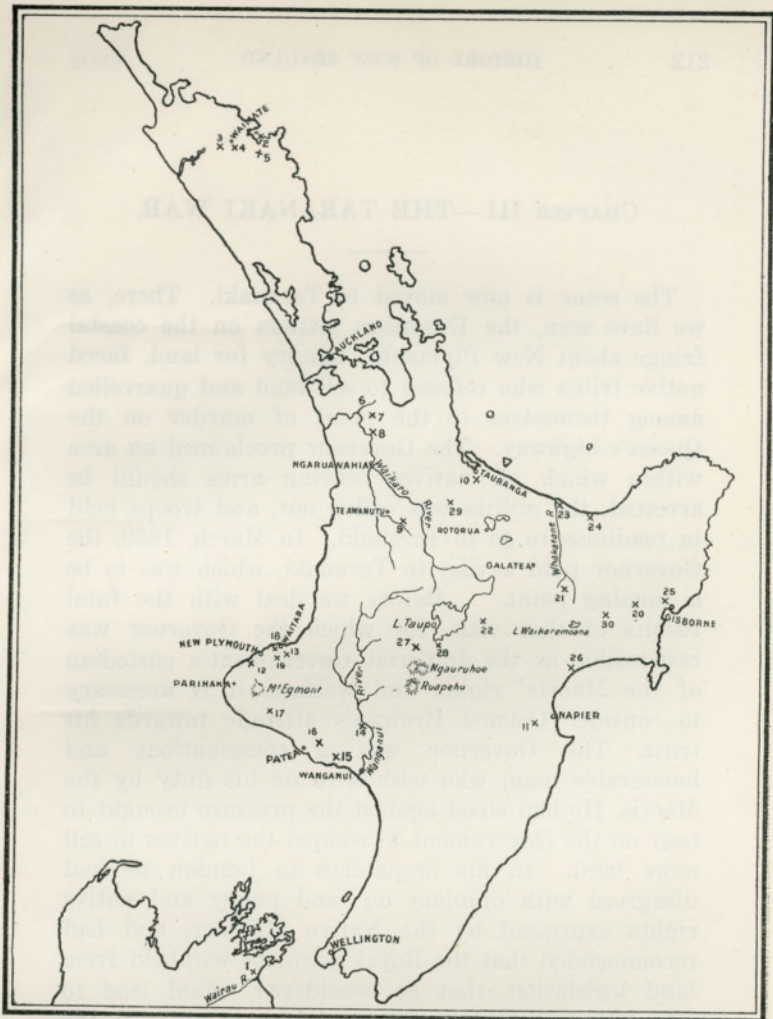
condition of the native territories. Loyalists as well as Kingites were opposed to the sale of any more land. The best elements in the King movement desired a government that would give the tribes the law and order that the Europeans had failed to provide. There was much loyalty among the promoters, whose idea was rather a kingdom within the Queen's kingdom than a separate State, but a kingdom in which Maori law, customs, and interests would be protected. Lastly it is important to note that not all the great chiefs* of New Zealand had signed the Treaty of Waitangi, and that among those who had stood out were Te Wherowhero and Tamihana's father, Te Waharoa. "Neither he (Te Waharoa), I, nor any of the people signed this treaty," argued Tamihana, "therefore we are not bound by it."

Tamihana was moved to decisive action by the cold reception he was given when he visited Auckland at the beginning of 1857. He wished to see the Governor in order to lay before him the lawless condition of the country, but the audience, which he would have been given as a matter of course in the old days of Grey, was refused him by some subordinate. His request to the Native Department for a loan to build a flour-mill was not granted. The proud chief went home mortified, and at once circularised the Waikato tribes asking their consent to the election of Potatau as King. The Government, which had made the mistake of treating the King movement as negligible, now took alarm, and the Governor, accompanied by Mr. Donald McLean, Native Secretary, and Mr. Richmond, Colonial Treasurer, visited the Waikato, and interviewed the chiefs. They were received loyally, and at

*Vide page 88.

Rangiriri in Potatau's presence the natives asked for local assemblies of their own, magistrates, and laws. To these requests the Governor assented, and Potatau said he would be governed by the Governor's advice and would bequeath his people to the Governor's care. Colonel Browne returned to Auckland persuaded that the idea of a King would be given up, but no sooner had he gone than the election of a King was considered at a great meeting at Rangiriri. That the gathering was by no means entirely disloyal is proved by the display of a Union Jack side by side with the new flag designed for the King. Christian prayers were read, including one for the Queen, and crosses were displayed on the flag. The actual inauguration of the Maori monarchy was postponed pending the adherence of other tribes, and in the meantime the Government tried conciliation by sending to the Waikato as magistrate Mr. F. D. Fenton, a Government officer who had a good knowledge of native affairs. Mr. Fenton, who was to organise local government for the Maoris as well as dispense justice, travelled much in the Waikato, but found little to do. The natives received him hospitably, but made small use of his Court, and in any case there was no force behind its decisions. Moreover, the division of authority and opinion among those responsible for native affairs in the capital worked against the success of the scheme. There was a triple authority—the Governor, the Native Secretary, Mr. McLean, who was under the Governor's control, and the Native Minister, Mr Richmond, who was adviser on Native affairs, but whose advice the Governor was not obliged to take. In spite of this triple authority, or perhaps because of it, the extraordinary blunder was made of ignoring altogether that chief who had asked for the

very reforms that Mr Fenton was sent to introduce. Although Potatau was living at Mangere, near Auckland, Mr. Fenton passed him by on his way to the Waikato. The fact that the Parliamentary Committee which afterwards investigated Mr. Fenton's mission was unable to put the blame for this blunder on any one person, showed up the unsatisfactory and dangerous character of the control of native affairs. What Mr. Fenton might have done had he been retained in the Waikato and strongly and wisely supported, is an interesting subject of speculation. The difficulties in the way were formidable. But his mission came to an end before long, and in the opinion of the Parliamentary Committee, for no sufficient reason. Gorst's opinion was that nothing could excuse the entire abandonment of the attempt. One effect of the withdrawal was that it disheartened the friendly natives. The failure of the Government's policy was quickly proclaimed by the consummation of the King movement. Potatau, incensed at the Government's failure to consult him, accepted office in 1857, and was installed at Rangiaowhia, in April 1858. There were faults on both sides, but that this weary old chief, who had always been a friend of the white man, and had been unwilling to become King, should have accepted the position, was a rough measure of the failure of the Government's native policy.



Map locating battlefields and other places of interest during the Maori Wars.

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|-------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| 1. Tuamarina (1843) | 12. Waireka (1860) | 22. Opepe (1869) |
| 2. Kororareka (1845) | 13. Te Arai (1861) | 23. Whakatane (1865, 1869) |
| 3. Okaihau (1845) | 14. Moutoa (1864) | 24. Opotiki (1865, 1867) |
| 4. Ohaeawai (1845) | 15. Weraroa (1865) | 25. Matawhero (Te Kooti's Massacre, 1868) |
| 5. Ruapekapeka (1846) | 16. Moturoa (1868) | 26. Mohaka (1869) |
| 6. Mangatawhiri stream | 17. Ngutu-o-te-manu (1868) | 27. Pourere (1869) |
| 7. Koheroa Hills (1863) | 18. Puketakauere (1860) | 28. Pononga (1869) |
| 8. Rangiriri (1863) | 19. Sentry Hill (1864) | 29. Tapapa (1870) |
| 9. Orakau (1864) | 20. Ngatapa (1869) | 30. Ruakitire (1868) |
| 10. Gate Pa (1864) | 21. Ruatahuna (1869) | |
| 11. Oamaru (1866) | | |

CHAPTER III.—THE TARANAKI WAR.

The scene is now moved to Taranaki. There, as we have seen, the European settlers on the coastal fringe about New Plymouth, hungry for land, faced native tribes who refused to sell land and quarrelled among themselves to the point of murder on the Queen's highway. The Governor proclaimed an area within which all natives bearing arms should be arrested, the militia was called out, and troops held in readiness to go to Taranaki. In March, 1859, the Governor paid a visit to Taranaki, which was to be a turning point. Before we deal with the fatal results of that visit, for which the Governor was responsible as the Imperial Government's custodian of the Maoris' rights and welfare, it is necessary to consider Colonel Browne's attitude towards his trust. The Governor was a conscientious and honourable man, who wished to do his duty by the Maoris. He had stood against the pressure brought to bear on the Government to compel the natives to sell more land. In his despatches to London he had disagreed with opinions on land policy and native rights expressed by the Native Minister, and had recommended that the Royal assent be withheld from land legislation that he considered would lead to war. He eventually went so far as to write to the Colonial Secretary that the Europeans coveted the surplus lands of the Maori and were determined to acquire them by fair means or foul. Supported by some of the best and wisest of the Maoris' European friends, he wished for the appointment of a

permanent Council on native affairs on which men like Bishop Selwyn and Sir William Martin would serve. But circumstances proved too strong for his good intentions. In March, 1859, supported by Mr. Richmond (Native Minister), and Mr. McLean (of the Native Department), the Governor met Taranaki natives at New Plymouth. Mr Stafford, the Premier, was in England. A chief of the Ngatiawa tribe named Teira offered to sell land in what was known as the Waitara block, north-east of New Plymouth, and contrary to Maori custom, pressed for an answer. The Governor replied that he would accept the land if the title were found satisfactory. Wiremu Kingi, head chief of the Ngatiawa, and leader in the land league movement, rose and declared that he would not permit the sale of land. "Waitara is in my hands. I will not give it up." So saying, he at once withdrew with his followers, an action that the Governor construed as rudeness, but which was really the Maori way of indicating finality. For what followed the Government had the excuse that the right of Wiremu Kingi to interfere was denied. As we have seen in an earlier chapter,* the question of ownership had to some extent been obscured by native conquest and the migration and return of the tribe. But when all allowance is made for the wisdom that comes after the event, it is surprising that the Government went on with the sale. It is true enquiries were made into the title, and it was reported by competent authorities that Teira had a right to sell, and the head chief none to intervene. It is also true that material facts bearing on Wi Kingi's rights were not discovered until Sir George Grey succeeded Colonel Browne, though it is strange indeed that the discovery was so long delayed. But every Maori knew that Wi Kingi, as the head

*Vide pages 116-18.

chief, had a right to veto the sale, and this knowledge did immense harm to the Government's authority and prestige. Wi Kingi had also, as Sir George Grey's enquiries were to prove, the right of actual occupation. In the end, Wi Kingi's rights were recognised by the Government. The trouble was that there was then no court for the investigation and determination of native titles. It was not until after the Waitara blunder had dragged the two races into war that the form of tribunal familiar to New Zealanders was set up. Had a Native Land Court investigated Teira's claim it would assuredly have disallowed it. It was afterwards found that Teira, the villain of the piece, had offered the land for sale in order to avenge himself on Wi Kingi for what he considered was a private wrong. To embroil an enemy with the white man was a subtle and satisfactory form of *utu*.

It is most necessary to the understanding of subsequent events, to grasp the fact that the Waitara purchase was a blunder, and one of the kind most calculated to poison the native mind against the white man. The Maori saw immemorial right and custom set aside in what seemed to him a flagrant injustice, and his resentment was strengthened by the strong condemnation of the purchase by Europeans in high places. The transaction had repercussions from Taranaki to the Waikato, and from the Waikato to the East Coast. In the meantime, Governor Browne took a strong line. Satisfied from the reports of his officials that Teira had a title, he bought the land on which Wi Kingi was living with a number of his people, and sent surveyors to work on it. Rumours having reached him that Wi Kingi, to whom the purchase would mean ejection, would interfere with the survey, the

Governor proclaimed martial law in Taranaki, and decided that if there was interference troops should occupy the ground. The surveyors were driven off the field by the embarrassing attentions of old Maori women, and the military took a hand in the dispute. The Governor, who was taking action in consultation with his Ministers, arrived in Taranaki on March 1st, 1860, and ordered Colonel Gold, of the 65th Regiment, to take possession of the land. To a conciliatory letter from another military officer Wi Kingi had replied denying that his people were rebels; the Governor, he said, had announced that he would not entertain disputed offers of land, but the Europeans had disregarded this "good law." On March 13th and 14th, the boundaries of the disputed land were surveyed under military protection, but Wi Kingi then built a pa on the land, and pulled up the surveyor's pegs. On the 17th came the first actual fighting. The Maoris refused to evacuate the pa, which was then subjected to a long bombardment and finally rushed by the troops. It was empty, and the fact that the garrison had resisted so long in this hastily erected fortification and escaped with trifling loss, impressed the Governor with the gravity of the task that war would entail. Two men were killed on our side.

Thus began the Taranaki war. The chief responsibility rests on Colonel Browne, as the guardian of native rights; but his Ministers could not escape from blame by pleading that they had no constitutional responsibility. With the Governor the rights and wrongs of the dispute receded into the background and the question became one of upholding the Queen's sovereignty. The Native Minister went so far as to say that the ground for enforcing the Governor's authority had been

“carefully chosen.” The outlook for the little fringe of settlers, with their faces to the Maoris and the forests and their backs to the sea, was gloomy. No one knew what might be the ultimate limits of “the fire in the fern.” The military said they must have more troops, and the Governor appealed to Australia and England for reinforcements. Detachments of the 12th and 40th Regiments were at once despatched from Australia, where the possibility of the need had been foreseen, and British warships and a colonial sloop of war belonging to Victoria, were ordered to New Zealand. At the same time Sir William Denison, Governor of New South Wales, sent to Colonel Browne a friendly letter containing wise advice on native policy, which showed that he took a more enlightened and statesmanlike view of the problem than the local Governor and his Ministers. Sir William Denison considered that the Maori, as a British subject, was “entitled to have his rights respected and his feelings considered,” and he commended as an alternative to a war of extermination, a policy of sympathy and co-operation. The advice was not taken. The Queen’s sovereignty must be upheld.

Regular soldiers, volunteers, and militia, backed by warships’ guns and crews, opposed the Maoris in Taranaki. By the end of the year the white forces numbered about 3000. The natives in arms were outnumbered, and the whites had a great superiority in weapons and ammunition. We had artillery, while the Maori had none, and against our rifles he opposed old muskets and fowling-pieces. He had, however, the advantages of being mobile and accustomed to the bush, into which it was the policy of our forces not to follow him. Here must be

mentioned another grave blunder of the Government. On the ground that smuggling went on, the restrictions wisely placed on the sale of arms by Sir George Grey had been removed, and the disaffected tribes had bought heavily. Had the restrictions been retained, the British task in the wars that followed would have been much easier.

Immediately after the capture of Wi Kingi's pa, a tragedy occurred that fiercely inflamed the feeling of the New Plymouth people against the Maoris, and pushed the rights and wrongs of the Waitara purchase still further into the background. Three settlers and two boys were killed near Omata, south of New Plymouth, by natives of the Taranaki and Ngatiruanui tribes. It would have been too much to expect of human nature that the horrified colonists should weigh the consideration that from the native point of view these murders were a legitimate retaliation in a war which the Maoris held had been begun by the whites. On March 28, a force of soldiers, sailors, and local units marched out to punish the natives and bring in other settlers. The affair was poorly managed, and narrowly escaped being a disaster. The regulars and the local troops went by different routes, and the Maoris cut off the volunteers and the militia. The local contingent waited under fire for Colonel Murray, the commander of the expedition, to take the Waireka pa; but Colonel Murray, after sending out a party to help this body to retreat, withdrew it and marched his force back to the town, on the ground that he had orders not to go into the bush and to be home by dark. The position of the deserted Taranaki men, who had hastily entrenched themselves behind a barricade of fence rails and oat sheaves, was

becoming desperate, when at the end of the day, Captain Cracroft of H.M.S. *Niger*, and a party of sixty sailors, went out from New Plymouth. This naval party, having met the retreating regulars and heard of the plight of the colonials, marched on in the waning light and stormed the pa in one rush, capturing the place without loss. Their spirited action relieved the pressure on the Taranaki men, who reached New Plymouth late that night, carrying with them the body of the one man killed, and all their wounded. The casualties of the natives were about fifty. One of the officers of the volunteers in the imperilled force was Captain Harry Atkinson, afterwards Premier of New Zealand. He displayed that day the qualities of skill and courage that he was frequently to show in the Taranaki campaigns, as one of the colonial officers who mastered the art of bush warfare.

The plight of the New Plymouth colony was grave. The Maoris swept down on the farm lands, and in the words of Reeves, "the labour of twenty years went up in smoke." The settlers abandoned the open country and took refuge in the town, which ultimately was protected by redoubts and entrenchments. Six hundred women and children were removed to Nelson, but what with those who remained and the influx of soldiers, the little settlement was uncomfortably and unhealthily crowded. Beyond the fortifications was more or less open country, and beyond that forest. This wooded country was almost unknown to the Europeans, and the English officers in command thought it unwise to let their men fight there. The Maoris, on the other hand, could come and go easily. Our caution and their successes heightened their

confidence. Anxiety was increased when Waikato natives arrived to help the Ngatiawa, Taranaki, and Ngatiruanui tribes. Wi Kingi, who had hitherto kept aloof from the King movement, now appealed to the Waikato tribes for help, and the request was considered at a great King meeting of tribes held at Ngaruawahia in May, 1860. There was sympathy for Wi Kingi, but Tamihana took his stand for peace pending inquiry into the merits of the case, and official assistance was not given. But, as a result of intrigues by Rewi, the leader of the war party in the Waikato, a band of the Ngatimaniapoto tribe went to Taranaki to fight. It is worthy of note, as a contrast to the murders near New Plymouth and an example of the curious twists in the Maori ideas about war, that when on the way this party met Mr Parris, the Taranaki Native Commissioner, and the Ngatiawa natives who were with the Waikatos wished to kill him at once, Epiha, the Ngatimaniapoto leader, saved his life. "I shall meet you as an enemy in the daylight," said Epiha, when Mr Parris thanked him. "You have seen that I would not consent to your being murdered."

The Taranaki contingent gained a notable success in their first conflict with the white troops. Soon after the Waireka fight, Colonel Gold, to punish the natives south of New Plymouth who had murdered the settlers, occupied the Tataraimaka block, and destroyed mills, crops, houses and implements belonging to the natives. At the end of June the Puketakauere pa at Waitara was attacked by a force of 348 under Major Nelson, the idea being to take the place before the natives strengthened its defences. Major Nelson's plan was to make a breach with his artillery, assault the pa, and cut off the occupants' retreat, but the main body was subjected

to such heavy fire from Maoris hidden in fern and behind an entrenchment, that after making a gallant advance it was withdrawn with a loss of thirty killed and thirty-four wounded. The Waikato contingent had helped to beat off the attackers, and their success was an invitation to other adventurous spirits in the Waikato to come south to join in the game of killing the pakeha, and obtain spoils of war. Fortunately for the whites, real unity of effort between tribes was something beyond Maori capacity to achieve. Besides, the Waikato adventurers would not forget that they had once conquered Taranaki and made slaves of its tribesmen, and in consequence behaved towards their allies with an arrogance and contempt akin to that of the German officer towards the Austrians in the Great War. However, the disaster at Puketakauere was a serious blow to the Governor. He sent reinforcements from Auckland, wrote to England for more troops, and reported that it was not easy to foretell the consequences of the defeat.

It was in the shadow of this defeat, and the darker menace of a war that would involve the Waikato, that on July 30th, 1860, Parliament met in Auckland. The fact that war had broken out while Parliament was not sitting, the doubtfulness of the Waitara transaction to men versed in Maori law and custom, and the denunciation of the Government's policy by prominent whites, sharpened the edge of enquiry and criticism. The Government stood firmly by its policy. The Governor accused Wi Kingi of forbidding a sale of land to which he had no title, a charge that was made to look foolish in after years, when the wrong done to the chief had been admitted and the land returned to its war-worn owners. The war was debated in both Houses, the

Government's actions were severely criticised, and enquiry into the causes was demanded. The Government's support came mostly from the South Island, members from which, partly owing to the insignificance of local Maori interests, had little knowledge of Maori life. To them the question was one of enforcing the Queen's sovereignty upon rebels. In Auckland opposition to the war was strong. But even among members who disliked war, the consideration of the Queen's sovereignty had its effect; while the war might be unjust, retreat might be dangerous. The Council supported the Governor by eleven votes to three, and the final voting in the House for his policy was nineteen against four, but in preliminary divisions the minority had been larger in a fuller vote. An Act was passed to stop the supply of arms and ammunition to the natives, but the defenders of Maori rights raised so strong an objection to a Bill giving the Governor extensive powers to outlaw districts at his pleasure, that the Premier, Mr Stafford, had to withdraw it.

Anxiety about what the Waikato natives might do was deep, and was hardly allayed by the response to the Governor's invitation to a general Maori conference near Auckland at the time Parliament opened. The Waikato and other tribes in the centre of the Island and Taranaki were barely represented, and although resolutions were passed supporting the Government, condemning Wi Kingi, and disapproving of the Maori King movement, some of the chiefs criticised the Government's policy. In October a conflict between Waikato natives and the whites was narrowly averted by the courage and energy of Bishop Selwyn and Archdeacon Maunsell. A native was found dead at Patumahoe, thirty miles south of Auckland, and it was reported that he had been

killed by a white man. A large war party started down the Waikato from Ngaruawahia bent on obtaining satisfaction. There was alarm in Auckland. The Bishop and Archdeacon Maunsell met the party at Tuakau, and helped by Tamihana, who had come with the warriors in the interests of peace, and by chiefs in the territory the party would have to cross, they succeeded in averting the danger. Potatau, the old Maori King, had died in June, bidding his people to "hold fast to love, to law, and to the faith." It was a misfortune for the Maoris that he was succeeded by his son Matutaera, afterwards known as Tawhiao. The new King, who lived and bore his title for many years after the last shot had been fired in the last Maori war, had neither the prestige of his father nor any capacity for his position. He was a dull figurehead, and in the coming struggle between the King tribes and the British was quite inconspicuous.

Meanwhile the months were dragging wearily along in Taranaki. So closely hemmed in was the white community there, that according to a local historian, although there were huge forests at its doors, fuel had to be imported from Australia. While Parliament was sitting, General Pratt, commander of the forces in Australia, arrived to take command of the troops. He frankly admitted his difficulties. The Maoris were able to attack in small parties and escape without loss. The necessary division of the troops between outpost and garrison duty and a striking force, hampered operations. When attacked in their pas, the Maoris would not stand, and he found it impossible to prevent their retreat. He took pas and destroyed villages and plantations, but could not come to grips with the elusive enemy. The Governor urged him to harass the Maoris by guerilla

tactics, but the general preferred to keep in the more or less open country to going into bush after the enemy. Penetration of the forest was left to colonial scouts. That the Maoris would have been less elusive if he had been quicker and less cautious in his advances on positions, may not have occurred to the general. His laborious sapping moved the settlers to mingled mirth and impatience. The great sap up to Te Arei pa at Pukerangiora was nearly a mile long, with redoubts at intervals. It must be said on behalf of the general and his regulars that they were not fitted by training or experience for the tactics required. They would attack a position bravely, and they were well seconded by the local contingents, but they would have been at sea in the bush. It was not until later that ranger and volunteer companies recruited from men who knew the bush showed that the Maori could be beaten at his own game. In the meantime the position was exasperating and dangerous. Despite the strong force maintained in New Plymouth, the population had to stay inside the stockades. Men who ventured beyond were shot. The townspeople charged the military with delay and timidity, and the military complained that the settlers were selfish and unreasonable in various ways. Whether or not the British officers deserved the criticism levelled at them then and since, the spectacle of a well-equipped British army cabined and confined month after month by moderate forces of ill-armed savages, was neither impressive nor good for British prestige.

However, there was sharp fighting and the natives had one or two severe lessons. In November 1860, two chiefs of a Waikato contingent, swollen with pride, sent a challenge to the Europeans to "come

inland'' and fight. General Pratt promptly set two columns in motion against the pa of Mahoetahi, between New Plymouth and Waitara, one moving from New Plymouth, and the other from the north. The southern force shelled the pa, and stormed it from the front, and when the garrison tried to make a stand behind their position, the Waitara column arrived in the rear and scattered them. The remnant were pursued for three miles. Our casualties in this spirited action were about a score, the enemy's about a hundred. Among the Maori men of note who fell on that disastrous day was Wetini Taiporutu, a relative of Tamihana, who had opposed his kinsman's expedition, and great was the grief in the Waikato for him and other brave men. At the end of December General Pratt attacked the Matarikoriko pa, but the enemy took advantage of his deliberate method to evacuate the position. In the first month of 1861 the Maoris made a daring, determined, and well planned attack on one of the British redoubts in this district. The storming party crept into the ditch in the darkness and swarmed up the parapet, while their supports kept down the fire of the soldiers. The attackers fought with great resolution, in some cases seizing the soldiers' bayonets, but they were soon charged by fresh bodies of troops, and thrown back with heavy loss. The enemy's gallantry here and elsewhere moved General Pratt to admiration for "this manly and high-spirited people." But a cessation of this unnecessary war was now at hand. In the spring of 1861, General Pratt appeared before the pa Te Arei at Pukerangiora, the scene of one of Te Wherowhero's victories over the Taranaki natives in the old days. A naturally strong position had been strengthened by entrenchments, and the country was so difficult



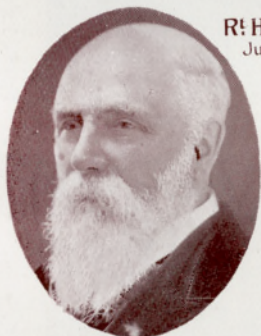
Sir John Hall K.C.M.G.
Oct. 1879 - April 1882



R. Hon. R. J. Seddon P.C.
May 1893 - June 1906



R. Hon. W. F. Massey P.C.
July 1912 - May 1925



R. Hon. Sir Robert Stout
P.C., K.C.M.G.
Aug. 1884 - Oct. 1887



R. Hon. Sir J. G. Ward Bart K.C.M.G.
Aug. 1906 - March 1912
Dec. 1928 - May 1930

Notable New Zealand Premiers.

[Schmidt Studio photos



The Seddon Administration, 1906. [From Drummond's "*Life and Work of R. J. Seddon*"]

Reading from the left: Hon. C. H. Mills, Hon. T. Y. Duncan, Hon. J. McGowan, Sir Joseph Ward, Right Hon. R. J. Seddon (Premier), Hon. W. Hall-Jones (now Sir William Hall-Jones), Hon. A. Pitt, Hon. Mahuta Wherowhero, standing, Hon. J. Carroll (later Sir James Carroll).

that the commander shrank from sending a party to take the enemy in the rear. He made a long sap towards the pa under the annoying fire of Maoris well hidden in tiers of shelters and so close that the troops could hear their taunts. The sap was close to the pa, when, on March 11th, Tamihana, who had come down from the Waikato at the suggestion of Bishop Selwyn and Sir William Martin, proposed a truce. This was agreed to by the British, and negotiations for peace began. They went on with a break of three days' fighting, and at the end of the month the Governor joined Mr McLean on the spot. After a few days' negotiations Hapurona, the leader of the Maoris in the pa, accepted the Governor's terms. The King-maker, having set peace in train, had left. The investigation of the title to the disputed land, and the survey, were to be continued and completed without interruption, the Governor's decision on claims was to be final, the Governor was to dispose as he thought fit of land occupied by the troops, plunder and arms were to be restored, and the hostile Ngatiawas were to submit to the Queen. To these terms the Governor added the promise that he would divide the occupied land among its former owners but would reserve some for block-houses, redoubts and roads. But the peace to which Hapurona agreed was not complete. Wi Kingi, round whose claim the war had revolved, wrote to the Governor accepting the peace, but shortly before this he had handed over the disputed Waitara land to the Waikatos, in accordance with Maori custom, and he now went to these tribes in company with the bellicose Rewi, head of the Waikato war party. The Governor also required the submission of the Ngatiawas' allies, the Taranaki and Ngatiruanui tribes, but failed to get it. Fighting ceased in

Taranaki, but the peace was really only a truce. The Waikato became the centre of interest, and we must turn to events that led to war there.

CHAPTER IV.—THE WAIKATO AND LATER CAMPAIGNS.

The Governor now directed his attention to the Waikato tribes, whose persistence in the King movement and participation in the Taranaki campaign were in his eyes challenges to the Queen's sovereignty. He asked the Home Government for reinforcements in order to make war in the Waikato, and a few weeks later (May, 1861) issued a proclamation to the tribes there charging them with violating the Treaty of Waitangi by setting up a King, and requiring unconditional submission, restitution of all plunder, and payment of compensation to the settlers for all losses. At the same time he framed a constructive policy. After establishing the Queen's sovereignty, he would call a Maori conference, subsidise the chiefs and make them channels of communication, divide native territory into districts with resident European officers, make roads through native territory, establish schools and destroy the communal title to land. Tamihana and the other Waikato chiefs politely rejected the ultimatum and the King-maker made it clear that he meant to stand by the "throne" he had erected.

Now the New Zealand Parliament took a hand in the game. The Taranaki war had been devastating in its effects, and staggering in its costs to the infant colony, and here was the Governor contemplating war on the Waikatos. The House adopted resolutions

against the King movement and in favour of supporting the Imperial Government if negotiations should fail; but a Wellington deputation, fearful of the consequences of more war, asked the Governor his intentions, and drew his attention to the defenceless condition of many of the colonists. Colonel Browne was unperturbed. He was going to attack the Waikatos; he knew what the consequences would be, and the colonists must defend themselves. Whatever the risk, he was determined to enforce the Queen's authority. Shortly after this, in the early days of July, Mr. Fox who had been a member of this deputation, carried a motion of want of confidence in the Ministry by one vote, and the Ministry resigned. The clash between centralist and provincialist interests contributed to its fall; Fox was leader of the provincialists. Because he and Dr. Featherston, who was Colonial Secretary for three weeks, had been critical of the Government's conduct in Taranaki, the new Ministry was named "peace at any price"; and it is one of many similar ironies in history that its chief was to see a good deal of Ministerial war service during the next ten years.

But another and more important change was imminent. The Colonial Office, pacific in policy, and acting as a guardian of the native race, had become alarmed at the turn of events, and the Duke of Newcastle reminded the Governor that the troops had been sent to meet an emergency and were not to be regarded as a garrison. Before Parliament was prorogued, news came that Sir George Grey, Governor of Cape Colony, had been appointed Governor of New Zealand. The Colonial Office looked to the man who once before had turned failure into success in Maori troubles and understood the Maori mind. Its

choice was received with joy in New Zealand. London softened the recall to Colonel Browne with thanks and transfer to Tasmania. He had been an upright and conscientious Governor, whose misfortune it was to be led into a disastrous blunder through ignorance and faulty advice. His successor landed in Auckland on September 26th, 1861, to grapple with a situation much more difficult than that of 1845. The differences between the races, sharpened by war, wrongs, and suspicions, cut more deeply and the possibilities of disaster were greater. Since Sir George Grey had left New Zealand, many new colonists had arrived, and some of his old Maori friends were dead or estranged. Now he came, not as an all-powerful ruler to a Crown Colony, but as Governor to a colony that, in all respects save one, enjoyed responsible government. The difference was important, because Grey was essentially an autocrat, who worked best when unfettered and was always difficult as a colleague. He bent himself to his task with characteristic energy and skill. The powerful Ngapuhi tribe in the North, thanks largely to the friendship and wisdom of the veteran Waka Nene, was staunchly loyal, but the whole centre of the island, from the Lower Waikato to Taranaki and Wanganui, was a powder magazine. Behind their boundary the Mangatawhiri, which joins the great river at Mercer, the Waikato tribes lived sullen, resentful, and determined to retain their King. They would not sell land; they refused to allow steamers to ply upon the Waikato river; and they made it clear that such invasion by water or the crossing of the Mangatawhiri by white forces would be regarded as a declaration of war. The King had his army of drilled and uniformed men, comic perhaps to the white visitor, but suggestive of danger.

The Waitara transaction, still unsettled and even uninvestigated, rankled in the native mind.

From the time of his arrival in the spring of 1861, until the resumption of war in May, 1863, the Governor laboured for the triple object of peace, the security of the white population, and the assertion of the Queen's sovereignty. His actions have been criticised and always will be, but the conflicting purposes he had to pursue are the key to his conduct. With one hand he withdrew Colonel Browne's ultimatum to the Waikatos, and with the other set the troops to extend to the river the road leading south from Auckland. This extension was viewed with grave suspicion by the Maoris, some of whom had learned how the Romans used roads to hold down their provinces. But the Governor could contend that he had to prepare for possibilities, that the road was necessary both for offence and defence. He had to consider not only a possible invasion of the Waikato, but the protection of the Auckland settlement from a descent by the Waikato warriors. He offered the natives local government in the shape of districts and "hundreds," with civil commissioners and native magistrates, assessors, and district councils. The Maoris in the Lower Waikato, attracted principally by the attached salaries, received the institutions; but the chiefs of the upper district rejected them. The Governor visited the Waikato and conferred with the chiefs, but they could not come to an agreement on the King movement. "I shall not fight him with the sword," said Sir George Grey when asked if he were opposed to the King, "but I shall dig round him till he falls of his own accord." This is the current version of the Governor's statement. His official biographers* say his meaning

*"The Life and Times of Sir George Grey," by W. L. and L. Rees.

was misconstrued by the omission from all reports of three words; what he really said was "dig round him with good deeds." Whichever is the correct version, the Maoris took the statement as a hostile utterance. To their objections to steam navigation—a steamer in their eyes was a possible gun-carrier—he said that he would certainly send a vessel. This was in January, 1863. Before that he had sent to the Waikato as a magistrate, Mr. John Gorst, better known as Sir John Gorst, afterwards prominent on the Conservative side in English politics. The King's Government placed a ban on Gorst's Court, but he conducted an industrial school and started a paper to combat the ideas of the King party's official organ. No good came of the unwise attempt to make a judicial officer an instrument of political propaganda. The native journalists were no match for this brilliant young Englishman, but the Maori had a simple and effective way of dealing with unpalatable arguments. Rewi took an armed band to the printing house at Te Awamutu, removed the plant, and ordered Gorst to leave. The Englishman coolly remained until he received instructions from the Governor. It is due to the raiders to add that other property was scrupulously respected, and the printing press was restored but little damaged.

While he was busy trying to prevent and prepare for war at the same time, the Governor was worried by internal and external difficulties. They ranged from the despatches of the pacific Colonial Office to the tactlessness and bellicosity of a section of the New Zealand Press, whose dangerous tone the Governor officially censured. The Colonial Office grew more and more dissatisfied at the retention of such a large body of troops. General Cameron, who had succeeded General Pratt in the closing days of

the Taranaki war, complained to the War Office that New Zealand was not maintaining an efficient militia, and the Colonial Secretary sent a sharp despatch threatening the colony with the immediate recall of most of the troops. The Governor's reply contained a very proper request that copies of reports to the War Office should be furnished him. This difference with the general was a prelude to a quarrel that is written large in the history of the war. There was friction between New Zealand and London over the Colony's share of military expenditure, and the larger question of responsibility for native affairs. The Governor was responsible as agent of the Imperial Government, but the New Zealand Parliament had the power of the purse, and the Governor found himself hampered by divided authority. The Colonial Office decided that native affairs should pass under the control of the New Zealand Ministry, but the Government demurred at accepting this extension of responsible government. It realised that acceptance would mean spending more money, and thought that before the Maoris came under the New Zealand Parliament they should be made to submit and recognise the law. In 1862, Mr. Fox resigned because resolutions he proposed on the subject divided the House equally. He was succeeded as Premier by Mr. Alfred Domett. The Colonial Secretary insisted on the transfer of responsibility, for which, he maintained, the consent of the colony was not required, and before long the change was made. The Governor, however, could still reserve for the Imperial Government's consideration questions affecting its interests, and since he and the general commanding retained complete control of the Imperial troops, the system of dual control persisted. The Ministry might plan a

campaign but the Governor and his general could deny it the use of the necessary troops.

It was the fatal Waitara question that put an end to peace, and in a manner that might have led the superstitious to think that the wrong done there had cast a maleficent influence over the fortunes of the two races. Early in March, 1863, Sir George Grey went to Taranaki for the double purpose of enquiring into the Waitara case, and occupying the Tataraimaka block, south of New Plymouth. This land had been seized by the Maoris during the Taranaki troubles, but the settlers' title to it was quite sound. The Governor's enquiries on the spot revealed new evidence that removed all doubt as to the injustice done to Wi Kingi, and he recommended his Ministers to abandon the purchase and forfeit the deposit money. Prompt action would have averted the disaster that soon followed, but while the Governor pressed for it, Ministers shrank from making an avowal of the original blunder, with all its consequences. The occupation of Tataraimaka should have been simultaneous with or subsequent to the Waitara acknowledgment; but Tataraimaka was occupied on April 4th, and a month later the proclamation about Waitara had not been issued. The Maoris regarded the occupation as a declaration of war. Rewi, head of the Waikato war party, advised the Taranaki natives to fight; and on May 4th a small party of soldiers was ambushed at the mouth of the Wairau stream, near Oakura, on their way to New Plymouth, and all but one man were killed. The fire was in the fern again, and well might the Governor in his despatches regret not having acted on his own responsibility, instead of waiting for his Ministers' consent. Too late, a week after the

tragedy, the proclamation acknowledging the Waitara blunder was issued, to be received as a sign of weakness. "When Governor Grey heard his men were killed at Oakura," said a chief, "his heart misgave him, and he said, 'Now I must give up Waitara.' "

General Cameron moved against the Taranaki Maoris in the early days of June, and won a success at the Katikara river, fifteen miles from New Plymouth, where the regulars crossed the river gallantly under fire and threw the enemy out of his entrenchments. But again the main scene of action was moved to the Waikato, where the white men and Maori stood facing each other on the brink of war. Leaving a small garrison in Taranaki General Cameron transferred his troops to Auckland, to make ready for the larger campaign. The expulsion of Gorst and other Europeans living in the Waikato, and forcible interference with the erection of a court-house and police barracks on the land of a loyal chief at the Maori boundary line, showed the temper of the natives. Each side has been blamed for what followed. The truth is that the situation was electrical, and actions on one side set up adverse currents on the other. The Maoris saw the advancing road and the soldiers, watched events in Taranaki, and remembered Governor Browne's threat.* Rewi and his party contended for war and Tamihana for peace. It is said that Tamihana saved Auckland by holding Rewi back while the bulk of the white forces were in Taranaki. If Rewi then contemplated an attack on Auckland—he is reported to have declared afterwards that he did not advise going beyond the Mangatawhiri—he showed himself a sound strategist. But the opportunity went by, and soon General Cameron was concentrating for an

*Vide page 226

advance. The Government's position was similar to that of Rewi. It believed that the Maoris were going to attack, and it chose the offensive as the better strategy. Reports from sources it would have been mad to ignore, reached the Government that the Waikatos were preparing to march on Auckland, and that the southern tribes had been informed of this intention. The Rubicon was crossed on July 12th, 1863. On that day General Cameron took his men over the Mangatawhiri and established a post at the foot of the Koheroa hills, near the right bank of the Waikato. In the natives' eyes this was a declaration of war. The day before this a Maori force had left Ngaruawahia, moving north. On July 17th five hundred British attacked part of this force on the Koheroa hills, and after a sharp engagement drove the Maoris back several miles. The British casualties were thirteen; the Maoris' were variously reported at from 17 to 100. Tamihana threw in his lot with the war party.

Before the Waikato campaign is described, a broad survey may usefully be taken of the nature of the whole war and the characteristics of the combatants. The first thing to note is the numerical weakness of the Maoris. In 1858, the Maori male population was officially estimated at 31,000, of whom, according to Fox, 20,000 were fighting men. Many of the tribes however, did not take up arms. Sir George Grey estimated that we never had 2,000 against us at once, and it is accepted that our troops never met actually more than 600 at one time, and not often more than from 200 to 400. Our numbers were overwhelming. General Cameron had ultimately about 10,000 Imperial troops at his disposal, and the colonial volunteers and militia, many of whom became most

skilful in guerilla warfare, came to be nearly as numerous. In weapons there was no comparison, save that in close fighting the double-barrelled fowling-piece of the Maori, by reason of its two charges, was sometimes superior to the rifle. The Maori had practically no artillery, and until the campaign against Te Kooti, no cavalry. The Maori had the advantages of knowing the country and being at home in it, of not being hampered by supply trains, and of fighting on interior lines. As a soldier he had formidable virtues and serious failings. He was brave both in attack and defence. He would try to rush well-defended entrenchments, and crouching in his pa, he would endure cannon-fire for hours. His pas were cleverly built, and his trench digging was scientific and thorough. But these strongly and skilfully fortified pas were formidable only to an enemy bent on rushing them. Since it was the Maoris' practice to take their stand without a large stock of provisions or water, a greatly superior enemy could surround them and wait for them to surrender or try to break through. Too often the British preferred methods of assault against well-defended stockades and trenches and paid dearly for their tactics, and it is remarkable how seldom they used their superiority in numbers skilfully enough to prevent the garrison's retreat. The Maori displayed the military weaknesses generally associated with savage races. He lacked the disciplined training of his opponents, and generally he fought under no definite strategical plan, and without unity of command. Rewi stands out as a fine soldier of heroic determination, but the only Maori leader of the wars from 1860 to 1871 whose methods remind one of great soldiers in the Old World, was Te Kooti. The native levies who fought on the British side did

admirable work, but the deference that sometimes had to be paid to their wishes was an indication of a military failing that must have been a weakness on the enemy's side also. Generally speaking, the Maori showed less enterprise than might have been expected from so brave and skilful a warrior fighting in rough country, where his enemy had long and difficult communications. He did not seem to realise fully that the white men's communications were their most vulnerable point. Perhaps, like the Ngapuhi in Heke's war, he thought this kind of attack was not "fair fighting."

For the first few years of this long series of campaigns, the brunt of the campaigning on the European side fell on the units of the British army; and their achievements and sacrifices should never be forgotten by those for whom the corn grows thick upon the battlefield. But, as was explained in the chapter on the Taranaki war, British troops were, in certain important respects, not well fitted for meeting so agile and capable an adversary. General Cameron was a high-minded, courageous, but slow and uninspired soldier, in whom the spirit of enterprise glowed occasionally, but was generally damped down by excessive caution. He had served in the Crimea, and probably never liked the task of fighting savages. It is certain that he came to sympathise with the Maoris, and described the war as unjust, an opinion shared by some of his officers. Towards the end, as we shall see, his excessive caution became a subject for mirth and scorn, and the cause of an unseemly difference. His achievement was the conquest of the important Waikato district, which he subdued slowly but thoroughly. His successor, General Chute, showed by his enterprise and vigour in the Taranaki forests, that a regular officer could beat the

Maori in his most advantageous surroundings. But in skill and daring, and that kind of reckless endeavour that tinges war with romance, the chief honours of the New Zealand campaigns lay with the colonial soldier, with men like Jackson and von Tempsky, Whitmore (who was an ex-regular with previous experience of colonial warfare), the Mairs, Atkinson, Northcroft and Porter. They and their rangers, militia, armed constabulary, or native contingents, met the Maori at his own game, hunted him in the forest and pursued him through rivers and over mountains. Moving lightly, they would march, and fight, and march on, all in one day, ever at the enemy's heels, knowing perhaps that the only way to get a meal was to seek it in the enemy's position.

Vigour and speed would seem to have been the obvious recipe for success in the Waikato. The country was open and there was access to it by a fine navigable river. However, General Cameron, after defeating the Maoris on July 17th, at Koheroa, waited until October 30th before he moved forward. For this slowness, which exasperated the colonists, he had the excuse that he had to supply his large force by road from Auckland, a long route exposed to attack by enemy raiders. The main body of Maoris had entrenched at Meremere, a few miles up the river, and the general, who had the assistance of armed steamers, placed part of his force in the enemy's rear. But the creeks to the east had been left unguarded, and the enemy, slipping out of his grasp, retired to make a stand in a very strong position at Rangiriri, on a neck of land between lake and river. The general again used his flotilla to cut off the enemy's retreat, and towards evening, after a bombardment, ordered an assault from the front. The outer entrenchments were stormed, and the garrison took

refuge in the central redoubt, which was protected by a parapet twenty feet high. After the attackers had been driven back from this, artillerymen and a naval detachment were sent forward in separate attempts with a confidence of which the most charitable explanation is that the command was imperfectly informed. Both attempts were repulsed, and the general called off the attack and waited for the next day. In the morning what was left of the garrison, seeing that the position was hopeless, surrendered to the number of 183 men. The white troops showed their appreciation of the Maoris' gallant stand by warmly congratulating them, and General Cameron praised them to their faces, and to the Governor. Rangiriri cost us 132 casualties, and the fact that the place could have been surrounded and starved into submission, raised the question whether the victory was worth the price.

However, it was a heavy blow to the Waikato tribes. It opened the way to the heart of the Waikato, and early in December, Ngaruawahia, the King's capital, was abandoned by the Maoris and occupied by the European army. At that time there were favourable prospects for peace, but the Government did not make the most of the opportunity. In October Domett had resigned, and Fox and Whitaker had formed a Ministry, with Whitaker as Premier. Two things helped to embitter the retreating Maoris and make them fight with the courage of despair. One was the treatment of prisoners by the Government, and the other the proposed confiscation of large tracts of native territory. In the treatment of prisoners the Governor was for leniency and Ministers for severity. Confiscation was to be the centre of a longer and more important struggle between the protagonists of the two policies. At first

Sir George Grey agreed to confiscation, but later on, influenced by the views of the Colonial Office and presumably by his own reading of the situation, he strove to modify Ministers' demands. The Colonial Secretary, on the ground that England was bearing the main burden of the cost of the war, required that confiscation should be kept within the bounds of wisdom and honour. Ministers proposed wholesale confiscation in the Waikato, and promises of land were held out to recruits in New Zealand and Australia. The idea was to punish the natives, to recoup the cost of the war out of sales, and to use military settlers as a means of keeping the peace. By deepening Maori resentment, these proposals had much to do with the prolongation of the struggle in the Waikato and elsewhere, and after all the confiscation policy did not fulfil expectations. The verdict of history must be that generosity would have been more expedient as well as more humane. Among the soldiers now advancing into the Waikato, there were those who sided with the party of leniency, and objected to risking their lives for what they regarded as unworthy objects.

Early in 1864, General Cameron reached the Te Awamutu district, which was to be the scene of the closing conflicts of the Waikato campaign. The Maori fighting force was mainly divided between two positions, Paterangi, near the Waipa river, and the Tiki-o-te-Ihingarangi, below Maungatautari, on the Waikato, fifteen miles north-east of Te Awamutu. Paterangi was very strongly fortified, and the Maoris hoped the Europeans would assault it. But General Cameron was happily struck by the sound idea of moving quickly and secretly, by way of Te Awamutu, against Rangiaohia, the enemy's chief source of supply. This he captured after a fight. The blow

drew the garrison from Paterangi, and they were defeated in the open near Rangiaohia. General Cameron then decided to attack the Maori position on the Waikato, below Maungatautari, a stronghold famous in native tradition, where Tamihana and a large force had gathered for a last stand. But the general's plans were altered by a development that led to the most famous fight in the wars, and put an end to the Waikato campaign.

On March 30th Brigadier-General Carey, who had been left in charge of the Te Awamutu district, learned that a native force was entrenching at Orakau, seven miles from his quarters. Acting quickly, he surrounded the pa with a force that ultimately numbered 2,000 men. The enemy totalled about 300, under the redoubtable Rewi. They had scarcely any water; their food was raw potatoes and vegetable marrows; they were heavily outnumbered, and under rifle and artillery fire; but they repulsed several assaults, and held out for three heroic days. A sap was pushed close up to the works, and General Cameron invited the garrison to surrender. Rewi sent back a reply that is perhaps more widely known than anything else in Maori history. He declared that peace would never be made. "This is the word of the Maori—'We will fight for ever and ever and ever!'" To an offer from the General to let the women come out, the reply was again in the spirit of Thermopylae. "The women will fight as well as the men." In his history of the war, Fox asks whether ancient or modern history, or our own "rough island story," records anything more heroic. Fighting was resumed, hand grenades were used, and two assaults by the besiegers failed. Suddenly, at about four in the afternoon, the enemy was discovered to be escaping. In a closely formed body, they broke out



Kawau, the island home of Sir George Grey, near Auckland.

[H. Winkelmann photo



Typical Kauri Forest Scene.

Govt. Publicity photo

on the southern side of the pa, and rushed through the lines of a surprised British regiment into the neighbouring swamp. So unexpected was this development that most of those still surviving would have escaped had not the Forest Rangers and a body of mounted men intercepted their retreat. More than a hundred and fifty were found dead and dying on the field and in the pa. Rewi escaped to live in peace with the pakeha in after years, honoured by his former foes. "The earth-works and the victory remained with us," says Reeves, "but the glory of the engagement lay with those whose message of 'Ake, Ake, Ake!' will never be forgotten in New Zealand."

Orakau was the final blow. The Maoris evacuated Maungatautari, and retired to the Upper Thames and the King Country, where the Government wisely left them alone. Tamihana rode in and surrendered to General Carey the following year, and was treated with honour until his death in 1866. He died Bible in hand, bidding his people obey the law. Interest centred for a while in the campaign against the Ngaiterangi tribe, in the Tauranga district of the Bay of Plenty. The Ngaiterangi had helped the Waikatos, so towards the end of the Waikato campaign General Cameron advised the despatch of a force to Tauranga, in order to create a diversion, and eventually went there himself. Further down the coast, the friendly Arawas and detachments of troops kept other hostile natives in check. Every visitor to the peacefully beautiful town of Tauranga goes to see that "slope of green access," where, by the murmur of the sea that flows in past the guarding height of Maunganui, sleep officers and men killed in the fight at the Gate Pa. This engagement, fought a few miles from the settlement on April 29th, 1864, was one of the outstanding actions of the war. No

other illustrates better the disparity between the sides, the strength and weakness of the Maori methods of war, the capacity of the Maori to endure fire patiently, and his skill in evacuating an untenable position. General Cameron invested the pa with a force so overwhelmingly superior that his officers, sergeants, and drummers totalled four-fifths of the garrison's strength. The general sent a force to the rear to cut off the retreat, bombarded the pa for hours, and at four in the afternoon ordered to the assault a body composed of a naval brigade and a detachment of the 43rd Regiment. The assaulting column quickly reached the inner works, and were suddenly met by a body of the defenders, who had been driven back into the pa by the soldiers in the rear. The attackers came under a heavy fire which took heavy toll of officers as they led their men. The exact cause or causes of what happened then will never be known with certainty. Probably General Cameron was right in attributing it to confusion, caused by the intricate nature of the defences, and the fall of so many of the officers, nearly all of whom were killed or wounded. At all events a sudden panic seized the men, and they broke and fled. The repulse was complete and humiliating, and the General thought it inadvisable to renew the attack. The force in the rear of the pa closed in and frustrated an effort to escape, but during the night the garrison slipped away between the European posts, and next day the besiegers occupied an empty position. As a defeat the Gate Pa ranks with the earlier Ohaeawai action* in the New Zealand annals of the Imperial forces, but the army soon showed that this day was not the true measure of its worth. A few weeks later Colonel Greer led a mixed column against a native force that was entrenching at Te

*Vide page 136.

Ranga. Led by men of the 43rd Regiment, who burned to re-establish their honour, the infantry stormed the trenches, and cavalry cut up those who fled. The Ngaiterangi immediately surrendered. Though overcast by the disaster of the Gate Pa, the Tauranga campaign was short, sharp, decisive and strategically sound.

The Waikato and Tauranga districts were now subdued, and though bitterness produced by defeat and confiscation rankled deeply in the Maori mind, there might have been no more war, had it not been for a grim portent that rose in Taranaki, and quickly spread its hateful influence. This was the "Pai Marire" religion, commonly known as Hauhaism. Its founder was one Te Ua, a "mild madman," the comparative peacefulness of whose creed is reflected in the name "Pai Marire"—"goodness and grace." But however peaceful Te Ua's purpose was, the cult was soon shaped to bloody and revolting ends. It was at once a reaction from, and a debased offspring of, the Christianity of the conquering and hated pakeha, and now that the King movement had failed, it provided irreconcilables with a new weapon and bond of union against their enemy. Some features of the Bible were retained and combined with a savage paganism. Wild and debased, ferocious and powerful, Hauhaism embraced mesmerism, prophecy, dark superstition, and a barbaric and frenzied ritual. It was believed that the cry "Hapa! Pai-marire! Hau! Hau!" accompanied by a gesture, would turn the bullet from the believer. Both in Taranaki and the Waikato, the Maoris had killed non-combatants, but the doings of the Hauhaus were to give to the war a blacker and more pitiless aspect. It was they who shed missionary blood, a crime hitherto unknown in New Zealand.

This new factor appeared after an affair in Taranaki in April, 1864, when a Captain Lloyd, of the regulars, and a reconnoitring party, fell into an ambush. The dead were decapitated, and Captain Lloyd's head was carried about by Hauhau propagandists, who professed that it was a means of communication between "Jehovah" and his chosen. Fanned by tireless and fiery fanaticism, the cult spread. It made many converts in the Taranaki and Wanganui districts, where it was to lurk as a danger for five years, and spread to the Bay of Plenty and the East Coast. Fortunately it did not seriously infect the Waikato—indeed its excesses were a factor in Tamihana's decision to surrender—and even where it lodged with evil effect it divided tribes and compelled chiefs and followers to join the whites in fighting a common enemy.

Yet, early in its career, Hauhauism met with two checks that would have been fatal to a plant less strongly rooted in superstitious faith. Persuaded that their incantations made them invulnerable, a body of natives advanced in close military formation to within 150 yards of a strong redoubt held by seventy-five regulars at Sentry Hill, near New Plymouth. Rifle-fire, held until it would be deadly, laid low nearly fifty, and the rest fled. The prophets were ready with an explanation of a kind as old as religion itself, that the angel Gabriel was displeased. One of them started for the Upper Wanganui district to organise an attack on the settlement, which might have succeeded had not Mete Kingi and other Wanganui chiefs barred the way to the war party as it came down the river. The outcome was the most dramatic fight of the wars. With mediæval punctiliousness, the two parties arranged by challenge a meeting on the island of Moutoa. When, after long

preliminaries, the Hauhaus attacked, the loyalists, impressed by the claims of their opponents, and disheartened by losses, gave way and were driven to the end of the island. There a heroic chief named Haimona Hiroti rallied the retreating force, the reserves joined in, and after a fierce hand-to-hand fight, the Hauhaus were completely defeated. The victors bore their slain chiefs to Wanganui, and the whole settlement paid its respect to the living and dead who had been its sure shield.

The running and intermittent fire of Hauhaus and resentment at the confiscation of land, was to keep the Wanganui-Taranaki district in a state of war or unrest for another five years. General Cameron appeared on the scene, but did so little that his methods moved the Maoris to derision, and the Europeans to protest and action that made history. "The lame sea-gull," as the Maoris nicknamed him, hugged the coast with a force of 2000 men, refused to send his men into the bush, and performed the remarkable feat of marching fifty-four miles in eight weeks. That the Maoris were able to dash out of cover and inflict considerable loss on his camped force, gave him an exaggerated idea of his difficulties. Moreover, he and some of his officers, convinced that the war was an unjustifiable and inglorious business, with land-grabbing as its motive, were sick of their work. The General described the proposed occupation of the Waitotara block to the Governor as "a more iniquitous job than that of the Waitara," which was unfortunate, because the land had been bought from the natives, and the title to it was quite sound. It came out afterwards that the only ground for this opinion was a conversation with a stranger. But the general did more than condemn the Government's policy to the Governor; he com-

municated his views to the War Office, and the Colonial Office sent rebuking despatches to the Governor. The Aborigines Protection Society in England headed a strong movement against the war. When Sir George Grey communicated General Cameron's letters to his Ministers and Parliament, the general was indignant at what he declared was a breach of confidence. The Governor argued that since copies of these "private" letters were sent to the War Office, and formed the basis of censure of the Government, he could not admit that they were confidential. The quarrel that developed between the two men ranged the gamut of bitterness. Beginning with the employment of such friendly greetings as "My dear Sir George," and "My dear general," the correspondence reached a point where we find the Governor's secretary returning a letter from the general with the request that it be "put into more usual and becoming language." The War Office supported the general, and the Ministry backed up the Governor. Under the circumstances it is hardly surprising that military operations languished.

The climax of the quarrel was reached in correspondence about the Weraroa pa, a strong position twenty miles from Wanganui, on the right flank of the British advance. Sir George Grey wished it to be taken; General Cameron demurred. The Governor suggested that friendly natives be permitted to make the attempt; the general was sarcastically sceptical. General Cameron left the scene of action in the middle of 1865. Then the Governor, whose anxiety was deepened by the fact that Weraroa barred the way to a beleaguered garrison at Pipiriki, on the Wanganui river, took the field himself as he had done years before in the north.* The officer commanding

*Vide page 137.

the regulars would not attack without orders from the general, but Sir George Grey persuaded him to furnish troops for what Reeves calls a "moral support." When under the Governor's orders colonial troops and native allies took without loss a plateau that commanded the pa in the rear, the garrison of Weraroa fled. This was another triumph for Sir George Grey, but it did not endear him to the authorities in London, and a special regulation was framed to prevent such interference by a Governor. He had committed the unpardonable offence of winning a victory in an irregular manner.

All this gave a great impetus to what was known as "the self-reliant policy," the idea of dispensing with Imperial help and finishing the war with colonial troops, completely controlled by the New Zealand Government. Relations between the Governor and the Whitaker-Fox Ministry had been severely strained. Disputes over confiscation and the treatment of prisoners were long and rancorous, and the Governor refused to issue Orders-in-Council relating to Maori land. When the Ministry sought peace in resignation, the Governor, looking round for successors, was attracted by Mr Frederick Weld (afterwards Sir Frederick), who in a speech in Christchurch, had proposed that the Colony should shoulder all the responsibility for native affairs. Mr. Weld took office in November, 1864, and obtained Parliament's sanction for his policy of self-reliance. It was a bold step, for the danger to the infant settlements was still considerable. But the country rallied to the Premier's appeal. It was tired of divided control, and of troops that moved at the rate of a mile a day. It resented being asked to pay as much as £40 per head per annum for such service. The financial situation was grave. The

colony's share of war expenditure was heavy, and as much as eight and ten per cent. was paid for loans. But the refusal of the Home government to give the Colony any further financial help, and its action in pressing for its debts—its bill for capitation and other costs came to £1,300,000 by 1867—stiffened the colonists' resolve to manage all their own affairs. There developed a resentment against Britain that seems strange to men of later generations. Roughly speaking, it may be said that during these native troubles the Colonial Office thought the colonists grasping, insufficiently self-reliant, and inclined to look to the British Government to meet the consequences of local policy. The colonists thought London indifferent to their dangers and difficulties, and too solicitous for the interests of the Maori. Events showed that as regards self-reliance both parties were right in the main—the Colony in desiring complete autonomy, and the Home government in leaving it to find its feet. Downing Street, which had never liked the employment of so many regular troops, was only too glad to fall in with the new military policy. Indeed, during the anxious times to come, we find the British Government pressing for complete withdrawal, and New Zealand not only asking that the step be delayed, but feeling sore about London's insistence. The new policy was put into operation gradually, and the work of hunting down Hauhaus and rebels passed wholly into the hands of the colonial forces and native contingents, though it was not until 1870 that the last detachment of Imperial troops left New Zealand. With Mr Weld in office, the Governor consented to the confiscation of nearly three million acres of land. In this he has been accused of inconsistency, but it must be remembered that the new Premier took office on the distinct understanding that all

responsibility for native affairs was to lie with the Ministry. At any rate the area now taken was only a fraction of the eight million acres that the Governor had refused to confiscate at the desire of the previous Ministry.

The colony was to be denied peace for many a day. In the autumn of 1865 the public was shocked by the news of the murder at Opotiki, in the Bay of Plenty, of the Rev. Carl Volkner, a blameless missionary of the Church of England, who was much respected by the natives. Led by one Kereopa, a Hauhau propagandist, and as choice a specimen of a bloodthirsty ruffian as his race produced, a band of Maoris suddenly seized him, hanged him, and mutilated his body with barbaric rites. This crime was followed by the murder of Mr. Fulloon, a half-caste surveyor and interpreter, at Whakatane. The Hauhaus were severely handled by white and native contingents, the Arawas, under Major Mair, doing excellent work; but the fire spread down the East Coast into the Poverty Bay district, and ultimately reached Hawke's Bay. It might have gone hard with the Europeans had not the ablest Maori chief on the East Coast, and, indeed, the most conspicuous figure among our native allies during the war, taken up arms against the fanatics. Ropata te Wahawaha, afterwards known as Major Ropata, a chief of the Ngatiporou tribe, was a born soldier, skilled in tactics and stratagem, resolute in character, formidable alike in personal combat and direction of war, and a masterful leader of men. For months he and his Maoris, with colonial forces under Major Fraser and Captain Biggs, campaigned in the rough country at the back of Poverty Bay and northwards. They had many a stiff fight with the Hauhaus, often under very trying conditions, and were nearly always successful.

The fighting was as rough as the country and the weather. Ropata had no compunction in killing prisoners with his own hand; he shot a number from his own tribe because, by joining the Hauhaus, they had disobeyed his orders. So the fire was stamped out as it blazed up here and there. The southernmost limit of the Hauhau movement was a point a few miles from Napier. When a band of armed Hauhaus appeared there, Colonel Whitmore promptly moved against them with a mixed force, and accounted for nearly the whole party.

In the meantime the Wanganui-Taranaki "front" exhibited a spasmodic liveliness. General Chute, who succeeded General Cameron, was an energetic, hard-hitting soldier. Taking the field at the end of 1865, he conceived the idea of marching through the densely-wooded country between Patea and New Plymouth, where hardly a white man had been before. The bush had no terrors for him, and he wisely resolved to make full use of the bush-craft of native allies in forcing his way through. Foremost of these allies was the chief Keepa Rangihwinui, generally known as Major Kemp. Courageous and tireless, a master of bush fighting, Kemp was of inestimable value to us in the West and East Coast campaigns. He is said to have assisted in the taking of every pa in the West Coast fighting, and without his skill in scouting and fighting rearguard actions, our defeats there would have been more numerous and graver. Colonel Whitmore, who more than once had good reason to be thankful that Kemp was with him, described him as "brave, modest, and generous in all his conduct," a man "who never boasted before a fight, who has cast no reproaches after it." Kemp and Ropata divide the highest honours won by our Maori allies. Starting from near Wanganui with a

force of regulars, militia, and Maoris, General Chute marched along the coast, storming pas on the way; then struck inland beyond Patea, and advanced (January, 1866) through the forest country behind Mt. Egmont, where heavy bush has since given place to dairy farms. There was little or no resistance, and the column overcame the sixty miles of natural obstacles in seven days. Having been received in triumph by the people of New Plymouth, General Chute marched on round the seaward side of Egmont, back to Patea. He had taken many pas and destroyed a large quantity of native wealth, but what was more important, he had shown that the white man could move quickly and fight in the bush. The greater part of Taranaki was to know no more war, and long-suffering New Plymouth was able to turn to peace and reconstruction.

But the trouble was far from over on the West Coast. Under Colonel McDonnell, colonial troops and Maori contingents saw much fighting in the Wanganui and Patea districts. Survey and occupation of confiscated areas went on under military protection. The Hauhaus were pursued in their fastnesses, and they in turn harried the whites and their allies. Yet in the year 1867 peace seemed to have arrived. Hauhaus appeared to be near its death, and there was no sign of the coming troubles. The event of the year was the recall of Sir George Grey. The Governor had been in bad odour in London for his treatment of General Cameron's despatches and for Weraroa. He annoyed the official world by his vigorous repudiation of the general's charges, his contention that the Minister for War had done wrong in receiving them, and his refusal to withdraw this expression of opinion. He also complained to London of General Chute's independence. Letters written Home by officers caused a good deal of trouble. Charges made by one

of these soldiers that the war had selfish motives, and was conducted barbarously, got to the Colonial Secretary's ears, and the Governor was urged in a "confidential" despatch to "secure the observance of all the humane usages of war." Again the Governor laid a "confidential" communication before his advisers, and justified his action on the ground that the British Government had no right to reflect on the Ministry and the Colony and shelter itself against reply and refutation under the seal of confidence. Again the Governor was charged with breach of confidence. Finally, in the middle of 1867, the Duke of Buckingham, who had just taken over the Colonial Office, slipped into a despatch on purely military matters, the following notice of recall:—"I shall then (in a promised future despatch) be able to inform you of the appointment of your successor, and of the time at which he may be expected to arrive in the Colony." The Duke afterwards explained that this was not a premature recall, but an intimation given at the end of the Governor's term of office; and one of Grey's biographers says the sentence was written, not by the Minister, but by a clerk. But the whole manner of the intimation was a blunder and a slight—the way in which it was conveyed, the absence of any regret or appreciation, and the silence about this distinguished public servant's future. The immediate effect in New Zealand was to unite all schools of thought in praise of Grey, and in regret at his departure. His treatment and the distinction of his services to the struggling Colony temporarily filled the stage, and he retired in a blaze of sympathy and popularity. But so far as the British Government was concerned, there was to be no future for him. Only fifty-five, and with a record of achievement unequalled among his pro-consular contemporaries, he was an

obvious candidate for higher office in the work of Empire-building; but there was to be neither honour nor promotion for a man who had made himself so obnoxious in South Africa and New Zealand. Yet it is only fair to the Colonial Office to admit that in New Zealand and South Africa Grey was a very trying and well-nigh impossible servant. He was the most independent and insubordinate of subordinates. It is worthy of note that Professor Henderson, the ablest of Grey's biographers, sides with Grey's superiors. The Colonial Office, he says, treated Grey generously and not scurvily, and Grey acknowledged as much in his old age. A study of Grey's conduct in New Zealand politics some years later tends to strengthen sympathy for the Colonial Office in its relations with him.

Here we do more than take temporary leave of a many-sided but elusive genius,—soldier, statesman, lover of the arts, sower of culture, builder of states; we close an epoch in New Zealand's history. Grey was the last of the really executive Governors. Henceforward the representatives of the King were to play a strictly limited part in politics. Chosen in some cases for rank and social position more than for ability, but commanding always loyalty and generally liking, they passed pleasant and unexciting days in a constitutional groove.

Sir George Bowen, who had been transferred from Queensland, entered on his duties early in 1868, and once again Sir George Grey was able to say that he left his charge at peace. But the peace did not last long. In the middle of the year serious trouble broke out in the Patea district, where Hauhauism was still latent, and ill-feeling smouldered among the natives. Arrests for horse-stealing were followed by the murder of

several sawyers and settlers, and Titokowaru, a chief bitten by Hauhanism, but hitherto friendly, forbade intercourse with Europeans. A British redoubt was attacked, and in a desperate fight of two hours most of the garrison were killed or wounded. Colonel McDonnell, who commanded the district, had seen a great deal of New Zealand service, and proved his courage on many a field. But many of the men under him now were raw to active service and untrained, and what happened at and after Te Ngutu-o-te-manu suggests that he was an imperfect tactician, and unfitted for the command of such operations. When on Sept. 7th (1868) he led a mixed force of colonials and natives to attack Titokowaru inland from Hawera, he encountered the enemy skilfully posted in the bush at Te Ngutu-o-te-manu. The hot and accurate fire of the unseen enemy was enough to try the mettle of the most experienced and best trained troops, but there were both unsteadiness and want of training in McDonnell's force and there was a lack of definite orders. The gallant Von Tempsky, the most conspicuous and romantic figure among the white scouts who had mastered the art of bush warfare, fell rallying the men. A retreat was necessary, the force became divided, and had it not been for the gallantry of Captain Roberts, commanding the rearguard, and the skill of Kemp and his natives, the story of the long harassed retreat would have been still sadder. As it was, we lost in the engagement about twenty killed, including several officers, and twenty-five wounded. All the dead were left on the field, also several wounded. But more serious was the increase of Titokowaru's *mana*. He advanced to within a short distance of Patea, and put the coast in a fever of anxiety. On succeeding to the command, Colonel Whitmore found the settlements protected by "but a

miserable excuse for a military force." One of the divisions had mutinied and been disbanded, some of the other contingents refused to serve beyond the time of their engagements, and drunkenness was rife among the men at Patea. Whitmore considered the enemy's inactivity inexplicable; in his opinion a resolute attack by Titokowaru would have destroyed the defence. This determined, hard-hitting, and tireless soldier worked hard to strengthen the defences materially and morally, but when he led his forces against the stockade of Moturoa, he had to retreat with serious loss. Immediately afterwards, while Whitmore was congratulating himself that his men were daily improving, he received instructions to contract still further the ground held by the Europeans, and before long he was setting out for the East Coast, whence came the news that made these orders imperative.

We must now go back a little on our path to an incident in the Hauhau campaign on the East Coast. A young Maori named Te Kooti Rikirangi, who had served on our side, was arrested during the fighting on a charge of communicating with the enemy. He was released, and re-arrested at the instance of some of the Poverty Bay settlers, who considered him a troublesome fellow. If the truth of the charge against him is doubtful, there is complete certainty about the injustice of his treatment at the hands of the Government. Though he made three requests to be tried, he was shipped away without trial, in company with Hauhau prisoners, to the Chatham Islands, a lonely group lying some hundreds of miles eastward of the South Island of New Zealand. We made several mistakes over prisoners, but this was much the worst. These prisoners at the Chathams were promised release within two years or when the colony was at peace, and their detention and deportation were illegal. When

more than two years had passed, and they found that their stay was to be indefinite, they rose and overpowered the inadequate guard, seized the schooner *Rifleman*, collected all the arms and ammunition they could find, and set sail for New Zealand. One of the guard resisted and was killed, but the rest of the European community went unharmed. Te Kooti, who had gained great prestige as a holy man, was leader of the party. The escapees, about 160 men and 130 women and children, landed at Whareongaonga, south of Poverty Bay, in July 1868, and set out for their old homes. Major Biggs overtook them with a small force, but failed to induce them to surrender. Further on, another mixed force attempted to bar their way to the back country, but Te Kooti scattered his enemies by attacking their rear, and capturing their camp and its contents. It was his first display of that generalship which was to colour with forced admiration the execration in which he was held by Europeans. Colonel Whitmore (this was before his Patea campaign) hurried up and took charge of a highly difficult situation. It was mid-winter, the country was rough, much of the available material was poor, and some of it, dispirited and undisciplined, refused to take up the urgent pursuit. Te Kooti forced aside a small Hawke's Bay contingent that tried to head him off, and the early days of August saw Whitmore heroically trying to catch up the rebels before his scanty share of provisions gave out, and the enemy got beyond reach. Camping in the snow, deserted by some of his volunteers, and husbanding his rations, this wiry soldier and hard driver of men came up with Te Kooti's rearguard in the bed of the Ruakituri River, forty miles inland from Poverty Bay. The wet, shivering, hungry and exhausted men advanced to the attack, but the well-posted and well-

armed enemy got away, though with a loss estimated by Whitmore at more than his own. It was impossible to pursue—indeed, it was highly creditable to the attackers that they had gone so far—and Whitmore had to retreat, taking with him a profound respect for his new antagonist's military skill. Te Kooti, nursing a bullet in his foot, was left in the interior to plan an unexpected vengeance.

When he landed in New Zealand Te Kooti's *mana* stood high. The reputation he had won at the Chathams as a religious leader and prophet had been enhanced by the success of the voyage, which his followers attributed to the favour of the gods. His three victories over white forces immensely increased that authority and prestige, and recruits came to his banner. It is largely the man's own dominating personality and unique military skill that make the story of the three years' war on the East Coast different from the record of the other campaigns. Te Kooti was a master of guerilla warfare. He used new methods. Starting out with a formidable equipment of rifles, he surpassed all other Maori rebel leaders in his grasp of rifle tactics and fire discipline. But he was much more than this—a commander in the European sense, a captain whose word was law, who thought out his plans carefully and executed them with enterprise, energy, and completeness. Ruling partly through a religion that was his own adaptation of Hauhauism—a worship in which the Bible was freely used—and partly through his strength of character and military prestige, he enforced strict obedience and devotion. That recruits joined him when he was successful was much less remarkable than that periods of defeat and hardship, of flight through wild and inhospitable country, with a relentless enemy at their heels, did not weaken the spirit of his riflemen.

But Te Kooti's character included a relentless ferocity. Burning to avenge the wrongs that he attributed to his Poverty Bay enemies, he planned a murderous raid on the settlement. Moving by a track that should have been guarded, his raiders descended by night on the community at Matawhero, a few miles inland from what is now Gisborne, surprised the settlers on the morning of November 10th (1868), and in a few hours perpetrated a frightful massacre. Thirty-two Europeans—men, women, and children—and nearly forty natives, perished in a tragedy that, for savage horror, had had no equal in the colony's history since the massacre of the *Boyd*. Major Biggs was shot in his home, and his wife died with him. Captain Wilson surrendered under promise of safety, when his house was set on fire; but his wife and all their children, save one who escaped, were bayoneted. White and native contingents were soon on the murderers' track, and Te Kooti retired to a very strong hill position at Ngatapa, inland from the bay. The fiery Ropata tried to rush the place without the full support of his followers, but had to fall back and wait for Whitmore, who hurried from the West Coast with a force of Armed Constabulary. The pa that they invested stood on a hill that fell away in bush-covered precipices on two sides, and narrowed in the rear to a scarped ridge. Unfortunately, through lack of men, a section of precipice had to be left unguarded, and down this, by means of ropes, the garrison slipped away by night (January, 1869) from the enemy as he was on the point of breaking in. Ropata and his Ngatiporou took up the pursuit of the encumbered column, and cut off scores of stragglers. Those brought back were taken before Ropata, questioned, shot, and hurled over a cliff. Against the attackers' twenty-two in killed and

wounded, Te Kooti lost 136 men killed at Ngatapa and in the pursuit, but he himself escaped to the fastnesses of the Urewera country. His authority, skill, and prestige were great enough to survive this blow, and to cause his enemies anxiety for the next two years.

Of the drama of hunters and hunted that was played during that time with Te Kooti as the central figure, it is impossible to write here in anything like full detail. For romance and hardship, skill and daring, enterprise and excitement, the campaign surpasses all others in New Zealand wars. It covered a great area, bounded on the east by the coast from Hawke's Bay to Tologa Bay, on the north by Rotorua and the Bay of Plenty, and on the west by Taupo and the upper reaches of the Waikato. Much of this country is still among the roughest and most isolated in the North Island; at that time it had scarcely been trodden by the white man. Its dominating feature was the Urewera mountain system, where to-day the traveller can look over great stretches of virgin wilderness—fold upon fold of steep rugged ranges covered with bush, with here and there a cultivated patch in a narrow valley. Its recesses seemed to be barred by Nature against attack by the conquering race. The Urewera tribe were fierce, untamed warriors, who had not felt the power and influence of the white man. They were the most accomplished "bushmen" among the Maoris, and their skill in moving noiselessly through the forest gave them a contempt for the clumsiness of the heavy-footed white invader. That neighbouring tribes viewed the high and gloomy mountain masses of the Urewera country with superstitious awe and dread, was one of several advantages that Te Kooti derived from his choice of headquarters. With a strategist's eye he took up a central position, whence, while drawing food and recruits from the

Urewera, he could strike at the settlements on the Bay of Plenty, around Rotorua, or on the East Coast. He succeeded only too well. His opponents, under the disadvantages of exterior lines, had to be prepared for an attack at any of many points round an immense circumference. The Government, dependent altogether on its own resources, striving to economise, and in dread lest the war should extend, passed many an anxious hour.

In the autumn of 1869, Te Kooti announced that Jehovah had bidden him march north and south. Forthwith he swooped down on the Bay of Plenty at Whakatane, drove settlers into redoubts, murdered and destroyed. He rode on horseback, wore a sword, and employed mounted orderlies. Major Mair pursued him as he retired to the mountains, and all but captured him. The following month, in fulfilment of the second part of his promise, he re-appeared away to the south, on the Mohaka River near to where it falls into Hawke's Bay, only fifty miles from Napier. There he took a pa by mingled force and guile, massacred more than fifty natives and seven Europeans, and replenished his stock of rifles and ammunition. The army might well acclaim their leader a great man.

This successful daring moved the authorities to vigorous efforts. Colonel Whitmore had in the meantime brought peace to the West Coast by defeating Titokowaru, and breaking up his band. Despatched to the Bay of Plenty, he planned with sound strategic insight a campaign to carry the war into the heart of the Urewera Country, and compel Te Kooti to take to the inland plains. A column from the coast junctioned with a column from the Rotorua side at Ruatahuna, the chief source of supply in the mountains. Unfortunately, a third column from Hawke's Bay did not

get beyond Waikare-Moana. The invasion was a daring project, courageously and skilfully accomplished. The country was very rough and almost unknown, the commanders had to plan on scanty information, and at any turn of the track or bend in the riverbed the advance guard might receive a shattering volley. Colonel St. John's column fought a series of engagements as it forced its way up the rough bed of the Whakatane River. Whitmore came out with honour, broken health, and the satisfaction of finding that his judgment had been correct. Not only did Te Kooti come west to the Taupo plains, as it was intended he should, but the expeditions had rent the veil of mystery that hung over the Urewera country, and taught the tribesmen that they were not beyond reach. Unfortunately, when Te Kooti came out on the plains we were not ready for him, and he signalled his move with a coup that added to the terror of his name. A party of fourteen white cavalrymen were resting carelessly at Opepe, between Galatea and Taupo, with no suspicion that Te Kooti was anywhere near. The enemy came up, and, pretending to be Arawas, made friends with the men, got between them and their arms, and then fell on them. Only five escaped. Colonel McDonnell, again with Kemp as his right-hand man, went up to the Taupo district, and took part in a long and exasperating campaign. Several columns were available, attempts were made to head the rebel off, and McDonnell defeated him three times with heavy loss. But it was one thing to storm Te Kooti's positions, and quite another to capture him or annihilate his force. He was masterly in retreat, and his rearguards served him with skill and devotion. In boldness and rapidity of movement he rivalled De Wet, the famous Boer leader, of whom he often reminds one. He foiled his

pursuers, broke through circles woven round him, and reappeared where he was least expected. Whitmore's caustic comments on the campaign seem to be substantially justified—failure to co-ordinate the movements of the columns, which in the aggregate could have swamped the enemy, divided authority, and a niggardliness in supply that left the fettered McDonnell without the means to pursue in the hour of victory. But the Government had one cause for satisfaction. Te Kooti tried to enlist the help of the Maori King, but failed, though the fiery Rewi leaned towards war. At length, in February 1870, Te Kooti, with a band much reduced by defeat, and worn out by marching, appeared at Rotorua. Lieutenant Gilbert Mair, a younger brother of the gallant Major, gathering up a scratch force of Arawas, moved out to meet him, pursued him, and hung on to his rearguard all day in what Whitmore describes as one of the most brilliant episodes of the war, and killed some twenty of his best men. But the rebel's way of retreat to the Urewera country had been left unguarded, and again he found refuge there.

It was not for long. The Government decided to hand over the pursuit to its native allies, who chafed against the divided command and the white men's methods, and thought they could do better by themselves. For over twelve months Te Kooti, a fugitive, with £5000 on his head, was hunted to and fro among the Urewera mountains by native contingents under Ropata and a few white officers—Porter, Gilbert Mair, Preece, and Large. Pursuers and pursued reached the limits of endurance. "There is nothing here but cliffs, creeks, hills, bush, fern, and everything that is bad," wrote the indomitable Ropata, as he defied the winter. His men would squeeze water out of moist bark to get a drink on a ridge, live for days on berries, scale

rocks by holding on to one another's rifles, scramble through torrents that washed them off their feet, and, wet through and only half fed, obey the order against the lighting of fires. As if to round off his career, Ropata behaved with wise clemency towards the defeated. The hunted rebels' plight was worse, yet with only twenty followers Te Kooti visited Tolaga Bay, and tried to repeat the coup of Mohaka. The pursuit went on until the end of 1871, when Te Kooti broke through the cordon designed to keep him from the Waikato, and took refuge in the King's territory. The Government decided to leave him alone (the King maintained his barrier against Europeans), and he lived for another twenty years, to mix with white men once more, to shake a Minister of the Crown by the hand, and die in the respectability of a pardon.

The end of the Te Kooti campaigns brought enduring peace to New Zealand. The Government had not only beaten the Maoris in the field; it had placed at the head of native affairs the most capable Minister the Department has ever known. Sir Donald McLean knew the Maori language, understood the Maori mind, and worked for peace with the wisdom and patience required. He had a good deal to do with the enlistment of native help against Te Kooti, and while Te Kooti was being pursued around Taupo, the Minister was successfully negotiating with the Waikato chiefs. McLean's policy was to employ liberality and tact, not to attempt to carry the Queen's writ into the remnant of the King's territory or the Urewera country, and to let the advance of roads, telegraphs and settlement do the rest. He succeeded, and in doing so won the respect of the Maori. But the effects of the wars were grave and lasting. All told, the British had lost about 500 men killed and 800 wounded, exclusive of settlers murdered, and the

casualties among the friendly Maoris were another 400. The enemy's losses were about 1,800 killed and nearly 2,000 wounded. Much property had been destroyed and settlement retarded. The colony had spent between three and four million pounds on the war, and for years afterwards was compelled to maintain a force of armed police. The Maoris had lost confidence in the white man and in themselves. In their eyes Christianity stood condemned by its results, and the Church has never regained its former hold on the race. The industrial slackness of the Maoris may be partly the fruit of the long tragedy. But healing Time did its work. Tribes that had fought against us became loyal communities, and years later sent soldiers to fight under the British flag in a war compared with which the long struggle from Waireka to the Ureweras was only a trifling skirmish.

There are things in the record of British dealings with the Maoris of which everybody should feel ashamed, but an impression of fair dealing predominates. Two authoritative witnesses may be called. In his old age Sir John Gorst returned to New Zealand as special envoy from the British Government to the exhibition held in Christchurch in 1906. To greet him in Auckland came Patara te Tuhi, who had edited the "King" newspaper to which Gorst's journal was a counterblast. After revisiting the Waikato Sir John Gorst gave a valuable estimate of the status of the Maori race, and its treatment at the hands of the British. He had left New Zealand forty years before in despair, thinking that the natives were doomed to extermination, but he returned to find the whites showing "the most generous spirit of sympathy" towards them. There was not a trace

among the whites of the old ill-feeling, and among the Maoris there was much more confidence in the goodwill and justice of the British. The Maori question, he went on to say, was not yet completely solved, but the British in New Zealand had achieved a unique success. "There are places where less civilised races have been reduced to a kind of servitude, but there is no country in the world where the uncivilised race is treated on equal terms, and where more justice and more consideration are shown to them. It is very greatly to the credit of the colony, and very greatly to the credit of the people of New Zealand that they became a nation and set an example to the world—which no people yet has imitated—of the unique position of an uncivilised race living in perfect amity and equality with the civilised race, and enjoying all the advantages of civilisation."

The other witness is a full-blooded Maori, Hon. Sir A. T. Ngata, M.P., university graduate, ex-Minister of the Crown, and leader of the Young Maori party, which seeks the salvation of the race through work and education. "The Samoans may be congratulated," said Mr. Ngata, in a debate after the Great War, "that they have come under the wing of the Anglo-Saxon race, and they are extremely fortunate in that they have come under the direction of the Government of New Zealand, because there is no better representative of the British conscience of administration in a just way of the native races than the Government of this country. I can speak with some experience, sometimes with a little bitterness, as to the treatment some of the Maoris have received in New Zealand at the hands even of our own pakeha people. But the Maoris have a saying 'that is between you and me,' and take it by and large, take it over the century, no native race has

been so fortunate as the Maoris of New Zealand in having come in contact with the—well, the pick of the British race as we have it in New Zealand.”

CHAPTER V.—PUBLIC WORKS AND IMMIGRATION.

The well-founded criticism that historians have devoted disproportionate attention to wars, has an application to New Zealand. The struggle between Briton and Maori was long, important in its results, and rich in human interest, but the outcome was inevitable. Only on the assumption that the white man would weaken in his resolution to colonise New Zealand, could the Maori's prospects be regarded as anything but hopeless. Besides, only some parts of New Zealand were at war. The whole of the peninsula north of Auckland, the greater part of Wellington province, and all the South Island, remained at peace. The years of war are really less important in the history of New Zealand than the methods by which some of her settlements were founded, and the character of thousands of her early colonists. In its bearing on the future, Orakau was a much smaller event than the arrival of the first four ships at Lyttelton in 1850, and the founding of the Otago settlement. Indeed, no country was ever so carefully and wisely colonised as New Zealand. In his work, “New Zealand in Evolution,” Dr. G. H. Scholefield remarks on the selection that operated from

the earliest days. At first it was imposed through the test of individual courage and enterprise, and later, when emigration was organised, there was added the scrutiny of controlling bodies which formed definite ideals and set high standards. To-day one may smile at the plan cherished by the Canterbury Association of setting up in New Zealand a replica of English cathedral town society, with the bishop at the top and the labourer at the bottom, and every grade of society permanently fixed; but we should be thankful that the settlement of what was for long the richest province in New Zealand fell into such hands. The capacity, character, and culture of these pioneers and their distant neighbours in Otago, left a deep and lasting influence on the history of the young nation.

In the decade through which we have just followed the fortunes of warring pakeha and Maori, these pioneers in the South had ample scope for the exercise of their brains and energy. Free from actual contact with war, the South Island could devote itself to the development of the magnificent resources at its doors. While the North fought, and saw the fruit of years go up in smoke, found its way barred by native-held lands, or pushed forward its settlement into uncertainty caused by a resentful Maori population, the South had no native problem, either in hostile or distrustful warrior tribes or in land. Its only foes were nature and fluctuating markets. The result was an economic, political, and cultural ascendancy that remained long after the last shots in the war had been fired. Then, and for years afterwards, the South Island was the economic mainstay of the colony. Its sheep runs, wheat fields, and goldfields provided the bulk of the country's wealth, and consequently most of the taxation. It complained of having to provide money for the North's wars, and there was serious

talk of separation. On its side the North resented having to take the field or stand continuously to its arms in a quarrel that it regarded as national, while the South waxed fat in security. Progress in the South was rapid. The colony's flocks, nearly all of which were in the South, increased from one and a-half million to eight and a-half million sheep in the period 1858-67, and the export of wool from nearly four million to more than twenty-seven million pounds' weight.

Enjoying an abundant revenue from the sale of land, and able to set aside valuable endowments, Canterbury and Otago led the rest of the Colony in public works and education. The first railway in New Zealand, opened in 1863, ran out of Christchurch. As early as 1860, the young settlement had made the bold decision to bore through the hill separating Lyttelton from the plains, and in 1867 port and infant city were linked by a railway that ran through a tunnel a mile and a-half long. When the gold discoveries drew population to the isolated part of the province on the western side of the Southern Alps, the Provincial Government promptly cut a road over the barrier to connect Christchurch with Hokitika. It may surprise most of those who have driven up or down the Otira Gorge road and over Arthur's Pass, to learn that that impressive piece of engineering dates back to 1866. The road was constructed in twelve months; would that there had been equal speed in all subsequent public works.

The interest displayed in education was keen and practical. Higher education was part of the programme of the Otago and Canterbury settlements before the emigrants left the Old Country. Canterbury endowed its secondary schools and University College liberally, and walking to-day

between the rows of stately trees in Rolleston Avenue, with the dignified Gothic of Canterbury College on one hand and the Museum building on the other, a visitor from the Old World might receive more than a suggestion of haunts of ancient peace and learning. Otago furnishes as instructive an example as could be found anywhere of the traditional and invincible passion of the Scot for education. Founded in 1869, the University of Otago ante-dated the University of New Zealand (1870), with which it was afterwards affiliated. The people of Otago have far out-distanced the other centres in their private benefactions to their University. "Otago," says Dr. Scholefield, "soon became the model New Zealand society. Its enlightened institutions nurtured many of the great political figures of the later decades; its educational institutions produced most of the thinkers, the professional men, and the officials, for the whole of New Zealand." The long lead that the South established in education is shown by the fact that, while Dunedin founded its University in 1869, and Canterbury its University College in 1873, Auckland's institution dates legislatively to 1882, and it was not until 1897 that Parliament made the final provision for a College in the capital.

But while the farmer was busy with his sheep and wheat, a new factor came into being that was to add rapidly and sensationally to wealth and population. The first really paying goldfield in New Zealand was opened in Central Otago in 1861. Gabriel Read's tally of £25 worth of alluvial gold for ten hours' work at Tuapeka was the start of a mighty "rush." The good frugal Scots of Otago debated gravely whether they should encourage the "new iniquity" of gold-seekers to enter their domain, but circumstances were too much for them; indeed, it is said that half Dunedin

set out for Tuapeka, and that in a country parish the congregation was reduced to the minister and the precentor. Diggers from Australia poured in at a rate that rose to 1,000 a day, all eager to try their luck in the treeless, inhospitable interior. Most of them had to tramp thither, carrying heavy loads; as much as £120 a ton was charged for cartage from Dunedin, and food and fuel rose to famine prices. But the gold was there. Within a few months the weekly output was 10,000 ounces; within nine months the total quantity was 250,000 ounces; other rich areas were opened up, and in 1863 the export from the province was more than £2,000,000. The gain in population was equally sensational. In December, 1860, there were, in round numbers, 12,000 souls in Otago. A year later the number was 30,200, and in 1863 it was 79,000. Thus at a time when it was wrestling with war and a mounting debt, the infant colony received a valuable reinforcement of population and wealth.

But the "rushes" to the gullies and river-beds of Otago were only the early chapters in a great industrial romance that extended from Otago to Auckland. Gold was discovered on the West Coast of the Canterbury province, the narrow, broken, and bush-clad strip of territory between the Alps and the sea, known as Westland. Before the advance-guard of diggers forced their way into this wild, surf-beaten territory, it had been trodden by but few white men. The Maori held it in superstitious dread, and visited it only for its greenstone. When in 1865 the "rush" set in to Westland of men who journeyed there by little vessels across dangerous bar mouths of rivers, or walked over the Alps from the east coast, there commenced a chapter that for picturesque romance has no equal in the peaceful annals of the colony. It

was a largely unknown land of thick bush, heavy rainfall, rushing and treacherous rivers, and isolation. Within a few months thirty thousand men swarmed into its difficulties and dangers, to starve or drown, to pay up to £150 for a ton of flour, to see their supply ships go ashore on the bars, to make fortunes and lose them. But as Reeves says, "what did prices matter (or hardships, he might have added) to men who were getting from 1oz. to 1lb. weight of gold-dust a day, or who could stagger the gold-buyers sent to their camps by the bankers by pouring out washed gold by the pannikin?" To put it in statistical terms, the West Coast sent away more than two million pounds' worth of gold in 1866. Of the zest and romance of that life then, and for years afterwards; its character and colour, its mushroom towns, its tragedy and comedy, its grogshops, its dancing girls imported in batches from Australia, and dances held by the light of pine torches; its adventure, charity, and hospitality; a later and staidier generation can capture only a faint flavour. No Bret Harte has arisen to exploit its inviting wealth of material. Here and there old men sit in the sun or fossick about among the river-beds, who can tell stories of those early days; and remains of once flourishing townships mouldering in the bush or by the contemptuous ebb and flow of the unbroken ocean, invest the scene with an atmosphere of mingled sentiment and decay. The wealth of Westland flows out to-day mainly in the channels of coal and timber, with farming as a promising development. The character of the stream of immigration that the gold discoveries drew to New Zealand has been deplored, but with insufficient reason. Considering the conditions under which these raw communities lived, their conduct was astonishingly good. There was very little serious

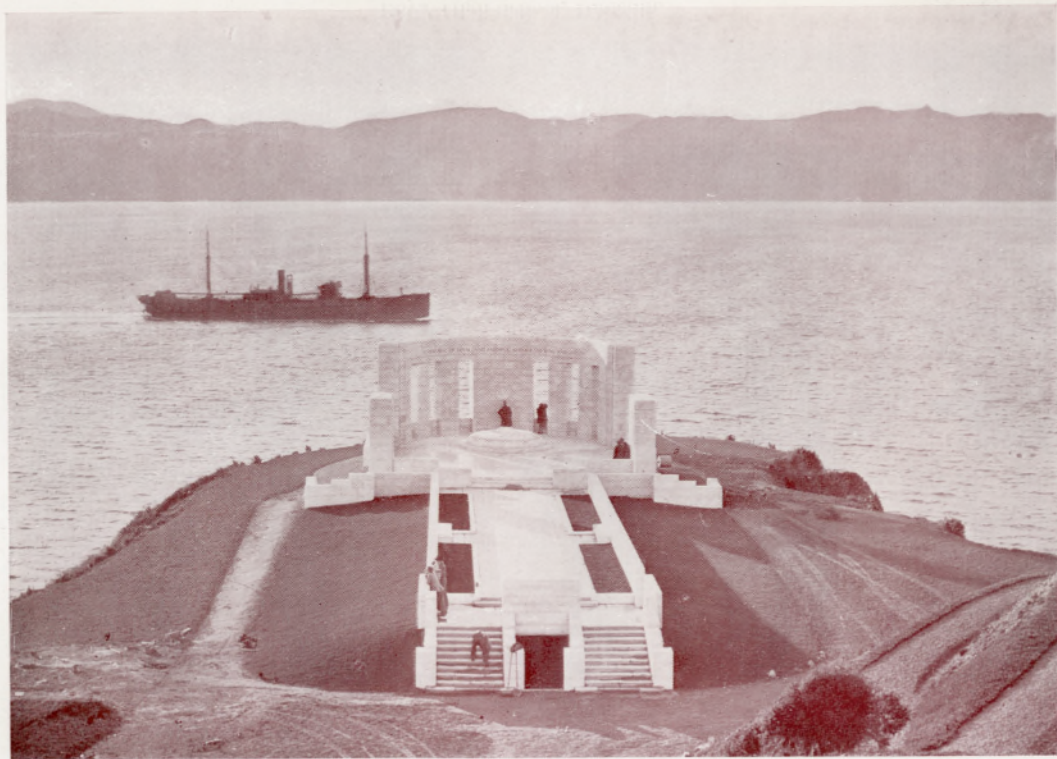
violence, and "gun-play" was a rarity. New Zealand never rivalled Australia in bushranging, and the police and magistrates found their work easy. If there were wild and irresponsible spirits on the gold-fields, the diggers, as a class, were a virile, energetic, warm-hearted body of men, many of whom became New Zealanders permanently, and won success in other walks of life.

Politically, the decade was a period of local and central development, co-operation, and difference. The two chief currents in the colonial Parliament were supplied by the war and the rivalries of provincialist and centralist schools. As has been pointed out, much of the political interest of the people was absorbed in provincial affairs. These provincial assemblies had considerable financial power. They passed land laws, controlled their own police, and prison system and immigration, managed education, and constructed public works. They were States enjoying semi-sovereignty within a State. The trouble was that their fortunes were unequal. While the richer provinces, enjoying peace and selling land freely, could carry on comfortably, the poorer ones had to go to the Colonial Government for special grants. This and the inevitable conflict of provincial and colonial interests produced constant provincial pressure at the capital. The trend was towards multiplicity of provinces. Marlborough hived off from Nelson in 1859; Southland separated from Otago in 1861, but returned nine years later; the West Coast parted from Canterbury in 1868 to be constituted a county, and became the province of Westland in 1873. Hawke's Bay, at first part of Wellington province, had become a separate entity in 1858. The subsequent domination by the large landowner in Hawke's Bay was mainly due to the land laws made by the Provincial Council in those early days.



Boys' High School, Dunedin.

Esquilant photo



Massey Memorial at Point Halswell, Wellington, unveiled 19th September, 1930. [Robson & Boyer photo]

An important change in this decade was the transfer of the capital from Auckland to Wellington, as a result of a report by three Australian commissioners who were asked to select the best site on Cook Strait. Auckland naturally protested, and there was talk of establishing a separate colony, but the case for transfer was overwhelming. To the South Auckland was nearly as difficult of access as Russell, the first seat of government. The change was made during the recess, being completed in February, 1865. For the rest, we may note that the party divisions, so familiar to later generations, had not appeared in politics. There were murmurings of radicalism in some of the provincial Parliaments, but the cleavage between Liberalism and Conservatism was yet to come. Centralism and provincialism, peace and war, were the dominating questions in the Colonial Assembly, where members grouped and re-grouped, and voted on this side and the other, or for this leader or the other, and Ministers came and went, in a fashion somewhat bewildering to the reader of history. It is partly for this reason that men like Stafford, who was three times Premier, for nine difficult years altogether; Fox, who four times headed a Ministry; Whitaker, who was a power in politics for many years; are more shadowy as historical figures than some of their successors. The conditions in which they worked make it difficult to invest them with definite political characteristics.

But rapid and momentous changes were at hand. With these is chiefly associated the name of Julius Vogel, a strong, complex, and somewhat exotic personality, whose imagination and constructive ability changed the face of New Zealand politics. Vogel, a Jew of English parentage, came to New Zealand in the early 'sixties, took a lead in Dunedin journalism,

was sent to the Colonial Legislature in 1863, and in 1869 accepted a post in Fox's Ministry. Then only 34, he was Premier at 38, and by the time he was 41 had done the work by which he is chiefly remembered. He was a man of large ideas and exuberant imagination, sanguine to the point of rashness, mentally vigorous and energetic, ambitious and self-confident. In the mastery won in New Zealand politics by this self-made Jew, who displayed traits and qualities not usually associated with the British character, there is a touch of the Disraeli marvel. Like Disraeli, he was an Imperialist in vision and practice, and an author. Unlike Disraeli, he had an unusual capacity for finance. One gathers, too, that there was this further point of resemblance, that in his success Vogel owed little to personal popularity, and nearly everything to character and brains. Between the 'sixties and the 'nineties, no man was more in the public eye, or drew on himself a greater volume of criticism. But if his mistakes were substantial, his achievements were impressive. The one with which his name is popularly associated is the policy of national public works.

Hitherto railway and road construction had been a provincial affair, and, as we have seen, much energy had been shown by some of the infant settlements. But the condition of things in 1870 made a unique opportunity for a bold and imaginative statesman. In spite of the crippling effect of war, the progress of the colony had been rapid. A population of 79,000 in 1860 had grown to 248,000 in 1870, and the value of exports had jumped from half a million to four and a-half millions. But, in spite of this progress, in 1870 the colony lay in or near the trough of a depression. The war, now drawing to a close, had cost the community many valuable lives and burdened it with a heavy debt. In the war area much of the work of

1860-70]

years had been undone, and expansion of settlement was handicapped by uncertainty. There was a strong feeling of resentment against the Imperial Government for what was considered to be its callous indifference to the difficulties and dangers of the colonists—a feeling far from being wholly justified—and though the idea of transferring allegiance to the United States would probably have shrivelled at the touch of reality, it was noted by the Governor* and seems to have been seriously entertained. The gold production had been declining since 1867 and, with it, prices, and men were coming to see that for steady and permanent success “the original and indestructible powers of the soil” should be utilised. But to tap quickly the vast resources of one of the richest and most highly favoured countries on earth, new governmental machinery was needed. That of the Constitution of 1853 moved slowly and creaked as it moved. The provinces were isolated and largely autonomous communities, some rich and others poor, jealous of one another and of the central Government. Of national sentiment there was too little, and national policy was fettered by the wide delegation of power to the provinces. What was wanted was an impetus to organised development on national lines. There were only forty-six miles of railway in the whole country, and they were operated in three gauges. New Zealand was thus on the road to the gigantic blunder of the break-of-gauge made by the Australian States before federation, and not since remedied.

It was amid all these circumstances that Vogel, Treasurer in the Fox Ministry, came forward (June 28th, 1870) with his public works and immigration policy. The idea was not original. During the 'sixties, three other Ministers had proposed schemes of public works and immigration controlled by the

*Sir G. Bowen, 1869.

central Government, but the war made it impossible to proceed with them. Vogel's plan was enough to make the unimaginative gasp. He proposed that a community of a quarter of a million souls, already burdened with colonial and provincial public debts totalling eight millions, should spend another ten millions, spread over some years, on railways, roads, immigration, and extension of settlement. The member who rose when Vogel had finished unfolding his policy, declared that he had "never heard of a scheme so wild, so unpractical, and so impracticable." But Vogel had vision, and the power of communicating it to others. He pictured the country covered with a net-work of roads and railways, and settlement extending everywhere. A stream of immigrants would pour in to build these roads and railways, settle on the land or develop industries. With undimmed optimism, he bade New Zealand take its courage in both hands and build boldly. To the objection that this was an enormous debt to incur, he replied that it would be met by an enormous development produced by his policy. He had something tangible to announce in a guarantee by the Imperial Government of one million of the new loan at four per cent.

Parliament agreed to his plan,* and a start was made at once with its execution. Vogel went to London to raise more money; contracts were let for railways; roads were pushed on rapidly; and preparations made for obtaining and receiving thousands of immigrants. But Vogel had to abandon what he considered an essential part of his scheme, and the political and economic consequences of his failure were profound. Six million acres of land through which railways would pass were to be reserved to the Crown,

*In 1870 Parliament consented to a loan of £5,000,000 only, one million of which was guaranteed by the Imperial Government.

and from the sale and rentals of this land the State was to recoup itself for its expenditure, and benefit by the increase in values brought about by its own enterprise. As late as 1873, Vogel laid it down "as a point of policy on which the Government entertains the strongest opinion, that, excepting coal railways, not a yard of railway in any part of the Colony should be authorised without security in the form of landed estate being given to the Colony." Unfortunately this conflicted with the dearest possession of the provinces, their control of land, and since the land interest was all-powerful, pressure from the provinces was sufficient to induce Vogel to give up this integral part of his policy. The result was that private interests benefited where the State might have reaped richly, and the colony's financial burden of public works became much heavier than it would otherwise have been. But there was poetic justice in another outcome of this mistake; in offending Vogel, the provinces, as we shall see, helped to write their own doom.

The 'seventies were a period of strong and even feverish activity and excitement. Progress in all directions was rapid. The main idea in railway construction was to join up the centres—Wellington with Auckland, New Plymouth, and Napier; Christchurch with Dunedin, Invercargill, and Picton. It is an indication of Vogel's way of doing things that, whereas there were only 46 miles of line at the time, he persuaded Parliament to authorise 600 more as a beginning. By 1873, the mileage was 145; by 1877 it had passed the thousand mark, and the expenditure totalled nearly six millions. But Vogel abandoned another of his projects, the imposition of a check upon wasteful political influence on public works policy. He favoured setting up a Board of Works "divested of political surroundings," to pre-

vent the Government of the day from being improperly moved by local pressure. It would be a misfortune, he said, if Parliament were to become a body in which members scrambled for money to be spent in their own districts. His foresight was justified by decades of such scrambling and "log-rolling." The proposed check was not imposed, and the public works fund became, for all its beneficial results in useful roads and railways, a huge political machine. Every district scrambled and fought for its share, and the "roads and bridges member" became an unpleasantly prominent feature of the landscape. Agitation in various forms, from newspaper articles to deputations to Wellington, became a leading New Zealand industry. An immense amount of money was wasted in "political" lines, and in the practice of dissipating effort among a large number of enterprises, instead of concentrating on a few. Where the sensible course was to hurry main lines through, and bring the capital invested to the point of maximum return as soon as possible, the money and men available were employed in adding a little to a score or more of main lines and branches. Sometimes progress was so slow that material laid down had to be renewed before the section was opened. Ministers were not above taking advantage of local differences over routes, to delay construction. There were Ministers who did not scruple to hint or say that districts that "voted straight" would get their reward. "It is unreasonable and unnatural," said Mr. Seddon, while he was Prime Minister, "to expect the Government to look with the same kindly eye on districts returning members opposed to the Government as on those which returned Government supporters." It was the same statesman who said he was not one of those who held that, "other things being equal," he should not

favour the district represented by Government supporters, an admission which one could wish someone had followed with the famous “‘*Ceteris paribus*’ be damned”! of Lord Melbourne. There were also Ministers who acknowledged the existence of the evil and its cause, the parochial outlook of members.

One or two facts may be cited in illustration of what has been said. A trunk line from Wellington to Auckland was one of the projects Vogel brought down in 1870; as a matter of strict accuracy, Auckland had commenced to build a railway southward a few years before that. Yet it was not until 1908, thirty-eight years later, that the first train ran right through from city to city, a track distance of 430 miles. The engineering difficulties were formidable, but the comparative rapidity with which the high, rough country in the centre of the island was conquered, when the Government made up its mind to complete the work, was a condemnation of the previous delay. Nearly fifty years after its foundation, the system was still so deeply rooted in its evil courses that twelve months’ work by more than a thousand men scattered through the country, did not add one mile to open lines. To crown all, the Public Works Department planned and constructed railways without consulting the Railways Department, though the Railways Department had to operate them and was expected to make them pay interest on cost. It may all be summed up by saying that the public works policy was a great conception which on the whole was highly beneficial to the colony, but that its history is strewn with blunders numerous and serious enough to have brought grave embarrassment, if not disaster, upon a less favoured country. Nor is it yet possible to compute what those blunders have cost New Zealand.

Since men were needed to build roads and railways, and settlers to develop the country opened up, immigration had to go hand in hand with public works. The Government, taking up what had been a provincial matter, acted vigorously. Commissioners were sent to Europe to set the stream moving. Good character and physical fitness were the principal qualities sought for; ways and means were partly or wholly provided by the Government. Thousands of men and women began to arrive from all parts of the British Isles—artisans, labourers, domestic servants, fishermen, crofters, and miners. Some embarked in a spirit of adventure, others because opportunity was cramped and laws and customs harsh. We find the National Agricultural Labourers' Union in England appealing in 1873 to the New Zealand Parliament to take steps to attract to its British shores the stream of oppressed and despairing farm labourers that was flowing to foreign countries. The first signature on the petition was that of the famous organiser of that dispossessed class which is nearest to the very soil of England—Joseph Arch. One wonders what would have become of him had he emigrated. Then, before, and later, others like him from town and country made the move, and carried with them a memory of social and economic wrong that bore legislative fruit in their new country. Among those who gave the impetus to the movement against land monopoly and framed the new laws, were men who had witnessed the bitter results of monopoly in the Old Land.

But the big-horned stag and his hinds, we know,
In the high corries,
And the salmon that swirls the pool below
Where the stream rushes,
Are more than the hearts of men, and so
We leave thy green valley,
Glenaradale.

Sir George Grey, who, as we shall see, started the movement, had seen monopoly and landlordism at work in Ireland. John McKenzie, who reaped where Grey had sown, brought with him similar memories from the Highlands.

Every class was represented in the stream of immigration. One ship might contain, like those that bore the Canterbury settlement, a microcosm of a graded society, from retired officers and clergy at the top (with family plate and pictures in the hold) to farm labourers at the bottom. The newcomers went on the land, took jobs on public works, or followed their trades. Sometimes the gentry lost their money, and their children sank in the social scale, while labourers became great landowners and founded families with high social pretensions. There were emigrants to whom New Zealand was an Eldorado, where by means but vaguely understood, fortunes were easily to be made. It fell to some of these to be set down in the wilderness far from a market, where mere living became a problem. On the whole, immigrants were a fine stamp. Most of the complaints to the contrary were due to the poor type of men sometimes sent out by railway contractors; otherwise selection was made with some care.

The historian is tempted to linger over the romance of organised emigration, from the 'forties to the 'eighties. The stories of the foundation of Wellington, New Plymouth, Nelson, Otago and Canterbury by no means exhaust the interest attaching to special settlements. The Immigration Commissioners went beyond Great Britain in their search for population, and tapped Germany, Denmark, and Scandinavia. One body of foreigners were set down in the lonely bush, inland in the Wellington province, and proved themselves excellent settlers. One might describe the

earlier Albertland settlement on the shores of the Kaipara Harbour, where a community of English non-conformists—townsfolk who knew nothing about farming—were placed on wretched land, far from any market. In their confidence they hoped that Auckland would not be jealous of Port Albert. Alas! they nearly starved, and although fruit-growing has made the little settlement prosperous, the port to-day consists of little more than a store and post office. But these are surpassed in interest by the Waipu colony, which for sheer quality of romance is unequalled by any New Zealand settlement, big or little. The Waipu settlers were a swarm from a colony in Nova Scotia, founded by Highland crofters evicted in the Sutherlandshire "clearances." The father of this particular community was the Rev. Norman McLeod, a man of deep piety, autocratic temper, and extraordinary force of character. Every step in the adventure was romantic. McLeod received from a sailor son who had dropped out of sight for some years, a letter from Adelaide, South Australia, drawing attention to the advantages of that country, and urging the community to leave the cold, bleak shores of Cape Breton. In 1851, McLeod, then a man of seventy, set sail with his family and a hundred and thirty of his people from Nova Scotia, in a barque of 500 tons built and manned by men of the congregation. Disappointed with Australia, the emigrants sent a delegation to New Zealand, and the result was that in 1854 McLeod and his party settled on land at Waipu set aside for them by Sir George Grey. Several more locally-built ships sailed from Nova Scotia with emigrants, and altogether nearly 900 souls crossed the sea between 1851 and 1858. Under a theocracy, in which McLeod was prophet, priest, and king, the little Highland community prospered,

and maintained with loving thoroughness the customs of its original homeland. At least as late as the settlement's jubilee year, old women continued to spin wool, and it was some years later that the minister ceased to preach in Gaelic. When the Great War came, the farms of Waipu were swept as clean of young men as any Highland glen.

A volume could be written about emigrants' voyages to New Zealand, both before and during this period. A chapter could be given to the ships themselves, those tall and beautiful daughters of romance that have since been elbowed out by steam. By strict comparison of facts, some of them would be accounted pigmies to-day. The famous "first four ships" of the Canterbury settlement were well under a thousand tons. Mr. James Cowan, who writes with authority and charm of old sailing ships, thus describes the part they played in peopling New Zealand:—

Those were the days when canvas still ruled the seas. The immigrant who arrived here after a three or four months' voyage in a ship or barque from the Old Land had something of the making of a sailor in him when he landed. He knew all about reefing and setting sail, beating to windward, and "running down the easting"; and knew the intolerable heat and tedium of lying becalmed with the equatorial sun melting the pitch in the deck seams. Such ships as the *Jane Gifford* and the *Phillip Laing*, of the Scottish settlers, and the *Charlotte Jane*, of the Canterbury pilgrims were but small craft of the old whole topsail era; but in later years came fleets of fine clippers, the class of beautiful composite-built stu'n's'l-boom ship, that so often raced from China to London with her cargoes of tea. The names of the *Blue Jacket*, the *Red Jacket*, the *Avalanche*, the *Mermaid*, the *Cashmere*, the *Devonshire*, the *Morning Light*, the famous Blackball ships, *Lightning* and

Commodore Perry, bring up to many an old colonist memories of the passage of the "Roaring Forties." Later still there came the splendid sailing ships of the Shaw, Savill, and the New Zealand Shipping Co.'s. fleets, some of which sailed these seas—but no longer with passengers—up to a year or two ago. The Shaw, Savill sailers brought many passengers out in the 'sixties. But it was just after the Maori War, in 1871, that Sir Julius Vogel's public works and immigration scheme gave New Zealand its great onward movement, and peopled many a new farming district. Such fine ships as the *Lady Jocelyn*—which more than once made the voyage between London and New Zealand in from seventy-five to eighty days, and which brought out the North of Ireland settlers for Kati-kati, Bay of Plenty—the *Hydaspes*, the *Dunedin*, the *Marlborough*, the *Blenheim*, the *Halcione*, and the *Euterpe*, the lofty-sparred and fast *Crusader*, the *Auckland*, the *Zealand*, and others flying the Shaw, Savill house flag; and the handsome painted-port clipper ships of the New Zealand Shipping Co.'s lines—the *Waikato*, the *Piako*, the *Orari*, the *Otaki*, the *Hurunui*, the fast and lofty main-sky-sail-yarders *Waitangi* and *Waimate*, that powerful sailer the *Turakina*—these and many other sailing ships brought their thousands of souls out to the new land, through such weather-stress and sea adventures as seldom fall to the experience of a modern ocean steamer passenger.

It is possible, however, that many of the emigrants saw neither beauty nor romance in their voyages. At best the passage was long and tedious, the food monotonous, and the risk of epidemic considerable. It required careful supervision at both ends and on the ship to maintain a good standard of comfort and health. The doctor of one ship, which had embarked a number of sickly passengers, apparently of an indifferent type, reported that she was

overcrowded. "By the wisdom of Parliament," he wrote, "a child under a year old is not supposed to require any breathing space at all; at least it is allowed none." During this voyage there were 384 registered cases of illness, and sixteen deaths. The best-equipped ship of those days could not compare in hygiene and comfort with the steamer of later times.

Foreign immigrants were not numerous enough to affect the national race-origin, which remained overwhelmingly British. During the period 1871-1880, 100,000 State-aided immigrants were introduced, and the population was nearly doubled. The country's debt, which in 1870 was only eight millions, was more than twenty-nine millions in 1881.

With money and immigrants pouring into the country and the prices of products rising, it would have been strange if New Zealand had avoided an orgy of optimism and speculation. "The modern community has, perhaps, yet to be found," says Reeves, "which can bear sudden prosperity coolly. New Zealand in the 'seventies certainly could not." The combination of peace, millions of money furnished by England for public works, and good prices, went to its head. A wild land boom set in. South Island farmers, for example, found that there was much money in wheat. According to Reeves, there were cases where men were buying open land at £2 an acre and making a net profit of £5 an acre from their first crop. That wheat became a staple article of export—for some years wheat and wool were the most profitable products of the soil—may seem strange to a generation growing accustomed to the importation of Australian grain. In the South Island, with its better communications, its freedom from anxiety about war, its areas of easily worked land,

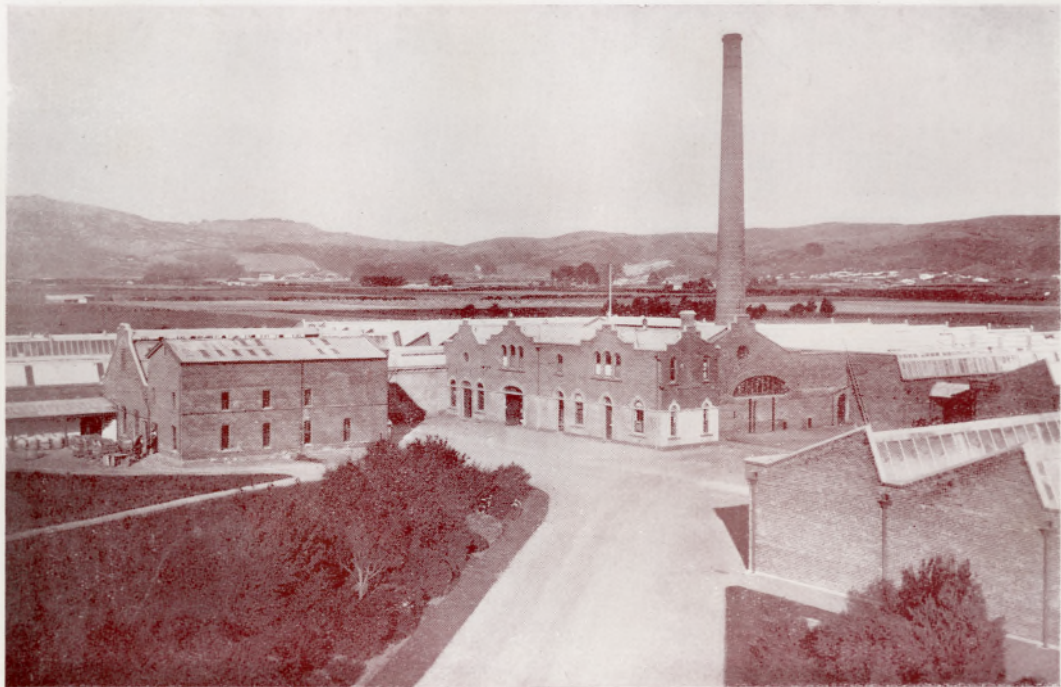
and its large class of "squatters" and farmers, the land boom reached a much higher point than in the North. The most feverish symptoms occurred in Canterbury, where land could be bought for £2 an acre without limit of area or condition as to occupation. Large areas thrown open by provincial governments that wished to realise their resources and increase their population, were eagerly bought by landholders and speculators, and values rose. "Those of the immigrants who were fortunate enough to possess capital," says Scholefield, "secured their land easily; but the great majority were almost penniless, and before they had time to look about them the market had advanced far beyond their means." While the small man was squeezed out, the holdings of the big man grew. Land monopoly in Canterbury had been fostered by the conditions under which land was disposed of, and furthered by the ingenuity of squatters. The prices of public land under the Wakefield system had been comparatively low, and, but for other factors, the system might have produced more closer settlement than it did. Until land was purchased it could be rented for grazing at £1 per hundred acres, the tenant holding his area subject to the right of anybody to purchase any part of it. Before long a number of squatters held great areas under these licenses, and set about retaining possession. For each shepherd's hut they received by law what was called a pre-emptive right over fifty acres, and for a homestead a pre-emptive right over 250 acres. So many chains of fencing gave the third pre-emptive right. By judicious fencing and building, large tracts could be secured against purchase by outsiders. Other ingenious methods were used to keep out the stranger. "Grid-ironing" was a practice long remembered against the squatter. A

selector could take up as many sections as he desired, and wherever he desired; the only restriction as to area was a minimum of twenty acres. Men had their sections so surveyed as to leave between them strips of nineteen and a-half acres, so that this intervening land was left to be occupied by the runholders. Another device, known as "spotting," consisted in buying sections so as to include all the available creeks, the idea being that the adjoining ridges would be secure from purchase owing to lack of water. So close a watch was kept on strangers, to forestall them in purchasing land, that it was said that "a man wanting a bit of land had to take as many precautions as he would in Scotland to stalk a stag in a well-preserved deer forest." There was much to be said for the large landowner, but as a class he undoubtedly fought hard and deviously for his own hand. English himself, and sprung in some cases from the ruling class at Home, the Canterbury squatter had the idea of building up a great landed estate and founding a "county family." In doing so he made more than estates. He made history. His tactics gave a powerful impetus to Radicalism, the strongest plank in whose platform was "land reform." To this day Canterbury is the most English of New Zealand provinces, and Christchurch the most English of cities. In no other part of New Zealand are social distinctions so closely drawn. Yet Christchurch was for long the centre of Liberalism, Radicalism, and Socialism in New Zealand, and for many years the province sent a strong contingent of members to Wellington to support the land legislation of Liberal Governments. It is not only in mechanics that action and re-action are equal and opposite.

Much of the buying during the boom was done with borrowed money and on margins that could only hold so long as prices held and money was plentiful. When the collapse came at the end of the decade, numbers of farmers and speculators were crippled or ruined, and lenders were saddled with a great body of unsaleable property. It was a merry time while it lasted. The golden age seemed to have arrived, and the general idea was to make money quickly and let the future take care of itself.

CHAPTER VI.—ABOLITION OF THE PROVINCES.

The Weld Ministry, of "self-reliant" fame, had given way in 1865 to another Stafford combination, which lasted until the middle of 1869. Fox then became Premier again, and his Ministry, in which Vogel, as Treasurer, was the outstanding figure, lived from 1869 to 1872, when Stafford turned it out by a narrow majority on a resolution attacking its administration. But since Stafford was without the services of the indispensable McLean, as Native Minister, his Government was not stable; and, by a still narrower majority, he was defeated a month later. The new Premier was Mr. Waterhouse, a Legislative Councillor of brief standing; Vogel was the real power in the Ministry. Waterhouse, tired of being a figure-head, resigned a few months later; and Fox kept the place for Vogel until the latter's return from Australia. Vogel took the helm in 1873,



Mosgiel Woollen Mills, Otago.

[By kind permission of the Mosgiel Woollen Coy.]



Pataka, or Maori Food Store.

[H. Winkelmann photo]

1866-72]

and included among his officers Major Harry Atkinson, the capable Taranaki soldier-farmer, who during the next seventeen years was to play a distinguished part in politics as Premier, Treasurer, and chief figure in what is known as the Continuous Ministry.

Before we pass to the next important scene in the drama, we may take note of some stepping-stones in the Colony's material and intellectual progress. New Zealand's isolation was being reduced. The year 1866 saw the beginning of the first regular steam mail service with England, by way of Panama; and four years later the San Francisco service was inaugurated. In 1876, New Zealand was connected by cable with the Old World through Australia. The New Zealand Shipping Company, with its fleet of sailing ships running Home with wool, and out with immigrants—steamers came a few years later—was established in 1873; and two years later the Union Steamship Company was founded, whose red-funnelled fleet, managed from New Zealand, was to carry the bulk of New Zealand coastal and New Zealand-Australian traffic, and to trade as far as Calcutta, Vancouver, and London. The New Zealand University, which is an examining, but not a teaching, body, was established in 1870; and the Otago University, founded in the previous year, was subsequently affiliated to it. In 1873, the Canterbury Provincial Council set up Canterbury College, another affiliated institution. One or two other Acts of the Colonial Parliament should be noted. The establishment in 1869 of the Government Life Insurance Department, and in 1872, of the Public Trust Office, were early and interesting invasions of the domain of private enterprise. The first arose out of the weakening of confidence in English

insurance companies; the idea was to give policyholders a feeling of complete security, by placing the State credit behind their policies. The Public Trust Office was established to give security to inheritors of estates, and relieve their relatives and friends of responsibility. It has grown into a great and flourishing institution, with invested capital totalling many millions. Like the King, the Public Trustee never dies. He never neglects his business for the races, never catches the overseas mail steamer in a guilty hurry, and never provides a sensational bankruptcy or embezzlement at the expense of his clients. The State guarantees all estates vested in his Common Fund. Another important legislative measure of the time was the introduction from Australia of the Torrens system of land transfer. The familiar "land transfer title" is the outcome of a reform that has saved much money, trouble, and litigation. These three measures are part of New Zealand's debt to Vogel.

The doom of the provinces was now approaching. This had been foreseen by some when the public works policy was agreed to in 1870; and there was a rush to sell provincial lands while there was time, and spend the proceeds. Nevertheless, the rapidity with which so great and far-reaching a change was made is surprising. It is noteworthy that Vogel, the leader of the new movement, had been an ardent provincialist, and one of the chiefs of the provincialist party. But his reversal of opinion was not quite so sudden as it appeared to be. The failure of his scheme of land reservation must have shaken his provincialist views. Even at the outset he had stated that if his public works and immigration policy was interfered with by existing institutions, he would remodel those institutions

rather than abandon his schemes. Two years later he confessed himself "appalled" by the difficulty of reconciling conflicting claims and tendencies of provincialism and centralism. In the session of 1874 his decision was announced with dramatic suddenness. He introduced a State Forests Bill, to conserve existing forests and make provision for planting. (Even at that early stage the reckless and wasteful destruction of forests was causing anxiety; but it was not until forty-five years later that the State began to grapple seriously with the problem.) Provincialists in Parliament objected to a bill that, according to one member, sought to take two million acres of provincial land and, according to another, proposed to spend less in one year throughout the whole colony than Canterbury alone was spending on afforestation. The Bill, it was contended, was a cover for ulterior designs. Two days after this collision, Vogel announced that the Government had received assurances of support for the abolition of provinces in the North Island, and a few days later he moved in the House to this effect. The debate was memorable for a dramatic incident. When Vogel sat down, Mr. G. Maurice (afterwards, Sir Maurice) O'Rorke, a member of the Ministry, and subsequently for many years Speaker of the House, rose and startled the House by vehemently dissociating himself from his chief's proposals, and declaring that he refused to sacrifice his provincialist principles. He then walked out of the Chamber, to hand his resignation to the Governor. The protest and defection had no effect; the motion was carried by 41 votes to 16. The Opposition sought unsuccessfully to make an appeal to the country a preliminary to the change; but the Government carried a recommendation that abolition in the North Island should be followed by "an inexpensive,

but more thorough, form of local government." Vogel left for England to negotiate another loan, and in his absence Dr. Pollen acted as Premier. When Vogel returned in 1876 abolition had been accomplished.

In the last chapter we had a glimpse of the clash between provinces and Central Government. In his valuable note on the subject, contributed to "The Constitutional History and Law of New Zealand" (Hight and Bamford), Dr. J. W. McIlwraith has enumerated some thirty factors, ranging from vexatious quarantine regulations operating in the ports of one province against the ships of another, and the provincial control of police, preventing co-operation and causing unnecessary expenditure, to the making of organised provincial raids on the central treasury, and the baneful influence generally of provincial outlook in national politics. This provincial pressure was a potent factor in the abolition movement. Vogel complained that before Parliament could be induced to consent to expenditure on public works, the provinces had to be placated, for which reason the eight millions he should have spent on railways were reduced to six and a-half. Atkinson, who so ably led the attack in Vogel's absence, referred to the provinces as "nine sturdy mendicants."* The Treasurer had really to budget for nine governments besides his own; and Atkinson's strongest argument for abolition was an appeal to the principle that the power which raised the taxes should be the spending power, and directly responsible to the people who paid them. The public works policy had dealt provincialism a deadly blow. It enormously increased the power and patronage of the Central Government, and, incidentally, depressed the credit of the provinces on the London market. The

*The phrase was Fitzherbert's.

Central Government needed money to finance the ambitious new policy, and the swollen land revenue of the South was, says Reeves, "a glittering bait to the politicians at Wellington." Curiously enough, Canterbury, where the land revenue glittered most brilliantly, joined the central provinces in leaning towards abolition. The Canterbury abolitionists, with a simple faith in human nature, counted upon the province being left with its land fund after provincial government had gone. There was a widespread feeling that the country was over-governed. To new settlers especially, it seemed unnecessary that a population greatly less than half a million (it was 400,000 in the year of abolition) should support a dozen legislative chambers. Colonisation and improvement of communication were dissolving the conditions that had made provincial government necessary. With all their faults, the provincial governments had done admirable work, most of which would have been done less efficiently in the earlier days of the Constitution if it had been left to the Central Government. The provinces had been isolated outposts of colonisation, where the task to hand was best done by the man on the spot. Their assemblies had been schools of statesmanship, not only for local affairs, but for the political arena of the capital, to which many members passed. But the time had come when, for the good of the whole colony, this strongly entrenched system of local government, with its multiplicity of conflicting powers and interests, must yield to the hampered central authority.

If the struggle was short, it was fierce. Auckland and Otago were the strongholds of provincialism, and Auckland led forth the greatest protagonist of the cause. Sir George Grey was living in his beautiful island retreat of Kawau, near Auckland, when the

call came. To him provincial government was an integral part of his beloved Constitution; so he accepted the invitation of the Auckland people to take the field in its defence. They elected him superintendent of the province, and sent him as a private member to the Parliament that, a few years before, had acknowledged him as Governor. Grey was now over sixty, and there had seemed to be nothing left for him but some years of literary and philosophical ease amidst books, pictures, and visitors at his island home. Yet on the threshold of old age, with a long life of strenuous activity behind him, and a constitution far from robust, he was about to open another remarkable chapter in that brilliant, strange, and baffling career. Plunging into the fight, he revealed himself as an orator who could sway crowds and create hero-worship. To the business of oratory he brought vision, intense and intolerant conviction, passionate and imaginative expression, and appeal to principle. When the Abolition Bill was presented to Parliament in the session of 1875, Grey at once took the lead in opposing it, and formed the first regular Opposition in the Colony's history. The idea of confining abolition to the North Island had been abandoned. Complete abolition was now the Government's policy, wrapped up in a pair of crude bills that retained provincial districts and provincial laws with the right of appeal, ear-marked the provincial land funds for provincial purposes, and promised heavy subsidies to new local bodies. Grey assailed the Abolition Bill passionately on two main grounds. He challenged the constitutional ability of the Central Parliament to sweep away provincial institutions, and thundered against the idea of such a change being made without an appeal to the electors by a Parliament that was nearing its end, and had been elected on a system of unequal distribution.

The first ground was a matter of opinion; the second a matter of fact. Representation was so unequal that, while one constituency had 103 voters, another had 612, a third 1139, and a fourth 1600. Grey threatened to resist "to the death," and Auckland echoed his threat by talk of taking up arms. The Opposition ridiculed the financial provisions of the scheme, and defended provincial administration. Auckland opponents made a strong point of the reservation for local purposes of the Southern land funds, which they contended should be applied nationally. On the other hand, some Southern members opposed abolition on the ground that these funds would be absorbed by the Central Government. Excitement ran high inside and outside the House, and public meetings sought to strengthen members' hands. The proposals were in the capable hands of Atkinson, who was the exact antithesis of Grey, a plain, blunt, practical man who eschewed flights of oratory, and walked sure-footedly on the firm earth. He possessed what was far more effective in Parliament than Grey's oratorical gifts, a grasp of detail. He had the best of the argument. Indeed, opponents of the scheme could hardly deny that some sort of reform was needed. The objections to the Government's procedure, and to its substitutes for the provincial governments, did not meet the essential arguments as to the inherent evils of the existing system. The Opposition fought long and doggedly, with a following applauding outside; but Atkinson prevailed. A concession was eventually granted in the postponement of the Abolition Act until after the forthcoming general election. This did not amount to very much, for abolition was thus presented to the electors as an accomplished fact; and the knowledge that repeal would deprive districts of subsidies weighed against the provincial party. Parliament

loaded the dice still further by forbidding the Provincial Councils to meet until after its next session. The elections resulted in a victory for the centralists; but in the session of 1876 the provincialists continued the struggle. Grey pressed the question of legality, and even cabled to the Colonial Secretary stating that disturbances were imminent if the Act was allowed to operate. But the Government's resolution was as firm as its majority was compact and strong; and on November 1st, 1876, the day after Parliament rose, the provincial governments ceased to exist. To complete the story, it may be mentioned here that the land funds were soon absorbed by the Government.

Thus the provinces passed away as political entities. There has never been any serious attempt to revive them; but there have been many regrets that in abolishing them the Government swung so far in the other direction of centralisation. Indifferent use was made of the opportunity of establishing a system of local government in their places. A Local Government Act of 1876 established sixty-three counties to take the place of the provinces, and what with these, borough councils, road boards, and other bodies, New Zealand was covered with a network of local administration. But in many important respects the Central Government retained the power of the purse, and the very evil that had done so much to overthrow the provinces—the pressure of local interests—was perpetuated in the new system. Atkinson's "nine sturdy mendicants" became ninety-and-nine, crowding and clamouring round the source of grants and subsidies like gulls round a fish's head. From every electorate there went up to the capital a vapour of entreaties, petitions, arguments, and threats, and the gods there, far from reclining "careless of mankind," paid heed that was often contrary to the general good.

PART IV.
THE PERIOD OF GENERAL
GOVERNMENT

(From 1876 onward)

(BY ALAN E. MULGAN)

CHAPTER I—THE CONTINUOUS MINISTRY
AND THE BAD TIMES.

Vogel did not remain long in New Zealand. Resuming the Premiership in February 1876, he resigned in the following September, in order to succeed the late Dr. Featherston as Agent-General in London. That he should take such a step downwards at the age of forty-one, with his great work of development only half completed, indicated a strain of restlessness and cosmopolitanism. Atkinson succeeded him. The change was one of many that occurred in the life, or series of resurrections, of that political party, combination, or series of combinations, known as the Continuous Ministry. Reeves, who touches it with his usual deftness and felicity, describes this Ministry as perhaps the most interesting and curious feature of the period from 1870 to 1890, for much the greater part of which it was in office. He sets its birth at 1869. Sir Edward Stafford kept it out of office for a month in 1872; Sir George Grey for two years 1877-79; and the Stout-Vogel Ministry for three years, from 1884 to 1887. It held office from 1887 until the beginning of 1891, when it finally disappeared. The Continuous Ministry was an arrangement or system "by which the Cabinet was from time to time modified without being completely changed at any one moment. It might be likened to the pearly nautilus which passes, by gradual growth and movement, from

cell to cell in slow succession, or more prosaically, to that oft-repaired garment which at last consisted entirely of patches. Like the nautilus, too, it had respectable sailing and floating powers. The continuous process was rather the outcome of rapidly changing conditions and personal exigencies, than of any set plan or purpose." Fox, Vogel, Atkinson, Hall, and Whitaker were its chief leaders, all of whom held the Premiership. Atkinson was head of the Ministry three (strictly speaking, four) times, and Vogel, after occupying it twice on Atkinson's side, held office in an opposition combination. It began by being provincialist and plunging boldly into huge expenditure, yet it abolished the provinces and, while it continued to borrow, had perforce to address itself to the stern task of retrenchment. When it started on its long career there were no party divisions, as we know them now, but the rise of radical Liberalism identified it with Conservatism, and, indeed, rallied the conservative elements to its banner. But to that identification by which the Continuous Ministry is chiefly remembered to-day, important reservations must in justice be added. No party, even in an environment much more rigid than New Zealand's, is wholly and always conservative. The New Zealand party or combination that came to be associated with conservatism in general and land monopoly in particular, was responsible for many progressive measures. It founded the Government Life Insurance Department and the Public Trust Office; simplified the system of land transfer; established a University; introduced the measure that became the Act establishing our national system of primary education; produced in Mr. William Rolleston a Minister of Lands with views that would have qualified him for a place in a Liberal Cabinet; and

supplied, in one of its chiefs, Sir John Hall, the foremost advocate of women's suffrage. As we shall see, it passed into law some of the most important proposals of Sir George Grey's Liberal Ministry.

With the fall of the provinces, important political developments were imminent. Abolition of the provincial parliaments greatly increased the importance of, and the popular interest in, the General Assembly. Especially far-reaching in its results was the transfer of land control and legislation. In this young community the land question transcended all others in political importance, and with the change from provincialism to centralism popular interest in its many phases could be concentrated on one Parliament and one Government. Men with advanced views on closer settlement, tenures, land taxation, and the monopoly that had already become dangerous, at once saw their opportunity. The parliamentary fight over abolition had created an Opposition, and its leader was a Radical in most respects, and on the land question advanced and passionately in earnest. Grey was that not uncommon mixture, an autocrat in temper and a democrat in ideas. He could carry away an audience with the fervour of his solicitude for the "unborn millions," but he could not bear to be thwarted. As a young officer he had done duty in Ireland—that sombre instructor through black example—and the tragedy of the Irish land system deeply impressed his sensitive and observant mind and helped to make him a life-long enemy of agrarian oppression and monopoly. It was to cheapen land to the settler that, as Governor, he had reduced the price of land years before, and thereby unwittingly encouraged the aggregation that he was now to challenge. He continued to lead the opposition to Atkinson's Ministry. Thus was born

the Liberal-Labour Party, which subsequently was to hold office for more than twenty consecutive years. Addressing the people from the platform, he placed before them a programme that was democratic and advanced. His policy was triennial instead of quinquennial parliaments; one man one vote (the franchise was then partly on a property basis, and there was plural voting); a land tax; land settlement based on lease rather than sale; and restriction of the area that any one man could hold. In October, 1877, Atkinson's Ministry was defeated on a no-confidence motion by 42 votes to 38, and Grey became Premier of the Colony that he had twice ruled as Governor.

The legislative feature of the session of 1877 was the Act that founded the New Zealand system of free, compulsory, and secular education. Education had been a provincial matter, and with abolition it became the duty of the Government to frame a national fabric. Atkinson's Minister of Justice, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Charles Bowen, a Canterbury pioneer, who had done good work for education in his own district, introduced a Bill that founded a national system administered from Wellington through elected committees and boards. Education was to be compulsory, but not entirely free. School was to be opened daily with the Lord's Prayer and a Bible reading, but liberty of conscience was respected. The Opposition helped to make the new system fully free and secular. Ever since then the question of religious instruction in schools has been a public issue, but Governments, backed by opinion, have steadily refused to weaken the secular basis.*

Grey held office for two troublous and disappointing years. When he went in, his majority was small and precarious, and the Governor, the Marquis of Normanby, refused to grant a dissolution so that the

*Vide page 168.

feeling of the country might be tested. The Ministry lacked driving force and cohesion, and its personnel underwent several changes. Its most notable members after Grey were two young men who afterwards rose to be Premier. Mr. John Ballance, Treasurer for part of the two years, had made his mark as a journalist and a cavalry officer during the war. A Liberal-Radical in politics, he held advanced views on the land question, to which he brought the experience of the son of a farmer from the North of Ireland. Mr. Robert Stout (afterwards Sir Robert) known to a subsequent generation as Chief Justice, was a barrister of mark from Dunedin, who carried into politics the equipment of unusual forensic ability, some Radical opinions, a voracious capacity for work, and a self-confidence as strong as his interests were wide. Mr. Stout, however, resigned for private reasons, and Grey quarrelled with, and lost, the unquarrelsome Ballance, his most valuable colleague. It was a mistake for him to take over the Treasury from Ballance's capable hands. The Government's land legislation aroused alarm and consolidated opposition, and, as we shall see presently, the Ministry encountered the gravest misfortune of colonial politics, bad times. But Grey's worst enemy was himself. Both by temperament and the shortcomings of his political equipment he was unfitted to be Premier and leader of either a popular party or a popular assembly. His temper was autocratic and sometimes peevish, though no one could be more charming at times; his mind rigid in conviction and averse to compromise and accommodation; his view of opponents almost entirely lacking in charity. Every wrong, real or fancied, entered into his soul and left a festering wound. For example, he never forgave

Lord Normanby for refusing him a dissolution, and the Premier shook his fist at the Governor at a meeting of the Executive Council. Grey took politics too seriously and too bitterly. Scorn has been poured upon the idea that politics are a game, but it is better that they should be a game than a vendetta. An infusion of the sporting spirit may be inexcusable levity to the ultra-serious, but it softens asperities, promotes chivalry, and oils the wheels of business. Grey had none of this spirit. He lived too much in the clouds, and like the old gods, mingled human frailties with his Olympian ways. The result of it all was that he stiffened opposition, and estranged support. In his biography of Grey's great successor,* Mr. James Drummond says of Grey, with more truth than kindness, that "the only people he did not quarrel with were the public and the Maoris, both of whom he treated as children." As a practical politician, he had serious defects. Such hot-foot eloquence as he used in stating principles does not by itself carry a leader far in a representative assembly. It is much more important that he should be a ready debater and a master of detail, prepared to submit cheerfully to the unlimited drudgery that falls to every leader who has to pilot legislation through a critical House. Beside this man of genius, Atkinson and Hall, his principal opponents, were merely men of talent, but they were far superior to him in this practical everyday work of Parliament.

Grey, however, gave to New Zealand Liberalism its greatest impetus. He founded the Liberal party, and began to build its great fabric of achievement. Yet the record of his Ministry's two years of office, though important, was comparatively small. A land tax on the unimproved value of estates of over £500

*"Life and Work of Richard John Seddon," by James Drummond.

was the principal measure, the forerunner of the land taxation of the 'nineties and after. Customs duties on a large number of articles, including such necessities as tea and coffee, were repealed or reduced. The foundation of an income tax was laid in a levy on companies. The Government attempted to reform the franchise, under which only 64,000 electors were registered out of an adult male population of 122,000. These 64,000 included the numerous men who had votes in more than one electorate. The measure was not heroic. It extended the franchise to all adult males, but retained plural voting. Grey refused to accept an amendment by the Legislative Council, and the Bill did not become law. When Parliament assembled in 1879 the Opposition was confident, and the Government and its followers far from happy. The boom of prosperity was bursting, and the general depression told on the Government's finance. When Grey took office the finances were buoyant, and the outlook rosy; soon after he left office his successor estimated the deficiency at nearly a million. The end of the Ministry came in July, when Fox carried an amendment to the Address-in-Reply. The defeated Government was granted a dissolution, on condition that it should be immediate and that the new Parliament should be summoned at the earliest moment.

Amid strong excitement and much bitterness the elections were held in September. Grey again threw himself heart and soul into the business of campaigning, travelling from centre to centre, invading the enemy's strongholds, and making impassioned speeches. If only speeches had counted, it has been said, the victory would have been beyond doubt. As it was, Grey seemed to have the best of the contest. All the members of the Government were returned,

but Fox and Whitaker were defeated. On the other hand Hall, who had been in the Council, entered the House to strengthen the Opposition. The new Parliament met immediately. Hall, now leader of the Opposition, moved a motion of no-confidence, which on October 3rd, 1879, amid a scene of excitement that has rarely been equalled in the New Zealand Parliament, was carried by two votes. Five days later Hall formed a Ministry, in which Atkinson was Treasurer.

The new Ministry's position, however, was highly unstable, and in the following days it was defeated more than once. The air was heavy with uncertainty and intrigue. A situation that might have produced an endless and unprofitable instability or have led to another appeal to the country, was determined in a manner that provided one of the sensations of New Zealand politics. Four Auckland members, followers of Grey, went over to Hall. No incident of the kind has provoked so much criticism and recrimination as what was inelegantly described as the desertion of the "rats." But there is a good deal to be said for their action. They made it one of their conditions that Hall should carry into effect the Liberal measures they had pledged themselves to support. It would have been better had they not coupled this with the condition that more public money should be spent in Auckland. They could contend that stability of Government was the need of the hour, and that so long as Liberal laws were passed it did not matter who put them through. There was also this justification for their action, that Grey had ceased to be acceptable to his own party. No sooner had Grey been turned out of office than he was told by his followers that as their leader he had been a failure. "They told him plainly," says

Drummond, "that his overbearing actions had estranged members of the party, and that he was a stumbling block in the way of the very reforms he had placed before the people." Macandrew, of Otago, was appointed in his place. "I am, indeed, an outcast among men," said the old warrior, to the House he had adorned, but could not manage. But he had his revenge. Hall announced that he would take in hand triennial Parliaments, universal suffrage, and other changes which he had formerly opposed. The two first reforms were promptly enacted, and the new Premier capped his enforced compliment to his defeated opponent by taking Grey's Electoral Bill as the basis for his own Act. For Grey, however, there was to be no more office. For another ten years or more he was to sit in Parliament, a lonely and embittered figure, a vehement and untiring critic of the Government and advocate of reform, still a power in politics, but without hope of rallying under his own leadership the party that he had inspired. We may here trace the remainder of that long and extraordinary career. Auckland stood by him for as long as he cared to be a member. In 1891 he was sent as a delegate from New Zealand to the conference on Australian federation held in Sydney. There he not only made his mark by the courage of his convictions in the conference, but undertook a triumphal tour of the country, during which he moved audience after audience by his ideals and the eloquence in which he clothed them. In 1894 he left New Zealand suddenly and quietly for England, where he spent the last and most peaceful four years of his life, reconciled, as a biographer puts it, to the Colonial Office and his country. He died in 1898, at the age of 86, and the Colonial Office paid a last and fitting tribute to its old servant and enemy by asking

that he be buried in St. Paul's. As he was laid there among his peers, men agreed to forget his faults and remember him as one of the greatest figures that the Empire's colonial history had produced.

While Grey was fighting for his political life, the country was given something vital to think about besides politics. In 1879, the period of feverish prosperity, speculation and inflation came suddenly to an end. A fall in the prices of wheat and wool, the two staple products, and a decline in the gold output, were too much for a community that had made the pace so swiftly and light-heartedly for some years. As a matter of fact, though this would have been no comfort to the distressed colonists, New Zealand was involved in the downward world movement of prices that began in the 'seventies and ended in the middle 'nineties. A great deal of money had been borrowed on land security, and when prices fell as they did, lenders as well as borrowers were involved in difficulty and disaster. "In some districts," says Reeves, "three-fourths of the prominent colonists were ruined." Spending capacity was reduced, and unemployment increased. The colony had been given a dose of immigration too heavy for complete assimilation, and the sudden depression intensified the trouble, yet immigrants continued to pour in. The task of the new Government was most difficult. Depression was to prove no transient affair, but a movement extending over years. Falling prices, national deficits, foreclosure on inflated securities, unemployment and widespread distress, were features of the time. Hall and Atkinson grappled with the problem. They carried out a policy of economy that included an all-round reduction of ten per cent. in the salaries and wages paid by the Government. They increased taxation,

raised more money through the Customs, and in place of the land and income taxes, imposed a tax on all property, exclusive of income. This tax brought in revenue, but the unpopularity caused by the unfairness of its incidence cost the Government dear. Public works construction went on, but at a slower pace.

The interest of the story of the next decade lies more in general affairs than in politics. It was a period of recovery from the boom of the 'seventies, and adjustment to new and painful conditions. From 1879 to 1890 and beyond stretched the "bad times." They were not so disastrous as some times of depression in older countries, but they were sufficiently trying to form a noticeably dark chapter in New Zealand history. In 1882 Atkinson congratulated the country on having recovered from the first wave. It would have been more accurate to say that the first shock had been successfully withstood. Prices continued to fall, and the outlook was, perhaps, at its worst in 1885 and 1886. Local manufacturing had not been developed sufficiently to absorb the artisans who poured into the country; it was not until towards the end of the decade that a protective tariff was imposed. The result was a deplorable exodus. "Thousands of disappointed men," says Scholefield, "efficient, industrious, and temperate, left the Colony in despair." Many sought better fortune in Australia. Some even appealed to the President of the United States for assistance to emigrate to America. Between 1885 and 1891 the excess of departures over arrivals was twenty thousand. For those who remained—especially the town dwellers—times were hard. Soup-kitchens made their appearance. The supply of labour was greater than the demand, wages fell, and the worker had to

take the worst of the situation. Though the Sweating Commission that investigated industry at the end of the decade found (by a majority) that sweating, as practised in London and elsewhere, did not exist, it was difficult to distinguish in essence between certain English conditions and the worst that New Zealand could show, and some of the revelations of that time shocked the community and profoundly affected the course of politics and of industrial legislation. Shackled by circumstance, labour could do little to protect itself. We read of eighty-three boys and three girls to twenty-seven men in a group of saddlers' shops, and twenty boys to four men in a cabinet-maker's factory. Girls worked long hours for a few shillings a week, or perhaps were employed for a year or so at no wage at all, and then dismissed to make way for more "learners." There were girls in the clothing trade earning 1s. 3d. a day on piece-work, and boys in the saddlery trade averaging 7s 6d. for a week of fifty hours. The evil of unchecked and unsupervised homework, sometimes done after a day in the factory, had become established, and the pitiful stories of seamstresses pained and astonished people who had thought that in this new land "The Song of the Shirt" could never be sung. A baker declared that he had to work thirteen or fourteen hours a day to earn a pound a week, and that when he moved to a slightly easier place, he was turned away to make room for a lad at less than half that wage. Conditions such as overcrowding and want of ventilation were sometimes in keeping with hours and wages, so that when inspectors came to administer the factory laws of a few years later they ordered alterations and improvements in nearly a thousand factories in the first three months.

But the picture was far from being wholly dark. The country worked hard and kept its head above water. Throughout the decade exports only once fell below six millions in value, and by the end they exceeded nine millions. Gold fell away, but the drop in wool prices was balanced by the greatly increased output. The clip of 1879 was 62,000,000 pounds; that of 1889 was 102,000,000 pounds. But, what was more important, a new and great industry was founded. When in 1882 the sailing ship *Dunedin* carried in her freezing chambers a cargo of mutton and lamb from Port Chalmers to London, and landed it there in such good condition that it brought 6½d per lb., a new industrial era was opened for New Zealand. Australia had been the partially successful pioneer in this application of refrigeration, and New Zealand completed the exploration. The need of the sheep farmer for a new kind of market had induced one of the large New Zealand land companies to make the experiment. Hitherto he had been almost entirely dependent upon his wool for a return from his land. In 1880 the Colony's flocks totalled thirteen million sheep. The number drawn off from these to supply the local meat market was trifling, so sheep either died of old age, or were killed off by their owners, or were sold to the boiling-down works at sixpence a head, to be converted into manure. Wool was the thing, and the animal that gave it was a by-product. This dependence on wool, the price of which was never steady, was bad for the farmer and the community. There were too many eggs in one basket. Squatters and Colonial Treasurers followed the wool market with the anxiety of a captain watching the weather in the middle of a test match. A change of a penny a pound in London meant a difference of a quarter of a million in New Zealand, and when extension of settlement was succeeded by a series of bad seasons,

the need for finding a market for the sheep itself grew urgent. The success of the first shipment established an industry that developed with no serious check. Steamers entered the trade, and in a few years drove out the sailing ship. The value of exported meat increased steadily year by year; in 1882 it was £1,900; in 1886, £427,000; in 1890, a million. The importance of the industry was enormous. It gave farmers a second string to their bow, and made farming in smaller holdings easier, thus helping to break up big estates, and curb the power of the squatter. It operated to stabilise the finance of the whole country. The *Dunedin's* experiment was the first step in an industry that sent in one year nearly twelve millions worth of mutton and beef to oversea markets.

Two events of note in the relations between Europeans and Maoris occurred in 1881. One was the consummation of peace in the Waikato. McLean's plan of holding out the hand of friendship, while not interfering with the sullen, resentful Kingites, had proved successful. Not even when white men, trespassing beyond the boundary line drawn by the King, were killed, did the Government take action. Ten years after the hunt for Te Kooti had ended, Tawhiao appeared in the Waikato, and in token of submission he and his people laid their guns at the feet of Major Mair, the Resident Officer. "It means peace," said Tawhiao, and it did. There was to be no more fear of war from this quarter, and the Upper Waikato soon ceased to be closed to the advance of white settlement. Three years later Tawhiao went to England to lay native grievances before the Queen, a fitting development in a career that began in arms against the same Queen's authority. When Tawhiao died, the title of King was handed on, but the office

has long been the merest shadow, and the sphere of influence a tiny island in the ever widening sea of European settlement.

The other event of 1881 was the culmination of a dispute in Taranaki that reflected little or no credit on the Government, and might have involved the country in another war. The trouble arose out of that fruitful source of blunder and bitterness, confiscation of native lands. Large areas had been confiscated in Taranaki, but the then Government undertook to restore land to natives who wished to return, and there was an express promise that the interests of loyalists would be safeguarded. It probably was not realised that under the peculiar system of Maori tenure it would not be easy to distinguish between rebels and loyalists in such reservations. The scene of this particular trouble was the land between Egmont and the sea, north-west of Patea. The wise McLean, for the sake of peace, had allowed the natives to return to the confiscated land so long as they behaved themselves and kept within a certain boundary, and had even negotiated with them for the purchase of land within this area. The Government had not fulfilled its promises about reservations for the natives, and even awards of the Compensation Court were not carried out. Loyal chiefs waited for years for their rewards in land. Not only did the Native Minister of Grey's Government admit that the West Coast was "strewn with unfulfilled promises," but a commission that enquired into the matter in 1880 condemned the record of successive Governments and recommended that reserves be set aside. In 1878 the Grey Government ordered a survey to be made of land south of Egmont, towards the native settlement of Parihaka. Mindful of the white man's promises, and no doubt remember-

ing what had happened at the Waitara, the natives resented the intrusion, especially when the surveyors took a road line through cultivations. Interference with the work followed. The leading spirit on the Maori side was Te Whiti, a prophet of great influence, who lived and preached at Parihaka. Te Whiti had been bitten by Hauhauism, and fought against the British in the early days of the Hauhau war, but later on had held his people aloof from strife. He had evolved a religion of his own, based on the Bible, and had developed into a kind of Maori Tolstoi, or a Te Kooti without blood-lust—a pacifist, a gifted orator, a mystic, and a man of magnetic personality, whose word to his followers was law. The Government and most white people thought him mad, but there was much method in his madness. He did not want white settlement near his people. He had the poorest opinion of what the whites regarded as progress, and he dreaded the introduction of the white man's vices. In order to test the validity of the invasion he instructed his followers to plough up white settlers' lands and invite arrest, so that the Government found itself embarrassed by hundreds of prisoners. The Government persisted in pushing on its preparations for settlement, and passed special Acts setting aside the ordinary processes of the law in dealing with obstructionists. Te Whiti sat and talked, but refused to assist the investigating commission. The Government ordered a strong force of armed constabulary to the spot, and in some quarters there was wild talk of extermination. The story of broken promises, invasion of returned land, suspension of habeas corpus, and the comedy-drama of the denouement, makes sorry reading now; but in justice to the Government and the settlers, it must be remembered that

memories of war were fresh and bitter, and dread of its recurrence real. The congregation of so many natives at Parihaka was regarded as dangerous. It was the old conflict between the races and their needs in a new form. At last, in 1881, the Government moved suddenly in the absence of the Governor (who subsequently disapproved of the action), and despatched the constabulary to Parihaka. The troops were met, not by warriors, but by a body of women and children, singing songs of welcome. The Native Minister, Mr John Bryce, rode in with the party, the Riot Act was read in an assembly that had strict orders from Te Whiti not to resist, arms were collected, houses were destroyed, and many natives arrested and deported from the district. On the bench of the Supreme Court, which had never been given an opportunity to judge the original dispute, the legality of the Government's proceedings was questioned. Under a special Act, Te Whiti was held for some time without trial before he was allowed to return to Parihaka, with the honours of the conflict. In the end reserves were set aside for the natives. So ended the last serious trouble with the Maoris. It probably would not have arisen had McLean lived to continue his policy of enlightened expediency.

In the meantime Hall and Atkinson grappled manfully with the task of keeping the ship of State afloat. For this they were well fitted, but a later generation, accustomed to connect them with rigid conservatism, has not appraised their work at its true value. Hall has been described as a born official, who became a useful statesman. Blessed with an insatiable appetite for work, he was one of the most competent departmental heads New Zealand has ever had. He was also skilled in debate, and a useful and acute critic of legislation. Atkinson worked as he had

fought, hard and directly, with little thought for theories. He, too, was conscientious and thorough, and his grasp of financial detail placed him in an unrivalled position. Hall, worn out by his labours, gave way to Whitaker in 1882, and Whitaker handed over to Atkinson in 1883. Atkinson was always the chief figure in the combination. Facing more than one deficit in national accounts, falling prices, shaking credit, unemployment, and general depression, the Ministry kept its feet until 1884.

Agitation against further sales of Crown land bore fruit in 1882, when Rolleston introduced a Land Bill which if it had been passed in its entirety, might have made history. He proposed to let one-third of the Crown Land on perpetual lease, at rents that were to be five per cent. on the unimproved value of the land, with re-valuation after thirty and, subsequently, twenty-one years. The Legislative Council, in which the land-holding interest was very strong, insisted on giving lessees the right of purchase at the prairie value, which was about £1 an acre, so soon as they had fenced the land and cultivated one-fifth of it. Rolleston objected strongly, but the Upper House had its way. The perpetual lease immediately became popular. More than a million acres were taken up on this tenure before ten years passed, and lessees had begun to acquire the freehold.

Politics were unstable. The Continuous Ministry owed its preservation largely to division in the Opposition caused by Grey, who remained a personal influence without a party. Vogel, the comet of New Zealand politics, reappeared, as buoyant as ever, and was received with enthusiasm in the South Island as the man to save the country. He was returned to Parliament at the election of 1884, and with him were twenty-three followers, the strongest group in the

House. Stout also returned to politics, and joined Vogel, Ballance, and others in plans for a new Ministry. According to Drummond, Grey was offered a place and not only refused it, but worked against the new combination. Atkinson resigned on August 16th, and Stout took office with Vogel as Treasurer, and Ballance in charge of Lands and Native Affairs. But there were many currents in Parliament. Men attached themselves to leaders as much as to parties. There was bitter personal antagonism between some of the leaders, and much provincial jealousy. The result was an unedifying period of intrigue and uncertainty. Stout's Ministry was defeated after a life of a few days, on a motion of no-confidence. The mover and Grey unsuccessfully attempted to form a working combination, and Drummond says there were negotiations for a coalition between the Atkinson party and the Stout-Vogel group, and that Atkinson offered to join in this arrangement. Atkinson formed a Ministry, but it was immediately thrown out, and the House, tired of a situation that was holding up the business of the country, put Stout and Vogel back on the Treasury benches. They took office again in September, 1884, and remained there until October, 1887.

Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that the Ministry's record was not impressive. The Government represented a combination rather than a cohesive party, and its two leaders had few points of agreement. Stout was a Liberal, and on the land question a Radical. Vogel had stood for the House of Commons in the Conservative interest. Moreover, his health was failing. Ministers had the misfortune to encounter a period of particularly bad times. In their reign, however, Parliament passed a considerable body of legislation. Local government was

extended and granted financial powers and responsibilities that lessened the evil of centralisation produced by the abolition of the provinces and the introduction of the public works policy. One result of this extension was that people took more interest in local government. From this period dates the system of dispensing charitable aid through district boards. Encouragement was given to new industries, but the Government could not carry its policy of protecting the local manufacturer through the tariff. The land laws were consolidated. Ballance was then unable to do what he did some years later, but he helped working men to obtain land in village settlements. Vogel, true to his bold confidence, was for pushing on public works vigorously, but this did not deter the Government from granting a private company the right to construct a railway between Canterbury and Westland, the line that was eventually completed by a tunnel under Arthur's Pass. This was the second important concession of the kind granted to private capital. The Grey Government gave up its idea of connecting Wellington, through its hills, with the western coastal strip and the Manawatu district, and a company of hopeful local capitalists, courageous in the face of depression, obtained leave to build the line. Completed in 1886, the Manawatu line was a connecting link of the first importance and a profitable investment. When in 1908, through communication was established with Auckland *via* this route, the line was taken over by the Government. The English company that obtained from the Stout-Vogel Government the right to connect Canterbury with Westland, and thence with Nelson, was less fortunate. Operations came to a standstill with the difficult mountain country between Canterbury Plains and Westland unpierced, and under the terms the

Government stepped in and took over the line. The company claimed damages, but the Privy Council sustained the Government's action. In the end Parliament voted the shareholders of the Midland Company £150,000 as compassionate allowance. The line was pushed on from the plains and a tunnel five and a-half miles long driven under the dividing range.

In 1886 New Zealand suffered its greatest disaster of nature. On the night of June 10th, a series of eruptions occurred on and near Mt. Tarawera, twenty miles from Rotorua. One side of the mountain was blown out, the famous and unique Pink and White Terraces at Lake Rotomahana were destroyed, and the countryside for miles around devastated by ashes. One hundred persons, mostly natives, perished. Dust fell so thickly at Tauranga (forty miles away) next morning that day was turned into the blackest of nights; at Auckland, more than 100 miles away, the sound of explosions led people to think that the expected Russians were at the gates; and the noise of the terrific forces operating was heard as far away as Wellington. The disaster proved to be no setback, but rather an advertisement for one of the most wonderful regions in the world. Rotorua to-day is the chief tourist centre in the Dominion, a flourishing town with some thousands of inhabitants.

"The Stout-Vogel Government," says Drummond, "struggled through three stormy years of existence, fighting its opponents with one hand, and fending off the depression, the unemployed and clamouring Labour with the other." In May, 1887, the Ministry was defeated in the House on its tariff proposals, and Parliament was dissolved. Atkinson made his campaign one of two watchwords, "Retrenchment" and "No More Vogelism and Extravagance," and coming back with a majority, succeeded

Stout as Premier in October. Stout, indeed, lost his seat in Dunedin to a young candidate, Mr. James Allen, who 25 years afterwards took office as Minister of Finance, Education and Defence in the first Reform Government. Vogel left for England, and did not return. Indeed, it seemed as if the Liberal Party was in a parlous state, for it met the Government without a leader. Atkinson again had to face an exceedingly difficult position—a deficit in the finances, the familiar condition of falling prices, and an exodus of population. He grasped the financial problem with his usual courage. He economised in departmental expenditure, cut down the salaries of the Governor, Ministers and Members, and reduced the membership of the House of Representatives. Moved partly by necessity for more revenue, and partly by the new popular desire for protection for struggling industries, he took up revision of the tariff. Public opinion was being agitated by the impossibility of local industries competing against the flood of imported goods, with resultant unemployment and distress, and in the autumn of 1888 an influential Industrial Protection League was founded. In the session of that year Atkinson, besides increasing the duties on liquor and tea, proposed a substantial measure of protection for boot, clothing, and machinery makers, and workers in metals. This instalment antagonised many of his free trade followers, and the proposals were passed with the help of protectionists in the Opposition. Since then a system of moderate, but increasing, protection for established industries has been the almost unchallenged policy of New Zealand Governments.

For some years the Liberal Party had been struggling under the severe handicaps of divided ranks, want of a clear-cut attractive policy, and lack

of a leader capable of presenting it to the country. Brighter days were now in sight. There was plenty of ability in the party. The Opposition confronting Atkinson included Ballance, Mr. Richard Seddon, Mr. John McKenzie, the great land-reform evangelist, Mr. Joseph Ward and Mr. W. P. Reeves. In 1889 the party, now numbering forty in a House of ninety-five members, organised itself into a regular Opposition, with Ballance as leader. The two parties at once met in a fight over an item of Conservative policy to which Liberals took the greatest exception—the property tax. Though Atkinson was victorious, it was by a small majority. Outside Parliament, Liberal opinion was beginning to take definite and powerful form. There was widespread dissatisfaction with things as they were. Bad times turn men's thoughts to change, and are always unfavourable to existing governments. This particular Government seemed to have no remedy for the ills of the day. It had nothing to offer the unemployed. Public feeling began to be stirred by the revelations of sweating, which, by the way, were first brought to notice by the "Otago Daily Times," a Conservative newspaper. The property tax was unpopular, because it made no distinction between the uses to which property was put or the profits it returned. The man with unsaleable goods was on the same footing as the man who drew a return from land, and the professional man or business manager earning a substantial income might pay nothing. The demand for an income tax and a land tax increased. The land question forced its way to the front. In a young country where there were great tracts of magnificent land and a mere handful of population, aggregation and monopoly had been allowed to develop. They had their roots in the early days of the colony, in Wakefield's policy of a "suffi-

cient price," and had been watered by Grey's unfortunate policy of cheap and unrestricted selection, and by the boom of the 'seventies. To condemn the large landowner unreservedly is a shallow view. He did a great work for the infant colony. He pioneered, broke in country, and provided the State with the sinews of peace and war. A bold and comprehensive policy of land settlement could hardly have succeeded while the country's markets were so restricted. Now the need for weakening the monopoly of the large landowner and promoting closer settlement was forcing itself on public attention. Between 1868 and 1880 the area of land under cultivation* increased six-fold, but the number of settlers had little more than doubled. When Atkinson was struggling with the finances in the early 'eighties, more than nine million acres were in the hands of 490 men, and there were 250 freehold estates of more than 10,000 acres each. In 1891, when the great political change that we are approaching had arrived, there were 337 holdings of 10,000 acres and over, two-thirds of the whole area of freehold was held by 2259 individuals, and it was a grievance that upwards of a million acres were owned by fifty absentees. According to a statement made in Parliament in 1894, taking rural holdings of not less than five acres each, 470 landholders held fifteen millions worth of land, unimproved value, while 38,465 held £23,393,000. Much of the land held by squatters was fit only to be held in large runs, but events were to show that there was a great deal that could be put to much more profitable use. Laws passed to prevent aggregation of estates did not apply to existing holdings, and were often evaded. The right to purchase land from the Maoris, who in the language of a Royal Commission, were "plied always with cash and often with spirits,"

*Including sown grasses



The Colonial Office, Downing Street, London.

[Topical Press photo]



[Govt. Publicity photo]

An Exhibit of New Zealand Lamb Carcasses.

helped to swell the evils of aggregation and monopoly, and had brought little benefit to the natives. Small wonder was it, therefore, that the land question, with all its aspects of tenure, monopoly, taxation, and use, became one of the political factors of the hour.

During these years democracy, and especially the working-class portion of it, was stirring. Workers were organising in unions. Men were influenced by a wave of socialistic thought from abroad, and by the distress of their class in New Zealand and elsewhere. The great dockers' strike in London in 1889, had an important influence on working-class thought in Australasia, and the fact that money was sent Home to the strikers showed that distance did not prevent workers from making common cause. Then came the great maritime strike of 1890. It arose in Australia out of a dispute between ships' officers and owners. The officers had affiliated with other unions to strengthen their hands in a demand for higher wages, and the owners made it a condition that they should withdraw. When the officers decided to fight, the seamen supported them, and the wharf labourers came out in sympathy. The owners, moved by the growing aggressiveness of the unions, as well as by this particular cause of war, resolved that it should be a fight to the finish. New Zealand was dragged into the conflict, against the wish of even the workers concerned, it would seem, through a spirit of solidarity on both sides; and the fact that the Union Steamship Company traded to Australia and was a member of the Shipowners' Association. Wharf labourers in Sydney refused to work ships from New Zealand, and employment of non-union labour precipitated a strike on the company's vessels. In New Zealand wharf labourers followed the seamen, and sea-borne trade was seriously dislocated. Public

opinion, however, was strongly against the strike, and plenty of free labour was available. When fifty railway hands, ordered to go to Lyttelton to unload goods that were to be carried by rail, refused to fight their brother unionists, the management dismissed them. The strike lasted three months in New Zealand, and ended in the complete defeat of the men. Both in New Zealand and Australia the employers would accept no other terms; they had the upper hand, and they determined to make the most of it. Reeves comments on the refusal of the employers to meet the unions in conference, that strongly as public opinion ran against unionism, it was this attitude of the masters that gave the advocates of State arbitration their first chance. It happened that the men's surrender in New Zealand occurred shortly before the triennial general election. Naturally the defeated men and their sympathisers turned to politics for compensation. The Atkinson Government had declined to interfere in the strike, but the Liberal party carried a resolution in Parliament directing the Government to arrange a conference. The Liberal Party was already on the way to obtaining labour support, and this action improved its position at a critical time.

Such was briefly the political and industrial situation when the Atkinson Government went to the country at the elections of 1890, which were to be a great landmark in New Zealand history. Atkinson laboured under serious disadvantages. He was carrying the burden of years of depression, and the odium that attaches to a retrenching Government. His party was identified with land monopoly; and the doctrine of *laissez faire*. He was wearing himself out with work, Whitaker was an old man, and Hall's health prevented him from taking office. The party

had been strained by the adoption of protection, and its passage through Parliament with the help of the Liberals. The Opposition had become a united body of men with a definite policy that appealed to the rising Liberal and Radical sentiment in the country. They had vigour, ideas, and conviction, and they were led by Ballance, who united constructive ability and vision with a courteous and conciliatory disposition that helped to make him an excellent head of a party or a Government. The Liberal party put before the country a programme that included these proposals: "No more borrowing," or a "self-reliant policy"; the prevention of land aggregation and "dummyism"; vigorous land settlement, including the resumption of land by the State; repeal of the property tax, and introduction of a land and income tax; measures to improve the conditions of the workers. The Government stood by further borrowing in the Colony, retention of the property tax, purchase of Maori lands, and non-interference in industrial disputes.

The historic election of 1890 was the first conducted under a system of one-man-one-vote. Grey had caused to be inserted in the Representation Act of 1889 a clause abolishing plural voting, though it was not until a few years later that the last relic of the old system disappeared with the abolition of the right of property-holders to choose the electorate in which they would vote. Labour organisations entered the campaign, supported the Liberal party, and helped to elect Labour candidates, who were working men sent to Parliament to better the working man's lot. The result was a victory for Liberalism and Labour, the full significance of which for the moment could not be accurately judged. Parliament had yet to meet and the opposing parties to line up. As for the long

train of events that was to flow from the election, what prophet would have been believed had he predicted that the Conservatives and their political descendants would be relegated to a wilderness of Opposition for twenty-one years? A Conservative with the prophetic eye, reading the book of fate, like Shakespeare's "happiest youth, viewing his progress through," might have been tempted to "shut the book, and sit him down and die."

CHAPTER II.—LIBERALISM AND GOOD TIMES.

The elections of 1890 marked the end of an epoch. The new Parliament represented the last stage but one—and the last was to follow quickly—in the transfer of power to the people. Before this, men from the working class had sat in Parliament, but there was something new and portentous in the group of half-a-dozen artisans who now came to Wellington to fight for the workers and to follow Ballance. There must have been many good people who, like Sir Leicester Dedlock, foresaw the obliteration of landmarks and the opening of flood-gates. But the Liberal party had yet to prove itself. Government met the new Parliament in January, 1891. In the interval between the elections, though it knew its position was precarious, it appointed half-a-dozen men to the Legislative Council. The Liberals protested in vain, but the Government suffered in popular esteem through its ill-advised action. When Parliament met, there was at once a trial of strength over the election of Speaker, and the Liberals elected Sir William Steward by a majority of seven over Mr. Rolleston. The Government at once announced that

it had already resigned, and Ballance that he had been sent for by the Governor. Before the session opened, Atkinson, who was now broken in health, had decided to retire to the lesser duties of Speaker of the Legislative Council. His end came in the following year. "I have got my marching orders, and I may go at any moment," he said one day within the precincts of Parliament, and within a few minutes collapsed and died. This soldier-statesman laid down his life for his country as definitely as any soldier who falls in battle. That his fame to-day does not stand so high as it should is due to the association of his name with depression and retrenchment, and to the unpopularity of the great land-owners who belonged to his party. Popular opinion is far from doing justice to the character of the man and the value of his work.

Ballance had no easy task. His majority was small, and he had to choose as Ministers men who, with the exception of himself, and one colleague, Sir Patrick Buckley, were new to office. His two right-hand men were Mr. Richard Seddon, who took the Departments of Public Works, Mines, and Defence, and Mr. John McKenzie, who became Minister for Lands, Agriculture, and Immigration. Both were big physically, and men of powerful character and intellect. Seddon was a Lancashire man who had served a rough apprenticeship on the Australian and West Coast diggings. He had won a Parliamentary reputation as a vigorous debater and a tireless stone-waller, but had given comparatively small promise of what he was to do in after years. McKenzie was a huge Highlander, who in his youth had witnessed evictions in his native land. In him burnt one master passion, zeal for land reform. Mr. William Pember Reeves, a young Christchurch journalist, subsequently the

author of the most literary book about New Zealand, was the chief representative of culture, and brought to the **Cabinet** a keen desire for State interference in industry. He was an able debater, and possessed a penetrating and bright intellect, but his temperament prevented him from achieving personal popularity. Mr Reeves took Education and Justice, and afterwards, as Minister for Labour, became director of the laboratory of social legislation. Mr. Joseph Ward (afterwards Sir Joseph) was invited to join the Ministry as a representative of commercial interests. He joined as Minister without portfolio, but before long took over the Post Office, where he was to make a name for himself as the most progressive Postmaster-General New Zealand has ever had. His great achievement was the system of penny postage for inland and foreign letters—a reform afterwards widely adopted. Ballance himself became Treasurer and Native Minister. The Opposition believed that so inexperienced a team could not live long, but viewed in the light of after events, the Ministry is seen to be the strongest in New Zealand history.

With only a small majority behind them, and above them a Legislative Council in which the Opposition was overwhelmingly strong, the new Government decided that the time demanded bold measures. It was a wise decision. Timidity might have been fatal, and at least would have reproduced the instability and intrigues of the 'eighties. Ballance at once plunged into the realisation of his programme. In his first year he swept away the objectionable property tax, and substituted for it an income tax and a land tax, levies that ever since have been integral parts of the taxation system. An Employers' Liability Act and a Truck Act, the latter providing that the worker must be paid in current coin, were first

achievements of the long Liberal record of legislation to protect the worker and improve his position. It is only just, however, to say that good work of this order had been done years before Ballance took office. Unemployment was an urgent problem, with which the Ballance Government grappled by establishing a Department of Labour, whose dual responsibility was factory inspection and finding employment for surplus labour. Labour bureaux were set up, and unemployed were drafted to the country, many of them to public works. In the method of employing labour on these works the energetic Mr. Seddon made an important change. With so much labour available, sub-contracting had developed objectionable features. Seddon abolished it, and then introduced the co-operative system of labour, under which contracts in the ordinary sense were done away with, and the work was parcelled out at a price by the engineers among gangs, who, on completion, divided the money. The Government established two State farms at which men were given work and instruction, and small farms were provided for co-operative workmen as an inducement to them to stay in the country. The whole policy was hastily constructed to deal with a pressing evil, but it met with a good deal of success. The prosperity that was to come to the country gradually reduced the unemployed problem to something negligible.

In respect to other policy measures, the Government found the Legislative Council destructive and uncompromising. The Upper House rejected McKenzie's Land for Settlements Bill, and so mutilated his Land Bill that he withdrew it, and said darkly that a time would come. It did. When the Council rejected or mangled several other Bills, the Government saw that something must be done. Ac-

according to Drummond, the Leader of the Council had at this time available only one European Councillor to help him in supporting policy measures. Ballance therefore advised the Governor to appoint twelve men to the Council, an addition that would not have wiped away the Government's minority. Lord Onslow, who was about to leave New Zealand, thought twelve too many. His successor, Lord Glasgow, took up the same attitude. Ballance, taking his stand on the constitutional principle that a Governor is bound to take the advice of his Ministers, appealed to the Colonial Office, which decided in his favour. Twelve new Councillors, four of them working men, were accordingly appointed. Henceforth the Liberals' troubles with the Council declined, until it came to be a complaint of the Opposition that the Council had become merely an echo of the Lower House. In the first year of the new Ministry the constitution of the Council had been altered. Hitherto members had been nominated for life, but by an Act of 1891, the term was limited to seven years, with power to re-appoint. The weakness of the old system was, "once a Councillor, always a Councillor, fit or unfit." The weakness of the new was that a Councillor might be tempted to be less critical than his duty dictated, towards a Government that had the power to re-appoint him.

The first instalment of the Liberal land policy was the land tax of 1891-92. Under this and subsequent amendments unimproved values of land were taxed a penny in the pound, with an exemption of £500 up to £1,500, the exemption then diminishing until it disappeared at £2,500. Mortgages were deducted for taxation purposes, and all improvements exempted. In addition to this ordinary tax, there was a graduated tax, beginning at $\frac{1}{8}$ th of a penny in the

pound at £5,000, unimproved value, and rising to twopence at £210,000. An additional impost was placed on the property of absentees. In 1895-96, the land tax yielded £271,000, and the income tax, a simple system of sixpence and a shilling in the pound, £94,000. The idea of the graduated tax was to compel or encourage owners to use their land to the utmost; if they would not, or could not use it to the point where it would be profitable to pay the tax, they would be induced to divide it into smaller holdings. The results in sub-division were disappointing, because unforeseen prosperity made it possible for the landowner to pay the tax and keep his broad acres.

The second instalment of policy was seen in McKenzie's two Land Acts of 1892. As we have seen, there was liberal land legislation before McKenzie. Settlers had been able to take up Crown land on perpetual lease, with periodical readjustment of rent, and the right of purchase after a certain time. There had been limitation of Crown areas selected, and regulations about residence. What McKenzie and his colleagues did was to abolish local differences in the land system, and to set up a uniform and comprehensive system for the whole country; to extend and tighten up the law dealing with monopoly and "dummyism"; to substitute for the existing methods of selection the triple system of cash purchase, occupation with right of purchase, and lease-in-perpetuity without revaluation; to buy estates for sub-division, and take power to compel the owner to sell; and to provide farmers with cheap money.

The most striking feature of the principal Land Act of 1892 was McKenzie's scheme of lease-in-perpetuity. Division of opinion on the land question might easily have wrecked or seriously

weakened the Liberal-Labour party. The Radical wing would have refused to part with the freehold of another acre of Crown land, but the freehold had staunch friends among Ballance's followers. The controversy was to agitate politics from that time onward. The Ministry took a middle course, which it deemed to be more in accord with public opinion than the out-and-out leasehold policy of the Radicals. The freehold was retained, but settlers were encouraged to take up leaseholds. The lease-in-perpetuity tenure gave a settler a lease of 999 years at a fixed rental of four per cent. of the cash value of the land. It quickly became popular with the man of small means, who was able to take up farming without having to sink capital in land purchase, and knew that his rent could not be raised. As time went on, and the country grew richer, it was found that the tenant had most of the advantages of the freehold without having had to pay for it. Many a tenant sold his goodwill for a handsome sum. Fifteen years later a Liberal Government, thinking that the State had dealt rather too generously with these tenants, replaced the system by one of renewable lease with revaluation. It may seem curious now that such a system should have been proposed, much less sanctioned. McKenzie hated the thought of a farmer being tenant of a landowner, but believed fervently in the idea of a State tenantry. He also considered that half the farmers occupying freeholds were rack-rented through their mortgages. In fifty years, he predicted, Crown grants would be abolished. An argument for the lease-in-perpetuity that appealed to him strongly was that the State, as controller of traffic in leases, could forbid their transfer to men who already held large estates.

McKenzie had some trouble in inducing Parliament to agree to the compulsory purchase of land for subdivision. He described large and fertile estates that were supporting only a few men and women. One of 40,000 acres had only one or two families living on it; another of between 60,000 and 70,000 acres had a resident population of some sixteen persons. At first the power of compulsion was denied him. Then in 1893 a lucky opportunity and a bold seizure of it opened the way. The Cheviot estate, on the east coast of the South Island, south of Kaikoura, a fine tract of 84,000 acres, bought for ten shillings an acre under Grey's cheap land system, was supporting some eighty persons and 80,000 sheep. The Government valuation was objected to by the trustees, who, under the new Land and Income Tax Assessment Act, called upon the Government either to reduce the assessment or take over the property at their (the trustees') valuation. McKenzie, finding it difficult to get suitable land for closer settlement, seized the opportunity of testing his policy on a block admirably adapted for his purpose, and accepted the challenge. The Government paid £260,000 for Cheviot, and immediately cut it up into farms, some freehold, the greater number leasehold. The success of the enterprise was immediate, permanent, and striking. Within a year there were hundreds of people on Cheviot, and an area that in the old days had grown sheep and little else, came to produce more wool than before, as well as grain and dairy produce. McKenzie speedily obtained the power of compulsion that he wanted, but in only one or two cases was it used. For the most part the system of voluntary sale sufficed. By 1906, the Government had acquired more than 120 estates, and placed more than 3,000 settlers on their 680,000 acres.

On the day in 1894 that McKenzie passed into law his compulsory provisions, Ward, as Treasurer, carried a Bill establishing an Advances to Settlers' Department, which would provide the farmer with cheap money. Many farmers were heavily handicapped by the combination of low prices and high rates of interest on their mortgages. A return in 1895 showed that on registered mortgages the rates for most ran from 6 to 8 per cent. and up to nine and ten in some cases. Moreover, the banks had been unwilling to lend money, and had been calling in loans. Borrowing money at as low as 3 per cent., the Government lent it out to settlers at five per cent., or six per cent. including repayment of principal. There was at once a rush for this cheap money and the market rate of interest was permanently lowered. Over 60 per cent. of the advances were devoted to paying off mortgages carrying higher rates of interest. The Department has saved farmers large sums in interest, and an incalculable amount of worry. It also returns a profit on its business.

This brief sketch of the foundations of Liberal land policy does scant justice to McKenzie's achievement. The secure erection of this three-fold system of tenure involved an enormous amount of hard work. He had to draft bills and amend bills every session; frame clauses and regulations to deal with the multitudinous aspects of settlement, so as to help the settler, and at the same time protect the public interest; pilot these measures through the House in the face of an Opposition that was not only critical, but thoroughly conversant with the practical side of the land question; and know when to insist on his own proposals and when to accept amendments. In addition he attended to the rapidly growing daily business of departments whose scope he was bent on

extending. To some opponents this huge, rough Highlander, with his oak-rooted convictions, and sometimes volcanic temper, must have seemed a forbidding figure. In reality, he was the man for the job. He was no white-handed urban theorist, crying "Back to the Land!" in a cultured tone. He had come from the soil and worked his way upwards from shepherding for a squatter to the status of a substantial farmer. The difficulties besetting the farmer were an open book to him, and no one realised better than he the folly of thinking that any fool could succeed on the land. The Liberal land system, with its crop of thousands of prosperous settlers, and a reorganised Department of Agriculture bringing scientific skill and supervision to bear on many points of production—these were his monuments. If time has cast doubts on the wisdom of some of his ideas, and witnessed alterations in his measures, that does not detract from the nature of his ideals and the strength with which he strove for them. That striving helped to wear him out.

In rounding off this brief summary of the early Liberal land policy, we have run ahead of events. On April 27th, 1893, Ballance died. He had been ill for some time. As far back as 1891 he had to take a holiday and hand over the reins to Seddon, and the last stages of his Parliamentary career were a heroic struggle against pain. The heavy work and anxiety of his office hastened his end. He was mourned by friends and foes. A genuine Liberal, with whose courage and ability went goodness of heart and fine courtesy, he had led the Liberal party to victory, started it well on what was to be a lease of power exceeding twenty years, and laid the foundations of a great fabric of liberal and radical legislation. "If I do not recover," he said just before he put himself

in the surgeon's hands, "I hope the people will not forget me." They have not. He left monuments infinitely more impressive than the statue that stands in the capital.

Who was to be Ballance's successor? Shortly before his death, Ballance had expressed a wish that Sir Robert Stout, his close friend and former Ministerial chief, should lead the party, but Stout was not then in the House. The Governor took the natural course of sending for the Acting-Premier, Mr. Seddon, who had led the party and the House ably during Ballance's absence. Seddon sought the advice of Sir George Grey, who was in Auckland, and received emphatic counsel to take the responsibility. He sent another telegram, and Grey replied with similar advice, still more strongly worded. On May 1st Seddon was sworn in as Prime Minister. This appeal to Grey has been taken to mean that Seddon doubted his fitness for the Premiership. If he did, it was the first time in his political life that his superb self-confidence showed any sign of weakness. Is it possible that there was an ulterior motive in these telegrams? Parliament met towards the end of June, and in the meantime Stout had been elected to the House. It was, however, the almost unanimous wish of Liberal members and the Liberal Press that Seddon should be confirmed in his position, and this was done at a party caucus in the first days of the session.

Seddon's elevation was received by a section of the Conservative Press with astonishment, regret, and even derision. In its eyes Seddon was as impossible as the uncouth Lincoln was to the English Press of his day. How could this uncultured West Coaster possibly lead Parliament adequately, and satisfy general requirements as the head of a Government?

Judged by the standards of his predecessors, the new Premier was certainly an unpolished specimen. He had nothing beyond a primary school education, and few graces, and he had been trained in a hard, noisy school. But his critics were soon to find that beneath that unprepossessing exterior was greatness of mind and character. If he knew little about books, he knew much about men. On the West Coast he had served a valuable apprenticeship to public affairs, and to life generally; fourteen years in Parliament had added to his experience; and as a Minister he had proved himself a fearless innovator in administration, a formidable defender of any department that happened to be attacked, and a powerful platform upholder of Liberalism. His age was less than fifty, and he had the priceless equipment of a magnificent physique and a vast capacity for work. His mind was keen, his mental grasp of problems unusually rapid and strong, his judgment of a political situation unequalled, and his self-confidence (save for the possible lapse just noted) firmly based. Add to this that he could be tremendously in earnest, and that he was a thorough-going democrat who had long sat at the feet of Grey, and you begin to understand why this apparently impossible Premier was to become the greatest figure that New Zealand politics have produced.

Seddon reconstructed the Ministry. He himself kept the Departments of Public Works, Mines, and Defence, and Ward took over the Treasury. In his new position Seddon kept his head and walked briskly but warily. Drummond describes how, when the Premier visited Napier, soon after he took office, he confounded expectations by making a moderate speech in which he declared that Ballance's policy would be continued, and how when he passed on to Auckland, and found that the local Liberal

Association had put forward a programme of sweeping changes, he brusquely declined to accept it. A critical general election, the first since the Liberal Government had launched its ships, was approaching. Before that day arrived a great political development occurred. Women were given the vote.

The New Zealand movement for the franchise was older than the Premier, and the question had been debated in Parliament as far back as the 'seventies, but it was only during the last few years that it had gathered force. Seddon himself had never been a leader in it; indeed, he was not sure that it was wise, and some years later he described the change as a plunge into an abyss of unknown depth. Ballance, on the other hand, had long been a convert. But the chief supporter of the change in Parliament or out of it, was Sir John Hall, and to him is due the largest single share of the credit for the ultimate victory. The controversy cut right across party lines, and was complicated by its connection with the new and formidable temperance movement. The Prohibitionists, as they came to be called, saw in the women's vote a vast recruitment to their cause. The Women's Christian Temperance Union had established a franchise department six years before, under the able and devoted direction of Mrs. Katherine Sheppard, and was responsible for most of the educative work and the organising of petitions to Parliament. By 1889 the movement could claim thirty-three out-and-out supporters in the House, and at the historic elections of 1890 the question was before candidates. It may be that a majority of New Zealand women were surprised to find themselves enfranchised, but it is a mistake to think that the right was acquired suddenly and without effort. Nor did a petition with nearly



The well equipped Whakamarama Bush Sawmill near Tauranga in 1930. Sawmilling is a languishing industry owing to the high cost of production, low prices of timber and the importation of Douglas Fir (Oregon Pine) from Canada and the United States.



A Maori Carver at Work.

[Govt. Publicity photo]

32,000 signatures indicate widespread indifference. The chief obstacle was the Legislative Council, which in 1891 rejected what the House had affirmed. Ballance took the matter up. In 1892, the Council inserted a clause in the Electoral Bill providing that women should record their votes, not in the ordinary way, but by the exercise of electors' rights. Seddon, who was leading in Ballance's absence, refused to accept this, and the question was again deferred. By 1893 the popular agitation was stronger, and perhaps it was partly for that reason that the Council, by a majority of two, granted women the franchise. This chapter of history is confused, and has been the subject of much controversy. Seddon was sharply criticised by the franchise party, and it is undeniable that he was at least lukewarm. Reeves has it that at the bottom of the Council's decision was the hope that at the approaching elections the women's vote would defeat the Government, with whom the Prohibitionists were now at war, a view that is hardly supported by the smallness of the turnover in the Council voting. The Bill became law on September 19th, and at the general election on November 28th, ninety thousand women voted. It should be added here that the change failed to fulfil the predictions of enemies and the ecstatic hopes of friends. It neither brought politics to ruin or contempt, nor led the millenium tripping in its train. Its one outstanding influence was exerted at the licensing polls on the prohibition side.

In the meantime this licensing question had been the subject of hot and even furious controversy, and important legislation. A measure of local option had been provided in the Act of 1881, which gave rate-payers the right to elect licensing committees, and these committees the power to refuse renewals of

licenses. A powerful temperance movement, which had its strongest centre in Christchurch, had been gathering force for some years. Beaten in the Courts over action taken by a licensing committee in Christchurch, it widened its operations. The aged Sir William Fox had given it his weight and prestige; Sir Robert Stout was its Parliamentary leader; and outside Parliament it had in the Rev. L. M. Isitt and others, organisers and speakers of uncommon force and capacity. In the victory of the Liberals the Prohibitionist party saw a great opportunity, and increased its efforts. Sir Robert Stout introduced a drastic Bill to extend the local option system. Seddon, who was no Prohibitionist, was in a difficult position. The demand for a fuller measure of popular control was loud and insistent, and the complications introduced into politics by the movement were dangerous to the stability of his party. Then, early in his leadership, he showed astuteness and courage. He refused to go the whole way with the Prohibitionists, who never quite forgave him, but added a Licensing Bill to the Government's huge programme of reform, and had it passed hastily. This Act of 1893, amended in 1895, laid the foundation of a larger system of local control. In districts that were coterminous with parliamentary constituencies, the questions of reducing the number of licenses, abolishing all licenses, and allowing them to continue, were submitted to popular vote. A simple majority of those voting might carry "reduction" or "continuance," but to carry "no-license," a three-fifths majority was required, a handicap against which the Prohibitionists never ceased to protest. These triennial polls excited an interest which rivalled that of the political elections held on the same day. To many, indeed, prohibition or

continuance was far more important than any question of policy or the fate of a Government. One result of this perpetual conflict, inevitably embittered by the clash between idealism and fanaticism on one side, and vested and personal interests and love of liberty on the other, was that political issues were sometimes clouded or thrust into a place unworthy of their importance. At the first poll the prohibitionists carried Clutha, but it was not until 1902 that they enlarged their success. In that year they were able to poll for "no-license" a majority of the votes cast throughout the country, and eventually the "dry" flag flew in a dozen electorates. The leaders of the party demanded all or nothing, and the liquor trade showed no glimmer of desire to reform radically a business that was in large part an open reproach and scandal. Between these extremes the moderate man was buffeted.

The elections of 1893 were critical, in that the Liberal party was making its first appeal to the country after three years of sincere and largely successful endeavour to fulfil its promises. The Opposition made most of its capital out of the Government's land policy, and what it regarded as a leaning towards State socialism. Seddon pointed to what the Government had done, and contended that the country had become more prosperous. The result was an overwhelming victory for the Government, which to fifteen Opposition members and three Independents opposed a following of fifty-six. Rolleston, the Leader of the Opposition, was defeated, and the rank and file cruelly cut up. Seddon naturally took this as a signal to go full-speed ahead. The session of 1894 was memorable. It saw the enactment of the land purchase and cheap money laws, and a drastic Factories Act, widely extending the good work done

in 1891. This Act, which remained law until superseded by a still more advanced measure in 1901, was probably the most liberal in the world, and attracted attention abroad. The basis of New Zealand factory legislation was the definition of a factory as any place where two or more persons worked to produce articles for sale. Hours were regulated, especially for women and children; a minimum wage fixed for young people; holidays on pay provided; "sweating" in home work prevented. There were sections or separate Acts dealing with sanitation, dangerous trades, safeguards in case of fire, protection against machinery, and inspection of premises at all times by Government officials. Special legislation covered work on ships, where manning scales based on tonnage and horse-power were enforced, accommodation placed under the eye of the factory inspector, and the lot of the seaman bettered in other ways.

In the same session Reeves had the satisfaction of achieving what he most desired, the establishment of a State system of settling industrial disputes. Reeves brought enthusiasm and wide knowledge to his difficult task. He searched the history of other countries diligently for ideas, but since his Bill was a pioneer in the matter of State compulsion, he could find no precedent for what he regarded as the core of his measure. He could point to the disastrous effects of the maritime strike, and other serious troubles in Australia, as an object lesson in the un-wisdom of trying to settle individual disputes by war. He had been working at his idea since 1891, but had not been able to overcome the opposition of the Legislative Council to the compulsion in the scheme. Opposition had also been strong in the House, and in the country there was little enthusiasm for the most important proposals in respect

to industry ever made by a New Zealand Government. Reeves himself has said that the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Bill "did not awaken a tithe of the interest and energy expended over a Bill for closing shops on one half holiday in each week." Seddon supported him as he supported McKenzie. The Legislative Council, bowing to the popular will as expressed in the election of 1893, withdrew its opposition in 1894, and the Bill became law. It established Conciliation Boards, which were to investigate and make recommendations about any dispute brought before them as to wages, hours, or conditions. If a Board's proposals for settlement were not accepted, the dispute could be referred to the Arbitration Court, presided over by a Supreme Court Judge, which on any or all of such subjects could give decisions that had the force of law. Workers were encouraged to form unions and take advantage of this machinery, and in return were required to give up, under penalty, the right to strike during the hearing of a dispute or the currency of an award made under the Act. Similarly, employers were forbidden to "lock out" their hands. The idea was that nearly all the work would fall on the Boards; conciliation, and not arbitration, was to be the popular method of settling disputes. The Court had the widest powers, and was not slow to use them. Early in its history it decided that preference in employment could be given to members of unions. Workers at first hesitated to use the new machinery, but once they began the number of applications quickly increased. Appeals to the Court came to be much more numerous than had been anticipated. In time appeal direct to the Court was permitted, and the Conciliation Board was replaced by the Conciliation Commissioner. It is impossible to notice

here the numerous amendments to the Act; suffice it to say that the principles of the original measure still stand as the basis of legislation for the promotion of industrial peace.

The same year put Seddon's courage and statesmanship to a still severer test. Though the world movement of rising prices had hardly begun, New Zealand was now at the end of bad times. But the effects of a long period of depression following a boom had not been shaken off, and these effects were especially dangerous to the Bank of New Zealand, the leading bank in the country. It had advanced money during the boom on properties that had steadily declined in value. The depression had thrown property after property and business after business upon its hands, many of which it tried to keep going. Securities that it had accepted in support of accounts had fallen greatly in value, and many of these accounts were in liquidation. A few years before 1894 the losses would have absorbed the whole of the reserve fund and nearly one-third of the paid-up capital. The directors, who cannot be credited with sound management, kept the machinery running, paying a dividend and hoping that a rise in values would set the Bank right. But in June, 1894, the Ministry was told by the directors that the position was so serious that the Government alone could save it from bankruptcy, and that immediate steps were necessary to prevent suspension of payments, a disaster that would have ruined thousands of depositors, involved heavy loss in public money, and shaken the credit of the colony. Seddon and Ward, acting in the interests of the country, moved promptly and energetically. The matter was immediately put before a secret conference of selected members of the House, chosen on a non-party basis,

and on the evening of June 30th the Government brought in a Bill authorising it to guarantee a new issue of shares up to a limit of two millions. This was on a Friday; the Bank had said it could not carry on beyond the following Monday; but some knowledge of the truth had leaked out, and a run on the Bank next morning was feared. Ward moved the second reading of the Bill by nine on Friday evening, the Leader of the Opposition did not oppose the measure, and at midnight it went to the Legislative Council. "The Peers" appointed a select committee to take evidence, but by four in the morning the last stage was reached, and shortly afterwards the waiting Governor affixed his assent. When the public heard of the facts of the crisis, they knew also that it was past. The upshot of this and subsequent legislation was that the State not only came to the rescue of the Bank, but obtained virtual control of its affairs. The Bank remained nominally a private institution, but the State held a large interest in it, and appointed a majority of the directors. The Government also bought for two and three-quarter millions properties that had fallen into the Bank's hands, and been made over by it to a subsidiary concern, the Estates Company. These properties, which showed a heavy deficit and were a burden to the Bank, were put under an Assets Realisation Board, and gradually disposed of in the good times that were now at hand. At the same time the Bank of New Zealand bought the Colonial Bank. The result of all this was that the Bank of New Zealand made a fresh start, and, thanks to general prosperity and to good management its business expanded greatly, and became highly profitable. The Government's intervention did not cost the State a penny; on the contrary, as a

large shareholder it benefited by dividends that eventually rose to $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

It is now time to consider this general prosperity. We cannot in a work of this scope follow in detail the political events of every year of so long a period as the Liberal lease of power. We have surveyed the foundations of the Liberal policy in financial, labour, and land legislation. What was done between 1891 and 1894, or 1891 and 1898—this last year being the date of the passing of the Old Age Pensions Act—was three-fourths of the Liberal achievement. Numerous Acts amended or extended the application of these principles. Good times, which were to be enjoyed for many years, were at hand. The primary cause of this wave of prosperity was the upward turn world prices took in the middle of the decade. Liberalism was certainly fortunate in being carried along by the world current that set in a few years after it took office, but it knew how to take advantage of the flow, and it had already done work on the ship that, when the time came, added to its speed and comfort. Liberalism unlocked the land, promoted closer settlement, and provided the farmer with cheap money. In a dozen other ways production was encouraged and stimulated. Cheap railway freights for the farmer, instruction in agriculture, inspection and improvement of stock, advice and help in the war against diseases and pests, grading of produce—such were some of the State's useful activities. A small army of inspectors and instructors travelled the country. To raise the standard of New Zealand products and protect their good name abroad, the Government introduced systems of compulsory inspection, branding, and grading. The effect of this on the dairy industry was particularly noticeable. Against strong opposition

from the farmers McKenzie introduced a system under which butter and cheese for export had to be graded by Government experts. As a result of this, combined with instruction of manufacturers and farmers by Government officials, and the enterprise and skill of producers, the best New Zealand produce reached almost the highest levels of quality and price in the world's markets. Wool continued to be the most valuable product of New Zealand. Out of a total export value of £9,428,000 in 1890, wool represented £4,150,000. By 1900, exports were worth £13,000,000, of which wool supplied £4,749,000. In the interval frozen meat and dairy produce had made giant strides, as the following figures show:—

			Meat.	Butter.	Cheese.
1890	..	..	£1,087,000	£122,000	£85,000
1900	..	..	2,123,000	740,000	229,000

Export values went on mounting. The following figures show the development up to the year before the Great War:—

			Wool.	Meat.	Dairy Produce.
1910	..	..	£8,308,000	£3,850,000	£3,006,000
1913	..	..	8,057,000	4,449,000	3,831,000

The development of dairying was the industrial romance of the period. Many farmers found that growing for butter and cheese gave a larger return per acre than growing for wool or meat. This made for small holdings rather than large ones, a trend that went the same way as the legislation of the time. The home separator and milking machine on the farm, co-operative butter and cheese factories dotted about the country, and careful supervision by the Government, revolutionised the industry, and greatly enriched the country. This development helped to produce an important economic change. Profit in meat and

butter put much wheat land out of cultivation, and from being an exporter of wheat New Zealand came to grow only enough or less than enough for its own requirements.

Goldmining shared in the boom, though it is worthy of note that with all the resources of capital and science at its command, New Zealand never exported in later years as much gold as it did during some years of its early alluvial mining. A new factor now entered into the industry, the treatment of low-grade quartz ores by the cyanide process, the rights of which were purchased by the Government for the benefit of the the smaller companies. This process made possible the success of New Zealand's most famous mine. From the Waihi mine more than fourteen million pounds' worth of gold was taken in the first thirty-five years, and more than five millions paid in dividends, yet the company's share capital was once worth only £22,500.

In order to appreciate the material progress of New Zealand we may compare the growth of population and trade, in round numbers:—

		Population.	Exports. £	Imports. £
1890	..	625,000	9,811,000	6,260,000
1895	..	698,000	8,550,000	6,400,000
1900	..	768,000	13,246,000	10,646,000
1905	..	882,000	15,655,000	12,828,000
1910	..	1,000 000	22,180,000	17,051,000
1913	..	1,084,000	22,986,000	22,288,000

Looking back on those years, one wonders when New Zealand will experience again such a period of peaceful progress. Capital and Labour settled down to make use of the conciliation and arbitration system, and for years strikes were unknown or negligible. The worker accepted what the Boards and the Court gave him in higher wages and better conditions. In other countries he would periodically

have struck for higher wages on a rising market. However much the employer protested that claims would ruin his industry, he managed to carry on under industrial awards. Freed from the menace of strikes, protected substantially by the tariff, and stimulated by a steady increase in the purchasing power of the people, manufactures developed in a way that belied the complaint of the Opposition that capital was being driven out of the country. In 1895 the tariff was revised. It was made more protective, but then and afterwards a large number of duties on food stuffs were abolished in accordance with the policy of "a free breakfast table," the effect of which could be seen in the fact that the proportion of Customs revenue furnished by duties on food and non-alcoholic drinks fell from 20 per cent. to 4.6 per cent. in twenty years. The proportion of taxation supplied by the Customs rose to 75.6 in 1900, but declined to 64 twelve years later. In politics there was vehemence and bitterness in criticism and defence, but the issues were comparatively simple and clear-cut, and the situation stable. Seddon consolidated the position Ballance had won, held it for thirteen consecutive years, and passed on to his successor powerful and well-disciplined forces.

A profoundly important feature of politics between 1891 and 1906 was the alliance of Labour with Liberalism. Ballance's success in attracting the working class to his banner, and Seddon's ability to hold it there, meant not only that the Liberal party enjoyed as great a degree of security as was possible for a party to possess, but that New Zealand politics were spared the confusion and instability introduced into Australian Federal affairs by the rise of a separate Labour party. Seddon bestrides

like a colossus the whole period of his Premiership. It is impossible to reconstruct wholly and clearly for a later generation the character of this masterful man and the impression he produced. He is unique in Australasian history. He was a born leader of men, to whom he appealed through his sympathies as well as his strength. It is not to be supposed he was a saint among statesmen. There were spots on the sun visible to the naked eye. Apart from defects of education and training, he had streaks of the demagogue and something of the bully. For all his sincere belief in democracy, he was an autocrat. Unlike Grey, who exhibited a similar paradox, Seddon was an admirable judge of men and circumstances. He realised that, as the French say, the best is the enemy of the good, and was skilful in taking a middle course. He could be an opportunist, and his political methods were not always nice. Perhaps the best that can be said for his unabashed bestowal of patronage among friends and supporters was that this sort of thing had become a practice in New Zealand politics. The man's chief strength as a political leader lay in his broad and deep humanitarianism, which, though it may have been tinged now and then with humbug, won him the steady support of the mass of the people. He loved his Motherland, but he knew well what industrial conditions were like there, and he was resolved that they should not be reproduced in New Zealand.

Of no public man could it be more truly said that he could "speak with kings, nor lose the common touch." No other Premier had been so approachable, so thoroughly at home with the people. The "good old Dick" with which he was greeted, was a token of familiar respect and admiration. That dominating figure, with its commanding presence, its leonine

head, its compelling voice and arresting manner, became an institution. He drew unto himself all manner of work, great and small. There were few departments that he did not at one time or other manage, and his eagle eye and sleepless interest ranged over the whole field of government. His capacity for work was tremendous, and ultimately was his undoing. Colonial democracy is more exacting than English, and Seddon did more than any other public man had done to encourage the habit of looking to Ministers, and especially the Prime Minister, for intervention in multitudinous small matters. Seddon could work and travel all day, speak in the evening, sit up half the night with friends, and be fresher than his jaded secretaries next morning—and go on doing this sort of thing for years. In one day his activities might range from a despatch on an Imperial question of the highest moment, to a note about a posting box at some suburban corner. Circumstances piled work upon him. In 1896 he lost the services of one of his ablest colleagues, Reeves, who took the Agent-Generalship in London. In the same year Ward was compelled by the failure of a company in which he was a director and the principal shareholder, to retire from the Ministry. He was made bankrupt, and the circumstances of the affair, in which comment adverse to him was made from the Supreme Court Bench, were remembered against him by political opponents throughout his subsequent career. He was out of the Ministry from 1896 to 1899. McKenzie's health began to fail long before he retired in 1900, and he was succeeded at the Lands Department by a nonentity. Indeed there came to be more than one nonentity in Seddon's Ministry. Even when Ward returned it was much weaker than the Ballance

Ministry and the Cabinet between Ballance's death and the year 1896. Seddon was accused of liking to surround himself with mediocre men. Whether the charge was justified or not, the mediocrity of some of his colleagues must have added greatly to his work and responsibility.

It must not be supposed that the country was unanimously devoted to Seddon and his party; far from it. A large minority sent an Opposition to Parliament. Seddon had the working-class solidly behind him, and it was not until after his death that the Labour party as a separate entity arose. The other classes gave him a divided allegiance. Opposition to the Government was compounded of interest and conviction. Large landowners disliked and feared the party of John McKenzie. Many people feared the "State Socialism" of the Liberals. The truth was, however, that there was less of the State Socialist about Seddon than was generally supposed. He was very far indeed from being an out-and-out Socialist, eager to abolish private enterprise on principle. His policy was to consider every case on its merits, and to confine State competition with private industry to fields in which he thought it could usefully intervene to protect the public interest. It was for this reason that the State took up coal mining and coal trading, and went into fire insurance. In this policy of expediency Seddon had the country with him. The average New Zealander had decided views on monopolies, and he strongly approved of such State activities as railway ownership, but in most respects he was a sturdy individualist. Seddon restrained the zeal of some of his radical supporters for the extension of State enterprise. But to return to Seddon's opponents, there were educated people who disliked being governed

by a man lacking in culture. There were voters who disapproved of the Liberal policy from disinterested convictions, and there were some who had Liberal leanings, but who were repelled by some of the Government's methods; it was not Liberalism they opposed, but Seddonism. All these classes, however, could not prevail against a party that had done so much, was expected to do more, and was in possession of all the resources of government. This last advantage is important under a system where the State directly distributes so much money for development purposes, and the Liberals enjoyed it in a period of steadily rising prosperity.

The Opposition was under the crippling disadvantage of having no alternative policy that was attractive. It criticised; it fought Bills long and conscientiously (its criticism was sometimes valuable, and it did not always oppose the Government's measures); and it predicted disaster; but it had little or nothing to offer as a substitute, and the country, prospering under the Government, was in no mood for change. The Opposition made much of the Government's loan policy, and pointed to Ballance's declaration of no borrowing and self-reliance. The Colony continued to go to the London market for money for public works, and the net debt rose from £37,000,000 in 1891, to £47,000,000 in 1900, and £60,000,000 in 1906. It is difficult to see how Ballance's policy could have been carried out in its entirety. The country was crying out for development, and money sunk in roads, bridges, and railways brought in direct and indirect return. Another handicap to the Opposition was that it had no leader comparable to Seddon in ability, force, and popularity. Rolleston was succeeded by Captain (afterwards Sir William) Russell, a high-minded gentleman of the old school, but

without any striking qualities. He was succeeded in 1903 by Mr. W. F. Massey, afterwards Prime Minister. Like Seddon, Mr. Massey was a man of the people, and, like McKenzie, he had graduated from farm hand to farmer. Perhaps to this generation's children's children will be told the story of the telegram inviting him to stand for Parliament being handed up to him on the end of a pitchfork, as he stood on top of a stack. He lacked vision, he was slow in accumulating political wisdom, and he was no match for Seddon. He had, however, great staying power and indomitable perseverance. He was an animated straining post. The story of his long leadership in the wilderness, of his progress from disastrous defeat to victory, might be used as a New Zealand equivalent of the moral tale of Bruce and the spider. Seddon fought five general elections as Premier, and the results (taken from Drummond's biography), speak for themselves:—

			Government.	Opposition.	Independent.
1893	..	..	52	16	2
1896	..	..	41	26	3
1899	..	..	53	16	1
1902	..	..	48	19	3
1905	..	..	56	16	4

While New Zealand was busying itself with politics and growing rich, the world was moving, and events were drawing the colony into their orbit. We have seen that in earlier days colonial resentment against the British Government was strong, and that even a Governor took notice of talk of joining the United States.* During the next two decades the awakening and development of the Imperial idea swept away such thoughts. The Jubilee of Queen Victoria in 1887 helped to make men think about the Empire, its meaning and form of government, and strengthened the link formed by the Sovereign between

*Vide page 275.



The site of Waimangu Geyser (now extinct or dormant), Thermal District, Auckland.



Maori *Wharepuni*, or Meeting House.

[H. Winkelmann photo

Motherland and Colonies. There was a powerful reaction against the English school that awaited as a matter of course the dropping of the colonies from off the parent tree—a school that had its adherents in high places. Interest kindled pride. Ten years later the “Diamond” Jubilee witnessed a world-wide display of loyalty to the Throne and devotion to the Empire previously unequalled. Nowhere was the event celebrated with more genuine enthusiasm than in New Zealand. Mr Seddon went to London with other colonial Premiers, and at once made an impression by his force of character and the depth and sincerity of his convictions on Imperial problems.

Seddon was a whole-hearted Imperialist. He was eager to maintain and extend British power and influence, especially in New Zealand’s ocean, the Pacific, and in England he loved to dwell on the loyalty of the colonies, and the part they were destined to play in Imperial affairs. Self-government was a right he fully appreciated, but he thought there should be more co-operation, closer union. Both in the historic Imperial Conference of that year and outside, he expounded the doctrine of preferential trade between Britain and the colonies. Two years after this event he seized the opportunity provided by the South African War to translate his faith into deeds. On October 11th, 1899, war began between Britain and the Boer Republics. On September 28th Seddon had moved in the House of Representatives that New Zealand offer the Imperial Government a contingent of mounted troops. The House approved by 54 votes to 5, and New Zealand had the distinction of being the first colony to line up beside the Motherland in the struggle. On October 21st the first contingent of New Zealanders left for South Africa. The Premier’s argument was simple and

strong. New Zealand was part of the Empire, and the Empire's quarrels were hers. Between October, 1899, and April, 1902, ten contingents, totalling more than 6,000 men, sailed for South Africa, where they distinguished themselves alike by their skill and courage. The colonies showed all those who had eyes to see that they would stand by the Motherland in time of trouble, and an English writer expressed the truth in picturesque exaggeration when he said that the President of the Transvaal deserved a statue in London as the man who helped so greatly to consolidate the British Empire. But there were men who swayed national destinies who could not read the signs of the times, and when twenty years later, in the twilight of their gods, they cowered beneath the just wrath of that united Empire whose strength they had despised, some of them may have reflected on the terrific penalty that high Heaven sometimes exacts for blindness.

Queen Victoria, whose reign more than covered the whole history of New Zealand as a British Colony, died early in 1901. A notable event of the same year was the visit to New Zealand, as part of a world tour, of the heir to the Throne, afterwards King George V. Everywhere he was received with warm and genuine loyalty. King Edward VII. was crowned in 1902, and throughout the British Dominions the event was celebrated with fresh demonstrations of devotion to Crown and Empire. Mr. Seddon went Home for the Coronation, and his second Imperial Conference, at which he was to the fore with resolutions about preferential trade, defence, shipping, and triennial conferences. Of the colonial representatives in London that summer he and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, of Canada, were the most conspicuous. These Imperial gatherings were preludes to the tremendous

drama of 1914. Through sentiment and material interests the parts of the Empire were being drawn more closely together. Pride in the Empire, what it stood for and what it might be, and interest in Imperial problems, were stimulated. No actual change in the constitutional relations between Motherland and Colonies was made, but there was a momentous recognition of the value of consultation, discussion, and co-operation. There was a widening recognition of the fact that the Dominions were no longer mere colonies, but nations that were partners in a world-wide commonwealth.

One fruit of Seddon's visit to England in 1902 was his Preferential and Reciprocal Trade Act of 1903, which placed additional duties on certain goods not produced or manufactured in the Empire, and duties on foreign goods that were once imported free. This preferential tariff was considerably enlarged in 1907, and has since been part of New Zealand's fiscal policy. Seddon took the broad view that New Zealand should be prepared to give this much irrespective of whether the Mother Country gave anything of the kind in return. He had already acted vigorously in another matter of Imperial interest. Like Grey and Vogel before him he was intensely interested in the future of the Empire in the Pacific, and New Zealand's part in Pacific development, and he frequently urged the importance of maintaining British supremacy. Grey and Vogel had had dreams of New Zealand as a centre of a group of British possessions. As far back as his first Governorship, Grey had unsuccessfully worried the Colonial Office with respect to the future of South Sea Islands, and the danger of allowing other nations to take them. In the 'eighties an Act authorising annexation of South Sea Islands had been disallowed by the Imperial Government. Then, too,

the Stout-Vogel Government had been ready to join Samoa to the Empire. As Seddon put it in a speech in which he took British Governments to task for apathy towards British interests in the Pacific, the New Zealand Government steamer was lying in a New Zealand port "tearing at its hawsers, and everything was in readiness to take possession," but the British Government intervened. In 1901, Seddon was able to satisfy partly an ambition that would, if it could, have planted the British flag all over the Pacific. In that year the boundaries of New Zealand were extended to include the Cook Islands, lying some 1600 miles north-east of the Colony, a scattered tropical group, and another collection of islands some hundreds of miles to the north of these. These islands were inhabited by cousins of the Maoris, and it was from the Cook group that the famous canoes had set out on their historic voyage to Ao-tea-roa.*

Seddon also held strong views on the danger to racial purity and a high standard of living, of unrestricted immigration. The Immigration Restriction Act of 1900, and its amendments, imposed an education test on persons not of British birth, mainly for the purpose of keeping out Asiatics. Chinese were also subject to a poll tax. The average New Zealander did not worry much when it was pointed out to him that this involved shutting out British subjects belonging to Eastern possessions, and consequently might have most far-reaching effects on the development of the Empire. What he was mostly concerned about was keeping the Hindu and the Chinese from entering New Zealand in large numbers, and so menacing his racial purity and his economic ideals. On this subject his convictions were deep and ineradicable; the more he thought about it and watched the experience of countries with a colour problem,

*Vide pages 21-22.

the more determined he was to practise the prevention that is better than cure.

Another external matter of importance that came to the fore in Seddon's reign, was the question of political union with Australia. In the year 1901 the federation of the Australian States was accomplished. In the previous year Seddon had appointed a commission to consider whether New Zealand should enter the new Commonwealth. He might have saved himself the trouble, for there had never been any appreciable enthusiasm in New Zealand for such a union, and the adverse report of the commission was almost a foregone conclusion. Grey had come back from the convention of 1891 inclined towards such a change, but Ballance had met him with the emphatic opinion that "the whole weight of the argument is against New Zealand entering into any Federation, except a Federation with the Mother Country." Sir John Hall made the tersest and most telling remark on the subject, when, with New Zealand's geographical position in his mind, he said that "twelve hundred obstacles to Federation will always be found between Australia and New Zealand." Distance was, and is, one fundamental objection in New Zealand opinion. Another is to be found in differences of national temperament. It is not only that New Zealand is not, as many English people think, a group of islands off the Australian coast. The New Zealander, owing to his climate, the configuration of his country, and his history, is a type different from the Australian. He shares with the Australian the broad characteristics of the colonial, but there is almost as much difference between the two as between the Englishman and the Scot. Whatever the future may hold, the New Zealander of to-day believes that he has no reason to regret the decision to remain outside the Australian Commonwealth.

It was inevitable that when the foundations of Liberal policy had been laid, legislation should be less sensational, but the mills of Parliament continued to grind fast. It had become a conviction of Ministers, which persists to this day, that the value of a session could be measured by the bulk of its statute book. According to Drummond, Seddon personally introduced 550 Bills into Parliament, and 180 became law. Of the later measures of his administration, the most interesting was the Old Age Pensions Act of 1898. This is the Act with which Seddon's name is most specifically associated, and of which he was proudest. Of all forms of legislation, that which directly benefited the poor made the strongest appeal to his warm and intensely practical sympathies, so he threw himself vigorously into the business of providing such benefits as old age pensions, nurses and maternity homes for the working classes, and protection for infant life. He found time too, to be interested in education—to develop the technical branch, and to make secondary education more accessible to the masses. The St. Helen's Maternity Hospitals in the four centres (so named after Seddon's birthplace), where the wives of wage-earners are received, are monuments to his humanitarian impulses. The Old Age Pensions Act involved him in the longest and sternest fight of his career. He was not altogether the first in the field. Years before Atkinson had put forward a scheme of national annuities, based on compulsory contribution. Mr. William Leys, chairman of the Auckland Liberal Association, had strongly advocated on the platform, and in a widely-circulated pamphlet, a non-contributory scheme of old-age pensions, by which men and women above certain ages, and of good character, should receive small incomes from

the State. Seddon, whose strongest point was not originality, introduced this system in 1896, and the following year the Bill got as far as the Council. In 1898 it passed both Houses, after a determined battle, during which the House of Representatives sat uninterruptedly in committee for nearly ninety hours, with the Prime Minister refusing to leave the bridge. "A man does not want to do that more than once or twice in a lifetime," he said afterwards of this feat of endurance. He was as inflexibly opposed to the idea that pensions should be contributory, as he was to the proposal that all old people should receive them. The Opposition was vehement and sincere. Pensions, it was argued, would destroy the incentive to thrift, and pauperise the community. Whether they have had these effects to any extent is a matter of opinion, but it is a fact that no subsequent Government has proposed to abolish the system. The pension suggested by Mr. Leys was 10s. a week, but Mr. Seddon's Bill limited the pension to eighteen pounds a year, which was increased in 1905 to £26. That these allowances were a great boon to many old people is unquestioned. Seddon afterwards took up the question of national annuities, hoping to operate a contributory system side by side with his old age pensions, but did not live to introduce it. His Liberal successor, Sir Joseph Ward, established in the National Provident Fund such a system for the benefit of wage-earners and people with small salaries.

What has been written can give only a faint impression of the tireless and searching industry of the Prime Minister. Nature exacted its price, and some time before the end his health began to fail. In 1905 he fought a general election with all his strength, making thirty-seven speeches in his campaign through

the country. An overwhelming victory, perhaps the greatest of his political career, was the result. The verdict was not wholly political. It had been charged against the Premier by a small Parliamentary group that called themselves "New Liberals," that an improper payment had been made to his eldest son, an officer in the New Zealand Army. What was known as "the voucher incident" ended in the complete vindication of the Government and of Mr. Seddon's son by a commission of Judges, and as a consequence Seddon and his party took with them to the polls a strong sympathetic vote. After the election the Liberals numbered 56, and the Opposition, smitten by an issue it had not raised, 16; and on the stricken field lay the bodies of more than one Conservative leader. It might have seemed to the Opposition on that December morning that the promised land lay further off than ever.

In May, 1906, Seddon, ordered a rest by his doctors, paid a visit to Australia. He had made up his mind that the end of his career was in sight. His "rest" in Australia was a triumphal but fatiguing round of travel, banquets, speeches, and interviews. Australia "rose at him"; no New Zealander had aroused so much interest since Grey's visit fifteen years before. "It's the hardest month I've had," said the tired man when he boarded the steamer at Sydney on June 10th, glad to escape from the strain of his magnificent reception. Early in the evening of the next day, while the vessel was at sea, he died suddenly and peacefully in his cabin. He was not quite sixty-one, which is not old for a statesman, when one remembers that Gladstone was over eighty when he retired, that Palmerston was Prime Minister at seventy-five, and that Mr. Asquith shouldered the tremendous responsibility of the Great War in his

sixty-second year, and survived it. Seddon was the victim partly of his own love of power and detail, partly of his intense interest in affairs, and partly of that hard taskmaster, colonial democracy, which, encouraged by its victims, expects Ministers to take turns at firing the boilers and cleaning the brass, as well as navigating the ship.

The news stunned New Zealand. He had ruled so long and so masterfully that his sudden removal was like an eclipse. From all over the Empire came tributes to one who had been so much more than a local figure. His mistakes and his faults were forgotten, and all parties united in paying tributes to his greatness, and lamenting his passing. Amid the mournings of a young nation he was laid to rest—he who in life did not know what rest was—in the heart of the capital where for so many years he had reigned as an uncrowned king.

CHAPTER III.—THE LAST YEARS OF LIBERALISM.

There was no doubt about the succession. By ability, experience, and position in the Government, Sir Joseph Ward was the man to succeed Seddon. He was in England at the time, and Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Hall-Jones acted as Prime Minister for a few weeks until he returned. Sir Joseph Ward entered upon what was, superficially at least, a wonderful political inheritance. The party had enjoyed fifteen unbroken years of power, its legislation had drawn the attention of the world, the Opposition had been routed at the elections the year before, and the country was riding happily on a swelling tide of prosperity. But one can see now that the new

Premier's outlook was really less bright. In the man himself there were weaknesses. Able and energetic, an excellent administrator with an unusually good grasp of detail, and a competent Parliamentary hand, he was not an inspired leader to a party and a people accustomed to Seddon. He was not Seddon's equal in either political courage, strength, personality, or judgment of men and circumstances. With the mass of the people he was not so popular. Many refused to forget that chapter in his business career that had led to his temporary retirement, and to the discredit of New Zealand be it said, in a new country religious differences of the Old World had found a congenial soil, so that it told against Sir Joseph Ward that he was a Roman Catholic. Unlike Seddon, Ward had taken a title. New Zealand was quite prepared to accept a knight as Premier, but when in 1911 Ward accepted a baronetcy, public disapproval was emphatic. New Zealanders disliked intensely the idea of an hereditary aristocracy.

There were other factors, then unanticipated or operating only feebly, that worked against him. Liberalism is by nature more fissiparous than Conservatism; the Radical wing tends to strain away from the Liberal body. In the Liberal-Labour party led by Ballance and Seddon, moderate Liberals marched with Radicals and Socialists. On one of the outstanding political questions, land policy, the party was divided into freehold and leasehold camps, whereas the Opposition was for the freehold. Able leadership and force of circumstances held the sections together on this and other questions. Now the masterful yet accommodating Seddon was gone, and circumstances were changing. Of this change Sir Joseph Ward was a victim. It was the good

fortune of Ballance and Seddon that in 1890, and the years following, nearly everything favoured an alliance between Liberalism, Radicalism, and Labour. It was Ward's misfortune that he succeeded to the Premiership when that alliance was about to show signs of weakening. It is doubtful if even Seddon, with ten more years of power, could have prevented the rise of an independent Labour party. Labour looked across the Tasman Sea, and saw its comrades reaching the Treasury benches as a separate party. The gap between Labour and Liberalism widened. With so much of its work done, the force of Liberalism slackened, while with experience Conservatism became more Liberal. The law of diminishing returns was operating in politics. To express this in familiar terms, for every knot you desire to get in the speed of a ship beyond a certain limit, you must very greatly increase your consumption of fuel. Labour was not satisfied with the Liberal achievement. It was true that New Zealand had avoided the economic extremes of the Old World, and that the lot of the worker was nowhere else so good, but wealth was still unequally distributed, and many of what Labour considered the iniquities of the capitalist system still flourished. "A plague on both your houses," said Labour to the other parties. "You're much of a muchness, and you cannot give us what we want." What Labour wanted was that State Socialism of which the Liberals had given it only a small instalment.

The reconstruction of the Government almost coincided with a serious revolt against the conciliation and arbitration system. Dissatisfaction with it had been slowly gathering head among some of the workers. Men grumbled when the Court did not give them all they wanted. And what was the good, it

was asked, of getting higher wages, when the employer could pass on the additional cost to his consumer? If wages had risen, so had the cost of living. Delays in transacting business were a legitimate source of complaint; but worse still, the impartiality of the Court was attacked. When the Court was established, the Supreme Court bench objected to the appointment of a Judge as president; and developments now seemed to support its view of the undesirableness of thus connecting the two Courts. Serious strikes began to occur. From the passing of the Act in 1894 up to the end of 1905 there had been no strikes among unions. In 1906 there was a very short strike by the Auckland tramwaymen. In 1907 there were twelve strikes, but all in one industry, slaughtering at freezing works. The following year there were the same number in different unions, including the Wellington bakers, the Auckland tramwaymen, and the West Coast miners. Other unions supported strikers by resolutions and money. The outlook for peaceful methods was grave, and the Government made haste to amend the system by strengthening the conciliation side of it, writing fresh definitions of unlawful strikes, and imposing new penalties for infractions of the law. Fortunately public opinion supported the system. Probably most of the workers really preferred conciliation and arbitration to direct action, and the employers, who had once been opposed to the whole idea of State interference, now rallied solidly round it. The dissatisfied worker revolted because awards disappointed him; the employer defended the system because it gave him protection. The system was saved, but the spell of industrial peace was broken, and henceforth conciliators and arbitrators were to work with the sound of war, or preparations for war, in their ears. This war

culminated in the fierce Waihi strike of 1911-12, in which violence occurred, and in the general strike of 1913,* when industry was dislocated for two months, farmers trooped to the cities to act as mounted special constables, and there were ugly clashes between strikers and police. Two conclusions emerged from all this experience: that the State's methods of settling disputes promoted good health, but could not guarantee either immunity or cure, and that their success depended largely on the mental state of the patient.

Impelling and even volcanic doctrines were being introduced from abroad, and were working. Reeves makes the interesting point that the Socialistic ideas that influenced New Zealanders in the 'eighties and early 'nineties were English (or perhaps we should say Anglo-Saxon) and mild. For the most part they were based on constitutional progress, organised violence had no part in them, and they had a spiritual and Christian colouring. But the doctrines now put forward ably and vehemently by a small band of propagandists were those of continental Socialism, and were derived from Karl Marx and his successors. The new evangel preached internationalism and derided patriotism, declared ruthless war on capitalism, saw in strikes the worker's best weapon, was not above denying the sanctity of contracts, and generally poured forth a stream of acrid and corrosive bitterness. The class war was to be the one thought of the worker. Syndicalist doctrines—the control of industries by the workers for the workers—came in from Europe, and from America arrived missionaries of the Industrial Workers of the World, a sinister organisation that aimed at syndicalism through strikes and anything that would injure the

*Vide page 379.

employer. All grades of opinion were represented in the Labour party, and it is impossible to say how many men of the working class were seriously influenced by these ideas. But while the historian may credit the bulk of this class with loyalty and moderation, he is compelled to record that some of these Marxians and "direct action" men forced their way to the front, were supported by unionist votes, and claimed to speak for Labour. The Federation of Labour was an organisation in which these fiery and destructive spirits found much scope for their energies, and it came to stand in popular opinion for direct action and the class war. By a notable irony its birthplace was the State coalmines in Westland.

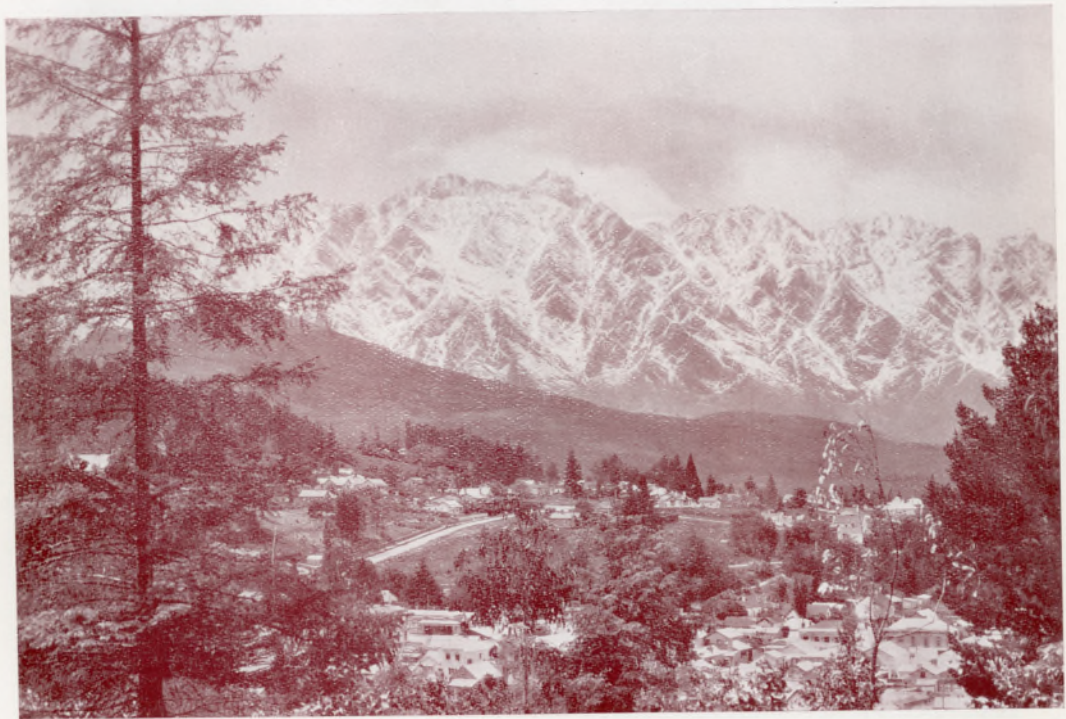
The new Ministry followed the lines laid down by its predecessors. Sir Joseph Ward had among his colleagues three men of note—Sir John Findlay, Attorney-General and Minister of Justice, who in mental qualities and literary tastes and gifts bore some resemblance to Mr. Reeves; Mr. George Fowlds, an able and progressive Minister of Education, who was a prominent Single-taxer; and Mr. Robert McNab, who had made his name as a historian of the very early days of New Zealand, and now aspired to settle the land question definitely and boldly on radical lines. Mr. McNab brought in a leasehold Land Bill, but there was strong opposition to it in and out of Parliament, and it was modified. One of the Liberals' troubles was that the land problem had not been solved. Though there had been much subdivision, and the general trend of settlement, caused by legislation and economic forces, was towards smaller holdings, the times were so prosperous that many owners of large estates could afford to hold their broad acres. The land tax had had little effect in breaking up big estates; purchase by the Government and the stimulus of high prices ruling for land

had been more potent factors. The intended effect of the tax had been negated to some extent by evasion, of which eight different methods were explained by Sir John Findlay. For example: a landowner might divide his land by making bogus sales to employees and taking from them mortgages for all of the purchase money save a trifling deposit. These men leased the divisions to the real owner at a rent that was the same as the interest on the mortgage, and since the mortgage money became due on demand, he could at any time resume possession. His sheep grazed all over the property. The Government did a good deal. It increased the graduated land tax. It abolished in 1907, for future transactions, McKenzie's lease-in-perpetuity system, which now had few supporters, and substituted renewable leases, with periodical revaluation. It gave existing lessees the right to modify their tenure, or acquire the freehold. Eventually it set aside some millions of acres as an inalienable national endowment, the rents from which were to be devoted to old age pensions and education. But land monopoly continued to be a potent political cry, and was taken up with special force and effect by the Labour party. Among a mass of other legislation may be singled out here the National Provident Fund Act of 1910, which encouraged the wage-earner to provide against destitution, incapacity, and old age; and the Licensing Act that gave people the opportunity of voting for or against national prohibition. At the first test in 1911 the prohibitionists polled nearly 56 per cent. of the votes recorded, but a three-fifths majority was required for victory.

By the year 1911 the population of the country had passed the million mark. For some years the North Island, with its larger tracts of virgin land

suitable for settlement, and its more equable climate, had been forging ahead of the South Island. In 1871 the South Island had roughly 62 per cent. of the population to 38 of the North, and in 1891 the proportions were 55 to 45. Ten years later, when good times had set in and the land policy of the Liberals was in full swing, the populations were about equal, and by 1911 the North had 56 per cent. to its rival's 44. Since representation was based on population, and power grows with settlement and wealth, one result was the gradual decline of the South Island's political dominance. The North Island was entering on an era of dazzling possibilities. Settlement pushed farther and farther into the interior, and the profits to be made, especially in dairying, encouraged State and private enterprise to bring into use land hitherto considered worthless. By 1911 the North Island had 157 butter and 128 cheese factories, to 28 and 90 in the South, and had passed the South in the number of its sheep. Men ceased to marvel that farm land should be bought for £50 an acre, and in time prices went beyond the £100 line.

Turning from politics to the man on the land, one feels that here is the real history of the country—the slow, silent, and by many unnoticed advance of the tide of settlement; the tent or hut in the wilderness; the clearing of the bush; the isolation punctuated by weary journeys over bad roads; the long toil and its reward; the gradual making of a home; the changing of a countryside. In the story of the conquest of this beautiful land—how often, alas, does the process involve what often follows in the conqueror's train, the destruction of beauty—there is adventure and romance, pathos and sentiment, humour and tragedy. Yet art has done little to capture this drama of life and nature. One can call to mind a few gifted



Queenstown on Lake Wakatipu, and the Remarkables in the background. [Govt. Publicity photo]



Sutherland Falls near Milford Sound, Otago. . [Govt. Publicity photo

New Zealand painters, a handful of minor poets, and one or two novelists, but while their work is promising it bears as yet a tiny proportion to the opportunities. Australia leads New Zealand in all or nearly all kinds of Art, perhaps because it is older and has a larger and fuller community life. In New Zealand pioneering still absorbs too much energy for Art to flourish. With all too many New Zealanders progress is measured by material change and gain.

As the years passed, New Zealand came more and more under the influence of the great world stream moving towards the supreme catastrophe. It may be mentioned here that in 1907 New Zealand officially ceased to be a Colony, and became a Dominion. The status of Australia and Canada, sister units in the Empire, made the change inevitable, but though the promotion in name was announced as momentous, it was received without enthusiasm. Indeed, regret was expressed at the passing of the word "colony," with its long and honourable history and wealth of association. In the time that was coming deeds and not names were to count. Already the leading newspapers of the country, which are distinguished generally by the attention they give to foreign affairs, had been noting German ambitions, and thoughtful men were uneasy about the future of Australasia in relation to the teeming East, especially in the light of Australasia's deliberate and determined exclusiveness. Questions of defence forced themselves to the front. New Zealand had been lazily content with a system that had little to commend it. From 1887 to 1903 a paltry £20,000 had been paid to the Imperial Government as a contribution to naval defence. In 1903 this was raised to £40,000, and in 1908 to £100,000. In 1909 events began to move rapidly. One day New Zealanders read with sur-

prise and concern that, according to the First Lord of the Admiralty, Germany's naval strength was approaching perilously close to Britain's, and that the outlook was serious. Sir Joseph Ward at once offered Britain, as a gift from New Zealand, one first-class battleship, or if necessary, two. Parliament was not sitting at the time, and the offer was criticised as unconstitutional, but critics did not sufficiently appreciate the value of promptitude in such a move. The smaller offer was gratefully accepted; the world was given another object-lesson, which it did not sufficiently take to heart, of the solidarity of the Empire; and the people of New Zealand were committed to contribute nearly £2 per head as the cost of one unit of the Navy. The additional burden was cheerfully shouldered. The ship took the form of a battle-cruiser. H.M.S. *New Zealand*, as she was called, visited the Dominion before the Great War, the pride and wonder of all eyes, and bore her part nobly in the struggle. At this time Australia was founding a navy of her own; but the New Zealand Government preferred the policy of direct contribution to the Imperial Navy, with a small squadron in local waters in which New Zealand ratings were trained.

In the meantime concern about the country's land defences had been growing. These consisted of forts at the chief ports, a very small body of professional soldiers, and a volunteer force, which, for all the devotion that some of its members gave to it, lacked proper organisation, and was generally inefficient. The experience of the South African War had worked no improvement; indeed, it had done harm in encouraging the dangerous fallacy that all a soldier needed to know was how to shoot. However, the newspapers and the National Defence League kept

the question of national service before the public, and in the session of 1909, following the "scare" and Sir Joseph Ward's attendance at a special naval defence conference in London, the Government passed an Act embodying the principle of universal training. Under the scheme of training put into operation, in the framing of which the Government had the benefit of Lord Kitchener's advice, boys served in the Junior Cadets from the age of twelve to the age of fourteen, and in the Senior Cadets from fourteen to eighteen, and then passed into the Territorials. The Junior Cadets were subsequently abolished. At twenty-five the Territorial passed into the Reserve, and remained there for five years. No soldier could be compelled to serve outside the country. The training was given in the afternoons and evenings and at annual camps. The organisation of the forces was put on a more efficient footing, and a number of lads were sent to the admirable Military College established by the Australian Government, to be trained for staff positions. When the system was tested in the Great War it proved valuable in certain respects. For one thing, it helped to provide a number of competent officers, under whom New Zealand soldiers were quickly brought to a pitch of efficiency that set the world wondering. The results of the limited training given the rank and file were disappointing. The most important thing about the change was that it embodied the great principle that defence is the duty of every citizen.

In 1908, three years after Seddon's last triumph, the Ward Government faced the electors. A new system of voting was tried. Few New Zealanders had been interested in the question of electoral reform. With all its imperfections, the system of 'first past the post' was accepted by most as a law of nature, and proportional representation was regarded

as a mysterious fad. The second ballot, now adopted, was considered an improvement on the method by which in a contest between more than two candidates, the leading candidate was elected whether or not he polled a majority of votes. The new system provided that where there was not an absolute majority the first two candidates must go to a second poll a fortnight later. Theoretically at any rate this was an improvement on the old method, but in practice it justified some of the criticism it had drawn. There was some curious, and indeed unholy, manœuvring for votes in the interval between the ballots. The Liberal party came back with a substantial majority, but its strength in the House exclusive of Maori members, was reduced to forty-six, and the Opposition increased its numbers to twenty-six. This success stimulated the Opposition to increased efforts. It changed its name. "Conservative" was obviously impossible, and events were not so kind as when they provided the English Conservatives with the cover of "Unionist." The party took the name of "Reform," a good choice, in that it blurred ancestry and contained a large and expansive promise of action. What the Reformers mainly proposed to reform was the administration of the Liberal Government. Most Liberal legislation had been opposed by the Opposition, but no one really supposed that if the Opposition changed places with the Government it would repeal the chief Liberal policy measures. Mr. Massey offered the people, among other things, financial and fiscal reform, control of the civil service by a non-political board, and an elective Legislative Council chosen on the proportional representation system of voting. But the main weapon of Reform was criticism of the Government's methods. Charges of reckless extrava-

gance, corruption, and "Tammanyism," were brought against the Government. It was time, Reformers urged, that there was a change. In a democratic country, said Mr Massey—perhaps not foreseeing his own future—no party should remain in office continuously for more than a very few years. It was prophesied that when Reform got access to the Ministerial pigeon-holes there would be revelations.*

For some of the criticism there was justification. It is a rare party that does not develop weaknesses during twenty years of office, and the Liberal record had never been free from blots visible even to friends. Whether the Reform attack was in some of its methods a trifle more bitter and unscrupulous than is usual in political fighting, is a matter of opinion. By the time the campaign of 1911 arrived, the Opposition had greatly improved its organisation. A few years before, large landowners had founded a newspaper that was to be the most potent factor of its kind in the defeat of the Government. The party fought the elections hotly and confidently. The Liberals were handicapped by the conditions set out above. Not only was Labour hiving off, but its candidates were going so far as to promise to vote the Government out. Reform, poles apart from Labour in policy, swung votes to Labour in order to defeat the Government. When on December 14th the second ballot had been held, a situation without precedent for thirty years was revealed. The two principal parties were about equal in pledged supporters, with a slight advantage to the Opposition, and there were a handful of Labour members and Independents to hold the balance. The Liberal casualties included Sir John Findlay, who, having been in the Legislative Council, now sought election to the House, and Mr.

*Perhaps it should be added that no such scandals were brought to light.

Fowlds, who, having resigned from the Ministry because he thought it not sufficiently progressive, was defeated by a Labour candidate.

Sir Joseph Ward was advised to resign at once, and throw upon Mr. Massey the onus of carrying on. It was sound advice, but the Prime Minister preferred to wait and meet Parliament at a special session in March, 1912. There could be no doubt that his unpopularity with a large section of the electors was one cause of the party's failure at the polls, and in the party itself there was dissatisfaction. Ward therefore decided to retire in favour of another leader, by which means it was hoped to keep the party together and in power. There was a long and acrimonious debate on a no-confidence motion. The Opposition tactics were not good, and failed to attract the waverers. On the other hand the decision to reconstruct the Ministry was held to release certain members from pledges to vote against Ward. Amid excitement unknown to that generation, the House divided equally on the motion, 39 votes on each side, and the Speaker gave his casting vote for the Government. The session closed, and in the recess Ward resigned, and the party chose as his successor, Mr Thomas (afterwards Sir Thomas) Mackenzie, a member of the Cabinet, who was a capable man of affairs, but not conspicuous for political ability or inspiring as a leader. Mr. Mackenzie selected a Cabinet of curiously mixed elements. There were rejected members of the old Cabinet who bided their time, and altogether the Liberal party was not the happier or the more united for this reconstruction.

The Mackenzie Government had three months of life. When Parliament re-assembled in June (1912) Mr Massey was ready again with a testing motion, and this time he seemed to be sure of his ground. After

a debate of four days, the end came quietly at half-past four on the morning of July 6th, when Mr. Massey's motion was carried by 41 votes to 33. Five members who had voted for the Liberals in March, now sided with the Opposition. Of these one had been a member of the Ward Cabinet, two others had been elected as Ward men, and two had called themselves Independent Liberals. A second ex-member of Ward's Ministry abstained from voting. That morning New Zealand heard news of a kind that had not been chronicled for nearly twenty-two years, and it may well have seemed to some like an earth-shaking event.

Such was the end of the long Liberal lease of power. The party was pushed, not swept, out of office. The elections showed that it was still strong in the country.* It had contributed to its own fall. A certain amount of decay, of degeneration of fibre, had appeared in the party of Ballance and Seddon, the result of disunion, timidity, lack of inspiration, and a habit of following the line of least resistance in policy and administration. These are weaknesses from which no party enjoying a long lease of power has ever been wholly free. But, however much the Reformer might rejoice, if he had imagination he could not contemplate without emotion of a different kind, the defeat of a party that had reigned so long, done so much, and made such a stir in the world.

On July 10th Mr. Massey and his Cabinet were sworn in. In one respect his position was even worse than that of Ballance twenty-one years before, for neither he nor any of his colleagues had had any experience of office. However, it was a strong side, as they say in cricket, and most people were prepared

*A Liberal newspaper calculated that in the first ballot Liberals polled 48·2 per cent. of votes, Reform 36·31 per cent., and Labour 12·73 per cent.

to give it a chance, and indeed awaited its performance with pleasurable anticipation born of novelty. There were predictions that it would not live long, but a similar prediction had been made about the Liberals in 1891. Mr. Massey was to furnish another example of the difficulty of forecasting the political future.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MASSEY GOVERNMENT; AND THE WAR.

With a comfortable majority behind him in the House, and the country still on the wave of prosperity, Mr. Massey could reasonably look forward to two and a half years of office in favourable conditions. Fate was to give him nearly thirteen years of office, but only one of these, the first, was to be normal. In 1913 occurred the second of the two great upheavals in New Zealand industry, and the country had barely recovered from this form of civil strife when it was plunged into the Great War. During the War and after it, nothing was normal. In 1912, however, these things were hidden. For the most part the new Ministry followed in the footsteps of its predecessors. If there were Conservatives who hoped, or Liberals who feared, that the work of Ballance and Seddon would be undone, they soon saw that no political revolution had occurred.

In only a few respects did the Reform Government make or propose notable changes. The party

was unanimously for the freehold, and it became clear that, for the time being at any rate, this was the victorious side in the old battle of the tenures. The Liberal party had been divided on the issue. The small farmer had gone over to Reform in numbers, and probably the emphatic freehold policy of the party had had more to do with this conversion than anything else. McKenzie's leasehold policy had been framed at the end of a long period of depression, when no one foresaw how much better times were to be. Prosperity and steadily rising land values had increased the popularity of the freehold. Traffic in land became a rural occupation. After the passing of his first Land Bill in 1912, Mr. Massey told the country that he had changed the land policy from leasehold to freehold. Seeing that leasehold was retained as a tenure, this was not strictly accurate. The value of the leasehold was that the farmer was not obliged to find the whole capital value of the land before he could utilise it, and for this reason, leasehold tenures were never abandoned, but the important provision was introduced, in accord with an election promise, of giving the Crown tenant the option to purchase on more favourable terms than under the existing law. The Land Acts of 1912 and 1913 gave this right to 13,175 Crown tenants holding 2,886,000 acres. One result of this was to stimulate land speculation and inflate land values. After the War the principle was applied to National Endowment Lands, but with the proviso that proceeds of sales must be invested in other lands.

The second change was in the method of Civil Service control. That political influence and opinion counted for too much in the Service had long been a charge made by the Reform Party against the Liberals, and the party had been

pledged to improvement. Under the Act framed by the Hon. A. L. Herdman (afterwards Mr. Justice Herdman), control of a great part of the Service passed into the hands of the Public Service Commissioner, who was removable only by resolution of Parliament. It was made a legal offence to attempt to use political influence to procure an appointment, and from the fact that no politician has ever been convicted of this, one may perhaps conclude that the provision has had a good effect. Important departments, including the railways, remained outside the scope of the Act. There have always been differences of opinion about this change, but it is safe to say that the Act has been beneficial in several respects. It has lessened the number of opportunities for the exercise of political favour; it has provided a wider field for talent by breaking down the barriers between departments and giving more weight to ability as distinct from seniority; and it has led to the adoption of better business methods.

The third policy measure affected the Legislative Council. In 1913 the Massey Government carried a Bill providing that the Legislative Council, which was then filled by nomination, should be elected by large constituencies voting on a system of proportional representation. The Act was to come into force in January, 1916, but the War intervened, and its operation was postponed. After the War postponement became indefinite. Doubts developed in the Government party regarding the efficiency of the proportional representation method of election, and there was no strong demand from Parliament for the abolition of nomination. The generality of politicians, on reflection, seemed to be satisfied with the principle of a seven-year tenure, the life members having by this time disappeared. On the

Reform side, possibly, possession of office helped them to reach this conclusion.

Another departure from established policy was the creation of a local navy. New Zealand had made a direct money contribution to the Imperial Navy. She now began to build up a small cruiser force of her own, composed of ships from the Royal Navy.

Reform had not been long in office before it was confronted with the most serious industrial trouble in New Zealand's history. Like the Great War, the Great Strike of 1913 developed rapidly from relatively small beginnings, but after many warnings had been given. A small extreme section of the Labour movement, imbued with syndicalist ideas, had been preaching the doctrine of the class war and direct action, and had attempted to swing the whole movement violently to the "Left." The Arbitration Court was to be ignored as worthless, and the weapon of the wage-earner was to be the general strike. A precursor of the upheaval of 1913 was the Waihi strike of 1912, when for twenty weeks there was a struggle in that mining township, marked by some violence between a registered and a de-registered union. The struggle of the following year started in a dispute between the Union Steam Ship Company and some shipwrights in Wellington. It spread at once to the waterside workers and soon to the seamen, carters, and miners. Coastal and overseas trade was paralysed, and among some of the strikers there was an ugly temper, which boded ill for the community's rights. The community's answer was the enrolment of farmers and townsmen as special police. Farmers rode into the city in semi-military formation, set up camps, and side by side with city volunteers, opened the wharves and kept a

certain amount of trade going. The strikers threw a few missiles and much abuse, but they could not prevail against this organisation. Shipping provided the next difficult problem. The seamen began to come out here and there. They were not primarily concerned in the dispute, but the crews of a number of vessels showed their sympathy with the shore strikers by refusing to work ships loaded by free labourers. The difficulty was met by manning ships with officers on deck and amateurs in the stokehold. The curious sight was presented of a mate ordering about a deck complement of captains. How much willingness there was among the rank and file of the unions that were drawn into the conflict, can only be conjectured. The attempt to use the general strike weapon failed for the reason that has been potent wherever this policy has been tried. The community defended itself, and making one shift after another to keep the wheels of life moving, wore down the enemy. After eight weeks the struggle ended in the complete defeat of the strikers. Militant tactics were deeply discredited in the Labour movement. The ability of society to defend itself had been dramatically illustrated, and especially had it been shown that the farmer would not permit the city worker to interfere with the marketing of his goods. On the other hand the strike gave an impetus to the development of Labour on the political side.

Then came the Great War. The crisis was no surprise to well-informed New Zealanders, and least of all to the Government, which had discussed with the Imperial authorities what New Zealand should do in such an event. The response of Government and people was immediate and whole-hearted, and there was so little dissent that it may be called

unanimous. The country flung itself into the struggle. Recruiting began at once, and men poured into the stations. Militarily the Dominion was half prepared; it was completing the defence scheme introduced a few years before. The average recruit in camp during the war did not seem to derive much benefit from his Territorial training, but the defence scheme had provided the country with a headquarters staff, a corps of officers and non-commissioned officers, and some equipment. This preparation bore immediate fruit. Eleven days after the outbreak of war a force left New Zealand, at the suggestion of the Imperial Government, to occupy German Samoa. The occupation was bloodless, and the territory was held throughout the War, and is now administered under a mandate from the League of Nations. It should be clearly understood that although New Zealand, as a portion of the Empire, could not have contracted out of a condition of war if she would, she was not bound legally to go to the Motherland's assistance. All that she gave to the cause was given of her own free will. When the War was but two months old the Main Body of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force, 8,500 all told, left the country for Egypt. This contingent, a local historian remarks, was equivalent to 400,000 men from Great Britain. On that October day in 1914 no one realised how long and tragic and glorious the trail was to be. Some of the men were afraid they would be too late for the fighting.

The war effort of New Zealand was a towering and enduring proof of history's capacity to produce the unexpected, and, indeed, the unimaginable. Let us imagine that on that January day in 1840, when Captain Hobson hoisted the British flag at the Bay of Islands, a Maori *tohunga* strode out and prophesied

that well within a hundred years New Zealand, out of a population of 1,100,000 would send overseas to help to redress the balance of the Old World, more than 100,000 soldiers, of whom some 17,000 would give their lives.* With what credence would such a prophecy have been received? Yet these things came to pass. These men, the flower of a young nation, went forth to fight in a quarrel they had not sought and had no hand in framing. Honour, local and Imperial citizenship, and a sense of preservation, called them. The light of their valour and sacrifice is awful; the contemplation of so much glorious youth bereft of the immeasurable heritage of life, touches the profoundest depths of grief and pity. Their fame as soldiers is no less secure than that of Cæsar's Tenth Legion or Wellington's Light Division. Springing from their tasks of peace, with little or no acquaintance with the business of war, these farmers, labourers, clerks, and shopmen,

Whose consecrated souls we failed
To note beneath the common guise,
Till all-revealing death unveiled
The splendour of your sacrifice,

became in skill and courage and endurance a rock to their commanders and a terror to an enemy that had long been a nation in arms. Monuments to them have risen like a forest, but transcending all is the memory of their contribution to the common victory. Again and again the imperishable words come marching in with their stately memorial cadence—"that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly

*The number who died overseas was 16,697. Up to December, 1923, the total number of deaths overseas and in N.Z., including deaths during training, was 19,166.

resolve.” And with a wider meaning than the poet had in mind, the reply comes back,

To you from failing hands we throw
The torch; be yours to hold it high.
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders fields.

The service of the New Zealand troops can be but briefly reviewed here. They helped to repel an attack on the Suez Canal. They took part in the landing at Gallipoli, where their association with the Australians gave rise to the famous name “Anzac,” and they were on the Peninsula to the end. There they laid the foundation of that magnificent reputation which in France won them rank among the very best divisions of the Empire’s armies. They helped to protect Egypt’s west frontier from the Senussi. Reorganised as separate division, the infantry were moved to France, and first distinguished themselves there in the Battle of the Somme, 1916. In 1917 they were in the action of Messines, and the appalling carnage of the Flanders mud later in the year. In the spring of 1918 they were rushed up to fill a gap made by the advancing Germans. In the final Allied advance they played a noble part, and were among the troops that marched into Germany. The mounted men were allotted service in Egypt and Palestine, where they helped to repulse the Turks, and took part in the campaigns that freed Jerusalem, and finally broke the Turkish power in pieces. A wireless unit was sent to Mesopotamia, and travelled as far as Persia. There was a sprinkling of New Zealanders in British army units, and others served under the White Ensign in all the seas.

To keep the units properly reinforced required not only determination but first-class organisation. So

steady was the response of the people, and so excellent were the arrangements of the New Zealand Government and the Admiralty, that reinforcements were never lacking, and it has been claimed for the New Zealand Division, that by reason of this regular reinforcing, when the war ended it was the strongest division on the Western Front. For the first two years the voluntary system sufficed, and it might have continued to do so, but the unfairness of its operation and the need for protecting essential industries, caused the Government to introduce conscription. The law enforcing it was passed in August, 1916, and the first ballot for recruits was drawn in November of the same year. New Zealand recruited 91,941 volunteers and 32,270 under the Military Service Act, a total of 124,211 out of an eligible male population of about 250,000. The total number embarked was 100,444. The Maoris also sent some hundreds of men to the war, and the Cook Islands contributed a contingent.

The raising and partial equipping and supplying of these forces was an achievement in effort and organisation of which New Zealand may well be proud. Sir James Allen, who was Minister of Defence throughout the War, was freely criticised, but if he is judged by the success of the machine which he directed, he must be ranked as an efficient as well as a devoted servant of the public. At the head of affairs stood Mr. Massey, simple in his faith, clear in his appreciation of the issues involved, and immovable in his courage and determination. The national effort in man-power was very great, and there were few homes that did not mourn the loss of relative or friend, but prosperity shone upon the land all through the struggle. The country was unscarred by war. Production went forward with

but little interference by the heavy recruiting, prices of produce soared, and the Motherland was only too eager to take every pound of supplies that could be crammed on board ship and brought past the enemy's submarines and raiding cruisers. Produce shipped to England during the war was valued at £160,000,000. Despite the critical shortage of tonnage, there were ships to carry New Zealand reinforcements and food across the world. The White Ensign virtually disappeared from New Zealand waters, but merchant ships came and went regularly; the Navy was doing its work in the right place. As time went on there was more and more control of supplies by the Imperial and New Zealand Governments, a development that was to have a lasting influence on policy.

A truce was soon called in politics. A general election at the end of 1914 returned the two parties in about equal strength, and the desire to avoid party manœuvring in an unstable situation, led to the formation in 1915 of the National Ministry. Sir Joseph Ward and other Liberals joined Mr. Massey's Cabinet, and Sir Joseph took charge of finance. Taxation was increased, and the policy of floating loans locally was eventually adopted. The heavier taxation was paid cheerfully, and over six million pounds was raised voluntarily in money and goods for local patriotic purposes and oversea relief. The Prime Minister was summoned to England in 1916 to be a member of what was called the Imperial War Cabinet, the Imperial Government having resolved that in view of their magnificent response the Dominions deserved to be associated in the direction of the War. Mr. Massey was summoned Home again in the crisis of 1918, and for a third time when the Allies gathered after the War to draw

up the terms of peace. On each occasion he was accompanied by Sir Joseph Ward.

Business men came to the aid of Parliament in handling economic problems, which arose with startling urgency. The National Efficiency Board was formed, and armed with important statutory powers, regulated the local supplies of many commodities, as well as advising the Government regarding the relative importance of various trades and industries, having an eye to the man-power requirements of the Expeditionary Force. The Board's recommendation to limit the hours for opening licensed houses resulted in the Legislature imposing six o'clock closing in 1917. As the outcome of recommendations from the Board, a special licensing poll was taken in 1919 on the two issues: Continuance or No-license with compensation. The Continuance issue won. Later, the question was divided into three—No-license without compensation, Continuance, and State Control. Prohibition was able to poll the largest number of votes, but not to obtain the necessary majority over the other two issues. The early closing introduced during the War became permanent.

The New Zealander who surveyed the scene in 1919 saw that his country had contributed gloriously to the common victory, and had won a magnificent reputation for skill and valour in war; that the national debt had increased by some eighty millions; that the Prime Minister had signed the Versailles Treaty on New Zealand's behalf, and thereby indicated to the world that it had a new status in the Empire; and that it was now responsible, under the League of Nations, for the welfare of a mandated territory, Western Samoa. New Zealand's extra-territorial responsibilities have extended remarkably. Its interests now range from the Equator (it

has a share in the control of the Nauru and Ocean Islands phosphate deposits) down to the Ross Sea in the Antarctic, which was placed under the control of the New Zealand Government by the Imperial authorities so that the whaling industry there could be regulated.

What the New Zealander perhaps did not see at the time was that the war habit of thinking in millions had produced a dangerous attitude towards finance in general. This was so. High prices and consequent prosperity, coupled with the necessity of spending whatever was needed for the war, made prudence seem a dull companion. Ideas as well as values were inflated. Private and public expenditure went on lavishly. Based on high prices, there was a boom in land values. The prices of town and country properties soared. Among the men themselves and the public there was a demand that land be provided for repatriated soldiers, and the Government bought millions of pounds worth at peak prices. Then prices of primary products began to fall, and thousands of farmers whose prosperity, and even existence, depended on high prices, found themselves severely pinched or squeezed into bankruptcy. In the end the State had to write down the values of many of the properties it had bought for soldiers, and many a private mortgagee sacrificed part of his investment.

The political truce ended in 1919 with the withdrawal of Sir Joseph Ward and his Liberals from the National Cabinet. At the elections at the end of 1919—the first since those in 1914—Mr. Massey's party obtained a large majority in the House, and Sir Joseph Ward was one of the defeated. He was out of politics for some years. This election also sent to Parliament a Labour Party large enough to

be a portent. There had been an attempt to arrange an understanding or alliance between the Liberals and the Labour party, and its failure completed the breach that had been widening for some time. The Labour party in the new House numbered eight to the Liberal Opposition's nineteen. It was definitely Marxian in policy, and it professed to see no important difference between Liberals and Reformers. Capitalism was the real enemy. Three years later the party increased its strength to seventeen, and the Government was saved from defeat at the hands of the combined Liberal and Labour forces by the votes of one Liberal and two Independents, who had pledged themselves to act in this way. Through all this time—a period of “slump” and retrenchment—Mr. Massey remained at the head of affairs, recognized by friends and foes as the master of the House, and, despite limitations plain even to friends, the outstanding figure in politics. Like Seddon, he became an institution, and like Seddon he was overwhelmed with tasks, great and small. When he died in 1925 he had completed nearly thirteen years of office—a period only a few months short of Seddon's record reign.

MEN OF MARK IN NEW ZEALAND

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Atkinson, Sir Harry Albert (1831-1892). Born in England; emigrated to New Zealand in 1855; took up land in the Taranaki district; during the Taranaki War he assisted in raising a company of volunteers known as the Taranaki Bush Rangers whose captain he became; greatly distinguished himself at the fight for Waireka Pa, 1860, and in other engagements; was advanced to the rank of major and was several times thanked by the Government; entered parliament 1863, and took the portfolio of Defence in the Weld cabinet 1864; was a strong advocate of the "self-reliant" policy; was not in parliament from 1869 to 1873; on the formation of the Vogel Ministry, 1873, became Minister of Immigration and Secretary for Crown Lands; was Colonial Treasurer in the Pollen cabinet 1875; relinquished that portfolio, but continued to hold his former ones as a member of the second Vogel Ministry formed in 1876; in the same year, after the retirement of Vogel, he became Premier and Colonial Treasurer, but was defeated by Sir George Grey in 1877; held office as Colonial Treasurer under Sir John Hall, 1879-82, and under Sir Frederick Whitaker, 1882-3; became Premier, 1883; held that office again in 1884 and again from 1887 to 1891; created K.C.M.G. 1888; became Speaker of the Legislative Council 1891, and died while on duty.

Ballance, John (1839-1893). Was born in County Antrim, Ireland, his father being a tenant farmer; was apprenticed at the age of fourteen to an ironmaster, his trade taking him later to Birmingham where he absorbed ideals of Liberalism and continued his studies at night schools; emigrated to New Zealand, 1866, and opened a jeweller's shop in Wanganui; losing money in the enterprise he founded the "Wanganui Herald," as whose editor he soon achieved a reputation for forceful writing; formed the Wanganui Cavalry for the defence of the district against the Hauhaus, 1868; entered the House of Representatives, 1875; Minister for Education and later Colonial Treasurer in the Grey Ministry, 1877, but resigned in 1879 owing to a quarrel with his leader; held portfolios of Lands and Immigration, Defence and Native Affairs in the Stout-Vogel Ministry, 1884-7; became leader of the Liberal opposition, 1889; Premier as leader of the Liberal-Labour Party, 1890; effected a number of political reforms and experiments in the direction of social improvement; in his premature death New Zealand lost an able and patriotic statesman who left his political successors a rich legacy of advanced legislation.

Bealey, Samuel (1821-1909). Born in Lancashire; took his degree at Trinity College, Cambridge, 1851; sailed in the same year for Canterbury, New Zealand, where he took up land; sat as a member for Christchurch in the first Canterbury Provincial Council, 1853; became Superintendent of Canterbury, 1863; was prominent in carrying out several necessary public works such as the extension of the southern railway line and the breakwater in Lyttelton Harbour; at the close of his term of office he returned to England for the purpose of educating his family.

Bell, Sir Francis Dillon (1822-1898). Joined the New Zealand Company in England, 1838, and came to New Zealand in the Company's service, arriving shortly after the Wairau massacre, 1843; until 1850 was agent for the Company at Nelson, New Plymouth and elsewhere; was called to the Legislative Council of New Munster, 1848, but resigned in 1850; entered the Wellington Provincial Council, 1853; called to the Legislative Council, 1854; was a member of the FitzGerald Ministry and Leader of the Legislative Council in 1859; was Colonial Treasurer in the first responsible Ministry formed by Sewell and himself, 1856; held office in the Domett Ministry, 1862-63, and in the Fox Ministry, 1869-71; gave splendid service to the colony in his capacity as Commissioner of Land Claims, 1856 to 1862; elected Speaker of the House of Representatives, 1871-76; succeeded Vogel as Agent-General for New Zealand, 1881, and held that position until 1891; created K.B. 1871, K.C.M.G. 1881, and C.B. 1886; during his term as Agent-General he was recognized by the Agents-General of the Australasian colonies as their leader in all representations to the Colonial Office on the subject of Australasian relations in the Western Pacific.

Bowen, Sir Charles Christopher (1830-1917). Born at Milford, County Mayo, Ireland; emigrated to Canterbury with the first band of Pilgrims, 1850, and was private secretary to John Robert Godley for two years; edited the "Lyttelton Times" for a period during its early years; was elected to the Canterbury Provincial Council and was for some years Provincial Treasurer; called to the Legislative Council, 1874, assuming the office of Minister of Justice under Vogel; resigned his seat in the same year and entered the Lower House as a member for Kaiapoi; between 1874 and 1881 held many ministerial posts; as Minister for Education, 1877, he prepared and carried the first Education Act which established free primary schools and compulsory education; was one of the founders of the Canterbury Collegiate Union, out of which grew Canterbury College; called to the Legislative Council, 1890; became Speaker of that body, 1905.

Browne, Sir Thomas Gore (1807-1887). A distinguished soldier who fought gallantly in Afghanistan; Governor of St. Helena, 1851; Governor of New Zealand, 1854-1861; Governor of Tasmania, 1861-1868; his term as Governor of New Zealand was marked by increasing native unrest and he made the mistake of disregarding the importance of the King movement; he removed the restrictions on the sale of arms and ammunition, and precipitated the First Taranaki War by buying the disputed Waitara block; "an upright and conscientious governor whose misfortune it was to be led into a disastrous blunder by ignorance and faulty advice."

Bryce, John (1833-1913). Arrived in New Zealand as a child 1840; came into prominence during the Maori War as leader of a troop of cavalry at the time of the Hauhau advance on Wanganui; entered Parliament, 1871; Minister for Native Affairs in Hall Ministry, 1879; occupied Parihaka with a large force and arrested the "prophet" Te Whiti, 1881; held office in the Atkinson and Whitaker Ministries until 1884; was responsible for passing the Bill pardoning natives who had committed crimes during the Maori War; leader of the opposition to Ballance, 1891, but resigned his seat in the House shortly afterwards.

Buller, Sir Walter Lawry (1838-1906). Born at the Bay of Islands and early acquired a knowledge of the Maori language; appointed government interpreter Wellington, 1885, in which year he started and edited a native paper; Native Commissioner for the Southern provinces, 1859; appointed a judge of the Native Land Court, 1865; mentioned in despatches and decorated for gallantry at the taking of Wereroa Pa, 1865; F.R.S.; created C.M.G. in 1875 in recognition of work on New Zealand ornithology; K.C.M.G. in 1886 for services as Commissioner of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London in that year, and was also the recipient of numerous foreign decorations and scientific awards. His "History of the Birds of New Zealand" is a standard work.

Brunner, Thomas. Came to New Zealand as a surveyor to the New Zealand Company; with Charles Heaphy and William Fox he penetrated the ranges behind Nelson to the Buller Valley, 1845-6; set out with Heaphy to make his way along the shore of the unknown West Coast, 1846; in the same year, accompanied by two natives and their wives, he set out on an expedition involving many difficulties and dangers; he descended the Buller from its source, Lake Rotoiti, to the sea; next he followed the coastline from the mouth of the Buller to that of the Grey; he made his way up the latter river to its source; finally, crossing over the head-waters of the Buller, he made his way back to Nelson, which he reached on June 15th, 1848, having been absent eighteen months.

Burns, Rev. Thomas (1796-1871). Born in Ayrshire, Scotland; a nephew of the Scottish poet, Robert Burns; ordained a minister of the Church of Scotland, 1825; joined the Free Church, 1843; took an active part in the furtherance of the scheme for founding a Scottish settlement in Otago and travelled over Scotland lecturing on the plan; was appointed first minister of the settlement; arrived at Otago by the "Philip Laing," 1848; a wise and kindly minister who, until his retirement in 1870, was the Otago settlement's spiritual guide and adviser; a monument to his memory stands in the city he helped to found.

Busby, James. A well-known settler of New South Wales. In 1831 some Bay of Islands chiefs applied to King William IV. for British protection. Mr. Busby was thereupon appointed British resident at the Bay of Islands, 1833, and held this position until the arrival of Captain Hobson, 1840. "A man-of-war without guns" who had no means of enforcing law and order; during his regime affairs at Kororareka grew steadily worse.

Campbell, Sir John Logan (1817-1912). Born in Scotland; took his medical degrees at Edinburgh; entered the service of the East India Company but relinquished his post, 1839; arrived in New Zealand, 1840, and foreseeing that the centre of settlement in the north would be in the vicinity of the Waitemata, settled on an island at the mouth of that harbour; his early experiences interestingly detailed in a book entitled "Poenamo"; established the first mercantile firm in Auckland, 1840; superintendent of the province of Auckland, 1855-6, and member of the Stafford Ministry, 1856; a great benefactor to the city of Auckland, two of his gifts being the Free School of Art and Cornwall Park.

Cargill, Captain William (1784-1860). Born in Scotland; entered a Highland regiment and fought in the Peninsular Wars; later became a banker in London; was one of the main promoters of the Scottish settlement in Otago; became the leader of the settlers; arrived in Otago, 1848; was virtual ruler of the settlement until 1853, when he was elected the first Superintendent of Otago province, a position he held until just before his death; returned to first House of Representatives as member for Dunedin, 1856-59.

Clifford, Sir Charles (1813-1893). Arrived in New Zealand 1843; was one of the first settlers to enter largely into pastoral pursuits in the South Island; while in England in 1850 he took a prominent part in the agitation for the grant of a constitutional government to New Zealand; returned to New Zealand, 1854, and was elected to the first parliament, of which he was appointed Speaker; he held this office until 1860; was created K.C.M.G., 1858, and baronet, 1887.

Colenso, William (1811-1899). Born at Penzance, England, November 11th, 1811; landed in New Zealand, December 30th, 1834; was New Zealand's first printer and published the New Testament in Maori at Paihia Mission Station, Bay of Islands, 1835-1838; ordained in September, 1844, and at Christmas, 1844, went to reside at Waitangi in Hawke's Bay as a missionary and carried on the work till 1852; honoured as a scientist and philanthropist; tablet erected to his memory in the Cathedral, Napier.

Dobson, Arthur Dudley (b. 1841). Born in London; arrived in New Zealand by the "Cressy," one of the first four ships to reach the Canterbury settlement; did valuable exploring work for the province, his greatest discovery being that of Arthur's Pass; also surveyed and explored the West Coast from the Grey River to Abut Head, 1863. Reminiscences published, 1930.

Domett, Alfred (1811-1887). Born in Surrey, England, and studied at Cambridge; travelled abroad; was called to the Bar of the Middle Temple, 1841; emigrated to Nelson, New Zealand, in 1842; edited the "Nelson Examiner"; held several important official positions; entered Parliament, 1855, as member for Nelson; premier, 1862-63; returned to England, 1871; was the friend of Robert Browning and published several volumes of poems of which "Ranolf and Amohia" is the best known.

Featherston, Dr. Isaac Earl (1813-1876). Born in England and took his medical degree at Edinburgh; arrived at Wellington as ship's surgeon, 1842; became the leader of the Wellington settlers in their struggle for self government; first Superintendent of Wellington province, 1853; sat continuously in Parliament from 1856 to 1871; retired 1871 to become the first Agent-General for New Zealand in London; was the recognized leader of the provincialists; held office for a brief time in the Fox Ministry, 1868; protested vigorously against the Taranaki War, growing out of the Waitara dispute.

FitzGerald, James Edward (1818-1896). Born in England and educated at Cambridge; arrived in New Zealand with the first band of Canterbury "pilgrims," 1850; brought out the plant and staff of the "Lyttelton Times," and edited that journal for two years; elected first Superintendent of Canterbury, 1853, a position he held until 1857; sat in the first General Assembly and was Premier of the first representative Ministry formed in New Zealand; went to England as agent for the Province of Canterbury, 1857; on his return founded the "Christchurch Press"; held office as Minister

of Native Affairs in the Weld Ministry; was a brilliant orator; from 1866 until his death he held the posts of Controller of Public Accounts and Auditor-General.

Fitzherbert, Sir William (1810-1891). Born in England; was a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians and practised medicine in London; emigrated to New Zealand 1842; took an active part in the struggle of the Wellington settlers for self-government; entered Parliament 1856; Superintendent of the Province of Wellington, 1871-76; Colonial Treasurer under Weld and Stafford, 1864-69; Speaker of the House of Representatives, 1876; called to the Legislative Council, 1879, and became its Speaker, a position which he occupied until his death; was an ardent provincialist and opposed the Maori wars; was a great orator.

FitzRoy, Vice-Admiral Robert (1805-1865). Entered the Navy 1819; was in command of the "Beagle" on her famous cruise round the world; appointed Governor of New Zealand 1843; was called upon to enquire into the tragedy of the Wairau massacre and greatly incensed the settlers by condoning Te Rauparaha's part in the affray; his rule was short but eventful, and he was hampered by lack of money and troops; increasing native discontent culminated in Heke's War and in Te Rauparaha's attacks on the New Zealand Company's settlers; he was recalled by the Home Government, 1845.

Fox, Sir William (1812-1893). Was called to the Bar of the Inner Temple, London, 1842, but did not practise his profession; emigrated to New Zealand, 1842; succeeded Captain Wakefield as resident agent for the New Zealand Company at Nelson, 1843; appointed principal agent of the Company in New Zealand, 1848; was prominent in the struggle between the Company and the Governor; elected to Parliament, 1853, and was the leader of the Wellington settlers in their struggle for self-government; was also the leader of the provincialists; opposed the Maori war and was a staunch friend of the Maori race; Premier, 1861-63; took office in the Fox-Whitaker Cabinet, 1863-4; Premier, 1869-72; was a prominent figure in New Zealand politics until 1879, and was one of the founders of the prohibition party.

Godley, John Robert (1814-1861). Was educated at Oxford; travelled in America where he was struck by the contrast between the lawless backwoods settlements of the United States and the peaceful villages of Lower Canada where religion was an established force; came into contact with Edward Gibbon Wakefield about 1847 and threw himself vigorously into the scheme for a Church settlement in

New Zealand; formed the Canterbury Association, enlisting the support of many powerful men; set sail for New Zealand, 1849, to prepare the way for the immigrants; was the practical ruler of the Canterbury settlement from 1850 to 1852; he returned to England in 1852, and for the remainder of his life was engaged in administrative work at the War Office.

Gorst, Sir John Eldon (1835-1916). Educated at Cambridge; emigrated to New Zealand in 1860; was despatched into the Upper Waikato as Civil Commissioner, 1861; endeavoured to wean the Maoris from their adherence to the King movement and established a Maori newspaper to put forward his views; was expelled by the Maoris from the Waikato, 1863; returned to England, 1865; entered the British parliament and held several important Ministerial posts; revisited New Zealand in 1906 as British Commissioner to the N.Z. Exhibition at Christchurch.

Grey, Sir George (1812-1898). Born at Lisbon, his father Colonel Grey being killed at the storming of Badajoz; entered the army, 1829; undertook an exploring expedition to Western Australia, 1837, and showed great gallantry and endurance; appointed Governor of South Australia, 1841; by his able administration of the affairs of that colony he gained the confidence of the Colonial Office and in 1845 he was appointed Governor of New Zealand; there even greater difficulties confronted him; he put an end to Heke's War and dealt sternly with Te Rauparaha; appointed Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner of South Africa 1854; his great administrative and military capacity brought to an end serious native disturbances; during his term of office he took on himself the responsibility of diverting troops, intended for China, to India where the Mutiny had broken out; in 1861 he was recalled to New Zealand where trouble with the Maoris had broken out afresh; however, his efforts for peace were not successful and he came in conflict with his advisers and with the general in command of the Imperial troops; his recall in 1868 aroused resentment throughout the Colony; returned to New Zealand after a visit to England and took up residence on the island of Kawau where he devoted himself to his library and his garden; elected to the House of Representatives 1875; elected Superintendent of the Province of Auckland 1875; he was an ardent provincialist; Premier 1877-79; however, his arbitrary methods estranged him from his party, although he continued to sit in the House until 1890; returned to England, 1893; died in 1898, and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral.

Haast, Sir John Francis Julius von (1824-1887). Arrived in Auckland 1858, and accompanied Dr. Hochstetter, the noted geologist, on his tour through the Colony; was employed to explore the western and southern parts of Nelson Province; appointed provincial geologist of Canterbury 1861, and made numerous scientific and exploring expeditions into the Southern Alps and Westland; founded the Canterbury Museum and was its director until the time of his death.

Hadfield, Rev. Octavius (1815-1904). Arrived in New Zealand 1838 and volunteered for missionary service at Otaki; in 1843 his influence over the Maoris prevented a descent of Te Rauparaha's tribe on the Wellington settlers; laboured untiringly in the cause of peace and refused to leave his post during the Hauhau troubles; appointed Bishop of Wellington, 1870; Primate of New Zealand, 1889.

Hall, Sir John (1824-1907). Born in England; entered a merchant's office 1840 and was later private secretary to the Secretary of the General Post Office; emigrated to New Zealand 1852, and became a sheepfarmer in Canterbury; elected to the Canterbury Provincial Council, 1852; was Provincial Secretary, 1855; Secretary of Public Works, 1864; elected to House of Representatives, 1855; Colonial Secretary in Fox Ministry, 1856; nominated to Legislative Council, 1862; resigned and entered House of Representatives, 1866; Postmaster-General in Stafford Ministry, 1866; called to Legislative Council, 1872; was a member of the Executive Council in the Fox-Vogel Ministry; Colonial Secretary in Waterhouse Cabinet, 1872-3; in Atkinson Ministry, 1876; resigned his seat in the Upper House, 1879, and again entered the House of Representatives; after the defeat of the Grey Ministry he formed a Ministry and remained Premier until 1882, when he retired owing to ill health; during his premiership such important measures as the Triennial Parliament Bill and the Universal Suffrage Bill were passed; it was his government which had to contend with the worst years of the depression which followed the Vogel borrowing policy.

Harper, Bishop H. J. C. (1804-1893). Born in Hampshire, England; educated at Oxford; ordained, 1832; vicar of Strathfield-Mortimer, 1840-56; consecrated Bishop of Canterbury, 1856, and arrived in New Zealand in the same year; his diocese contained all the southern parts of the South Island now included in the districts of Canterbury, Otago and Southland, but he never spared himself in travelling, often on foot, to remote parts of the diocese; elected primate of New Zealand, 1869; did much to foster higher education in his diocese, as warden of Christ's College and a governor of Canterbury College.

Heaphy, Major Charles. Arrived in New Zealand 1840 as a draughtsman to the New Zealand Company; during the first ten years after his arrival he explored and surveyed many districts of New Zealand; during the Maori War he gained the V.C. for rescuing a wounded soldier under fire; appointed judge of the Native Land Court 1878; died in 1881.

Hector, Sir James (1834-1907). Born in Edinburgh and took his medical degree at Edinburgh University; accompanied the Palliser expedition to the Rocky Mountains as surgeon and geologist, and discovered the pass by which the Canadian Pacific now crosses the Rockies; accepted the post of geologist to the Otago Provincial Government, 1861; explored the mountainous lake region of west and south Otago; was the chief founder and for many years the director of the N.Z. Institute; Chancellor of the N.Z. University 1885 to 1903.

Heke, Hone. A Ngapuhi chief, a nephew and son-in-law of Hongi; alarmed by certain Government measures which were drawing trade and prosperity away from the Bay of Islands, Heke cut down the flagstaff, 1844, and twice thereafter; in 1846 he took several hundred warriors into Kororareka, cut down the flagstaff a fourth time and burned the town; he proved a brave and chivalrous foe and was eventually pardoned; he died of consumption, 1850.

Hobson, Captain (1792-1842). A naval officer who was sent as Consul to New Zealand to negotiate with the native chiefs for the cession of the sovereignty of the country to the English crown; on the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, 1840, he became Lieutenant-Governor; on New Zealand being erected into a Colony he became its Governor; his greatest task was to mediate between the white settlers and the Maoris; he was a firm ruler, courageous and just and a good friend to the natives; he founded the city of Auckland, 1841, and constituted it the capital of the Colony; his early death was the result of an attack of paralysis brought on partly by anxiety and partly by exposure.

Jones, John (1809-1869). Born at Sydney; as early as 1829 was the part owner of three whaling vessels; his connection with the whaling trade brought him to New Zealand; in 1839 he acquired from the Maoris land at Waikouaiti on which he had previously planted a whaling station; brought to New Zealand some thirty families and introduced missionaries to the settlement at his own expense; he was the first real colonist of Otago; a great benefactor to his contemporaries.

Kawepo, Renata. A well-known chief of Hawke's Bay who took a prominent part on the side of the colonists

during the Te Kooti rebellion; he accepted a sword of honour from the Government, although he declined office in the Legislative Council; an hospitable and dignified chieftain and a large landed proprietor; he died in 1888.

Keepa, Rangihwinui (Major Kemp). A chief who figured prominently during the Maori wars, always fighting on the side of the colonists; distinguished himself on all occasions by his daring courage; was often mentioned in despatches; received a sword of honour and was decorated with the New Zealand Cross; he organized an expedition for the pursuit of Te Kooti and his band of murderous fanatics, marching right across the Urewera Country.

Kingi, Wiremu (Te Rangitake). A chief of the Ngatiawa; at the time of the purchase of the Waitara block he was living at Waikanae; although Sir George Grey forbade the migration, he took his tribe back to his ancestral lands and occupied them, 1848; his resistance of the surveyors who were sent to survey the land precipitated the first Taranaki War, 1860.

Kooti, Te. Was suspected of treachery and deported with other prisoners of war, mostly Hauhaus, to the Chatham Islands; seized a vessel, 1868, and sailed for Poverty Bay; on landing, was attacked by a force, hastily gathered together, but eluded his pursuers and made his way into the wild Urewera Country; issued from his mountain retreat and descended on Poverty Bay, Nov. 10th, 1868, massacring all in his path; thirty-two white people as well as a large number of Maoris perished; Te Kooti was pursued by volunteers and friendly natives and was forced to evacuate Makaretu, where he had entrenched himself; he then took refuge in the lofty pa of Ngatapa, but escaped with most of his men when the pa was stormed; from time to time he swooped down on lonely farms and outposts, killing and burning; he was relentlessly pursued and gradually his force dropped away from him; at last he took refuge in the King Country; he was pardoned in 1884.

Leigh, Rev. Samuel. Born in England; ordained 1814, and appointed to New South Wales; under Marsden's influence he founded the Wesleyan Mission in New Zealand, 1822, setting up a post at Kaeo, Whangaroa; he was relieved owing to ill-health in the following year, the Reverends Hobbs and Turner taking his place.

Macandrew, James (1821-1887). Born in Scotland; went as a youth to London and engaged in business; became interested in the scheme for a Scottish settlement in New

Zealand; purchased a schooner and set sail with his family for Otago, 1850; elected to the first Otago Provincial Council and to the first House of Representatives; sat in the latter continuously until his death; elected Superintendent of Otago, 1860, and held this office until the Abolition of the Provinces; Minister of Lands and later of Public Works under Grey, 1877; founded Otago University and was the originator of steam communication by sea in New Zealand.

McKenzie, John (1838-1901). Born in Scotland; arrived in Otago, 1860; worked as a farm manager and later acquired a farm of his own; elected to the House of Representatives, 1871; Minister of Lands in the Liberal-Labour Ministry, 1891; he was the mouthpiece of the small farmers, and the land legislation of the nineties was mainly the result of his efforts; retired from politics, 1900.

McLean, Sir Donald (1820-1877). Born in Scotland; emigrated to Sydney at the age of seventeen, arriving in 1839; appointed Protector of Aborigines in Taranaki, 1844, and was closely associated with the Maoris throughout his life; as agent for the Government he acquired large areas of land from the natives; Superintendent of Hawke's Bay, 1863; elected to the House of Representatives, 1866; Native Minister, 1869; so successful was he and so trusted by the Maoris that upon the resignation of the Fox Ministry in 1872, Stafford offered to take him over as Native Minister; he continued in this office under successive ministries until 1877. The crown of his long service to New Zealand was the complete success of the overtures of peace made to him by the King Maoris.

Maniapoto, Rewi. A chief of the Ngatimaniapoto; a splendid fighter, he first came into prominence when he led a party of Waikato and Ngatimaniapoto warriors to the assistance of Wiremu Kingi during the First Taranaki War; acquired a high reputation as a fighting chief during the Waikato War, 1863; was leader of the heroic defence of Orakau; after the war the Government gave him a section of land at Kihikihi and built upon it, at public cost, a comfortable residence.

Maning, Judge Frederick Edward (1812-1883). Born in Ireland; arrived with his family at Hobart, 1824; came to New Zealand, 1833, and took up land at Hokianga; lived among the Maoris and looked upon himself as a pakeha-Maori; his book "Old New Zealand" is regarded as the most admirable picture of life in old N.Z. ever issued; was appointed Judge of the Native Land Court; rendered valuable service to the Crown during the Maori wars.

Marsden, Reverend Samuel (1764-1818). Born in England and studied at Cambridge; appointed chaplain to the convict settlement of New South Wales, 1793; it became his great desire to carry the gospel to the natives of New Zealand; purchased the brig "Active" and sailed to New Zealand, 1814; preached to the natives and established the first mission station at Rangihoua, Bay of Islands; a great and good man, he was revered by the Maoris; he visited New Zealand seven times, making some venturesome journeys inland; he was seventy-two years of age when he paid his last visit to the Colony; "a man of deep piety and good sense"; "the apostle of the South Seas."

Martin, Sir William (1807-1880). Born in England and educated at Cambridge; appointed Chief Justice of New Zealand, 1841; he proved a sincere friend to the Maoris and was the intimate friend of Bishop Selwyn; after his retirement in 1857 he championed the cause of Wiremu Kingi in the dispute over the Waitara block.

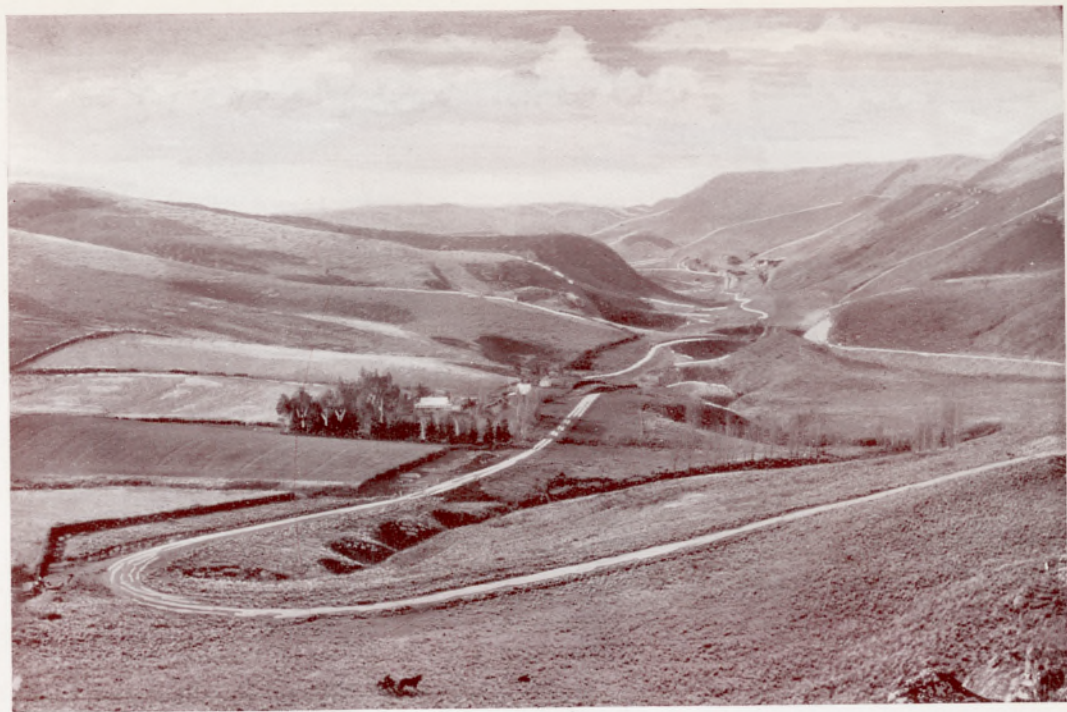
Massey, William Ferguson (1856-1925). Born in Ulster, Ireland; arrived in New Zealand, 1870, at the age of fourteen to join his parents who had settled in the Auckland district; worked in different parts of the country; was employed as a ploughman at Longbeach, Canterbury; returned to Auckland and settled down to farming pursuits at Mangere; elected to the House of Representatives, 1894; proved a forceful personality in politics and became leader of the Opposition, 1903; became Prime Minister, 1912, and remained the country's leader through the difficult days of the Great War as head of a coalition government; after the war the Liberals broke away from the coalition and Massey remained Prime Minister and leader of the strong Reform Party in the House of Representatives; "the most staunch, the most steady and consistent of Imperial statesmen."

Moorhouse, William Sefton (1825-1881). Born in Yorkshire, England; called to the Bar, 1849; emigrated to New Zealand, landing at Lyttelton, 1851; admitted to the New Zealand Bar, 1852; elected to the Canterbury Provincial Council, 1855; Superintendent of Canterbury, 1857; was mainly responsible for the construction of the Lyttelton tunnel, 1861; Registrar-General of Lands, 1866; resigned, 1872; "a man of great courage, amongst the strongest and foremost of the day."

Potatau (Te Whero Whero). A high born Chief of the Waikato; led a big war party against the Taranaki Maoris, 1831, and killed many hundreds of Ngatiawa whose lands, ten years later, he claimed by right of conquest; it was the



Mt. Cook Hermitage, showing Mt. Sefton and the Footstool in the Southern Alps. *[Govt. Publicity photo.]*



A view of the Weka Pass, North Canterbury, in the nineties—typical tussock-covered downs illustrating why settlement at first proceeded much faster in the South Island than in the North.

dread of his muskets which led Te Rauparaha to migrate to Kapiti; he unwillingly accepted the nomination of Maori King; a man of great dignity.

Pollen, Daniel. A doctor who was one of the earliest settlers in the Auckland district; member of the second Fox Ministry, 1861-62, and of the second Stafford Ministry, 1865-69; Premier and Colonial Secretary, 1875-76; took office under Vogel and Atkinson as Colonial Secretary, 1876-77.

Pompallier, Bishop John Baptist Francis (1802-1870). Born in France; consecrated Bishop of Maronee and first Vicar Apostolic of Western Oceania at Rome, 1836; was the founder of the Roman Catholic Mission to New Zealand; arrived at Hokianga, 1838, but removed to Kororareka, 1839, making his headquarters at Kororareka; visited Auckland, 1841, and obtained grants of land for Church purposes; after the burning of Kororareka in 1845 he made Auckland his permanent headquarters; retired after thirty-three years of labour and returned to France where he died.

Rauparaha, Te. A chief of the Ngatitoo; alarmed by the raids of Te Whero Whero, he decided to migrate with a number of followers to the island of Kapiti; the migration was successfully accomplished, 1819-20; thence for many years he carried war and rapine to neighbouring tribes, and crossing Cook Strait, attacked the natives of the South Island; with Rangihaeata was responsible for the Wairau Massacre, 1843; was taken at Porirua by Governor Grey's orders, 1846, and was kept under restraint for some twenty months; was restored to Kapiti by the Governor; died 1849.

Rolleston, William (1831-1903). Born in England and educated at Cambridge; emigrated to New Zealand, 1858; elected to the Provincial Council, 1864; Superintendent of Canterbury from 1868 until the Abolition of the Provinces, 1876; entered the House of Representatives, 1868, and sat as a member almost continuously until 1899; held the portfolios of Lands, Immigration and Education in the Hall Ministry, 1879-82, and was also in the Whitaker and Atkinson Cabinets, 1882-4; was responsible for introducing the land laws which laid the foundation of the leasehold system of land tenure in New Zealand; did great service in the advancement of education.

Saunders, Alfred (1820-1905). Born in England; was the first emigrant to land at Nelson; member of the Nelson Provincial Council, 1855; Superintendent of Nelson, 1865-67; elected to the House of Representatives, 1859, and continued to sit as a member of that body until 1896; although several

times offered Ministerial office he preferred to remain a private member; one of the founders of the prohibition movement and an ardent worker for women's suffrage.

Seddon, Richard John (1845-1906). Born near St. Helens, Lancashire, England; emigrated to Melbourne, Victoria, 1863; thence came to New Zealand, settling in Westland; was one of the first men on the Kumara gold-field and followed the occupation of store-keeping; entered the Westland County Council, becoming chairman of that body, 1877; elected to the House of Representatives as Liberal member for Hokitika, 1879; member for Kumara, 1879-1890, and for Westland from 1890 until his death; early showed himself a man of strong character; assisted Sir Harry Atkinson to pass the first protective tariff, 1888; Minister for Public Works in the Ballance Cabinet, 1891; on the death of Ballance became Premier, 1893; thence onwards until his death he was practically the ruler of the country; the advanced legislation passed by him made New Zealand world-famous; was responsible for the Arbitration Act and the Lands for Settlements Act; also for the Old Age Pensions Act, 1898; was a staunch Imperialist and was desirous of extending New Zealand's influence in the Pacific; died at sea while returning from a conference in Australia; "the greatest, the most beloved and the most sincerely mourned of all New Zealand's leaders."

Selwyn, Bishop George Augustus (1809-1878). Born in England; educated at Eton and Cambridge; appointed Bishop of New Zealand, 1841; he proved himself an ideal man for the difficult post, visiting every mission station in New Zealand and travelling mainly on foot; he organised the Church of England in New Zealand, and was a staunch friend of the Maoris; on the request of Queen Victoria he accepted the See of Lichfield, 1858.

Sewell, Henry (1807-1879). Born in England; practised for some years as a solicitor; was a leading member of the Canterbury Association; settled in Canterbury, 1853, and succeeded Godley in the leadership of the settlement; sat in the first House of Representatives, 1854, and held office in the first Ministry under FitzGerald; Premier, 1856, but resigned because of the refusal of the Acting-Governor to concede full responsible functions to the administration; Colonial Treasurer in Stafford Ministry, 1856-59, and held office in seven other Ministries up to 1872.

Shortland, Lieutenant Willoughby. Accompanied Captain Hobson to New Zealand, 1839; appointed Colonial Secretary, 1840; acted as police magistrate at Port Nicholson for some

months, 1841; on the death of Hobson, acted as Administrator until the arrival of Captain Grey; afterwards held governorships in the West Indies.

Stafford, Sir Edward William (1820-1901). Born in Scotland and educated at Trinity College, Dublin; emigrated to Nelson, 1843, and at once began to take a prominent part in public affairs; first Superintendent of Nelson Province; elected to Parliament, 1856; Premier, 1856-61; was defeated by a combination of Provincialists and members opposed to his Maori War policy; Premier, 1865-69, and again in 1872; defeated by Vogel; retired from political life, 1878.

Stout, Sir Robert (1844-1930). Born in the Shetland Isles; emigrated to New Zealand, 1863, and was at first a schoolmaster; became a barrister and solicitor, 1871; elected to the Otago Provincial Council, 1873; entered the House of Representatives, 1875; Attorney-General under Grey, 1878, but resigned in the same year; entered Parliament again, 1884, and joined with Vogel in forming the Stout-Vogel Ministry as Premier, Attorney-General and Minister of Education; in 1893 he again agreed to stand for Parliament; represented Wellington City, 1894-97; created Chief Justice, 1899.

Swainson, William. Born in Lancaster; called to the Bar of the Inner Temple; appointed Attorney-General of New Zealand, 1841; sailed with Chief Justice Martin for Auckland; during the voyage out they devoted themselves to preparing the outline of a legal system adapted to the condition of the infant Colony; was one of the official Executive Council while New Zealand remained a Crown Colony; Speaker Legislative Council and Attorney-General, 1854; resigned these offices, 1856, on the demand for responsible government; continued as a member of the Legislative Council until 1868; member of Grey Ministry without portfolio, 1879; died, 1884.

Vogel, Sir Julius (1835-1899). Born in London; emigrated to Victoria, 1852; arrived at Dunedin, 1861; founded and edited the "Otago Daily Times," and soon gained a high reputation as an able writer; elected to Otago Provincial Council, 1862; Superintendent of Otago Provincial Council, 1866-69; entered House of Representatives, 1863; Colonial Treasurer under Fox, 1869; brought forward his famous immigration and public works policy, 1870; Premier, 1873-75, and again in 1876; resigned to become Agent-General for New Zealand in London; returned to New Zealand, 1884; Colonial Treasurer in Stout-Vogel Ministry, 1884-87; returned to London, where he died in 1899.

Waharoa, Wiremu Tamihana Te (William Thompson). The second son of Te Waharoa, the greatest Waikato chieftain; succeeded his father, 1839; he promoted the Maori King movement—hence his title of “Kingmaker”; before the outbreak of the Waikato War he made repeated attempts at peace; after the war, disgusted by the atrocities of the Hauhaus, he made open submission to the Government; died, 1866; “one of the noblest embodiments of Maori magnanimity with which their colonization of New Zealand brought the British race in contact.”

Wahawaha, Ropata. Chief of the Ngatiporon; a prominent leader of friendly natives during the Te Kooti troubles; distinguished himself on many occasions by his bravery; his services were recognized by Queen Victoria, who sent him a sword of honour in 1870.

Waka Nene, Tamati. An influential chief of the Ngapuhi who proved an invaluable ally and friend to the white settlers; his influence with many of his fellow-chiefs was the deciding factor in inducing them to sign the Treaty of Waitangi; he rendered splendid service during Heke's War, and was pensioned by the British Government; died at Russell, 1871.

Wakefield, Arthur. A brother of Edward Gibbon Wakefield; entered the Navy and rose to be a captain; emigrated to New Zealand, 1841, and founded the Nelson settlement as agent of the New Zealand Company; was killed by the Maoris in the Wairau Massacre, 1843.

Wakefield, Edward Gibbon (1796-1862). A member of a family which took great interest in philanthropy and the promotion of education; Elizabeth Fry, the prison reformer, was his cousin; in his youth a wild escapade caused him to be sentenced to three years' imprisonment in Newgate; there he became interested in the question of the systematic colonization of the waste lands of the Empire, and on his release he founded the Colonization Society, vigorously putting forward its aims in pamphlets and newspaper writings; founded the South Australian Colony, 1832-35; formed the New Zealand Association (later the New Zealand Company) 1837; was private secretary to Lord Durham in his mission to Canada after the rebellion, 1838; despatched the “Tory” to New Zealand, 1839; was largely responsible for the abolition of transportation as a means of punishing criminals; assisted in the foundation of Otago and Canterbury; emigrated to New Zealand, 1852; elected member of Wellington Provincial Council and of the first parliament, and took a prominent part in the establishment of responsible government in New Zealand.

Wakefield, Colonel William. Was associated with Edward Gibbon Wakefield, whose brother he was, in the escapade which brought them both to prison; after his release became a Colonel in the British auxiliary force in Spain, where he served from 1832 to 1834; arrived in New Zealand by the "Tory" 1839 as principal agent for the New Zealand Company and prepared for the arrival of the first colonists; was ruler of the Wellington settlement in its early days as chairman of the governing committee; acted as resident agent of the New Zealand Company until his death, 1848.

Ward, Sir Joseph. Born in Melbourne, Victoria, 1856; arrived in Southland with his parents; at thirteen years of age entered the Post and Telegraph Department; at twenty-one entered business as an export merchant; elected to parliament, 1887; Postmaster-General under Ballance, 1891; played a leading part in the political history of the Dominion, holding office continuously under Seddon; achieved penny postage for New Zealand, and was the first to advocate the "All Red" cable service; created K.C.M.G., 1901; Premier, 1906; created baronet, 1911; secured recognition of New Zealand as a Dominion; Finance Minister in Coalition Cabinet, 1915-1919; Premier and leader of the United Party, 1928; resigned owing to ill-health; died 8th July, 1930.

Weld, Sir Frederick Aloysius (1823-1891). Born in England; emigrated to New Zealand, 1844; took up pastoral pursuits, engaging meantime in much adventurous exploring work; took an active part in the agitation for representative institutions; elected to the House of Representatives and member of the Executive Council, 1854; Minister of Native Affairs in first Stafford Ministry, 1861; Premier, 1864-65; introduced the "self-reliant" policy in the conduct of the Maori wars; appointed Governor of Western Australia, 1869; of Tasmania, 1874; of the Straits Settlements, 1880.

Whitaker, Frederick (1812-1891). Born in England; qualified as a solicitor, 1839; landed in Sydney, 1840, and came on to New Zealand, settling at Russell, where he practised his profession; removed to Auckland, 1841; member of the Legislative Council under FitzRoy and Grey; served as a major in Heke's War; elected to the Auckland Provincial Council, 1853; called to Legislative Council, 1853; Attorney-General, 1855; Attorney-General in Bell-Sewell Ministry, 1856; Attorney-General, 1863; Premier in third Fox Ministry, 1863; Superintendent of Auckland Province, 1865-67; elected to House of Representatives, 1876; Attorney-General in Atkinson Ministry, 1876; Premier, 1882-83; Attorney-General in last Atkinson Administration, 1887-90.

Whitcombe, Henry. Held the position of surveyor to the Canterbury Provincial Government; in 1863, with Jacob Louper, a Swiss, he set out to seek a pass over the Alps in the vicinity of the head-waters of the Rakaia; the journey was a terrible one, and by the time the explorers reached the coast they were absolutely without provisions; lack of food coupled with appalling weather conditions had reduced Whitcombe to the last stages of emaciation; on reaching the Teramakau, Whitcombe determined to attempt crossing in two frail native canoes; the crafts were swamped, and Whitcombe was drowned on May 6th, 1863; the pass he discovered is named after him.

Williams, Henry (1792-1867). Born in England and joined the Navy in which he served during the Napoleonic Wars; saw service in many seas; retired, 1815; enlisted as a missionary with the Church Missionary Society and volunteered for special service in New Zealand; arrived Paihia, 1823; for upwards of forty-four years he laboured as a missionary in New Zealand, earning the love and respect of the Maoris; he fell into disfavour with the Church, 1848, through refusing to surrender large land purchases made from the Maoris; was dismissed, 1850, but reinstated, 1855; a monument to his memory stands at the Bay of Islands.

Williams, William (1800-1878). The younger brother of Henry Williams; arrived in New Zealand as a missionary, 1826; opened a station at Kaitaia, 1832; translated the New Testament into Maori; made Archdeacon of Waiapu, 1842; Bishop of Waiapu, 1859.

Wynyard, Lt.-General Robert Henry. Commander of the 58th Regiment in New Zealand, 1845-47; appointed Lt.-Governor of New Ulster, 1851; elected first Superintendent of Auckland, 1853; as senior military officer of the Colony, administered the Government during the interval between the departure of Governor Grey and the arrival of Governor Gore-Browne; after leaving New Zealand, was Acting-Governor of Cape Colony during the absence of Grey, 1859-60; died in England, 1864.

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1. GOVERNORS OF NEW ZEALAND.

- Captain William Hobson, R.N., Lieutenant-Governor under Sir George Gipps, Governor of New South Wales, Jan., 1840 to May, 1841. Governor from May, 1841, to September 10th, 1842.
- Lieutenant Shortland, Administrator, September 10th, 1842, to December 26th, 1843.
- Captain Robert Fitzroy, R.N., December 26th, 1843, to November 17th, 1845.
- Captain George Grey (Sir George Grey, K.C.B., in 1848), November 18th, 1845, to December 31st, 1853. Lieutenant-Governor till January 1st, 1848. Governor-in-Chief over the Islands of New Zealand and Governor of New Ulster and of New Munster, January 1st, 1848, to March 7th, 1853. Governor from March 7th, 1853, to December 31st, 1853.
- E. J. Eyre, Lieutenant-Governor of New Munster, January 28th, 1848, to March 7th, 1853.
- Major-General G. D. Pitt, Lieutenant-Governor of New Ulster, February 14th, 1848, to January 8th, 1851.
- Lieutenant-Colonel Wynyard, Lieutenant-Governor of New Ulster, April 26th, 1851, to March 7th, 1853.
- Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Henry Wynyard, C.B., Administrator, from 3rd January, 1854, to 6th September, 1855.
- Colonel Thomas Gore Browne, C.B., from 6th September, 1855, to 2nd October, 1861.
- Sir George Grey, K.C.B., Administrator from 3rd October, 1861; Governor from 4th December, 1861, to 5th February, 1868.
- Sir George Ferguson Bowen, G.C.M.G., from 5th February, 1868, to 19th March, 1873.
- Sir George Alfred Arney, Chief Justice, Administrator, from 21st March to 14th June, 1873.
- Sir James Fergusson, Baronet, P.C., from 14th June, 1873, to 3rd December, 1874.
- The Marquis of Normanby, P.C., G.C.M.G., Administrator, from 3rd December, 1874; Governor, from 9th January, 1875, to 21st February, 1879.
- James Prendergast, Esquire, Chief Justice, Administrator, from 21st February to 27th March, 1879.
- Sir Hercules George Robert Robinson, G.C.M.G., Administrator, from 27th March, 1879; Governor, from 17th April, 1879, to 8th September, 1880.
- James Prendergast, Esquire, Chief Justice, Administrator, from 9th September to 29th November, 1880.
- The Honourable Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon, G.C.M.G., from 29th November, 1880, to 23rd June, 1882.
- James Prendergast, Esquire, Chief Justice, Administrator, 24th June, 1882, to 20th January, 1883.

- Lieutenant-General Sir William Francis Drummond Jervois, G.C.M.G., C.B., from 20th January, 1883, to 22nd March, 1889.
- Sir James Prendergast, Chief Justice, Administrator, from 23rd March to 2nd May, 1889.
- The Earl of Onslow, G.C.M.G., from 2nd May, 1889, to 24th February, 1892.
- Sir James Prendergast, Chief Justice, Administrator, from 25th February to 6th June, 1892.
- The Earl of Glasgow, G.C.M.G., from 7th June, 1892, to 6th February, 1897.
- Sir James Prendergast, Chief Justice, Administrator, from 8th February, 1897, to 9th August, 1897.
- The Earl of Ranfurly, G.C.M.G., from 10th August, 1897, to 19th June, 1904.
- The Right Honourable William Lee, Baron Plunket, K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., from 20th June, 1904, to 8th June, 1910.
- Hon. Sir Robert Stout, K.C.M.G., Chief Justice, Administrator, from 8th June, 1910, to 22nd June, 1910.
- The Right Honourable John Poynder Dickson-Poynder, K.C.M.G., Baron Islington, D.S.O., from 22nd June, 1910, to 2nd December, 1912.
- Hon. Sir Robert Stout, K.C.M.G., Chief Justice, Administrator, from 3rd December, 1912, to 19th December, 1912.
- The Earl of Liverpool, K.C.M.G., M.V.O., from 19th December, 1912, to 7th July, 1920.
- The Right Honourable Sir Robert Stout, P.C., K.C.M.G., Chief Justice, Administrator from 8th July, 1920, to 26th September, 1920.
- Viscount Jellicoe of Scapa, G.C.B., O.M., G.C.V.O., Governor-General from 27th September, 1920, to 25th November, 1924.
- The Right Honourable Sir Robert Stout, P.C., K.C.M.G., Chief Justice, Administrator from 26th November, 1924, to 12th December, 1924.
- General Sir Charles Fergusson, Baronet, LL.D., G.C.M.G., K.C.B., D.S.O., M.V.O., Governor-General from 13th December, 1924, to 9th February, 1930.
- The Right Honourable Lord Bledisloe, P.C., G.C.M.G., K.B.E., from 19th March, 1930.

2. EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, 1841—56.

(Not including the Officers Commanding the Forces.)

- Willoughby Shortland, Colonial Secretary, from 3rd May, 1841, to 31st December, 1843.
- Francis Fisher, Attorney-General, from 3rd May to 10th August, 1841.
- George Cooper, Colonial Treasurer, from 3rd May, 1841, to 9th May, 1842.
- William Swainson, Attorney-General, from 10th August, 1841, to 7th May, 1856.

- Alexander Shepherd, Colonial Treasurer, from 9th May, 1842, to 7th May, 1856.
- Andrew Sinclair, Colonial Secretary, from 6th January, 1844, to 7th May, 1856.
- James Edward FitzGerald, M.H.R., without portfolio, from 14th June to 2nd August, 1854.
- Henry Sewell, M.H.R., without portfolio, from 14th June to 2nd August, 1854.
- Frederick Aloysius Weld, M.H.R., without portfolio, from 14th June to 2nd August, 1854.
- Francis Dillon Bell, M.L.C., without portfolio, from 30th June to 11th July, 1854.
- Thomas Houghton Bartley, M.L.C., without portfolio, from 14th July to 2nd August, 1854.
- Thomas Spencer Forsaith, M.H.R., without portfolio, from 31st August to 2nd September, 1854.
- Edward Jerningham Wakefield, M.H.R., without portfolio, from 31st August to 2nd September, 1854.
- William Thomas Locke Travers, M.H.R., without portfolio, 31st August to 2nd September, 1854.
- James Macandrew, M.H.R., without portfolio, from 31st August to 2nd September, 1854.

3. PARLIAMENTS OF NEW ZEALAND.

(The first date is that of the opening of the first session, the second that of the dissolution.)

- First—May, 1854—September, 1855; 3 sessions.
- Second—April, 1856—November, 1860; 3 sessions.
- Third—June, 1861—January, 1866; 5 sessions.
- Fourth—June, 1866—December, 1870; 5 sessions.
- Fifth—August, 1871—December, 1875; 5 sessions.
- Sixth—June, 1876—August, 1879; 4 sessions.
- Seventh—September, 1879—November, 1881; 3 sessions.
- Eighth—May, 1882—June, 1884; 3 sessions.
- Ninth—August, 1884—July, 1887; 4 sessions.
- Tenth—October, 1887—June, 1890; 4 sessions.
- Eleventh—January, 1891—November, 1893; 4 sessions.
- Twelfth—June, 1894—November, 1896; 3 sessions.
- Thirteenth—April, 1897—November, 1899; 4 sessions.
- Fourteenth—June, 1900—November, 1902; 3 sessions.
- Fifteenth—June, 1903—November, 1905; 3 sessions.
- Sixteenth—June, 1906—October, 1908; 4 sessions.
- Seventeenth—June, 1909—November, 1912; 4 sessions.
- Eighteenth—February, 1912—November, 1914; 4 sessions.
- Nineteenth—June, 1915—November, 1919; 6 sessions.
- Twentieth—June, 1920—November, 1922; 4 sessions.
- Twenty-first—February, 1923—October, 1925; 4 sessions.
- Twenty-second—June, 1926—October, 1928; 3 sessions.
- Twenty-third—December, 1928—

SUCCESSIVE MINISTRIES.

Since the Establishment of Responsible Government in
New Zealand in 1856.

Name of Ministry	Assumed Office	Retired	Page References to text
1 Bell-Sewell ..	7 May, 1856	20 May, 1856	192
2 Fox	20 May, 1856	2 June, 1856	192
3 Stafford ..	2 June, 1856	12 July, 1861	192, 227
4 Fox	12 July, 1861	6 Aug., 1862	227, 231
5 Domett ..	6 Aug., 1862	30 Oct., 1863	231, 238
6 Whitaker-Fox..	30 Oct., 1863	24 Nov., 1864	238, 247
7 Weld	24 Nov., 1864	16 Oct., 1865	247, 288
8 Stafford ..	16 Oct., 1865	28 June, 1869	288
9 Fox	28 June, 1869	10 Sept., 1872	273, 288
10 Stafford ..	10 Sept., 1872	11 Oct., 1872	288, 297
11 Waterhouse ..	11 Oct., 1872	3 March, 1873	288
12 Fox	3 March, 1873	8 April, 1873	288
13 Vogel	8 April, 1873	6 July, 1875	288
14 Pollen	6 July, 1875	15 Feb., 1876	292
15 Vogel	15 Feb., 1876	1 Sept., 1876	297
16 Atkinson ..	1 Sept., 1876	13 Sept., 1876	297
17 Atkinson ..	13 Sept., 1876	13 Oct., 1877	300
(reconstituted)			
18 Grey	15 Oct., 1877	8 Oct., 1879	297, 300-303
19 Hall	8 Oct., 1879	21 April, 1882	304
20 Whitaker ..	21 April, 1882	25 Sept., 1883	273, 298
21 Atkinson ..	25 Sept., 1883	16 Aug., 1884	298, 314, 315
22 Stout-Vogel ..	16 Aug., 1884	28 Aug., 1884	297, 315
23 Atkinson ..	28 Aug., 1884	3 Sept., 1884	315
24 Stout-Vogel ..	3 Sept., 1884	8 Oct., 1887	297, 315-8, 356
25 Atkinson ..	8 Oct., 1887	24 Jan., 1891	297, 317, 322
26 Ballance ..	24 Jan., 1891	1 May., 1893*	324-334
27 Seddon	1 May., 1893	21 June, 1906†	334-361
28 Hall-Jones ..	21 June, 1906	6 Aug., 1906	361
29 Ward	6 Aug., 1906	28 March, 1912	361-374
30 Mackenzie ..	28 March, 1912	10 July, 1912	374
31 Massey	10 July, 1912	12 Aug., 1915	375
32 National (Massey) ..	12 Aug., 1915	25 Aug., 1919	385-7
33 Massey	25 Aug., 1919	14 May, 1925‡	387-8
34 Bell	14 May, 1925	30 May, 1925	
35 Coates	30 May, 1925	10 Dec., 1928	
36 Ward	10 Dec., 1928	28 May, 1930	
37 Forbes	28 May, 1930		

*Owing to the death of the Premier, the Hon. John Ballance, on 27th April, 1893.

†Owing to the death of the Premier, the Rt. Hon. R. J. Seddon, P.C., on 10th June, 1906.

‡Owing to the death of the Premier, the Rt. Hon. W. F. Massey, P.C., LL.D., on 14th May, 1925.

CHRONOLOGY OF PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN NEW ZEALAND HISTORY

- 1642. Dec. 13. Discovery of New Zealand by Abel Janszoon Tasman.
- 1769. Oct. 8. Landing of Captain Cook at Poverty Bay.
- 1792. Dec. 1. Landing of first sealing gang on New Zealand coast at Dusky Sound.
- 1795. Oct. 27. Sinking of the ship "Endeavour," Captain Bampton, at Facile Harbour, Dusky Sound.
- 1809. Aug. Capture and burning of the transport "Boyd" at Whangaroa.
- 1814. First arrival of the Rev. Mr. Marsden at Bay of Islands, and introduction of Christianity.
- 1820. Visit of Hongi to England; return to New Zealand, July, 1821.
- 1821. Nov. Beginning of Hongi's Wars.
Nov. Ngati-Toa migration from Kawhia to Otaki under Te Rauparaha.
- 1823-28. Passing of Acts by the Imperial Parliament extending the jurisdiction of the Courts of justice in New South Wales to all the British subjects in New Zealand.
- 1825. Failure of Captain Herd's attempt at colonization at Hokianga.
- 1828. Death of Hongi at Whangaroa, from wounds received at Hokianga.
- 1830. Dec. Te Rauparaha's capture of Tama-i-hara-nui at Akaroa (Whangaroa) with the aid of Captain Stewart of the brig "Eliazbeth."
- 1831. Fall of Kaiapohia Pa, Canterbury, to Te Rauparaha. Establishment of the Tory Channel whaling-station. Application of thirteen chiefs for the protection of King William the Fourth.
- 1833. Appointment of James Busby as British Resident at the Bay of Islands.
- 1834. April 29. Wreck of "Harriet" at Cape Egmont.
Oct. 1. Capture of Waimate Pa, near Opunake by H.M.S. "Alligator."
- 1835. Declaration of independence of the whole of New Zealand as one nation, with the title of "The United Tribes of New Zealand."
Nov. and Dec. Conquest of the Chatham Islands by the Ngati-Awa.

1838. Landing of the Roman Catholic Bishop Pompallier, with a priest and a religious brother at Hokianga.
1839. May 12. Departure of the preliminary expedition of the New Zealand Company from England.
June. Issue of Letters Patent authorizing the Governor of New South Wales to include within the limits of that colony any territory that might be acquired in sovereignty by Her Majesty in New Zealand.
Sept. 16. Sailing of first body of New Zealand Company's emigrants from Gravesend.
Sept. 20. Arrival in Port Nicholson of the preliminary expedition of the New Zealand Company under Colonel Wakefield.
1840. Jan. 20. Arrival of first steamer in New Zealand.
Jan. 22. Arrival of first body of New Zealand Company's immigrants at Port Nicholson.
Jan. 29. Arrival of Captain Hobson, R.N., at the Bay of Islands.
Feb. 6. Signing of Treaty of Waitangi.
May 21. Date of Proclamation of sovereignty over the Islands of New Zealand.
June 17. Proclamation of the Queen's sovereignty over the South Island at Cloudy Bay, by Major Bunbury, H.M. 80th Regiment, and Captain Nias, R.N.
Aug. 11. Hoisting of the British flag at Akaroa by Captain Stanley, R.N., and British authority exercised for the first time in the South Island by the holding of a Court.
Aug. 13. Arrival of the French frigate "L'Aube."
Aug. 16. Arrival of "Comte de Paris," with fifty-seven immigrants, in order to establish a French colony.
Sept. 18. Hoisting of the British flag at Auckland. The Lieutenant-Governor's residence established there.
Foundation of Wanganui settlement under the name of "Petre."
1841. Feb. 12. Issue of charter of incorporation to the New Zealand Company.
Mar. 31. Arrival of first New Plymouth settlers.
May 3. Proclamation of New Zealand's independence of New South Wales.
Oct. Selection of site for settlement at Nelson.
1842. Feb. 1. Foundation of Nelson settlement.
May 29. Arrival of Bishop Selwyn in New Zealand.
Sept. 10. Death of Governor Hobson.

1843. June. Massacre of Captain Wakefield, R.N., agent at Nelson of the New Zealand Company, and others, who had surrendered.
1844. July 8. The cutting down of the Royal flagstaff at Kororareka by Heke.
1845. March 10. Attack on and destruction of town of Kororareka by Heke.
- Nov. 14. Arrival of Captain Grey, as Lieutenant-Governor of New Zealand, from South Australia.
1846. Jan. 11. Capture of pa at Ruapekapeka, Bay of Islands, and termination of Heke's war.
- March 3. Commencement of Native hostilities in the Hutt Valley, near Wellington.
- July 23. Capture of Te Rauparaha at Porirua, near Wellington. He was detained for a year as a prisoner on board a ship of war.
- Aug. 28. Passing of the New Zealand Government Act by the Imperial Parliament, under which a charter was issued dividing New Zealand into two provinces, New Munster and New Ulster, and granting representative institutions.
1847. May 19. Attack by Natives on settlement of Wanganui.
1848. Jan. 1. Appointment of Captain Grey as Governor-in-Chief over the Islands of New Zealand, also as Governor of the Province of New Ulster and Governor of the Province of New Munster.
- Jan. 3. Appointment of Major-General Pitt by Governor Grey as Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of New Ulster.
- Jan. 28. Assumption by Lieutenant-Governor E. J. Eyre, at Wellington, of the administration of the Government of the Province of New Munster.
- Feb. 21. Ratification of peace at Wanganui.
- March 7. Suspension by Imperial statute of that part of the New Zealand Government Act of 1846 which had conferred representative institutions.
- March. Foundation of Otago by a Scottish company under the auspices of the Free Church of Scotland.
1850. July. Surrender of the New Zealand Company's charter, all its interests reverting to the Imperial Government.
- Dec. Foundation of Canterbury by the Canterbury Association in connection with the Church of England.
1851. April 14. Appointment of Lieutenant-Colonel Wynyard as Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of New Ulster.



[Govt. Publicity photo]

The Office of the High Commissioner for New Zealand, January, 1927.



The Farm of the Hon. G. W. Forbes—one of the many into which the Cheviot estate was sub-divided for closer settlement in 1892. [B. Skinner photo]

1852. Discovery of gold at Coromandel by Mr. Charles Ring.
June 30. Passing of the Constitution Act by the Imperial Parliament, granting representative institutions to New Zealand, and subdividing it into six provinces—Auckland, Taranaki, Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury, and Otago.
1853. Jan. Promulgation of the Constitution Act.
March 7. Assumption by Sir George Grey, K.C.B., of the duties of Governor of New Zealand, in terms of the appointment after the passing of the New Zealand Constitution Act, and cessation of the duties of the Lieutenant-Governors of New Ulster and New Munster.
Dec. 31. Departure of Governor Sir George Grey.
1854. May 27. Opening at Auckland of the first session of the General Assembly by Lieutenant-Colonel Wynyard, Administrator of the Government.
1855. Jan. Very severe earthquake on each side of Cook Strait.
Nov. 12. Election of first members to House of Representatives under system of Responsible Government.
1856. May 7. Appointment of the first Ministry under the system of Responsible Government, under Mr. Sewell, Colonial Secretary.
May 14. Defeat of Mr. Sewell's Ministry.
May 20. Appointment of a Ministry under presidency of Mr. W. Fox, as Attorney-General.
May 28. Defeat of Mr. Fox's Ministry, by a majority of one, on a direct vote of want of confidence.
June 2. Appointment of a Ministry under the presidency of Mr. E. W. Stafford.
1857. Opening of the first payable goldfield in New Zealand at Collingwood, in the Nelson Province.
1858. Aug. 21. New Provinces Act passed.
Nov. 1. Establishment of the Province of Hawke's Bay.
1859. March. Te Teira's offer of land at Waitara for sale to the Government.
Nov. 1. Establishment of the Province of Marlborough.
1860. March. Commencement of hostilities against Wiremu Kingi te Rangitake at Waitara.
March 18. Capture of Maori pa at Waitara.
March 28. Engagement at Waireka.
June 27. Engagement of Puketakauere at Waitara.
Nov. 6. Defeat at Mahoetahi, with heavy loss, of a force of Waikato Natives, who had crossed the Waitara River to join Wiremu Kingi.

- Dec. 31. Capture of Matarikoriko Pa, and defeat of a large body of Waikato Natives.
1861. Jan. 23. Repulse of Maori attack on redoubt at Huirangi.
- April 1. Establishment of Province of Southland.
- May. Discovery of gold at Gabriel's Gully, Otago.
- July 5. Defeat of Mr. Stafford's Ministry, by a majority of one, on a vote of want of confidence.
- July 12. Appointment of a Ministry under the premiership of Mr. Fox.
- July 29. Incorporation of the Bank of New Zealand.
- Sept. 26. Arrival of Sir George Grey, K.C.B., at Auckland, from Cape Colony, to succeed Governor Gore Browne.
1862. June 28. Proclamation of Coromandel as a goldfield.
- June 29. Wreck of s.s. "White Swan" on East Coast (with loss of many public records, in transit from Auckland).
- July 28. Defeat of Mr. Fox's Ministry by the casting-vote of the Speaker, on a proposed resolution in favour of placing the ordinary conduct of Native affairs under the administration of the Responsible Ministers.
- Aug. 6. Appointment of a Ministry under the leadership of Mr. Alfred Domett.
1863. Feb. 26. Relinquishment by the Imperial Government of control over administration of Native affairs.
- May. Treacherous assault on a military escort near Tararaimaka by Natives. Murder of Lieutenant Tragett, Dr. Hope, and five soldiers of the 57th Regiment.
- June 4. Defeat of Natives at Katikara, by a force under Lieutenant-General Cameron.
- July 17. Action at Koheroa, in the Auckland Province. Commencement of the Waikato War.
- Oct. 27. Resignation of the Domett Ministry, in consequence of difficulties experienced in connection with arrangements for finding a fitting representative of the Governor in the Legislative Council.
- Oct. 30. Appointment of the Ministry formed by Mr. Fox, under the premiership of Mr. F. Whitaker.
- Nov. Acceptance by the General Assembly of colonial responsibility in Native affairs.
- Nov. 20. Defeat of Maoris at the Battle of Rangiri.
- Dec. 1. Opening for traffic of the first railway in New Zealand by Mr. Samuel Bealey, Superintendent of Canterbury. The line was from Christchurch to Ferrymead Junction.

- Dec. 3. Enactment of the New Zealand Settlements Act, giving the Governor power to confiscate the lands of insurgent Natives.
- Dec. 8. Occupation of Ngaruawahia. Hoisting of the British flag on the Maori king's flagstaff.
1864. Feb. 11. Engagement with Natives on Mangapiko River.
- Feb. 22. Defeat of Natives at Rangiaowhia.
- April 2. Attack on and capture of pa at Orakau, Waikato.
- April 21. Engagement near Maketu, Bay of Plenty. Defeat of tribes of the Rawhiti by Arawa Natives, under Captain McDonnell.
- April 29. Assault on Gate Pa, Tauranga, Bay of Plenty, and repulse of large British force by the Maoris.
- April 30. Repulse of attack by rebel Hauhau Natives on redoubt at Sentry Hill, Taranaki.
- May 14. Battle of Moutoa, an island in the Wanganui River, between friendly and rebel Hauhau Natives. Complete defeat of rebels.
- June 21. Engagement at Te Ranga, near Tauranga, by Lieut.-Colonel Greer, 68th Regiment. Severe defeat of the Natives.
- Discovery of gold on the west coast of the South Island.
- Oct. 3. Wellington chosen as the seat of Government.
- Nov. 24. Appointment of a Ministry under the premiership of Mr. F. A. Weld, the Whitaker-Fox Ministry having resigned during the recess.
- Dec. 17. Confiscation of Native lands in Waikato by Sir George Grey.
1865. Feb. Removal of the seat of Government to Wellington.
- March 2. Barbarous murder of the Rev. Mr. Volkner, a Church of England missionary, at Opotiki, by Hauhau fanatics, under Kereopa.
- June 8. Submission of the Maori Chief Wiremu Tamihana te Waharoa (William Thompson).
- June 17. Murder of Mr. Fulloon, a Government officer, and his companions, at Whakatane, by Hauhau fanatics.
- July 22. Capture of the Wereroa Pa, near Wanganui.
- Aug. 2. Assault and capture of the Pa Kairomiromi, at Waiapu, by Colonial Forces under Captain Fraser, and Native Contingent under the chief Te Mokena.
- Sept. 2. Proclamation of peace issued by Governor Sir George Grey, announcing that the war, which commenced at Oakura, was at an end.

- Sept. 30. Murder by Hauhaus, at Kakaramaea, of Mr. Broughton, when sent as friendly messenger to them by Brigadier-General Waddy.
- Oct. 12. Resignation of Mr. Weld's Ministry, on account of a resolution, adverse to the Government policy, having been defeated only by the casting-vote of the Speaker.
- Oct. 16. Appointment of a Ministry under the premiership of Mr. E. W. Stafford.
- Dec. 25. Defeat of rebel Natives at Wairoa, Hawke's Bay, by Colonial Forces and Native Contingent.
1866. Jan. 4. Defeat of Natives at Okotuku Pa, on the west coast of the North Island, by force under Major-General Chute.
- Jan. 7. Assault on and capture of Putahi Pa, by force under Major-General Chute.
- Jan. 13. Assault on and capture of Otapawa Pa, by force under Major-General Chute.
- Jan. 17-25. Period of Major-General Chute's march through the bush to New Plymouth.
- March 29. Submission of the rebel chiefs Te Heuheu and Herekikie, of Taupo district.
- June 15. Commencement of Panama steam mail-service.
- Aug. 26. Laying of the Cook Strait submarine telegraph cable.
- Oct. 2. Engagement with rebel Natives at Pungarehu, West Coast, by Colonial Forces, under Major McDonnell.
- Oct. 8. First Act passed to impose stamp duties.
- Oct. 12. Defeats of rebel Natives at Omarunui and at Petane, Hawke's Bay, by Colonial Forces.
1867. July. Opening of Thames Goldfield.
- Oct. 10. Passing of an Act to establish an institute for the promotion of science and art.
- Oct. 10. Passing of an Act for the division of New Zealand into four Maori electorates, and the admission of four Maori members to the House of Representatives.
1868. Jan. Establishment of the County of Westland.
- July 4. Seizure by Maori prisoners, under the leadership of Te Kooti, of the schooner "Rifleman," and their escape from the Chatham Islands.
- July 12. Night attack by Natives on redoubt at Turuturu Mokai. Sub-Inspector Ross and seven Europeans killed. Natives driven off by the arrival of a force under Major Von Tempsky.
- Aug. 8. Pursuit by Lieut.-Colonel Whitmore of escaped Chatham Island prisoners, and indecisive engagement in the gorge of the Ruake Ture.

- Aug. 21. Attack on Ngutu-o-te-Manu by force under Lieut.-Colonel McDonnell. Defeat of Natives; four Europeans killed and eight wounded.
- Sept. 7. Engagement in bush at Ngutu-o-te-Manu. Major Von Tempsky, Captains Buck and Palmer, Lieutenants Hunter and Hastings, and fourteen men killed.
- Oct. 19. Departure of Bishop Selwyn from New Zealand.
- Nov. 7. Attack on Moturoa and repulse of Colonial Forces with severe loss.
- Nov. 10. Massacre of thirty-two Europeans at Poverty Bay by Te Kooti.
- Nov. 24; Dec. 3-5. Engagements between friendly Natives and rebels under Te Kooti, at Patutahi, Poverty Bay district.
1869. Jan. 5. Assault on and capture of Te Kooti's pa at Ngatapa, Poverty Bay district, after a siege of six days, by Colonial Forces of Europeans and friendly Natives under Colonel Whitmore and Major Ropata.
- Feb. 13. Murder of the Rev. John Whitely and seven other Europeans at the White Cliffs, Taranaki.
- Feb. 18. Attack by rebel Natives on a foraging-party at Karaka Flat.
- March 3. Termination of Panama mail-service.
- March 13. Defeat of Titokowaru's force at Otauto.
- April 10. Capture of native pa at Mohaka by Te Kooti.
- April 12. First arrival of H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh at Wellington, in H.M.S. "Galatea."
- May 6. Surprise and capture of Harema Pa at Ahikereru, and Oamaru Teangi Pa, Urewera country. Defeat of Te Kooti.
- June 13. Surrender to Major Noake and Mr. Booth, R.M., of the chief Tairua, with 122 men, women, and children of the Pakakohe Tribe, near Wanganui.
- June 24. Defeat of Mr. Stafford's Ministry on a want-of-confidence motion.
- June 28. Appointment of a Ministry under the premiership of Mr. W. Fox.
- Sept. 3. Passing of an Act providing Government life insurance and annuities.
- Oct. 4. Capture of Pourere Pa by Lieut.-Colonel McDonnell, with a mixed force of Europeans and Natives.
1870. Jan. Pursuit of Te Kooti in the Urewera Country by Topia and Major Keepa.

- Jan. 25. Capture of Tapapa pa, occupied by Te Kooti.
 Feb. 24. Departure from New Zealand of the last detachment of the Imperial troops.
 March 25. Major Keepa, with Native force, captured the position held by Te Kooti at Maraetahi, in Urewera Country.
 March 26. Commencement of San Francisco mail-service.
 June 28. Enunciation in the House of Representatives of the public-works policy by the Colonial Treasurer, Mr. Vogel.
 Aug. 27. Arrival in Wellington of H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh in H.M.S. "Galatea." Second visit.
 Sept. 12. Passing of an Act to establish the New Zealand University.
 Sept. 12. Passing of the Land Transfer Act to simplify the title to land and dealings with real estates.
 Oct. 6. Reunion of Southland Province with Otago.
1871. March. Commencement of railway-construction under the public-works policy.
 Aug. 4. Death of Tamati Waka Nene, the great Ngapuhi chief and friend of the Europeans.
 Nov. Capture of the notorious rebel Kereopa, the murderer of the Rev. Mr. Volkner, by the Ngati-porous.
1872. Jan. 5. Execution of Kereopa at Napier.
 Feb. 22. Visit of William King, the Maori chief of Waitara, to New Plymouth, and resumption of amicable relations with the Europeans.
 Sept. 6. Defeat and resignation of Mr. Fox's Ministry.
 Sept. 10. Appointment of a Ministry under the premiership of the Hon. E. W. Stafford.
 Oct. 4. Defeat of the Stafford Ministry on a vote of want of confidence moved by Mr. Vogel.
 Oct. 11. Appointment of a Ministry under the premiership of the Hon. G. M. Waterhouse, M.L.C.
 Oct. 11. First appointment of Maori chiefs (two) to be members of the Legislative Council.
 Oct. 25. Passing of the Public Trust Office Act.
1873. Jan. Establishment of the New Zealand Shipping Company.
 March 3. Appointment of the Hon. W. Fox as Premier on the resignation of the Hon. G. M. Waterhouse, the other members of the Ministry being confirmed in their offices.

- April 8. Resignation of the premiership by the Hon. W. Fox, on the return of the Hon. J. Vogel, C.M.G., from Australia, and appointment of Mr. Vogel as Premier, the other Ministers being confirmed in their offices.
1874. Aug. 22. Passing of an Act abolishing imprisonment for debt. Introduction of 31,774 immigrants under the immigration and public-works policy.
1875. Jan. 3. Visit of Sir Donald McLean to the Maori king; resumption of amicable relations.
- July 6. Resignation of the Ministry, in consequence of the absence of Sir J. Vogel, K.C.M.G., in England, and his being unable to attend the session of Parliament. Reconstitution thereof, under the premiership of the Hon. Dr. Pollen, M.L.C.
- July. Establishment of the Union Steam Ship Company of New Zealand.
- Introduction of 18,324 immigrants under the immigration and public-works policy.
- Oct. 12. Passing of the Abolition of Provinces Act.
1876. Feb. 15. Resignation of the Hon. Dr. Pollen's Ministry, and reconstruction under the premiership of Sir J. Vogel, K.C.M.G.
- Feb. 18. Completion of the work of laying the telegraph cable between New Zealand and New South Wales.
- June. Death of Dr. Isaac Earl Featherston, while acting as Agent-General for New Zealand in England.
- Sept. 1. Resignation of Sir J. Vogel's Ministry in view of the appointment of Sir J. Vogel as Agent-General and the formation of a Ministry under the premiership of Major Atkinson.
- Sept. 13. Resignation of Major Atkinson's Ministry in consequence of doubts being entertained as to the constitutional position thereof. Reconstruction of the Ministry under the premiership of Major Atkinson.
- Nov. 1. Complete abolition of provincial institutions under the Abolition of Provinces Act, 1875. Sub-division of New Zealand into counties and municipal boroughs.
1877. Oct. 8. Defeat of the Atkinson Ministry on a vote of want of confidence moved by Mr. Larnach.
- Oct. 15. Appointment of a Ministry under the premiership of Sir George Grey, K.C.B.
- Nov. 29. Passing of the Education Act, providing for the free and compulsory education of children.
1878. April 11. Death of Bishop Selwyn, in England.
- Oct. 29. Passing of Sir George Grey's first land-tax.

1879. June. Arrest and imprisonment of 180 Parihaka Natives for causing disturbances.
July 29. Defeat of the Grey Ministry on an amendment to the Address in Reply, moved by Sir William Fox, followed by a dissolution of Parliament.
Oct. 3. Defeat and subsequent resignation of Sir George Grey's Ministry.
Oct. 8. Appointment of a Ministry under the premiership of the Hon. John Hall.
Dec. 19. Passing of an Act to assess property for the purpose of taxation.
Dec. 19. Passing of the Triennial Parliament Act.
Dec. 19. Passing of an Act to qualify every resident male of twenty-one years of age and upwards to vote.
1880. June. Release of first portion of the Parihaka Maori prisoners by the Government.
Oct. Release of the last portion of the Parihaka Maori prisoners.
Oct. 26. Appointment of Sir Francis Dillon Bell as Agent-General.
1881. Nov. 5. March of force of Constabulary and Volunteers on Parihaka, and arrest of Te Whiti and Tohu without bloodshed.
1882. Feb. 15. First shipment of frozen meat from Port Chalmers.
April 21. Resignation (during the recess) of the Hon. J. Hall's Ministry, and its reconstruction under the premiership of the Hon. F. Whitaker, M.L.C.
1883. Jan. 26. Inauguration of a direct line of steam-communication between England and New Zealand by the New Zealand Shipping Company.
Feb. 13. Proclamation of amnesty to Maori political offenders.
Feb. 19. Liberation of Te Whiti and Tohu.
Sept. 25. Resignation of the office of Premier and his seat in the Ministry by the Hon. F. Whitaker and the appointment of the Hon. Major H. A. Atkinson to be Premier, the members of Mr. Whitaker's Ministry being confirmed in their offices.
1884. June 11. Defeat of Major Atkinson's Government.
Aug. 16. Resignation of Major Atkinson's Ministry in consequence of the result of the general election and formation of a Ministry under the premiership of Mr. Robert Stout.
Aug. 20. Defeat of Mr. Stout's Ministry by an amendment, expressive of want of confidence, to the Address in Reply being carried.

- Aug. 28. Appointment of a Ministry under the premiership of Major Atkinson.
- Aug. 29. Defeat of Major Atkinson's Ministry on a vote of want of confidence.
- Sept. 3. Appointment of a Ministry under the premiership of Mr. Robert Stout.
- Nov. 8. Passing of an Act to enable certain loans of the New Zealand Government to be converted into inscribed stock and the accrued sinking funds released.
1885. Aug. 1. The New Zealand Industrial Exhibition opened at Wellington.
1886. June 10. Volcanic eruptions at Tarawera, and destruction of the famed Pink and White Terraces; 101 lives lost.
1887. May 28. Defeat of Sir Robert Stout's Ministry.
- Oct. 8. Appointment of a Ministry under the premiership of Major H. A. Atkinson, Sir Robert Stout's Ministry having resigned in consequence of the result of the election.
- Dec. 19. Passing of an Act to reduce the number of members of the House of Representatives, after the expiration of the General Assembly then sitting, to seventy-four, including four Maori representatives.
- Dec. 23. Passing of the Australian Naval Defence Act, being an Act to provide for the establishment of an additional naval force on the Australian Station, at the joint charge of the Imperial and the several Colonial Governments.
1889. Sept. 2. Abolition of plural voting.
- Nov. 26. Opening of South Seas Exhibition, Dunedin.
1890. Dec. 5. First election of members of the House of Representatives under manhood suffrage, and on the one-man-one-vote principle.
- Aug. to Nov. Great maritime strike.
1891. Jan. 24. Resignation (during the recess) of the Hon. Sir H. A. Atkinson's Ministry and appointment of a Ministry under the premiership of the Hon. John Ballance.
- April 22. Proclamation by Governor of New Zealand to inhabitants at Rarotonga of appointment of British Resident for the Protectorate of the Cook Islands.
- May 25. Adhesion of Australia to Postal Union.
- Aug. 29. Passing of Truck Act, to prohibit payment of wages in goods or otherwise than in money.

- Sept. 8. Passing of Land and Income Assessment Act for purposes of taxation, and repeal of property-tax.
- Sept. 21. Passing of an Act for supervising and regulating factories and workrooms. (Repealed by Act of 1894.)
1892. June 28. Death of Sir H. A. Atkinson, K.C.M.G., Speaker of the Legislative Council, and previously four times Premier.
- Oct. 8. Land for Settlements Act, 1892, authorizing purchase of lands from individuals for purposes of subdivision. (Repealed by Act of 1894. See *post.*)
- Oct. 11. Land Act, 1892: Lease in perpetuity without revaluation system introduced; occupation with right of purchase; optional method of selection; small-farms associations.
1893. April 19. Purchase of the Cheviot Estate by Government under the Land and Income Assessment Act.
- April 27. Death of Hon. John Ballance, Premier of New Zealand.
- May 1. Resignation of the Ministry in consequence of the death of the Hon. John Ballance, and appointment of a new Ministry under the premiership of the Hon. R. J. Seddon.
- June 23. Death of Sir William Fox, K.C.M.G., four times Premier of New Zealand.
- Sept. 2. Passing of Bank-note Issue Act, to make bank-notes a first charge on assets and to enable the Government to declare them to be a legal tender, &c.
- Sept. 19. The Electoral Act, 1893, extending franchise to women.
- Oct. 2. Passing of the Alcoholic Liquors Sale Control Act. New licenses to be granted subject to the votes of the electors; reduction or abolition of licenses if desired.
- Nov. 28. A general election, the first occasion on which women exercised the franchise.
1894. June 30. Bank of New Zealand Share Guarantee Act, 1894, to guarantee special issue of shares to amount of £2,000,000, and purchase of Assets Estates Company by Assets Board. (Amended on July 20.)
- Aug. 31. Passing of an Act to encourage the formation of industrial unions and associations, and to facilitate the settlement of industrial disputes by conciliation and arbitration.
- Oct. 18. New Zealand Consols Act, 1894.

- Oct. 18. Government Advances to Settlers Act, 1894, for relief of settlers burdened by high charges of interest, &c.
- Oct. 18. Passing of Land for Settlements Act, 1894, authorizing acquisition of private lands for purposes of settlement, with compulsory powers, and repealing Act of 1892; also Lands Improvement and Native Lands Acquisition Act, 1894.
- Oct. 18. Passing of Shops and Shop-assistants Act, 1894, for limiting hours of business in shops.
- Oct. 23. Dairy Industry Act, to regulate manufacture of butter and cheese, with inspection and grading for export, and to provide for purity of milk.
1895. May 27. Assumption by the Government of the management of the Midland Railway.
- Sept. 20. Family Homes Protection Act, 1895.
1896. Jan. 10. Appointment of Hon. W. P. Reeves as Agent-General in London.
- Oct. 16. Amendment of Land for Settlement Act: Special provision made for disposal of highly improved lands acquired; preference given to landless people; Boards may select applicants, &c.
- Oct. 17. Alteration of franchise by abolition of non-residential or property qualification.
- Oct. 17. Passing of Government Valuation of Land Act.
1897. Dec. 22. Act to establish at Wellington the Victoria College, in connection with the New Zealand University.
1898. Oct. 15. Passing of the Municipal Franchise Reform Act.
- Nov. 1. Passing of an Act to provide for old-age pensions. Death of Sir George Grey, K.C.B.
1899. March 13. Death of Sir Julius Vogel, K.C.M.G.
- April. Opening of Victoria University College in Wellington.
- Oct. 19. Passing of an Act constituting Labour Day.
- Oct. 21. Departure of N.Z. Contingent (the first) for the Transvaal War.
1900. Aug. 8. Immigration Restriction Act, 1899, assented to by Her Majesty in Council.
- Oct. 13. Passing of Public Health Act.
- Oct. 18. Passing of the Maori Councils Act.
- Oct. 20. Passing of the Representation Act, 1900, increasing number of European representatives to seventy-six.
1901. Jan. 1. Adoption of Universal penny postage by New Zealand.
- Jan. 28. Accession of King Edward VII.

- Feb. 14. Death (in England) of Sir Edward Stafford, G.C.M.G., formerly three times Premier of New Zealand.
- June 10. Arrival of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York in New Zealand.
- June 10. Boundaries of New Zealand extended to include Cook and other Pacific Islands.
- Nov. 7. Passing of the State Coal-mines Act.
1902. March 24. Landing of the end of Pacific cable in Doubtless Bay, Mangonui.
- April 14. Departure of Right Hon. R. J. Seddon for London to attend Conference of Colonial Premiers, and to represent New Zealand at His Majesty the King's Coronation.
- Aug. 9. Celebration in New Zealand on the occasion of the Coronation of His Majesty King Edward VII.
- August. Return of New Zealand troopers from South Africa.
- Dec. 8. Opening of Pacific (all red) cable service for international business.
1903. May 22. Appointment of Mahuta Potatau te Whero-hero (formerly known as the Maori King) to the Legislative Council.
- May 24. Proclamation of Empire Day in New Zealand (anniversary of birth of late Queen Victoria).
- Nov. 18. Passing of the State Fire Insurance Act.
- Nov. 24. Passing of the Preferential and Reciprocal Trade Act.
1905. June 14. Appointment of Hon. W. P. Reeves as first High Commissioner of New Zealand at London.
- July 29. Passing of the Old-age Pensions Act, 1905, increasing amount of annual pension to £26.
- Oct. 30. Passing of the Workers' Dwellings Act.
1906. June 10. Death of the Right Hon. R. J. Seddon, P.C., Premier of New Zealand.
- June 21. Resignation of Ministry in consequence of the death of the Right Hon. R. J. Seddon, and appointment of a new Ministry under the Premiership of the Hon. W. Hall-Jones.
- Aug. 6. Resignation of Ministry under the Premiership of the Hon. W. Hall-Jones, and appointment of a new Ministry under the Premiership of the Hon. Sir J. G. Ward, K.C.M.G.
- Oct. 29. Passing of the Government Advances to Workers Act to assist workers in providing homes for themselves.
- Nov. 1. Opening of the New Zealand International Exhibition at Christchurch.

1907. April 15. Opening of Conference of Premiers at London. New Zealand represented by Hon. Sir Joseph Ward, K.C.M.G.
 June 25. Death of Sir John Hall, K.C.M.G., formerly Premier of New Zealand.
 Sept. 26. Change of the style and designation of the "Colony of New Zealand" to "Dominion of New Zealand," by Royal Proclamation of 10th September, 1907.
 Oct. 26. Passing of the Land and Income Assessment Act Amendment, increasing graduated land-tax.
 Nov. 20. Passing of Land Laws Amendment Act, abolishing lease in perpetuity and establishing renewable lease with periodical revaluation.
1908. Dec. 11. Destruction of Parliament Buildings by fire.
 Aug. 7. First through train Wellington to Auckland.
 Oct. 6. Increase of New Zealand's subsidy to British Navy to £100,000 per annum.
 Oct. 6. Passing of the Second Ballot Act.
 Oct. 10. Passing of the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Amendment Act, 1908, abolishing Boards of Conciliation and establishing Councils of Conciliation.
 Dec. 7. Purchase of Wellington-Manawatu Railway by Government.
1909. March 22. Offer of the New Zealand Government to the British Government of at least one (and, if necessary, two) first-class battleships of the Dreadnought or latest types. Offer confirmed by Parliament on 14th June, 1909.
 June 18. Departure of the Right Hon. Sir J. G. Ward, Prime Minister, for London to attend Imperial Defence Conference.
 Dec. 24. Passing of Defence Act, 1909, introducing system of compulsory military training.
 Dec. 24. Passing of the Land Settlement Finance Act to assist associations of private buyers in the purchase of freehold lands.
1910. Feb. Visit of Field-Marshal Lord Kitchener to report and advise on the defences of the Dominion.
 May 10. Proclamation of the Accession of King George V.
 Sept. 28. Passing of the Public Debt Extinction Act to authorize the creation of sinking funds for the extinction of the whole of the New Zealand public debt in seventy-five years.
 Nov. 21. Passing of the National Provident Fund Act to encourage the making of provision against destitution arising from old age, sickness, widowhood, and orphanage.

- Nov. 21. Passing of the Commercial Trusts Act for the repression of monopolies in trade and commerce.
- Dec. 3. Passing of Inalienable Life Annuities Act.
- Dec. 3. Passing of Workers' Dwellings Act.
1911. March 6. Departure of the Right Hon. Sir J. G. Ward, K.C.M.G., to attend the Imperial Conference and the Coronation of King George.
- April 2. General census of New Zealand. Population of Dominion, exclusive of Maoris, over one million.
- June 22. Celebration in New Zealand on the occasion of the Coronation of His Majesty King George V.
- July 26. Installation of wireless telegraphy in New Zealand.
- Aug. 26. Authorization of Armorial bearings of Dominion by Royal warrant.
- Oct. 28. Passing of an Act granting pensions to widows, with allowance for each child under fourteen years of age.
- Dec. 7. First poll on national prohibition question in conjunction with local option poll and general election.
1912. March 23. Laying of foundation-stone of New Parliament Buildings.
- March 28. Resignation of Ward Ministry during recess, and formation of Ministry under leadership of Hon. T. Mackenzie.
- May. Beginning of gold-miners' strike at Waihi, leading to disturbances in the town.
- July 10. Resignation of Mackenzie Ministry after defeat on vote of no confidence, and assumption of office by Ministry under leadership of Hon. W. F. Massey.
- Aug. 22. Appointment of Hon. T. Mackenzie as High Commissioner.
- Oct. 26. Passing of Amendment to Justices of the Peace Act, providing for legal assistance to indigent persons accused of indictable offences.
- Nov. 7. Passing of the Public Service Act placing the Public Service (except Railways Department) under control of a Commissioner.
- Nov. 7. Passing of the Land Laws Amendment Act.
- Nov. 7. Amendment of Births and Deaths Registration Act, providing for registration of births and deaths of Maoris.
- Nov. 7. Amendment to Native Land Act, providing that in certain cases a Native may be deemed a European.
- Dec. 18. Arrival at Auckland of the Earl of Liverpool, M.V.O., K.C.M.G., Governor of New Zealand.

1913. Feb. 14. Arrival at Oamaru of the Scott Antarctic Expedition with news of the death of Captain R. F. Scott, R.N.
Feb. 24. Arrival at Bluff of Dominions Royal Commission, set up to inquire into the question of the trade relations, &c., of the British self-governing Dominions.
April 12. Arrival at Wellington of H.M.S. "New Zealand," the Dreadnought presented by the Dominion to the Imperial Navy.
June 27. Opening of Parliament (third session of eighteenth).
Oct. 2. Landing of the "Britannia" aeroplane, presented to New Zealand as the first unit of the proposed Imperial Air Fleet, at Wellington.
1914. Aug. 5. Notification of the declaration of war between Great Britain and Germany.
Aug. 15. Departure of New Zealand Advance Expeditionary Force from Wellington.
Aug. 29. Landing of New Zealand Advance Expeditionary Force at Apia, Samoa, unopposed.
Oct. 16. Departure of New Zealand Main Expeditionary Force from Wellington.
1915. April 25. Landing of Australian and New Zealand Infantry on Gallipoli.
Aug. 12. Formation of National Cabinet.
Dec. 19. Evacuation of Gallipoli by Australian and New Zealand troops.
1916. April. Transfer of New Zealand Division to Western front.
Aug. 1. Passing of Military Service Act providing for compulsory enrolment of men for war service.
Oct. 15. Census of New Zealand.
Nov. 16. First ballot under Military Service Act.
1917. June 7. Capture of Messines Village by New Zealand troops.
June 28. Earl of Liverpool, first Governor-General of New Zealand.
1918. June 20. Piercing of Otira Tunnel.
Nov. 11. Signing of Armistice by German High Command.
Nov. 21. Surrender of German fleet.
Nov.-Dec. Influenza epidemic prevalent through the Dominion.
1919. Jan. Visit of French Mission under General Pau.
April 10. Special licensing poll.
Aug. 20. Arrival of H.M.S. "New Zealand" at Wellington on her second visit to the Dominion, bringing Admiral of the Fleet Viscount Jellicoe of Scapa, G.C.B., O.M., G.C.V.O.

- Aug. 21. Dissolution of National Ministry.
 Dec. 17. General elections.
1920. Visit of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales.
 Railway strike.
 First aeroplane flight over Cook Strait.
 New Zealand mandate from League of Nations to administer Western Samoa.
 Proclamation of Anzac Day as a national holiday.
1921. Passing of Samoa Act.
 Departure of Hon. Sir John Salmond to represent New Zealand at Disarmament Conference, Washington.
1922. Visit of British Empire Exhibition Mission to New Zealand.
 Observance of Anzac Day to be in all respects as if it were a Sunday.
 Placing of meat-export trade under control of a Board.
1923. Opening of Arthur's Pass tunnel.
 Proclamation of Ross Dependency as under jurisdiction of Governor-General of New Zealand.
 Creation of Highway districts.
 Reintroduction of penny postage.
 Passing of Dairy Produce Export Control Act.
1924. Visit of Special Service Squadron to New Zealand.
 Railway strike.
 Direct two-way radio communication between New Zealand and England.
 Passing of Motor-vehicles Act, providing for registration and annual licensing of motor-vehicles.
 Passing of Land Transfer (Compulsory Registration of Titles) Act.
 Visit of a party of Samoan faipules to New Zealand.
1925. Death of Right Hon. W. F. Massey, Prime Minister since 1912.
 Visit of American Fleet to New Zealand.
 Passing of Repayment of the Public Debt Act.
 New Zealand and South Seas International Exhibition at Dunedin.
1926. Transfer of Administration of Tokelau (Union) Islands to New Zealand.
 Adoption of absolute control by Dairy Produce Control Board.
 Passing of Family Allowances Act.
1927. Visit of T.R.H. the Duke and Duchess of York.
 Passing of Summer Time Act.
 Substitution of limited control for absolute control by Dairy Produce Control Board.
 Imposition of Petrol-tax.

Investigation of Royal Commission into certain matters in connection with Western Samoa.

Visit of Right Hon. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for Dominions.

1928. National Industrial Conference.

Loss of Moncrieff and Hood in attempt to fly across Tasman.

First successful flight across Tasman in monoplane "Southern Cross" by Kingsford Smith and party.

Vindication actions of Samoan administration by Mandates Commission of League of Nations.

Passing of Motor-vehicles Insurance (Third-party Risks) Act, providing for compulsory insurance of motor-vehicles.

Arrival of Commander Byrd's Antarctic Expedition *en route* for Ross Sea.

Defeat of Coates Ministry, and succession of United Ministry under Right Hon. Sir J. G. Ward.

1929. Severe earthquakes at Arthur's Pass (March), in Rangitikei (May), and in Murchison-Karamea district (June), the last mentioned causing sixteen deaths and being the most disastrous ever experienced in New Zealand.

Report by three officers of New Zealand Government on Samoan finance, public services, &c.

Permanent adoption of daylight saving (half-hour) for summer months.

1930. March 19. Assumption of office of Governor-General by His Excellency Lord Bledisloe.

Return of Rear-Admiral Byrd's Antarctic Expedition.

May 28. Resignation of Sir J. G. Ward owing to ill-health. Mr. G. W. Forbes called upon to form new cabinet.

July 8. Death of Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph Ward.

INDEX

- Abolition of the Provinces, result of offending Vogel, 277; struggle for and against abolition, 290-296; Grey's opposition to, 293-6.
- Aborigines, see "Maoris."
- Admiralty Bay: Tasman's anchorage at, 9; Cook's intention to visit, 14; visited by Cook, 15.
- Advances of Settlers' Department, 332.
- Adventure*, Cook's consort, 17.
- Afforestation, 291.
- Agriculture, Department of, 333.
- Akaroa, entrance to harbour noted by Cook, 15; visited by D'Urville, 18; ravaged by Te Rauparaha, 44; British sovereignty proclaimed, 91; French settlement at, 91.
- Albertland settlement, 282.
- Allen, Mr. James, displaced Stout, 318; Sir James, Minister of Defence, 384.
- Anzac, 383.
- Ao-tea-roa, 22, 356.
- Arbitration, State, first advocated, 322; Reeves's Act, 341; revolt against, 363-6.
- Arch Joseph, 280.
- Arms, sale of, prohibited by Grey, 168; unwise removal of prohibition, 217; Stafford's bill withdrawn, 221.
- Arthur's Pass road, 268; railway, 316-7.
- Aryans, Maoris descended from, 20.
- Atkinson, Captain Harry, in Taranaki War, 218, 237; in Vogel's Ministry, 289; leader in Vogel's absence, 292; carried Abolition Act, 295; in Continuous Ministry, 289; during bad times, 306, 313-4; resigned, 315; campaign against Stout-Vogel Government, 317; last Ministry, 318-325; his difficulties, 322; resignation and death, 325.
- Auckland, foundation of, 92, 164; newspaper controversy Auckland v. Wellington, 92; approved by Queen as seat of Government, 93; Bishop Selwyn's removal to, 156.
- Auckland province defined, 172; representatives, 176; discovery of gold, 197; opposition to Taranaki War, 221; stronghold of provincialism, 293.
- Aurora*, arrival at Port Nicholson, 78.
- Australian Land Sales Act, 1842, 108, 109.
- Autocracy, of the Crown Colony government, 93, 98, 101.
- Autonomy, evolution of, 95.
- Ballance, Mr. John, description of, 301; Grey quarrelled with, 301; Minister of Lands and Native Affairs, 315; in Opposition, 319, 323; Premier, Treasurer, and Native Minister, 325-6; colleagues, 325-6; Liberal legislation, 326-31; appointments to Legislative Council, 328; land policy, 328-333; estimate of and death, 333-4; supported women's suffrage, 337; attracted Labour Party, 347.
- Ballot, votes by, 127; disapproved, 173.
- Bank of New Zealand crisis, 342-4.
- Banks Peninsula, discovery of, 15; shore whaling stations, 31; natives attacked by Te Rauparaha, 45; claims of Nantobordelaise Coy. purchased by N.Z. Coy., 161.
- Banks, Sir Joseph, 12.
- Barrett, Dicky, whaler, 31; acted as Colonel Wakefield's intermediary, 75; negotiated for land at Taranaki, 77.
- Bartley, appointed to Executive Council, 183.
- Batavia, 7, 8, 10; visited by Cook, 16.
- Bay of Islands, free anchorage for whalers, 28; character of white residents, 29; Ruatara's home, 33; Herd's visit in 1822, 47; news of *Boyd* massacre reached, 55; Busby's arrival at, 62; visit of H.M.S. *Beagle*, 29, 65; vessels visiting in 1836, 65; warfare at, 65; Colonel Wakefield at, 78; Hobson's arrival, 81.
- Bell, F. Dillon, N.Z. Co.'s agent at Nelson, 126; Treasurer in Sewell's Ministry, 192.

- Bowen, Sir George, Governor, 253.
 Bowen, Mr. (Sir Charles), Minister of Justice under Atkinson, 300; introduced Education Bill, 300.
Boyd massacre, 54-56, 258.
 Breton, Lieut., quoted, 32.
 British Consul at N.Z., intention to appoint, 68, 72.
 British influence in N.Z., origin and growth of, 59-68.
 British Resident, see Busby.
 British sovereignty, establishment of, 53, 164; proclaimed by Hobson, 89; due to labours of N.Z. Co., 162; not understood by Maoris, 200; Governor Browne's endeavour to uphold, 215-6, 226; upheld by members from South Island, 221.
Brougham, at New Plymouth, 120; at Nelson, 124.
 Brown, Charles, first Superintendent of Taranaki, 172.
 Browne, Colonel Gore, appointed Governor, 189; character, 190; report on relations between Maoris & Europeans, 202-3; visited Waikato chiefs, 208; visit to Taranaki, 212; attitude towards the Maori question, 212; desired Council on Maori affairs, 213; at New Plymouth, 213, 215; responsibility for Taranaki War, 215; appeal for reinforcements, 216; held general Maori conference, 221; visited Te Arai and agreed to truce, 225; ultimatum to Waikato tribes, 226; transferred to Tasmania, 228.
 Brunner, Thomas, explored West Coast, 127.
 Bryce, Mr. John, Native Minister, 313.
 Buckingham, Duke of, explained Grey's recall, 252.
 Buckley, Sir Patrick, 325.
 Bumby, Rev. Mr., 30, 77.
 Bunbury, Major, obtained signatures to Treaty of Waitangi, 88; took possession of Stewart Island, 90; at Cloudy Bay, 91.
 Burns, Rev. Thos., Minister for Otago settlement, 141.
 Busby, James, roused by De Thierry's pretensions, 50, 64; letter to De Thierry, 51; appointment as British Resident, 61; instructed by Governor Bourke, 61, 62; arrival at Bay of Islands, 62; choice of a national flag, 63; powerlessness, 65; inefficiency of his rule, 66, 67, 72; office discontinued, 68; attested Hobson's appointment, 82.
 Cable connection, 289.
 Cameron, General, succeeded General Pratt, 230; quarrel with Governor Grey, 231, 246; success at Katikara, 233; transferred troops to Auckland, 233; character of, 236; his slow advance, 237; capture of Rangiriri, 238; capture of Rangiaohia, 239; at Orakau, 240; at Gate Pa, 242; "the lame sea-gull," 245; views on the war, 245.
 Campbell, Dr. John Logan, Superintendent of Auckland, 192; in Stafford's Ministry, 192.
 Canoes, double, 19, 21; names of Maori canoes, 22.
 Canterbury settlement, helped to obtain grant of representative government, 103; foundation of, 144-150; origin of, 144; the Association, 144, 145, 267; Charter of Incorporation, 146; prospectus, 146; offered land for sale, 147; the Canterbury Pilgrims, 147; its exclusive Anglican character broken down, 149; agitated for representative government, 149; Association's powers transferred to Government by the Constitution Act of 1852, 150; treatment by Grey, 160; Province defined, 172; five representatives, 176; relatively strong owing to land revenues, 196; influence of on New Zealand, 267; public works and education, 268; University College, 269, 289; emigrant ships, 147, 149, 281, 283-4; case for large landowner, 287, 320.
 Capital, Kororareka, or Russell, 92; Auckland, 93; Wellington, 273.
 Carey, Brigadier-General, 240.
 Cargill, Captain William, founder of Otago settlement, 140; elected Superintendent, 172; Grey's opinion of, 172.
 Carrington, F. A., located New Plymouth, 120; statement of land sales, 121.

- Centralisation v. Provincialism, 174, 193, 272, 273, 290-6, 316.
- Chapman, Judge, appointment of, 126.
- Charitable aid, 316.
- Charter (N.Z.), of 1840, 96; of 1846, 100.
- Chatham Island, shore whaling station, 31; Te Kooti at, 255-7.
- Chetwode, Lieut. of H.M.S. *Pelorus*, 30.
- Cheviot estate, 331.
- Chili, 8.
- Christchurch, plan of completed, 146; chosen capital, 148; proposal to constitute Canterbury a separate province, 149; most English of cities, 287.
- Church Missionary Society, 33; opposed British colonisation of New Zealand, 68; attacked New Zealand Association, 71; insisted on control of its agents, 156; treatment of Archdeacon Henry Williams, 157.
- Church of England, in Otago, 144; in Canterbury, 144, 146; establishment of in New Zealand, 154-7; constitution of, 157.
- Chute, General, successor to Cameron, 236; enterprise and vigour, 236, 250; Taranaki campaign, 251.
- Closer settlement, 299, 320, 331.
- Clutha, first no-license district, 339.
- Coal mines, State, 350.
- Colenso, Rev. W., 36.
- Colonial Office, its ignorance of colonization, 69; opposition to colonization of N.Z., 68; its hand forced by N.Z.C., 74; parsimony towards N.Z., 83, 167; opposed to grant of representative institutions, 99; *re* Act of 1846, 100, 101; disallowed FitzRoy's Land Proclamation, 109; handed over control of waste lands to Grey, 111; support afforded to FitzRoy and Grey contrasted, 167, 169; alarm at Maori Wars, 227; dissatisfaction, 230; decision *re* responsibility for native affairs, 231; generous treatment of Grey, 253; reconciled to Grey, 305.
- Commissioners, Land, appointment of, 105, 106, 115; slow settlement of claims, 106.
- Compensation to natives for land, 114, 115; paid by Hobson, 116; arranged by FitzRoy, 138.
- Cconciliation Boards, 341; revolt against conciliation, 363-6.
- Confiscation of native lands, 238-9, 248.
- Congress of Maori chiefs, abortive, 64, 72.
- Conscription, 384.
- Conservatism, 273; of Continuous Ministry, 298; of Hall and Atkinson, 313; policy of party, 323; defeat of party, 339; change of name to Reform, 372.
- Constitution Act of 1846, terms of, 100; Grey's disapproval of, 101, 169; suspended, 101, 171.
- Constitution Act of 1852, ended Crown Colony period, 94; history and provisions of, 103; promulgated in N.Z., 103, 171; in embryo, 144; welcomed in Otago, 144; *re* N.Z.C.'s debt, 159; defects in, 180, 193, 275; reservations for royal veto, 104, 195; amended by Imperial Acts, 196.
- Constitutional Associations, Settlers', 101.
- Continuous Ministry, Atkinson in, 289; description of, 297; leaders, 298; conservatism with reservations, 298-9; carried Grey's Liberal measures, 299; cause of its preservation, 314.
- Convicts, escaped, 28, 29; Earl Grey's offer of, repudiated, 162.
- Cook Islands, 20, 356.
- Cook, Lieut. (Captain), James, expedition, 11; success, 11; research in astronomy, 12; instructions, 12; route, 12; re-discovery of New Zealand, 13; took possession of New Zealand, 13, 14, 15; discovered Cook Strait, 15; circumnavigated both Islands, 15; departure from New Zealand, 15; three voyages, and five visits, 16; share in discovery, 17; tragic death at Owhyhee, 27.
- Cook Strait, discovery missed by Tasman, 9; whaling stations at, 30.
- Co-operative system of labour, Seddon's, 327.
- Cooper, Port, 44, 141, 145.
- Courts of law, early, 98, 99; weakness of, 129; Grey's establishment of, 168.
- Cowan James, quoted, 283-4.
- Cracroft, Captain, stormed Wai-reka pa, 218.

- Cressy*, Canterbury emigration ship, 147.
- Crown Colony period 1840-1853, 83-169; definition of, 93.
- Crown, land purchases of, 106; perpetual lease, 314; Radicals' opposition to freehold, 330.
- Crozet, exacted vengeance, 18.
- Cuba*, N.Z.C.'s survey ship, 74, 78.
- Customs, exempt from provincial legislation, 104; cause of Heke's War, 134; abolished and revived by FitzRoy, 135, 152-3; chief source of revenue, 151; Grey's reliance on, 153; Provinces' share of, 195; Grey's, 303; increased, 307; Seddon increased protective duties, 347.
- Dairy industry, development of, 344-5, 368.
- Debentures, Colonial, as compensation, 110; for unauthorised drafts, 151; FitzRoy's legal tender debentures, 152; Grey's debentures, 153.
- Debt, New Zealand, to New South Wales, 150; to British Treasury, 150, 152, 154; war debt, 248; in 1870, 275; in 1881, 285; Vogel's proposals to meet, 276; borrowing policy of Continuous Ministry, 298; Seddon's loans, 351.
- Declaration of Independence by Maoris, 50, 51, 64, 87.
- Defence, 369.
- Democracy, awakening of, 321; colonial, 349.
- Denison, Sir William, advice to Governor Browne, 216.
- Depression, period of, 274, 306-9; at an end, 342.
- Derby, Lord, Prime Minister, 103.
- De Surville, forestalled by Cook, 11, 14, 17; in charge of expedition, 17; visited Mangonui, 18; kidnapped Naguinodi, 18.
- De Thierry, D'Urville's interview with, 19; claims of, 38, 64; abortive attempt at settlement, 47-53; early career, 49; purchase of land at Hokianga, 50; arrival at Tahiti, 50; arrival at Sydney, 51; arrival at Hokianga, 52; Lilliputian kingdom, 52; character, 53.
- Devon, Earl of, 154.
- Dieffenbach, Dr., naturalist, 74, 77.
- Difficulties of early governors, 83-85; isolation of the country, 83; parsimony of Colonial Office, 83; communication slow and infrequent, 84; protracted and expensive settlement of land claims, 85; lack of exports and coinage, 85; financial stringency, 85; rivalry with New Zealand Company, 85; extravagance and incompetence of earlier governors, 85; lack of tillers of the soil, 85.
- Domett, Alfred, appointed Colonial Secretary, 127; member of second Parliament, 191; succeeded Fox as Premier, 231; resigned, 238.
- Dominion, New Zealand created a, 369.
- Drafts on British Treasury, 151-2.
- Drummond, Mr. James, quoted, 302, 305, 315, 328, 335, 358.
- Dunedin, choice of name, 141; survey of site, 142; university, 269.
- Durham, Earl of, 17, 49, 71; first Governor of New Zealand Company, 73.
- Durham, North and South, 77.
- D'Urville, Captain J. S. C.
- Dumont, visits to New Zealand, 18-19; at the Bay of Islands, 18, 61.
- Dusky Bay, visited by Cook, 17; first sealing gang left, 30.
- Earthquakes at Wellington, 162, 198.
- Education, denominational system established by Grey, 168; in Nelson, 122; in Otago, 143, 268-9; in Canterbury, 146, 268-9; free, secular, and compulsory, 300; university, 269, 289; established by Continuous Ministry, 298; endowment, 367.
- Edward VII., King, 354.
- Egmont, Cape, 9.
- Elections, first, 150, 172-3.
- Electoral Bill, Grey's, 305.
- Emigration, 47, 68, 280; see Immigration.
- Employers' Liability Act, 326.
- Endeavour*, Cook's vessel, 11; her complement, 12.
- Enderby, Charles, evidence of, 32.
- Exchange of lands, 108, 114.
- Executive Council, constitution and powers of, 94-96; first appointees, 97; defect in Constitution Act, *re*, 180; Ministers added from H. of R., 183; Wakefield's premature exultation, 184; Colonel Wynyard appointed new members from H. of R., 188; powers under Native Reserves Bill, 203.

- Eyre, E. J., appointed Lieut.-Governor of New Munster, 102, 127.
- Factory laws, 308, 339, 340.
- Featherston, Dr. Isaac Earl, first Superintendent of Wellington, 172; member of first H. of R., and character of, 177; Colonial Secretary under Fox, 227; first Agent-General in London, 297.
- Federation with Australia, 305, 357.
- Fencibles, Royal N.Z., 139, 140.
- Fenton, Mr. F. D., magistrate in the Waikato, 209-10.
- Fifeshire*, Nelson emigrant ship, 123.
- Finance, Public, 150-154, 248; scramble for public moneys, 278, 292, 296; buoyant in 1877, 303; deficiency in 1879, 303.
- Findlay, Sir John, in Ward's Ministry, 366; Leasehold Land Bill, 366-7; defeated in 1911, 373.
- FitzGerald, Mr. J. E., Emigration Agent, 147; praise of Godley's land regulations, 148; elected Superintendent of Canterbury, 150, 172; member of first H. of R., 177; character of, 177; moved Address-in-reply, 181; appointed to Executive Council 183.
- FitzRoy, Captain, visit to Bay of Islands in 1835, 29, 64, 166; advice to De Thierry, 53; criticism of Busby, 66; inconvertible paper currency, 85; sailor governor, 94; held three sessions of the Legislative Council, 98; ordinances, 99; land proclamations, 108-9, 135; Taranaki land decision, 117; decision on the Wairau massacre, 132; abolishes customs, 135; terms offered to Heke, 136; vain appeals for military aid, 139; promised support to Otago settlement, 141; financial measures, 152-3; vacillating policy, 152, 167; hostility to N.Z.C., 160; estimate of character and work, 166-7; victim of circumstances, 167; reasons for recall, 109, 167.
- Flaxbourne, first settled, 133.
- Forsaith "Ministry," 188.
- Foveaux Strait, missed by Cook but discovered by sealers, 15; shore whaling stations, 31.
- Fowlds, Mr. George, 366; defeated, 374.
- Fox, Mr. (afterwards Sir William), attacked Governor Grey, 101; succeeded Captain Wakefield, 126; succeeded Colonel Wakefield, 126; appointed Attorney-General, 127; notified selection of Canterbury site, 145; short-lived Ministry, 192; second Ministry, 227; resignation of, 231; Whitaker-Fox Ministry, 238; four times Premier, 273; succeeded Stafford, 288; in Continuous Ministry, 298.
- Franchise, under Act of 1846, 101; under Act of 1852, 103; Grey's attempted reform, 300, 303; universal suffrage, 305; Representation Act, 323; extended to women, 336, 337.
- French, visits of navigators, 17-19; frigate at the Bay of Islands, 52; intervention in New Zealand, 53; fear of annexation by, 61; protection of whaling industry, 61; Roman Catholic Bishop, 37-38, 61; forestalled in N.Z. by action of the N.Z.C., 162; forestalled by Hobson, 164.
- Frozen meat industry, 309.
- Fulloon, Mr. murdered by Hauhaus, 249.
- Furieux, captain of the *Adventure*, 17.
- Gallipoli, 383.
- Gate Pa, British defeat at, 241.
- General Assembly, under Act of 1846, 100; under Act of 1852, 103; powers of, 104; first meeting summoned, 176; Colonel Wynyard's address, 178-9; dispute with Acting-Governor, 183.
- General Government, period begins, 297.
- George V., King, 354.
- Gilfillan massacre, 139.
- Gipps, Governor, 64, 68; administered oaths of office to Hobson, 80; appointed officials to accompany Hobson, 81; land proclamation, 81, 105, 112; New Zealand Land Claims Bill, 105; appointment of three Land Commissioners, 105; Port Nicholson award, 112-3; prohibited settlement at Wanganui and New Plymouth, 113, 121.
- Gisborne, Wm., quoted, 190.
- Glasgow, Lord, 328.
- Godley, John Robert, founder of Canterbury, 144-150; arrived at Port Cooper, 146; opposed Grey, 147, 149; appointed Resident Magistrate and Commissioner of

- Crown lands, 147; land regulations, 148; resignation and its withdrawal, 149; declined nomination as Superintendent, 150; return to England and death, 150.
- Gold, Colonel, ordered to seize Waitara, 215; occupied Tataraimaka block, 219.
- Gold, discovery of in Australia, 149, 162; in California, 162; in New Zealand, 197, 269-72; decline of production, 275; a new mining process, 346.
- Gorst, Sir John, on defiance of British authority, 201; on contrast between Maori and European hospitality, 204; his mission to Waikato and expulsion, 230; return to New Zealand, 264.
- Government Life Insurance Department, 289; established by Continuous Ministry, 298.
- Governor, powers of, 93, 97; veto on Provincial Ordinances, 104, 193; work of early, 163-9; authority in native affairs, 209.
- Graduated land tax, 328-9; increased, 367.
- Great War, 380.
- Grey, Earl, Colonial Secretary, responsible for N.Z. Government Act of 1846, 100, 169; yielded to Governor Grey's opinion, 101; disallowed the Provincial Council's Ordinance, 102; loan to N.Z.C., 142, 158; refused charter to Lay Association, 144; approved despatch of Captain Thomas, 145; supported N.Z.C., 158; offer to send convicts to N.Z., 162; instructions disregarded by Governor Grey, 169.
- Grey, Captain (afterwards Sir George), Governor in South Australia, 84; a soldier, 94; held seven sessions of the Legislative Council, 98; ordinances, 99; objections to N.Z. Government Act of 1846, 100, 101; recommendations for a new Constitution, 101; knighted, 101, 169, 206; Governor-in-Chief, 102; his draft of N.Z. constitution, 103; revoked FitzRoy's land proclamations, 109; quarrel with Archdeacon Henry Williams, 109; land ordinances, 110; land purchases, 110; land regulations of 1853, 111, 150, 196, 299, 319; Taranaki land decision, 118; arrival in New Zealand, 136; ended Heke's rebellion, 137; seized and imprisoned Te Rauparaha, 138; military force, 139; visit to Otakou, 143; approved of Canterbury site, 145; welcomed Canterbury Pilgrims, 147; second visit to Canterbury, 149; his financial measures, 153-154; loan from South Australia, 153; treatment of FitzRoy's debentures, 153; "Blood and Treasure" despatch, 157; empowered to arbitrate between N.Z.C. and its settlers, 159; hostility to N.Z.C.'s settlements, 160; his insubordination, 160, 168; estimate of character and work, 168-9; benevolent despot, 169; criticised for establishing provincial before General Government, 173; inopportune departure from New Zealand, 175; appointed to Cape Colony, 189; substantiated Wi Kingi's claim to Waitara, 213; appointed Governor of New Zealand, 227; difficulties and policy, 228; scheme of local government for the tribes, 229; appointment of Gorst as magistrate, 230; proceeded to Taranaki, 232; quarrel with General Cameron, 231, 246; capture of Weraroa, 247; consented to confiscation of native lands, 239, 248; discourtageous recall of, 251-3; land monopoly in Ireland, 281, 299; greatest protagonist of Provincial Government, 293-6; in Opposition, 299; his Ministry, 299-304; his policy, 300; measures, 303; defeat, 304; last years and death, 305-6; urged extension of British influence in Pacific, 355; federation with Australia, 305, 357.
- Grey, Sir George, Colonial Secretary, on responsible government, 189.
- "Grid-ironing," 286.
- Guard, John, the whaler, 31; share in *Harriett* tragedy, 57-59.
- Hadfield, Rev. O., stationed at Waikanae, 39, 156; at Otaki, 131.
- Hall-Jones, Mr. (Sir William), 361.
- Hall, Sir John, member of second Parliament, 191; in Continuous Ministry, 298; during bad times, 306, 313-4; in ill-health, 322; advocate of women's suffrage, 299, 336; on federation with Australia, 357.
- Hapurona accepted Governor Browne's terms, 225.
- Harriett* tragedy, 57-59.

- Herdman, Hon. A. L., and Public Service Commissioner, 378.
- Hauhauism, 199, 243-5, 248-50, 253-5, 257, 312.
- Hawes, capture of, 57.
- Hawke's Bay province, included in Wellington, 172; a separate entity, 272.
- Heemskereck, 8.
- Heke, Hone, exploit at Kororareka, 117; war in the North, 134-8; causes of revolt, 134; Bishop Selwyn and Rev. Henry Williams at sack of Kororareka, 157; loss of British prestige, 202; fair fighting, 236.
- Henderson, Professor, quoted, 253.
- Herd's expedition, 47-49.
- Hobson, Captain, instructions from Lord Normanby, 29; first visit in 1837, 65; appointed British Consul at New Zealand, 72, 75; commission and salary, 75; reversal of policy of Colonial Office, 79; left England, 80; arrival at Bay of Islands, 81; issued two proclamations, 82; inspected Waitemata, 87; attacked by paralysis, 87; proclaimed British sovereignty, 89; founded Auckland, 92, 164; "Hobson's Folly," 92, 164; a sailor governor, 94; separation from N.S.W. and appointment as Governor, 96; two sessions of the Legislative Council, 98; land laws, 106, 107; instructions as to N.Z.C., 114; waived Crown's pre-emptive right at Port Nicholson, 114; sanctioned compensating natives for land, 115; his finances, 150-152; called "Captain Crimp" in Wellington, 160; estimate of his work, 163-5; first visit to Wellington, 163; dependence on subordinates, 163; extravagance, 164; curbed the N.Z.C., 164; Maori encomium, 165.
- Hokianga, sighted by De Surville, 17; Wesleyan mission station at, 36; landing of Bishop Pompallier at, 37; Herd's visit in 1822, 47; Herd's purchase of Herd's Point, 48; De Thierry's purchase at, 49; McDonnell at, 63; Colonel Wakefield at, 77; visited by Hobson with Treaty of Waitangi, 87.
- Hokitika, 8.
- Hongi, visit to England, 36, 40, 49; in galaxy of great chiefs, 39; his seven years' war, 40; death, 41; appointed magistrate at Bay of Islands, 60; Heke, his nephew and son-in-law, 135.
- Honorarium for members, 197.
- Hutt, native dispute at, 128, 138; E. G. Wakefield represented, 178.
- Immigration, the earliest, 27-32; N.Z. Company's immigrants, 161; and public works, 266; due to gold discoveries, 270-2; organised, 280-5; an overdose, 306; Restriction Act of 1900, 356.
- Imperial Conference, 353, 354.
- Income tax, foundation of, 303; demand for, 319, 323; imposed by Ballance, 326, 329.
- Industrial disputes, policy of non-interference, 323; Reeves' Conciliation and Arbitration Act, 341; revolt against the conciliation and arbitration system, 363-6.
- Industrial Protection League, 318.
- Ironside, Rev. Samuel, 130.
- Isolation of the colony, 83; of settlements, 84, 171; reduction of, 289.
- Jackson, Dr., 148.
- John Wickliffe, emigrant ship, 143.
- Kaipohia, Te Rauparaha's attacks on, 44, 45.
- Kaikoura, attacked by Te Rauparaha, 44.
- Kapiti Island, whaling station, 31; Te Rauparaha's first visit, 41; arrival of *Tory* at, 46, 76; Captain Wakefield at, 123.
- Katatore, 205.
- Katikara, British success at, 233.
- Kawiti, joins Heke, 136; defeated at Ruapekapeka, 137.
- Kemp, Major, native ally, 250, 261.
- Kendall, Mr., lay missionary, 33; visit to England, 36, 40, 49; dismissal by Missionary Society, 52; appointed magistrate at Bay of Islands, 60.
- Kerikeri, mission station, 35.
- Kettle, Mr., 142.
- King Country, 199.
- King movement, causes of, 201, 204-10; motives of, 207; disapproved of by Maori conference, 221.
- Kitchener, Lord, 371.
- Koperoa hills fight, 234.
- Koputai (Port Chalmers), 141.

- Kororareka, account in D'Urville's journal, 19; headquarters of Roman Catholic mission, 37; sack of, 53; Association of Vigilants at, 66; Hobson at, 81; re-named Russell, 92; flagstaff cut down, 135; sack of, 136.
- Kupe, Polynesian discoverer of New Zealand, 22.
- Labour Department, established by Ballance, 327.
- Labour Party born, 299; shared victory with Liberals, 323; alliance with Liberals, 347, 363; separation from Liberals, 362-3; grades of opinion, 366; developed by strikes, 380; growing, 388.
- Laissez faire*, 322.
- Land and Income Tax Assessment Act, 331.
- Land bill, Rolleston's, 314.
- Land boom, 107, 285; bursting of, 303.
- Land Claims Court, expense and delays of, 85, 116; Hobson's duty to uphold, 160.
- Land Claims Ordinance, Hobson's, 106; amended, 107.
- Land Compact of 1856, 196.
- Land Commissioners, 105, 106.
- Land funds, provincial absorbed by Government, 296.
- Land laws, founded on Treaty of Waitangi and Land Proclamation, 84, 88; stimulated demand for separation, 95; Shortland's measures, 108; FitzRoy's measures, 108-9; Grey's measures, 109-111; of Maoris, 26, 105, 203; reform, 287-8; permanent lease, 314; consolidated, 316; aggregation and monopoly, 111, 287, 299, 319-20, 329-32, 367; McKenzie's Acts, 327-31; Massey's support of freehold, 377.
- Land League in Taranaki, 204.
- Land purchases, 106, 110.
- Land regulations, Grey's, 111, 150.
- Land sales, first at Auckland, 106; reservation of allotments for Government officers, 107; Australian Land Sales Act, 1842, 108.
- Land tax, 299; Grey's, 300, 302; demand for, 319, 323; imposed by Ballance, 326, 328; evaded, 367.
- Land transfer title, 290; introduced by Continuous Ministry, 298.
- Lavaud, Commodore, 52; at Bay of Islands and Akaroa, 91.
- Lay Association, 142.
- League of Nations Mandate, 381, 386.
- Lease-in-perpetuity, 329-30; abolished, 367.
- Lease, perpetual, 314.
- Lease, renewable, 330; McNab's leasehold land bill, 366.
- Legal system, early, 95; based on that of Australian States, 98.
- Legislative Council, nominated by Crown, 93; its first ordinances, 95; its personnel, 96, 97; non-official members out-voted, 98; twelve sessions of, 98; for each province under the Suspending Act of 1848, 101; of New Ulster, 102; General, first met in Wellington, 102; under Constitution Act of 1852, 103; land legislation, 107; its powers, 151; not summoned by Shortland, 165; supported Taranaki War, 221; perpetual lease, 314; Atkinson's appointment of six members, 324; Ballance's appointment of twelve members, 328; change in constitution, 328; opposed women's franchise, 337; opposed to compulsory arbitration, 340; proposed elective constitution, 372, 378.
- Leys, Mr. William, 358.
- Liardet, Captain, 120.
- Liberalism, 273, 287, 297; radical, 298; Liberal-Labour Party born, 299; Grey's impetus to, 302; Life Insurance Dept., Government, 289; Liberal measures of Continuous Ministry, 298; Party without a leader, 318; able members of Party, 319; led by Ballance, 323; policy, 323; importance of land question, 329-30; Seddon's measures, 339-45, 359; alliance of Liberal and Labour parties, 347; last years of, 361; majority in 1908, 372; 376, 380.
- Licensing Acts, 338, 367; poll, 386; early closing, 386.
- Lloyd, Captain, victim of Hauhaus, 244.
- Loans, Provincial, guaranteed by General Government, 196; Colonial, 159, 276, 292; Seddon's, 351.
- Local Government, name applied to N.Z. Government, 94.
- Local Government, recommendation for extension of, 292; Act of 1876, 296; extended, 316.

- Lyttelton, Lord, 145.
 Lyttelton, survey of, 145; pioneer emigration fleet, 147, 266; first land selected, 148; tunnel, 268; maritime strike, 322.
- Macandrew, displaced Grey, 305.
- McDonnell, Colonel, 251; defeat at Te Ngutu-o-te-manu, 254 against Te Kooti, 261.
- McDonnell, Lieut., additional British resident, 63; sale of land to Colonel Wakefield, 77.
- McGlashan, Mr. J., secretary of Lay Association, 143; fails to secure charter, 144.
- McIlwraith, Dr. J. W., on Abolition of the Provinces, 292.
- Mackay, member for Nelson, 186-7.
- McKenzie, John, enemy of land monopoly, 281; in Opposition, 319; with Ballance as Minister for Lands, etc., 325; Land for Settlements Bill, and Land Bill, 327, 329-31; lease-in-perpetuity, 329, 367; compulsory purchase, 331; his achievement, 332-3; grading of dairy produce, 345; retirement, 349.
- McKenzie, Mr. (Sir Thomas), Ministry, 374.
- McLean, Mr. (Sir Donald), officer of Lands Department, 110; purchases in Taranaki, 118; interviewed Waikato chiefs, 208; visited Taranaki, 213; at Te Arai, 225; Native Minister, 263; absence rendered Stafford Ministry unstable, 288; success of his policy, 310.
- McLeod, Rev. Norman, of Waipu, 282.
- McNab, Mr. (afterwards Dr.), quoted, 9, 16; in Ward's Ministry, 366.
- Mahoetahi pa stormed, 224.
- Mail service, interprovincial, steamer, 198; with England, 289.
- Mair, Lieutenant Gilbert, 262.
- Mair, Major, 249, 260, 310.
- Maketu, execution of, 133.
- Manawatu, partial sale admitted, 128; private railway, 316.
- Mangatawhiri stream, boundary of Waikato tribes, 228; crossed by General Cameron, 234.
- Maoris, account of, 19-27; meaning of name, 19; Tasman's description, 19; Cook's description, 20; their descent, 20, 21; migrations, 20-22; traditions, 20, 22, 23; *tangata-whenua*, 22; *tohungas*, 23, 25; food and clothing, 23, 24; cannibalism, 20, 23; tattooing, 24; villages, occupations 24; religion, 25; ventriloquism, 25; customs, 25-27; infanticide, 26; weapons and population, 26, 234; land laws, 27, 105, 203; as common sailors, 32; vocabulary compiled, 36; great chiefs, 39; disfranchised by Act of 1846, 101; almost disfranchised by Act of 1852, 104; Protector of Aborigines, as land purchaser, 106; challenged Company's purchases, 112; conflicts with, 127-140; Grey's influence over, 168; civilized by Grey, 168; at first election, 173; disinclination to sell lands, 196; causes of King movement, 201; condition of in 1840-60, 201; restricted franchise, 202; mistrust of Parliament, 202; British Government control of native affairs, 202; Taranaki Land League, 205; coercion of natives willing to sell, 205; triple authority over, 209; dual control persists, 231; as soldiers, 235; Gorst's estimate of status, 264; Ngata quoted, 265; Parihaka dispute, 311-13; land purchases from, 320, 323.
- Maori Wars, see Heke's War; series of wars, 199; last shots in, 199; ineffectiveness of British sovereignty, 200; other causes of, 201-4; King movement, 204-10; skirmishing in Taranaki, 205; meeting at Rangiriri, 209; map illustrating, 211; Taranaki War, 212-226; first actual fighting, 215; Governor's appeal for reinforcements, 216; upholding Queen's sovereignty, 215-6; murder near Omata, 217; capture of Wi Kingi's pa, 215; Waireka pa stormed, 218; British repulse at Puketakauere pa, 220; meeting of Parliament, 220; Auckland opposition to the war, 221; conflict with Waikato tribes averted by Bishop Selwyn and Archdeacon Maunsell, 221-2; death of Potatau and succession of Tawhiao, 222; slow progress of campaign, 222-3; capture of Mahoetahi pa, 224; Matarikoriko pa evacuated, 224; Tamihana proposed a truce, 225; cessation of fighting, 225-6; Governor Browne's ultimatum to Waikatos rejected, 226; influence of Colonial Parliament, 226;

- attitude of Waikatos, 228; Waitara question led to Waikato War, 232-3; attitude of Maoris in Waikato, 228; Grey's policy, 229; friction with Colonial Office, 231; occupation of Tataraimaka, 232; surrender of Waitara, 233; Katikara, 233; Mangatawhiri crossed, 234; Koheroa hills, 234; Maori as a soldier, 234-5; fight at Rangiriri, 237; occupation of Ngaruawahia, 238; confiscation of Maori lands, 238, 248; Rangiaohia, 239; Orakau, 240; Gate Pa, 241; Hauhausism, 243; Sentry Hill, 244; Moutoa, 244; "the lame sea-gull," 245; Wera-roa, 247; Volkner and Fulloon murders, 249; bush-fighting, 250-1; Grey's recall, 252; Te Ngutu-o-te-manu, 254; Moturoa, 255; Te Kooti campaigns, 255-63; Ruakituri, 256-7; Matawhero, 258; Whakatane, 260; Mohaka, 260; Opepe, 261; Tologa Bay, 263; peace, 263-6; consummation of peace in Waikato, 310; in the Great War, 384.
- Marion du Fresne, sights N.Z., 17; massacred at Bay of Islands, 18.
- Maritime strike, 321-2, 340.
- Marlborough, hived off, 272.
- Marsden, Rev. Samuel, interest roused by Te Pahi and Ruatara, 32; hospitable parsonage at Paramatta, 33, 35; project to christianize the Maoris, 33; as peacemaker, 34, 56; first sermon in New Zealand, 34; purchase of land at Rangihoua, 34; co-operation with Wesleyans, 35, 156; mission stations, 37; last visit, 38; urged redress of natives' wrongs, 61.
- Martin, Chief Justice, appointed in England, 98; objection to N.Z. Government Act of 1846, 100; supported Grey, 101; deprecated coercion of Ngatiawa, 118; refused warrant to arrest Rangihaeata, 128; suggested as member of proposed Native Council, 213; influenced Tamihana, 225.
- Marx, Karl, 365.
- Massey, Mr., 252; policy of Reform Party, 372; Premier, 375; his courage and determination, 384; summoned Home, 385; an outstanding figure in politics, 388.
- Matarikoriko pa, attack on, 224.
- Matawhero, massacre by Te Kooti, 258.
- Maunsell, Rev. R., 36, 221.
- Melbourne, Lord, Ministry superseded, 114; quoted, 279.
- Midland Company, 316-7.
- Military Service Act, 384.
- Missionaries, arrival in 1814, 29; early labours, 32-39; fears of French intervention, 53; eulogised by FitzRoy, 64; opposed colonization, 68; petition for protection, 71; assisted Hobson, 86; resented Grey's strictures, 109; attacked by Grey for excessive land claims, 157; FitzRoy's partiality for, 160, 167; carried Christianity and education to the Maoris, 201.
- Monopolists, land, 111, 287, 299, 319-20, 329-32, 367.
- Morioris, aborigines of the Chathams, 22.
- Motuara Island, passed by Cook, 14; ceremony of taking possession, 15.
- Moturoa, British repulse at, 255.
- Moutoa, defeat of Hauhaus by loyal Maoris, 245.
- Municipal corporations, 99, 100.
- Murray, Colonel, at Waireka, 217.
- Nanto-Bordelaise Compagnie, 91, 161.
- National Efficiency Board, 386.
- National Ministry formed, 385; dissolved, 387.
- National Provident Fund, 359, 367.
- Native Department, poorly organised, 201; responsible to British Government, 202.
- Native Reserves Bill, 203.
- Nauru, 387.
- Navy, local, created, 379.
- Nelson Examiner, 98, 124; opinion on Wairau affray, 132.
- Nelson, foundation of settlement, 121-127; prospectus, 121-2; preliminary expedition, 122; selection of site, 123; arrival of emigrants, 124; distress at, 125; progress at, 126; rural allotments for, 129; blockhouse, 131.
- Nelson, Major, attack on Puke-tauere repulsed, 219.
- Nelson Province defined, 172; six representatives, 176; suffered through Grey's land regulations, 196; discovery of gold, 197.
- Newcastle, Duke of, defence of Grey, 175.
- New Edinburgh, 140.
- New Leinster, 96.

- New Munster, 94; northern boundary, 102.
- New Plymouth, Mr. Spain's Court at, 116; foundation of, 119; settlers hemmed in, 205, 216, 222-3; settlers' plight, 218; removal of women and children to Nelson, 218; peace at, 251.
- New South Wales, neighbouring settlement to New Zealand, 27, 59; New Zealand a sub-colony of, 72, 75, 83, 94; its laws extended to New Zealand, then repealed, 95; New Zealand separated from, 95; loan to New Zealand Government, 150.
- New Ulster, 94; southern boundary altered, 102; elections, 102; FitzRoy's waiver of Crown right of pre-emption in, 108-9.
- New Zealand Association, 70-72; declined to become a joint stock company, 71; conversion into N.Z. Land Company, 72; its Bill defeated in House of Commons, 72.
- New Zealand Charter of 1840, 96.
- New Zealand Colonization Co., prospectus, 72.
- New Zealand Company, agent in colonization, 68; founded by E. G. Wakefield, 69; colonizing principles, 70; first styled New Zealand Land Company, 72; built up from wreck of various colonizing societies, 72; notified intention to colonize New Zealand, 73; prospectus issued, 73; unauthorised colonization ended, 82; view of Treaty of Waitangi, 88; provisional government at Port Nicholson, 89; Lord John Russell friendly to, 100; advocacy of representative government, 103; arrangement of November, 1840, 107, 113; proposals for settlement at Port Nicholson, 111-2; land claims at Port Nicholson, 112; Charter of Incorporation granted, 113; one cause of its failure, 116; early settlements of 119-127; retrenchment, 121, 142, 158; prospectus of Nelson settlement, 121-2; loans from Government, 142, 158; promoted Canterbury settlement, 145; surrender of Charter, 147; aided establishment of Church of England in N.Z., 154; chequered career, 158; proprietary government proposal, 158; loans remitted, 159; debt of Company transferred to N.Z. Government, 159; final payment of debt from Colonial loan, 159; estimate of work of the Company, 160-2; hostility of autocratic Governors, 159-60; curbed by Hobson, 164.
- New Zealand Government Act, 1846, origin of, 100; provisions of, 100; Grey's postponement of, 100; Grey's objections to, 101; the Suspending Act, 101; political changes due to, 102.
- New Zealand*, H.M.S., 370.
- New Zealand Shipping Co., 289.
- Ngapuhi tribe, 33, 40, 42, 57, 135, 228.
- Ngaruawahia occupied by British, 238.
- Ngata, A. T., M.P., quoted, 265.
- Ngatapa, 258.
- Ngatiawa tribe, friendly to Te Rauparaha, 42; southern migrations, 43, 46; claims to Tara-naki, 117.
- Ngatitona tribe, 41.
- Nicholson, Port, settled by Pomare, 43; Col. Wakefield at, 75; "illegal association" at, 89-90; provisional government at, 89; sale of land in London, 112; Gipps's award, 112-3; to be a municipality, 113.
- Normanby, Lord (first Marquis), his description of early inhabitants of Bay of Islands, 29; hostility to the New Zealand Association, 72; hostile indictment of New Zealand Company, 73; intention to make New Zealand a dependency of New South Wales, 74; instructions to Hobson, 79, 80.
- Normanby, Lord (second Marquis), Governor, refused Grey a dissolution, 300-2.
- North Island, progress of, 368.
- North Star*, H.M.S., arrived from Sydney, 131.
- Oakura, soldiers ambushed at, 232.
- Occupation of land an elastic term, 105; cause of conflicts, 127.
- Ohaeawai, British defeat at, 136, 242.
- Old Age Pensions Act, 344, 358-9; endowment, 367.
- Omapere, Lake, 136.
- Omata, murder at, 217.
- One-man-one-vote, 323.
- Onslow, Lord, 328.
- Opepe, Te Kooti at, 261.

- Opposition, rise of, 299; Liberal Opposition, 319, 323; Conservative Opposition to Seddon, 350-2; strong Reform Opposition to Ward, 373.
- Orakau, historic defiance at, 207, 240, 266.
- Ordinance, 95; subject to disallowance, 97; subject matter of early, 98; based on laws of Australian States, 98; disallowed, 99.
- O'Rorke, Sir Maurice, 291.
- Otago, port visited by D'Urville, 18; visited by Herd, 48.
- Otago settlement, foundation contributed to grant of representative government, 103; foundation, 140-144, 266; prospectus 142-3; complaints against the Local Government, 144; settlers welcomed Constitution Act, 144; Grey's illiberal treatment of, 160; Province defined, 172 three representatives, 177; relatively strong owing to land revenues, 196; influence of on New Zealand, 267; public works and education, 269; gold rushes, 270; stronghold of provincialism, 293.
- Oteputi, 141.
- Pacific, British influence in, 355.
- Paihia, mission station founded 35; first printing press at, 36.
- Pakeha* Maoris, 28.
- Pakington, Sir John, Colonial Secretary, 103, 144.
- Panama mail service, 289.
- Parihaka dispute, 311-13.
- Parliamentary aid, 151.
- Parliament, first Colonial, constitution of, 176-8; second session, 188; dignity and decorum of, 188; third session, 189; second Parliament, 190; session of 1860, 220; took hand in Maori War, 226.
- Parliament House, first, 178.
- Parris, Mr., Taranaki Native Commissioner, 219.
- Pearson, Captain, defied provisional government at Port Nicholson, 90.
- Peel, Sir Robert, 100, 114, 142.
- Pennington's award to N.Z.C., 113-4.
- Pensioner settlements, 140, 168.
- Pensions, to Executive, 184, 189, 190, 192.
- Petone, *Tory* anchored off, 75; site abandoned for Thorndon, 89.
- Petre, first name of Wanganui, 119.
- Philip Laing*, emigrant ship, 143.
- Pigs, left in New Zealand by Cook, 16.
- Pitt, Major-General Lieutenant-Governor of New Ulster, 102; death, 102.
- Plural voting abolished, 323.
- Polynesians, Maoris akin to, 20.
- Pomare, Ngatiawa chief, 39; occupied Wellington harbour, 43.
- Pompallier, Bishop, 37-38.
- Population, early estimate of Maori, 26; European in 1853, 171; in 1858, 197; native, 234; European in 1870, 274; in 1890-1913, 346; 367, 376.
- Porirua, natives deny sale of, 128; seizure of Te Rauparaha at, 138.
- Post Office, control of, 99.
- Potatau, see Te Wherowhero.
- Poverty Bay, named by Cook, 13; description of native, 20; massacre at, 199; scene of Ropata's campaign against Hauhaus, 249.
- Pratt, General, takes command, 222; his inability to come to grips with the Maoris, 222; laborious sapping, 223; attacked Matarikoriko pa, 224; his admiration for the Maori's gallantry, 224.
- Pre-emptive right of Crown over Maori lands, 87, 106; waived by FitzRoy, 108, 135; by Hobson on behalf of N.Z.C., 114; mediation authorised at the Hutt, 129.
- Preferential trade, 353-5.
- Progress of Colony, 171, 197, 266-85, 289, 346, 368.
- Prohibition party, rise of, 336; local option, 337; leaders, 338; Licensing Acts, 338, 367; defeated at poll, 386.
- Property tax, 307, 319, 323; abolished, 326.
- Proportional representation, 371.
- Protective tariff, in bad times, 307; Ballance's failure, 316; revised by Atkinson, 318.
- Protector of Aborigines, purchased land from Maoris, 106; arranged compensation, 115; view of Wairau affair, 132; at Tauranga, 133; Hobson's dependence on, 163; department abolished by Grey, 168.
- Provinces, six established, 172; share of customs, 195; creation of new, 197; hiving off, 272.
- Provincial Assembly, under N.Z. Government Act of 1846, 100.
- Provincial Councils Ordinance passed and disallowed, 102; Ordinance of July, 1851, disapproved in Canterbury, 149.

- Provincial Councils under Act of 1852, 104; imitated British Parliament, 173; ran riot, 174; defence of prior establishment, 174; activity of, 193; legislative and other powers, 104; 193, 272; Swainson quoted, 194; difficulties of during Stafford's Ministry, 192-6; control of lands kept from Provinces by Constitution Act, 194; control of lands handed over to Provinces, 195-6; importance of, 197; their dearest possession, 277; struggle for and against abolition, 290-96; "nine sturdy mendicants," 292; forbidden to meet, 296; abolished, 296.
- Public Service Commissioner, 378.
- Public Trust Office, 289; established by Continuous Ministry, 298.
- Public Works, 266-279; construction slower, 307.
- Puketakauere pa, attack on repulsed, 219-220.
- Puketutu, Heke's pa, 136.
- Queen Charlotte Sound, entered by Cook, 14; named by Cook, 15; massacre of boat's crew at, 17; Carrington at, 120.
- Radicalism, signs of 273; due to tactics of land monopolists, 287; growing strength, 323; opposed to freehold, 330; tendency to separate from Liberalism, 362.
- Raiatea, on route of Maori migration, 21.
- Railways, first in New Zealand, 268; condition of in 1870, 275; construction in the 'seventies, 277-9; some lines constructed by Public Works Department, 279; State ownership, 350.
- Rangiaowhia, Potatau installed as Maori King at, 210; capture of, 239.
- Rangihaeata, resisted occupation at Porirua, 128; instigated obstruction of settlers at the Hutt, 128; denied sale of the Wairau, 129; massacred prisoners at the Wairau, 130; accepted compensation for land at Hutt, 138; instigated further attacks, 138; pursued guerilla tactics, 139.
- Rangiriri, native meeting at, 209; capture of, 238.
- Rarotonga on route of Maori migration, 21.
- Rawiri killed, 205.
- Read, Gabriel, discoverer of gold, 269.
- Reeves, Hon. W. P., quoted, 182, 205, 218, 241, 271, 285, 293, 297, 306; in Opposition, 319; with Ballance as Minister for Education, etc., 325-6; Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Bill, 340-1; Agent-General, 349; on New Zealanders' first conception of socialism, 365.
- Reform Party, 372-3, 376-388.
- Rennie, Mr. George, 140.
- Repealing Ordinance, 95.
- Representation Act of 1889, 323.
- Representative Government, developed into responsible Government, 95; opposed by Colonial Office, 99; granted by Act of 1846, 100; also by Ordinance of July, 1851, 102; growing agitation for, 102; supported in Nelson, 127.
- Representatives, House of, created, 103; power to alter constitution of, 104; first election for, 173; first session, 176; foremost members of, 177-8; Parliamentary deadlock, 185; Parliament prorogued, 185-7; second session, 188; third session, 189; second Parliament, 190; leading members of, 191; session of 1860, 220; supported Taranaki War, 221. See also Successive Ministries, p. 381.
- Responsible Government, struggle for, 170-198; no provision for in Constitution Act of 1852, 180; first Parliament to enjoy, 190.
- Revenue, sources of, 151.
- Rewi, hostile and bellicose Ngati-manipoto chief, 207; intrigued to aid Wi Kingi, 219; joined by latter, 225; removal of Gorst's printing plant, 230; advised war, 232, 233; as a soldier, 235.
- Richmond, C. W., member of second Parliament, 191; Colonial Secretary in Stafford's Ministry, 192; interviewed Waikato chiefs, 208; visited Taranaki, 213.
- Robertson murder, 133.

- Robertson, Captain, at sack of Kororareka, 136.
- Rolleston Mr. William, Minister of Lands in Continuous Ministry, 298; Land Bill, 314; defeated in election of Speaker, 324; defeated at election of 1893, 339; succeeded by Captain Russell, 351.
- Ropata Major, native ally, 249, 258.
- Ross Sea Dependency, 387.
- Ruakituri, 256-7.
- Ruapekapeka, Grey's capture of, 137.
- Ruatara, 32-35; nephew of Hongi, 40.
- Russell, Captain (Sir William), 351.
- Russell, seat of Government, 90; name given to Kororareka, 92.
- Russell, Lord John, superseded Lord Normanby, 80; more friendly to New Zealand Company, 80; defeat of Ministry, 103; arrangement of November, 1840, with N.Z.C., 113; modifications thereof, 114; Colonel Wakefield's reliance on, 115; succeeded Peel Ministry, 142.
- St. John Colonel, 261.
- St. John's College, founded, 155; closed, 157.
- Samoa, 356; Western occupied, 381; mandate, 386.
- San Francisco mail service, 289.
- Saunders, Mr. Alfred, 124.
- Scholefield Dr. G. H., quoted, 266, 269, 286, 307.
- Sealing industry, 27; decline of, 30.
- Secretary of State for the Colonies, 94, 98.
- Seddon, R. J., rewarded districts that supported his policy, 278; in Opposition, 319; with Balance as Minister of Public Works, 325; co-operative system of labour, 327; Premier, 334; character, 335; reconstructed Ministry, 335; continued Ballance's policy, 335; franchise granted to women, 336; attitude towards Prohibition, 336, 338; first election, 339; enactments, 339-45; supported Reeves, 341; political character sketch, 348-50; mediocrity of later colleagues, 350; contested five general elections, 352; an imperialist, 353-5; Immigration Restriction Act, 356; "voucher incident," 360; visit to Australia and death, 360.
- Self-government, advocated by colonizers, 68; growing desire for, 86, 101, 102; N.Z.C. laboured to secure, 162; established by Sir George Grey, 168; more complete system granted, 196.
- Self-reliant policy, 247, 288.
- Selwyn, Bishop, objection to N.Z. Government Act of 1846, 100; supported Grey, 101; maintained peace in Taranaki, 117; deprecated coercion, 118; advised Shortland, 133; visited Otago, 143; approval of Canterbury site, 145; arrival at Christchurch, 148; consecrated first Bishop of N.Z., 154; character, 155; first pastoral tour, 155; journey to the south, 156; at sack of Kororareka, 157; journey to England, 157; Parliament refused to pass grant to, 190; hooted in New Plymouth, 205; warning to Taranaki settlers, 206; averted conflict with Wai-kato natives, 221; influenced Tamihana, 225.
- Sentry Hill, 244.
- Settlement of New Zealand, its earliest form, 27-32; first attempts at systematic, 47-54; Captain Herd's expedition, 47-49; Baron de Thierry's Kingdom, 49-53; Captain Stewart's trading settlement, 53, 54; eve of systematic, 68-82; by N.Z.C., 119-127, 162; foundation of Otago and Canterbury, 140-150; dispersion of, 170; progress of, 171, 266, 270-2, 280-5.
- Settlers' Constitutional Associations, 101.
- Sewell, Mr. Henry, deputy-chairman of Canterbury Association, 147; arrival in Canterbury, 150; appointed to Executive Council, 183; chosen leader of the H. of R., 189; first ministry, 192; policy of Centralisation, 192; Treasurer in Stafford's first ministry, 192.
- "Shagroons," invasion of, 148.
- Sheppard, Mrs. Katherine, 336.
- Ship Cove, Cook's anchorage at, 14; memorial stone erected, 15; Cook visited five times, 15, 16; Tory anchored at, 75.
- Shore whaling, 30; stations, 31.
- Shortland, Lieut. Willoughby, appointed Police Magistrate, 81, 165; extravagance and incompetence of, 85; secured signa-

- tures to Treaty of Waitangi, 87; proclaimed British sovereignty at Port Nicholson, 90; officially notified selection of Auckland as seat of government, 93; a sailor governor, 94; non-settlement of land claims, 108; land proclamation of July, 1843, 108; recommended forbearance, 116; decision *re* Mr. Swainson, 128; report on Wairau Massacre, 131; interfered in native quarrel at Taunanga, 133, 166; financial measures, 151; estimate of his character and work, 165-6; Administrator, 165; vacillation, 166; appointed Governor of Nevis, 166.
- Simeon, Captain, 150.
- Sisters of Mercy, 38.
- Socialism, 287, 321, 339, 350.
- Society of Canterbury Colonists, 147.
- Solander, Dr., 12, 13.
- South African War, 353, 370.
- South Australia, Grey's loan from, 151; work in, 84, 168.
- Southland, separated from and re-joined Otago, 272.
- Spain, Mr. William, 115; his award, 116; his Taranaki judgment, 117; compensation awarded at Wanganui, 119; anticipated arrival at the Wairau, 130; at Otaki, 131; view of Wairau affray, 132; at Otago, 141.
- "Spotting," 287.
- Stafford, Edward William, first Superintendent of Nelson, 172; character sketch of, 191; first Ministry, 192; in England, 213; withdrew Arms Bill, 221; fall of Ministry, 227; three times Premier, 273; succeeded Weld and then Fox, 288.
- Stanley, Captain, of H.M.S. *Britomart*, at Akaroa, 91.
- Stanley, Lord, upheld Treaty of Waitangi, 88; signified Queen's approval of Auckland as seat of Government, 93; rebuked Hobson for land reservations at Auckland, 107; disallowed Hobson's Land Claims Amendment Ordinance, 107; concessions to N.Z.C., 114; approved Hobson's arrangements with N.Z.C., 115; instructed Shortland to issue debentures, 151; censured Hobson's crimping, 160; expressed approval of Shortland, 166.
- State farms, 327.
- State Forests Bill, 291.
- Staten Land, 10.
- State Socialism, of the Liberals, 339, 350.
- Stewart, Sir William, elected Speaker, 324.
- Stewart's attempt to establish a trading settlement, 53.
- Stewart Island, named after Capt. Stewart, 54; visited by Bunbury, 88.
- Stout, Mr. (Sir Robert), Stout-Vogel Ministry, 297; description of and resignation, 301; returned to politics, 315; Ministry defeated, 315; second Stout-Vogel Ministry, 315; its measures, 315-8; defeated at elections, 318; re-elected, 334.
- Strike, Great, 379.
- Sugar Loaf Islands, 58, 77, 79, 120.
- Superintendents, election of, 104, 172; all elected to H. of R., 190; carried Provincial sentiments into Colonial Parliament, 194-5.
- Supreme Court, 98, 99.
- Suspending Act, 1848, 101, 102.
- Swainson, Attorney-General, sent out from England, 98; advised Shortland, 133; quoted *re* dispersion of settlement, 171; opinion of secret ballot, 173; advised Acting-Governor Wynyard, 176; retirement difficulty, 183-4; pensioned, 189; quoted *re* provincial councils, 194.
- Sweating, 308, 319.
- Symonds, Mr. J. J., 141.
- Syndicalism, 365.
- Tahiti, visited by Cook, 11, 12; the traditional Hawaiki, 21, 23; De Thierry's arrival at, 50.
- Taiaroa, condition reported by D'Urville, 18; at Kaipohia, 45; signed Otago deed of sale, 141.
- Tamaiharanui, captured by Te Rauparaha, 44.
- Tamihana te Rauparaha, request for missionary, 39; a native missionary, 46.
- Tamihana (Wiremu), son of Te Waharoa, 46, 207; cold reception of in Auckland, 208; proposed a truce, 225; rejected Governor Browne's ultimatum, 226; saved Auckland, 233; surrender of and death, 241; surrender induced by excesses of Hauhauism, 244.

- Tangata-whenua*, 22.
- Taranaki, purchase of land by Barrett, 77-79, 116; Company's encroachment at, 113; natives' conflicting claims to, 116-118; foundation of, 119-120; Fitz-Roy's land decision, 160; three representatives, 176; Maori Land League, 204, 205; settlement restricted, 205, 212, 222; War in, 212-226.
- Tarawera, Mt., eruption, 317.
- Taringa Kuri, obstructed settlers at the Hutt, 128.
- Tasman, Abel Janszoon, discovered New Zealand, 7, 8; advisory council, 8; discovered Van Diemen's Land, 8; priority of his discovery, 8; meagre results of expedition, 9, 17; description of Maoris, 19.
- Tataramaka block, occupied by Colonel Gold, 219; by Grey, 232.
- Tattooed heads, trade in, 60.
- Tauranga, native disturbance at, 133, 166; campaign, 241-3.
- Tawhiao (Matutaera), second Maori king, 222; made submission, 310.
- Taxation, most paid by South Island, 267; increased, 306; changes in, 326; increased, 385.
- Tax, land, Grey's, 302; Ballance's, 326.
- Te Arai pa, long sap up to, 223-5.
- Te Awaiti, whaling station, 31.
- 58; visited by *Tory*, 75.
- Teira, offered Waitara block, 213; his *utu*, 214.
- Te Heuheu, 39, 48.
- Te Kooti, 199; first Maori to use cavalry, 235; as a leader, 235; unjust treatment of by Government, 255; campaign, 256-263.
- Te Ngutu-o-te-manu, 199.
- Te Pahi, 32, 33; assisted escapees from *Boyd* massacre, 55; his pa attacked, 56; killed by Whangaroans, 56.
- Te Pahi, 43.
- Te Ranga, British victory at, 243.
- Te Rangitake (Wi Kingi), chief of Ngatiawa, claim to Taranaki, 116; return to Waitara, 118; valuable military aid, 139; Hadfield's influence with, 156; surety for safety of colonists, 205; vetoed sale of Waitara, 213; rights to Waitara recognised by Government, 214, 220; his pa captured, 215; appealed to Waikato tribes for help, 219; condemned at Maori conference, 221; accepted peace, but transferred disputed Waitara land to the Waikatos, 225.
- Te Rauparaha, in galaxy of great chiefs, 39; sketch of early career, 41-46; his migration to Otaki, 42; capture of Kapiti, 43; conquest of Middle Island, 44; quarrels between Ngatiraukawa and Ngatiawa, 43, 47; obsequious to H.M.S. *Alligator*, 58; original conveyance of Wairau, 77; consented to Nelson settlement, 123; instigated obstruction of settlers at the Hutt, 128; denied sale of the Wairau, 129; accepted compensation for land at the Hutt, 138; seized and imprisoned by Grey, 138; release and death, 139.
- Territorials, 371.
- Te Waharoa, 39; his son, William Thompson, 46, 207; not a signatory to Treaty of Waitangi, 208.
- Te Wai Pounamu, 42, 43.
- Te Wherowhero, in galaxy of great chiefs 39; growing strength, 41; defeat by Te Rauparaha, 42; not a signatory to Treaty of Waitangi, 88, 208; compensated for claim to Taranaki, 116; interceded for Te Rauparaha, 138; otherwise Potatau, 206; neglected by Fenton, 210; installed as Maori king, 210; death, 222; his son, Tawhiao chosen Maori king, 222; early victory at Pukerangiora, 224.
- Te Whiti, 312-3.
- Thomas, Captain, selected site of Canterbury settlement, 145.
- Thompson, F. A., police magistrate at Nelson, 124; massacred at the Wairau, 130.
- Thomson, Dr. Arthur, historian, quoted, 173.
- Three Kings Island, 10, 14.
- Titokowaru, Hauhau chief, 254; defeated, 260.
- Tohungas*, Maori priests, 23, 25.
- Tolaga Bay, 263.
- Torrens system of land transfer, 290.
- Tory*, at Kapiti, 46; despatch of, 73; sighted New Zealand, 75; aground at Kaipara, 78.
- Traditions of the Maoris, 22.
- Triennial parliaments, 127, 300, 305.
- Truck Act, 326.
- Tuamarina, scene of massacre, 130.
- Tuapeka goldfield, 271.

- Tuckett, Mr. Frederick, escaped from Wairau massacre, 130; selected site of Otago settlement, 141.
- Tuhawaiki, 141.
- Tupaea, Cook's interpreter, 12, 19.
- Unemployment, 306; unrelieved, 319; grappled with by Ballance, 327.
- Unions, of workers, 321; supported strikers, 364.
- Union Steam Ship Company, 289, 321, 379.
- United States of America, talk of joining, 275, 352; appeal for assistance to emigrate to, 307.
- Universal suffrage, 305.
- University of New Zealand, 269, 289; established by Continuous Ministry, 298.
- Upper Hutt, dispute with natives at, 128, 138.
- Urewera Country, 199, 259-63.
- Utu, Maori custom, 25, 57; exempted at the Wairau, 130; exhibited by Teira in Waitara sale, 214.
- Van Diemen's Land, discovered by Tasman, 8; neighbouring settlement to New Zealand, 27, 59.
- Victoria, Queen, jubilee of, 352, 354.
- Vigilants at Kororareka, 66.
- Village settlements, 316.
- Visscher, 9.
- Vogel, Julius (afterwards Sir Julius), character sketch of, 273-4; public works policy, 274-9; failure of land reservation scheme, 277, 290; immigration policy, 280-5; Treasurer under Fox, 288; real power in Waterhouse Ministry, 288; Premier, 288; three important measures, 289-90; led movement for abolition of provincial governments, 291; in London raising loans, 276, 292; succeeded Dr. Pollen as Premier, 297; succeeded Dr. Featherston as Agent-General, 297; in Continuous Ministry, 298; re-elected in 1884, 314; with Stout, 297, 315; departure for England, 318.
- Volkner, Rev. Carl, murder by Hauhaus, 249.
- Von Tempsky, 237; death of, 254.
- Waihi, gold mine, 346; strike, 365, 379.
- Waikanae, settled by Ngatiawa, 43; native battle at, 46, 76; Te Rangitake's offer to sell, 118.
- Waikato tribe, under Te Whero-hero, 41; claim to Taranaki, 116; active in King movement, 206; aided Wi Kingi, 219-20.
- Waikouaiti, whaling station, 31; mission station, 39.
- Waimate, mission station, 35, 37, 65; visited by Hobson with Treaty of Waitangi, 87; Fitz-Roy met chiefs, 135; Bishop Selwyn at, 155.
- Waipu settlement, 282-3.
- Wairarapa, land purchase, 110; towns of founded, 111.
- Wairau, supposed purchase, 77; massacre, 108, 126, 129-133, 156; purchased by Grey, 110; first settlement of, 133.
- Waireka, 199.
- Waitangi, Treaty of, foundation of land laws, 84; drafted by Busby, 86; translated into Maori by Rev. Henry Williams, 86; propounded by Hobson, 86; terms of, 86-87; accepted by chiefs, 87; remote chiefs not signatories, 88, 208; sheet anchor of Maori liberties and ownership, 88; severest indictment of, 88; original interpretation upheld by Lord Stanley, 89; disapproval of expressed in N.Z. Government Act of 1846, 100; its violation by Act of 1846 ignored by Grey, 101; basis of Maori land title, 105; contravened by FitzRoy's Land Proclamation, 109; to be null and void in the N.Z. Company's Province of Victoria, 158; Hobson's duty to enforce, 160; connection with Maori Wars, 200, 208; Waikatos charged with violating, 226.
- Waitara, claimed by Ngatiawa, 118; Ngatiawa return to, 118; purchase a blunder, 199, 214; offered by Teira, 213; sale vetoed by Wi Kingi, 213; latter's rights recognised, 214; land transaction unsettled, 229; its non-settlement led to Waikato War, 232-3; Grey recommended abandonment of purchase, 232; belated Waitara proclamation, 233.
- Waitohi block purchased, 110.
- Waka Nene, southern raid, 41; sold land to De Thierry, 52; supported Treaty of Waitangi,

- 87; offered to restrain Heke, 135; British ally, 136; pensioned by Government, 138; interceded for Te Rauparaha, 138; loyalty, 228.
- Wakefield, Captain Arthur, charge of Nelson settlement, 122; arrested native at Motupipi, 126; massacred at the Wairau, 130.
- Wakefield, Colonel, treated with Te Rauparaha for land, 46; at Hokianga, 49, 77; on board *Tory*, 74; his land purchases, 75-79; chartered the *Guide*, 78; land claims at Port Nicholson, 112; endeavoured to enforce November agreement, 114; compensation to natives, 115; before Land Claims Court, 115; refused to accept FitzRoy's Taranaki judgment, 117; sent surveyors to Taranaki, 120; visited Nelson, 124; assisted purchase of Otago site, 141; death, 159.
- Wakefield, Edward Gibbon, as a colonizer, 69, 70, 125, 319; evidence before Parliamentary Committee, 70; his prospectus of the New Zealand Association, 71; built joint stock company, 72; director of New Zealand Company, 1840, 73; hastened despatch of *Tory*, 73; drafted instructions to Company's principal agent, 74; principles of colonization illustrated, 82; plan of emigrants' self-government, 89; assisted passage of Constitution Act, 1852, 103; system criticised by Saunders, 125; projected Canterbury settlement, 144; arrival in Canterbury, 150; condemned the loans to N.Z.C., 158; member of first colonial parliament, 177; character and work of, 177; motion for establishment of ministerial responsibility, 181, 182; realisation of his own idea, 178; unofficial adviser of Colonel Wynyard, 184; his tactlessness, 185; retirement from position of unofficial adviser, 188; close of his career, 191-2; land system of Canterbury, 196, 286.
- Wanganui, Wakefield's provisional purchase, 77; Company's encroachment at, 113; foundation of settlement, 119; limited sale admitted, 128; obstruction of settlers at, 128; Gilfillan massacre, 139; victory of Moutoa, 245.
- War, see Maori Wars.
- Waramanga beach, 9.
- Ward, Mr. Joseph (afterwards Sir Joseph), in Opposition, 319; with Ballance as Postmaster-General, 326; Advances to Settlers' Department, 332; Minister of Finance under Seddon, 335; temporary retirement, 349; National Provident Fund, 359; Premier, 361; his disadvantages, 362; his colleagues, 366; offer of battleship, 370; naval defence conference, 371; retired, 374; joined National Ministry, 385; withdrew, 387; accompanied Massey Home, 386; defeated, 387.
- Waterhouse, Mr., Premier, 288.
- Weld, Mr. Frederick, appointed to Executive Council, 183; Premier, 247; fall of Ministry, 288.
- Wellington (see Port Nicholson), previously named Britannia, 89; "illegal association" at, 89, 160; controversy Wellington v. Auckland, 92; borough council dissolved, 99; arrival of soldiers and Major Richmond, 113; disputes *re* native pas, 127; Committee of Public Safety, 131; earthquake of 1848, 162; University College, 269; became seat of government, 273.
- Wellington pirates brought to justice, 60.
- Wellington province defined, 172; eight representatives, 176.
- Weraroa, Grey's capture of, 247.
- Wesleyan mission stations, 35; pillage and destruction of Kaero, 35; Selwyn's hostility to, 156.
- Westland, discovered by Tasman, 8; explored by Brunner, 127; road from Canterbury, 268; gold rush to, 270-2; separated from Canterbury, 272.
- Whakatane, Te Kooti at, 260.
- Whaling industry, 27, 28; decline of, 32.
- Whitaker, Mr. Frederick, advised Superintendent Wynyard, 176; Attorney-General in Sewell's and Stafford's Ministries, 192; Premier, 238; resignation, 247; long political career, 273; in Continuous Ministry, 298; old age, 322.
- Whitmore, Colonel, 237, 250; repulsed at Moturoa, 255; campaign against Te Kooti, 256-8, 260.
- Wicksteed, Mr., 116, 120.
- Wi Kingi, see Te Rangitake.

Williams, Rev. Henry, 35, 39; visited Port Nicholson, 78; obtained signatures to Treaty of Waitangi, 88; quarrel with Governor Grey, 109; archdeacon of Waimate, 156; at sack of Kororareka, 157; persecution of, 157; dismissal and reinstatement, 157.

Williams, Rev. William, 36, 135; installed at Turanga, 155; revised Maori Prayer Book, 156.

Women's suffrage, 299, 336-7.

Wynyard, Lieut.-Colonel, appointed Lieut.-Governor of New Ulster,

102; first Superintendent of Auckland, 172; acting Governor, 175; Pooh-Bah, 176; address to General Assembly, 178-179; difficulty of his position, 182; "wax in the hands" of Swainson, 182; dispute with Parliament, 183, 185; added members of H. of R. to Executive Council, 183, 188; legislative programme, 188; notified dissolution of first Parliament, 189; difficulties of administration, 190.

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