THE LIFE OF FREDERICK WELD G.C.M.G.

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A PIONEER OF EMPIRE

BY ALICE, LADY LOVAT

WITH A PREFACE BY

SIR HUGH CLIFFORD, K.C.M.G.

"LET all the ends thou aim'st at be thy country's, thy God's, and truth's."

SHAKESPEARE.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

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1914

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TO

THE TEN SURVIVING CHILDREN OF

SIR FREDERICK AND LADY WELD

AND TO THE MEMORY OF THEIR SONS

DOM JOSEPH BASIL WELD

OF THE ORDER OF ST. BENEDICT

WHO DIED IN THE SERVICE OF GOD

ON FEBRUARY 27, 1908

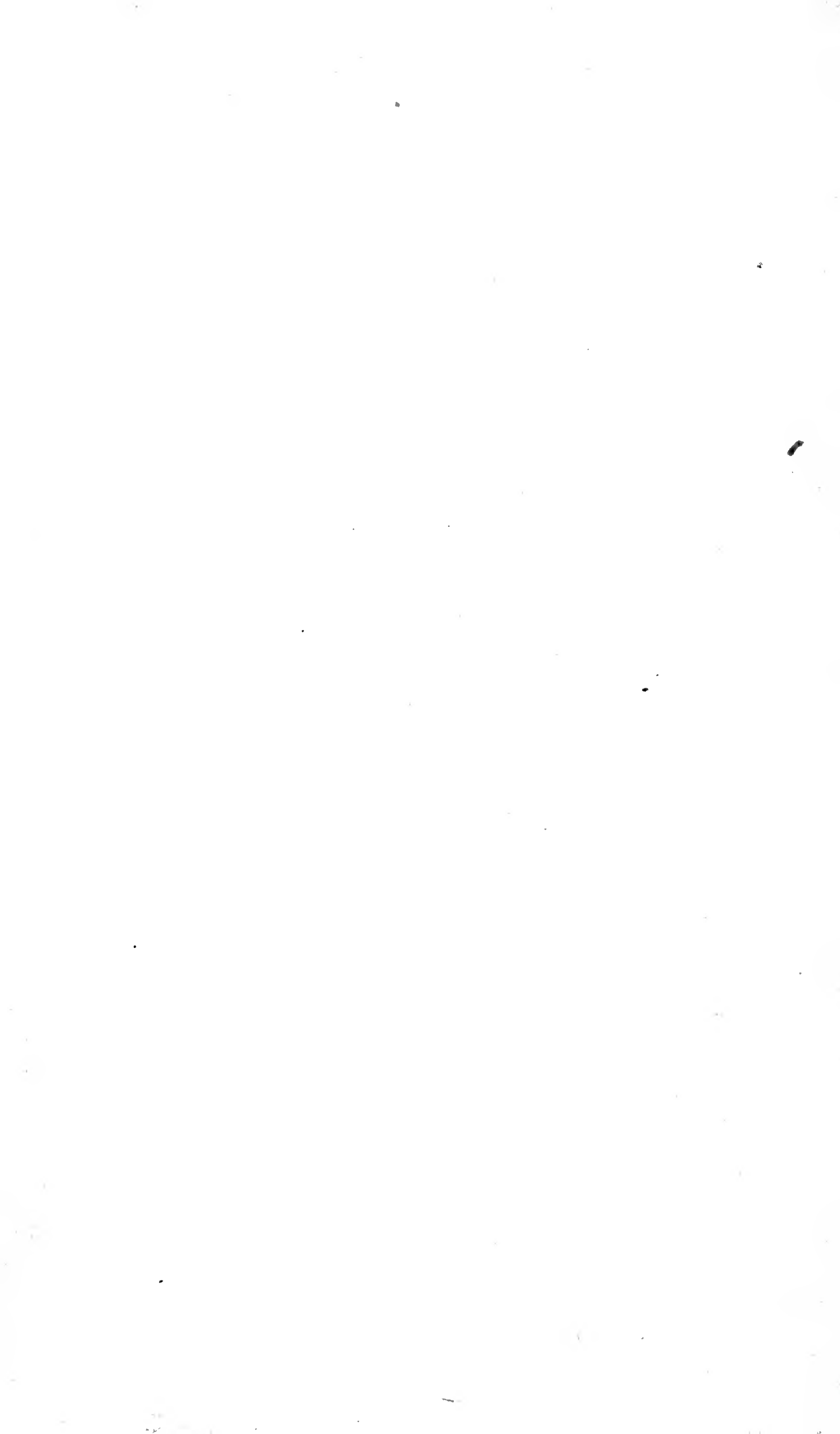
AND TO

OSMUND

OF THE COLONIAL CIVIL SERVICE

WHO DIED IN THE SERVICE OF HIS COUNTRY

ON JULY 14, 1910



FOREWORD

Sir Frederick Weld's career is set forth with sufficient terseness and no undue flattery in the obituary notices of the three countries—New Zealand, Australia, and the Malay Peninsula—in which his life's work lay. They are the justification for the claim the author makes for him of ranking as a Pioneer of Empire.

In the leading newspaper of the first of these countries it is said that :

" In 1844 he arrived in New Zealand, and was returned to Parliament at its first session, held in Auckland in 1854. The same year he was appointed a member of the Executive Council. In 1860 he was made Native Minister, but resigned in 1861. In 1864 he was entrusted with the formation of a ministry ; his policy of self-reliance, which involved his sending back to England the Imperial troops, was accepted by the Secretary of State and favourably commented on by both Houses of Parliament in England. In 1865 he again resigned office. He was the first to explore the province of Nelson, and some of the uninhabited districts of the Middle Island. He was the author of several papers and pamphlets, etc. *Hints to Intending Sheep Farmers in New Zealand*, which has passed through two or three editions ; ' On the great Volcanic Eruption of Mauna Loa (Sandwich Islands), 1885, and the ascent of that Mountain,' published in the *Journal* of the Geological

Society. Also 'Notes on New Zealand Affairs, 1869.' It was said of him that 'he introduced the self-reliant policy into New Zealand, dispensing with the aid of British troops, which, while costing the British ratepayer about two and a half millions a year, embittered the relation between the Mother Country and the Colony, and was entailing heavy burdens and imminent bankruptcy upon the latter. He believed in using small bodies of men trained to bush fighting, in making roads, and in removing grievances that might exist.'"[1]

We take a similar record of Sir Frederick's life in Australia from a West Australian paper :

"Sir Frederick Weld possessed all the qualities to make him an ideal governor of a new and struggling colony. A skilful administrator, a clever statesman, an explorer of no mean repute, and a practical farmer and squatter,—the care which he gave to the preparation of many beneficial projects was only equalled by his firmness in carrying them out. In Western Australia his abilities had ample scope. At his coming he found the country in a lethargic condition, knowing almost nothing, and caring as little about the rest of the world. He at once took up the work of bettering her position, inspiring her to higher ambitions, stirring her to a more active life, and bringing to the task an indomitable will and all the gathered wisdom of a rarely varied career, he achieved a success that can be looked upon as little less than wonderful. Short as his tenure of office was, he was able to say of the Colony long before its close, 'At last she moves'—a statement which describes a course of progress due to his enlightened policy, then visibly beginning and which has never been entirely inter-

[1] *Morning Post*, Wellington, New Zealand.

rupted. Sir Frederick Weld was the originator of the movement which has conferred upon us the free Constitution we now enjoy ; he gave to the country its first telegraph line, its first steamboat service, and its first railway line." [1]

The following testimony is given to Sir Frederick Weld's work in the Straits Settlements :

" Perhaps the greatest claim that he has upon the gratitude of the people of the Colony is the extraordinary success which has resulted from the vigorous but careful policy which he has pursued with unflagging energy in the Native States. Few of our readers can realise the state of anarchy in which these States were plunged when Sir Frederick Weld assumed the reins of government. It appears incredible to the traveller, as he steps into his carriage at the railway station on the lines of the Native States, that such a short time has elapsed since nearly the whole peninsula suffered under the misgovernment of native rulers. Sir Frederick Weld has withstood with his usual cheerful courtesy a certain amount of hostile criticism. . . . He has made a bloodless conquest of the Peninsula, and roads and railways have been among his most trusted agents in achieving his peaceful victories. . . . Singapore has been wonderfully improved of late years. A number of important buildings which were much wanted have been erected, and the place fortified, thanks to the persistent efforts of Sir Frederick Weld in impressing on the Home Government the absolute necessity of providing us with adequate means of defence. We have also to report great improvements made in the lighting of the Straits, and the establishment of a Forestry Department, and of European and Sikh contingents."

[1] *Western Australian Record*, Perth.

The author gratefully acknowledges the help and encouragement given her by Sir Hugh Clifford, K.C.M.G. She has also been much indebted to the late Rev. Dom Basil Weld, O.S.B., for the materials for his father's biography collected by him, and to his researches into the Weld pedigree ; and to the author of *Lulworth Castle and its Neighbourhood* ; and to Sir Henry McCallum, G.C.M.G. She has also made great use in the Life of Sir Frederick Weld of the following books : Swainson's *New Zealand and its Colonisation* ; Fox's *War in New Zealand* ; Major Richardson's *Our Constitutional History* ; Whitmore's *Last Maori War* ; Wise's *Australian Commonwealth* ; Fenton's *Tasmania* ; Sir Frank Swettenham's *The Real Malay* ; McNair's *Perak and the Malays* ; Sir Stamford Raffles's *Memoirs*, and the *Journal* of the Royal Colonial Institute.

PREFACE

At Lady Lovat's request, and almost at a moment's notice, I furnish a preface to this biography; and I am glad that the task has been assigned to me, because an opportunity is thus afforded to me of paying a tribute of love and respect to one of my father's oldest friends, to the first Colonial Governor under whom I ever served, and to a man to whom I was deeply attached.

Though the author of this book has been mainly concerned with the delineation of the personality of Sir Frederick Weld, the incidents of her hero's life were of such a character that the story of it forms naturally a series of chapters in the early history of some of Great Britain's most interesting and important Colonies and Possessions. Young Weld went out to New Zealand as a squatter at a time when the Maori was still in full possession of the lands of his ancestors. He left it twenty-six years later—after having filled the post of Premier of the Colony at a season of peculiar difficulty and danger—leaving behind him as a heritage the memory of the "Weld or self-reliant policy," the keynote of which was the theory that a colony capable of self-government must trust to itself and to its own resources, courage, and energy, and cannot for ever, without loss of self-respect, continue to look to Great Britain to fight for, protect, and mother it.

He was appointed successively Governor of Western Australia and Governor of Tasmania, and

held these posts for five and a half and for six years respectively. Finally, in 1880, he became Governor of the Straits Settlements, and filled that position, save for one year's leave in England—his first return to his home for a decade and a half—until the middle of 1887. Thus from the age of twenty, until he was a man of sixty-four, his life and his life's work were bound up successively with the history of the Colony which he helped to make, and with that of those other Colonies over which he was set to rule and whose destiny he did much to fashion. Leaving aside, therefore, the personality of the man—and to those who knew Sir Frederick Weld his personality was the supreme attraction—the record of his life has inevitably attaching to it a wider, larger interest than is to be inspired ordinarily by even the most vivid portrait of a fine and noble character.

The statesman is born. The administrator is made. For the task of administration (or so some of us think) is as much an acquired craft or trade as the science of the electrical engineer, or the skill of the expert fashioner of patent-leather boots. It is a hazy appreciation of this fact that has led Great Britain—which has, the gods be praised, a happy knack of stumbling and blundering into the only safe path—to entrust the work of administration for the most part to her permanent officials, and to confide questions of statesmanship to their Parliamentary Chiefs. Weld, there can, I think, be little doubt, was far more a statesman than an administrator. It was the statesman's instinct, rather than the skilled hand and the tempered experience of the administrator, which stood him and his successive Colonies in the best stead. It was this gift of statesmanlike vision which directed the course he shaped, and persuaded others to follow, during the troublous times that beset New Zealand in its most critical

period of transition. It was this, above all, that enabled him to view the essentials in the problems of the Protected Malay States, during a peculiarly critical moment in their somewhat tempestuous infancy,—to see so clearly, through all the obscuring littlenesses of that time, the brilliant future which we know to-day,—and with imaginative brain and calm, steady hand, to order all things for the attainment of that future.

And it was part of the superlative good fortune which has almost invariably attended the now Federated Malay States (their very balance-sheet reads like a fairy-tale, no less), that with the hour of their need came the man. Nay, not the man, but the *men*. What an exceptionally strong combination of outstanding men he had at his disposal. As I look back across the gulf of thirty years which divides me from those days, it seems to me that then there were giants in the land. To aid him in the Colony, Weld had Sir Cecil Clementi Smith,—"out and away the best Colonial Secretary that I have ever had," was the late Lord Stanmore's verdict on him, spoken to the present writer,—the late Sir William Maxwell, one of my predecessors on the Gold Coast, a man of quite exceptional administrative and literary ability, whose sad and premature death robbed the Empire of a great servant. In the Native States he had Sir Hugh Low, Resident of Perak from 1877 to 1889, who reimported into the Peninsula from Borneo the cult of dealing with Malays, which had been transmitted to him from Stamford Raffles through the first Rajah Brooke ; and such men as the late Sir John Rodger (another of my predecessors on the Gold Coast), as poor Martin Lister, most lovable of mankind, as Sir Frank Swettenham, who himself afterwards rose to be Governor of the Straits, and a host of others.

Yet it was Sir Frederick Weld's vivid and personal

interest in the affairs and politics of the Malay States; his long journeys through our jungles; his indefatigable efforts to acquaint himself with all that was going forward, of all that was doing, or all that remained to be done; his generous appreciation of good work, and his hatred of the shirker and the inefficient, which drew from all the best of his officers the best of which they were capable. Before he had been a year in the country he had grasped the essential fact that for a prolonged period the administration of these new, raw lands would call for a greater measure of elasticity than can, alas, be secured under the more rigid and precise Crown Colony system; and seeing this, he pronounced a definite and authoritative opinion against annexation. He perceived quite clearly that, at the long last, the internal administration of the Native States would have to be assimilated very closely to that of the Colony; and in our own time that process of assimilation has been made practically complete. He made it his business to see, however, that it should be a slow, a gradual, and a natural growth; and to this unquestionably is due in a large measure the phenomenal rapidity with which the Native States were developed, and the cordial understanding which has long subsisted between the Malay *rajas* and chiefs and their white advisers. Annexation would have transformed them into our unforgiving enemies.

I have said that Sir Frederick Weld was a statesman rather than an administrator; and during the years of his tenure of the Governorship of Singapore the opinion was held by not a few malcontents that the Colony and its affairs were receiving scant attention, and that the Native States bulked too big upon the Governor's mental horizon. There was some truth in this contention; but while Sir Cecil Clementi Smith filled the post of Colonial Secretary,

there was no grievance, since all felt that the guidance of purely colonial politics was in very safe and very capable hands. Later, however, though the Native States continued to "swear by" Sir Frederick Weld, it is undeniable that his reputation in the Colony suffered some eclipse during the last two years of his administration. But the statesman was ever busy, hand and heart and brain, building more surely than perhaps even he knew, the foundations upon which such a stupendous monument of success has since been reared. He had little time to give to gross details of administration; yet, in the view of some of the smaller folk around him, these were the problems which should have claimed priority over all mere Native States' affairs.

But it is of Sir Frederick Weld, the man, rather than of Sir Frederick Weld, the statesman, that I would here write.

Very tall, slim and erect, with great ease and grace of carriage, he looked all men in the face, with a certain modest yet frank self-confidence which betrayed itself in the most naïve ways. It is only Sir Fred, I fancy, who would have had at once the nerve and the simplicity to read Tennyson's *Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington* aloud to the poet, in order to compare his own and his host's elocutionary styles, and fearlessly to demand the great man's verdict thereon.

He was remarkably handsome, when I knew him as a man of over sixty, with his white hair and white Dundreary whiskers, his fine figure, his calm, honest, pale blue eyes, the transparent casements out of which there looked a soul utterly at peace with its God, with its neighbours, and with itself. He had more brains, more experience, and fewer sorrows than Colonel Newcome; but the essential character of the man was singularly like that

with which Thackeray endowed his hero. Incapable of a meanness or of deception himself, he was apt to read into those about him finer qualities than they in fact possessed. It was as though a glamour shed from his own purity of thought and intention illumined others, in his eyes, with the glow of virtues to which they could lay no claim ; and even as a boy, I remember registering the silent opinion that he was a singularly bad judge of men. But on the whole, I think, this betrayed him into few mistakes. No one who came in contact with him could withstand the spell of his peculiar charm, the innate nobility of his character,—the principles so exalted, by which his life was guided, that any departure from them by so much as a hair's breadth, never, I think, presented itself to his imagination in the light of a possibility. And for such a man other men will usually work well, impelled by shame, it may be, if they be not stimulated by example.

To me, when I joined the Civil Service of the Malay State of Perak as a lad of seventeen, he and his were more than kind and welcoming ; and I loved this splendid old fellow with all a boy's enthusiasm. Practical man of action though he had been all his days, he delighted in poetry and literature of all kinds ; and this too was a bond between us. I was fortunate, moreover, in that he gave me the opportunity to serve him in 1887, by obtaining the Sultan of Pahang's promise to conclude a treaty with the British Government, which eventually led to the protection of that large State. He had been rather severely criticised for having had the boldness to entrust a special mission of some delicacy and difficulty to so young a man—I was at that time not quite one-and-twenty—and I think I can see him now, dressed in sleeping-jacket and *sârong*, and with disordered hair, tramping about his bedroom in

exclamatory delight when, having arrived in Singapore unexpectedly in the middle of the night, after an absence of three months, I woke him up to tell him the result of my mission just as the dawn was breaking.

A statesman, honest, fearless, noble, kind; inspired by a wonderful and perfectly unostentatious piety; and beyond all things simple, so that the boy's heart in him was never subdued, and the purity of the boy never tarnished, he dwells in my memory, and so must always dwell, as perhaps the finest gentleman that I have ever known.

HUGH CLIFFORD.

CHRISTIANSBORG CASTLE,
THE GOLD COAST.

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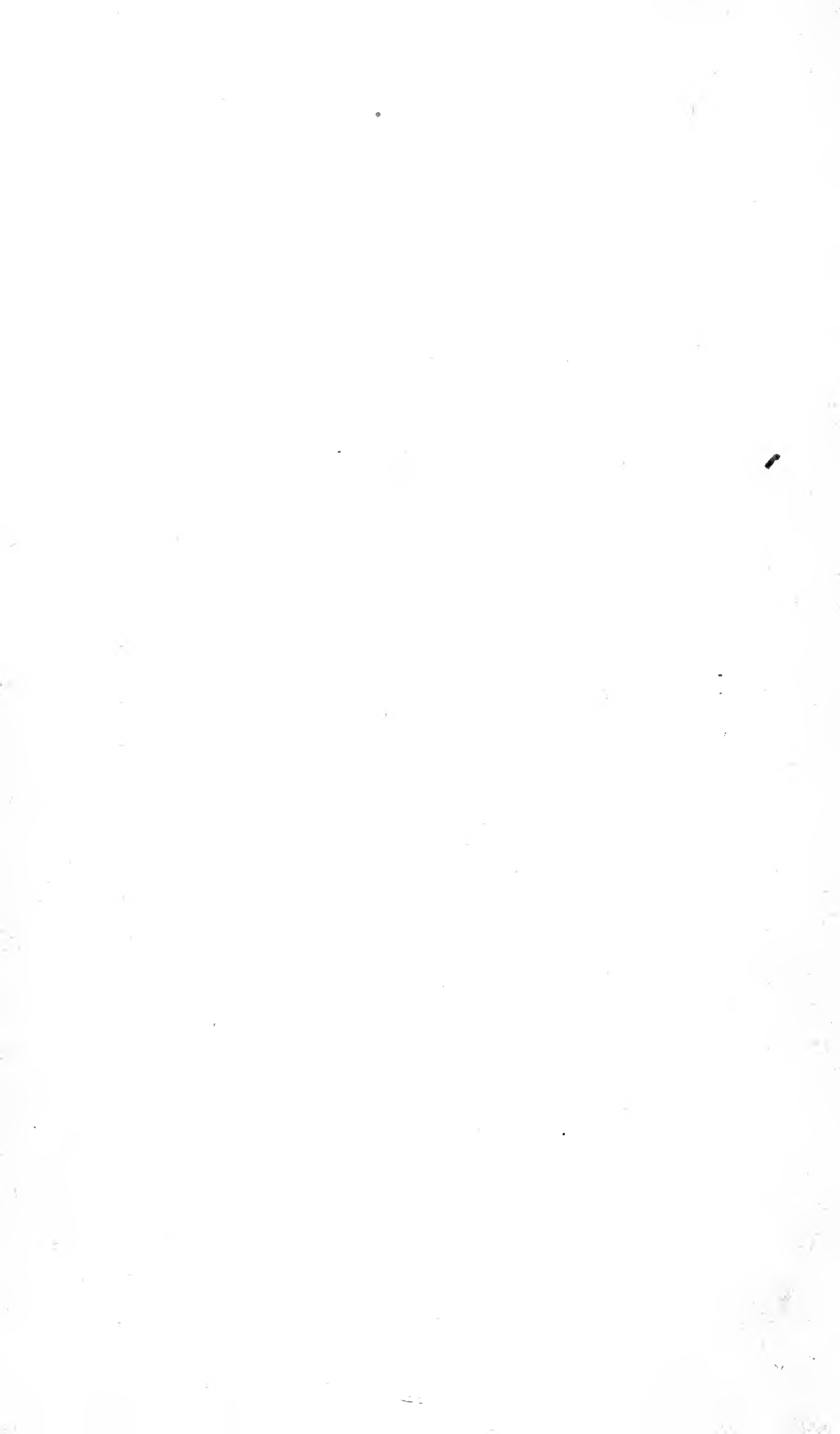

THE WELD FAMILY

THE pedigree of the Weld family has been on more than one occasion the object of antiquarian and genealogical research. But had this plea for a brief account of it been wanting, a stronger one could be urged—and that is the keen interest that was taken in it by the subject of this biography. Few would be tempted to deny that a long line of ancestry is an incentive to honourable ambitions, and this sentiment, which is in some degree common to most men possessed of this advantage, was in a special manner characteristic of Frederick Weld.

The Welds, like so many other families, have what may be called a traditional or legendary origin and an historical one. Strong evidence in their case may be given for the traditional, as their claim to be descended from Edric the son of Alfric, who was brother to Edric, Duke of Mercia, is supported by the authority of Camden. Alfric (whose wife, Edina, was a daughter of King Ethelred) was killed at the battle of Assendun, 1016 A.D.—fighting for Edmund Ironside against the invader Canute. His son is styled Edric Childe in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, a name which denotes his close relationship to the royal family. Simon of Durham alludes to him as "a very powerful thegn." Freeman says: "He was a chief leader in the resistance to the Norman Conquest on the Herefordshire border . . . holding out in woods and difficult places, whence the Normans called him Wylde or Sylvaticus." The opposition

offered by Edric to the invaders seems to have lasted the greater part of his life, for in the next mention we find of him it is said "that William the Conqueror deprived Sylvaticus of all the land in the Marches, that is to say, in or on the borders of Wales at Melinnith (*quandam terram quæ vocatur Melenyth*), which he had held before and during the Conquest, and handed it over as a perpetual inheritance to one Ralph de Mortuo Mari or Mortimer."[1] Freeman remarks that with Edric's submission (*circa* 1070) all resistance was over in the West.[2] There seems to be strong presumptive evidence that William received him (or possibly a son of the same name) into favour, as we find that he was accompanied in his campaign in Scotland by Edric, and that a part of the lands possessed by the family was restored to them. Mention is made more than once of the Wylde family in the reign of King John, and in the Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Peter of Gloucester, dated 1263–84, a deed is given in which the *Abbas et conventus* hand over a piece of arable land to one William Touch of Slymbridge, two acres of which joined the property of Elias le Wilde. In 1299, notice is entered in the Roll papers that Agnes de Assheleye and Avice de Wilde, nuns of St. Mary's, Winchester, bring news of the death of Christina, their Abbess, and have letters of licence to elect a successor. William de Wylde appears in the Cartularies of the time of Henry III. as under Forester of the Royal forest of Mara[3] in Cheshire, of which a small portion of afforested land still survives in the forest of Delamere. Apparently this office was hereditary, as Omerod, in his standard *History of Cheshire*, after noticing that the name of

[1] *Monasticon Anglicanum*, Dugdale, pt. xlvi. vol. I, pt. v. p. 349.

[2] *Short History of England*, p. 105.

[3] The Blundevilles, Palatine Earls of Chester, were hereditary Foresters of this forest, which was of enormous extent, covering two Hundreds.

William Wylde occurs on the Plea Rolls (*temp.* 40–46 Henry III.), says: "He was perhaps succeeded by Wm. Wylde de Crouton, who, with Ralph his brother (6–7 Ed. II.), was presented by the Coroner of the Hundred for having feloniously slain Richard de Acton and Wm. de Shakelok,—this probably happened in the execution of his duty as Forester." Omerod [1] goes on to remark: "but no evidence occurs of this very ancient family having earlier than Henry III., if so early, any property in this parish." To conclude the evidence of the connection of the Welds with Edric the Wylde: a tombstone erected to Sir John Weld's memory in the East Lulworth churchyard in 1674 gives the descent from Edric through nine generations to William the High Sheriff of London.

With William Wilde the family to which he belonged emerges into historical daylight. Early in the fourteenth century he fared forth to London, and in the year 1330 we find his name (Willielmus atte Wylde) as representing the borough of Marlborough in Parliament. He was engaged in commerce as well as in politics, and in the year 1352 he was made High Sheriff of London. He is mentioned as Alderman of Coleman Street in the year 1349, again in 1372. He married his countrywoman, Agnes [2] de Whettenhall, a granddaughter, on the spindle side, of the famous soldier and *condottiere* Sir Hugh

[1] Omerod sees in the fact of the Wylde family occupying this post a proof against their being descendants of Edric—arguing that the Noman conquerors were not likely to give it to any but their friends. T. Parr Henning, *per contra*, writes that "though the matter of the Weld pedigree was one which was both difficult and intricate," and one "which had hitherto defied the united efforts of heralds, antiquarians and archæologists," yet that, in his opinion, "there was legal presumptive evidence that Edric the Saxon was the progenitor of this ancient and venerable gentle House." (*Notes and Queries*, 5. S. I. 347.)

[2] Anne, according to Omerod, but William Wylde in his will (enrolled in the Hustings Court, London, May 1371) makes a bequest to his wife Agnes.

Calverley, and as Agnes was a co-heiress we find that their son, on William Wylde's death, returned to Cheshire, and settled at Eaton,[1] a property which he inherited through his mother. Here the family remained till the reign of Charles II. A member of the family—Ingeramus Wilde—is mentioned in a charter of James IV. as the owner of land in Edinburgh, adjoining certain lands of Holy Cross Abbey; and the name of William Wylde occurs in the list of squires who followed Henry V. in his French campaign, where it is mentioned that he had two foot-archers as his attendants.

On April 10th, 1552, we find a charter from Sir Gilbert Dethick, Garter King-at-Arms, granting a crest to John Weld of Eaton. In this document Dethick refers to "William Weld, Alderman and Sheriff of London in the XXVIIIth yeare of King Edwarde the thyrde, whos auncestors have byn the bearers of thers tokens and auncient armes of honnor."[2] "This extract from Dethick," says the eminent genealogist, T. Parr Henning, "uncontrovertibly establishes the fact that William Weld had a long line of predecessors previous to the fourteenth century." The coat of arms confirmed—not granted—by Sir Gilbert Dethick to John Weld of Eaton has been considered, not without grounds for the opinion, to bear reference to the Saxon outlaw, Edric the Wylde. The shield has a field azure, fesse nebulé and three crescents; the former pointing to his banishment beyond seas, and the latter to Edric's three midnight attacks on the city of Shrewsbury. The crest is a wyvern issuing from a ducal coronet. John Weld married Joan, daughter and heiress of John

[1] This property is not to be confused with the estate of the same name owned by the Grosvenor family—the latter from its commanding the ferry over the Dee being known, anciently, as Eaton boat.

[2] The decree was confirmed by Flower Norroy in 1579.

Fitz-Hugh of Congleton, by whom he had four sons. The eldest, Robert (of Eaton), succeeded to his father, but after two generations the family failed in the male line and became merged in that of Lowndes. John, the second brother, upon whom the Shropshire property of Willey devolved, was an ardent Royalist, and both he and his eldest son joined the standard of Charles I. when he raised it at Nottingham. They were knighted by the King for their services to his cause, the father at Wellington on the 19th of September 1642, the son (of the same name) three days later, at Shrewsbury, 22nd September. Sir John Weld, senior, was High Sheriff of Salop in 1642, and was fined £2555 for his loyalty to the King. Charles II. reinstated him as Town Clerk of London after the Restoration, a post which he held till his death in 1666. His son married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir George Whitmore of Balmes, also a great Royalist. George, their son, was numbered amongst those present at the ill-fated surrender at Worcester in 1651, and became (in 1670) deputy lieutenant of the Tower of London. He left no heirs male, and the Willey branch of the Weld family is represented by the Weld-Foresters.[1]

The Weld family in the male line was carried on by the fourth son, Humphrey. Like his ancestor, he made his way at an early age to London, and, like him, made his fortune there. He married Mary, the daughter of Sir Stephen Slaney, who was Lord Mayor in 1595–96, and was made High Sheriff of London in the last year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. James I. named him to the council of what was known as the Virginia charter—a board whose duty it was to regulate the settlement of the new Colony. Knighted at Whitehall by King James in the third year of his reign, Sir Humphrey Weld became Lord

[1] Lord Forester is the head of this family.

Mayor in 1609. He died in 1610, leaving large property in London and the estate of Ludwick Manor, Hertfordshire, in the Hundred of Broadwick, to his eldest son John, by his second wife,[1] Anne Wheler. Sir John Weld—as he became in 1617, when he was knighted by James I.—married Frances, daughter of William Whitmore. He acquired the property of Arnolds in Middlesex, and was succeeded by his son Humphrey, in 1622. Humphrey, in the early part of his life, seems to have enjoyed the favour of the King, as he was appointed by him Governor of two strong places on the southern coast, Portland and Sandesfoot Castles. In 1641 he bought Lulworth Castle and the large property belonging to it from Lord Howard de Walden, the grandson and heir of Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, and ten years later Weld House in Drury Lane, as a London residence. Humphrey Weld did not remain long in peaceful enjoyment of his Dorsetshire property, as the Castle fell into the hands of the Roundheads in 1643–44, who garrisoned it and committed various depredations upon it, such as carrying off the leaden pipes and much of the wainscoting of the rooms. "By the account of Captain Thomas Hughes the Governor, 3 tons of lead were sold and 2 more delivered for the use of the garrisons at Weymouth, Poole, and for the siege of Corfe Castle."[2]

[1] Anne, who was a Protestant, left directions in her will that she should be buried six feet deeper than her popish relations, a fact which leads one to believe that they conformed only outwardly to the new religion. It seems probable, considering the positions occupied by Sir Humphrey Weld and his son during three reigns when the penal laws were administered in all their severity, that they abandoned the practices of their Church, and if they were secretly Catholics that they were not recognised as such by their contemporaries.

[2] *Lulworth and its Neighbourhood*, by M. F. Heathcote, p. 28. Lulworth Castle is described as follows by Blome in his *Britannia*, 1673. He says, "Lulworth Castell is esteemed the best seat in the whole country as well as for Beauty and Fairness, as a pleasant scituation and prospect into the Sea, having the accommodation of a large Park well provided

In 1638, Humphrey married Clare, daughter of Thomas, Lord Arundell of Wardour. In the latter years of his life he appears to have fallen into disgrace at Court, as he was deprived after the Restoration of his governorships. Whether this was due to his connection by marriage with a family who, though they had given the utmost proof of loyalty to Charles I., were made to bear the full brunt of religious persecution during the reign of his son, or because Weld had thrown off a thin disguise and owned himself what he undoubtedly was, a Catholic, is unknown. He died in 1685, leaving one daughter, who was married to Nicholas, Earl of Carlingford, and bequeathing all his property to his widow for her lifetime.

The Titus Oates plot breaking out soon afterwards, the Weld property suffered in the general wreckage of everything appertaining to the Catholic faith or name. Weld House, which had been let to the Spanish Ambassador, was utterly destroyed—its site was occupied later by Great and Little Wild Streets. An estimate is extant among the family papers of the "Goods plundered and taken away by force by the Rable when they broak open and puld downe Weld House."[1] Amongst the items "which ye Earle of Carelingford not in England (owned) ye value of his goods, not well knowne but supposed to be, worth £500. Sir Josia Chylde's goods stood in ye appartment value £100. Lady Weld's goods value £120," and so forth. Lulworth Castle seems to have had a narrow escape from a similar fate, and been saved by the presence of mind of a neighbour and the fidelity of its guardian, Joseph Tomes. The latter writes: "God has been pleased to raise up a

with Dear." The foundations were laid in 1588, and it was finished in 1609. Inigo Jones is said to have furnished the plans.

[1] *Lulworth and its Neighbourhood*, pp. 15, 16.

friend of allmost an enemy, Mr. Culliford, after haveing on ye 15th instant checked the Rable at Wareham . . . sent next day for Mr. Willis, being informed that he was here, and afterwards for me, and proposed to me the searching the Castle for Armes, which I willingly accepted and desired certificate of it to show in case any disorderly psons should attempt the house, which ye next day was accordingly performed, and the discourse of it which we sent abroad has so far appeased the multitude that I hope wee are out of danger," and much more of the same sort. Two years later an appeal was again made for protection by the agent (William Willis) to Sir John Morton and Mr. Turbevoile, gentlemen, and, doubtless, magistrates of Dorset. On this occasion also the danger was averted; but the petty persecutions, constant fines, and liability to imprisonment on the smallest pretext lasted nearly a hundred years longer. Sir William Weld of Compton Basset succeeded to Lulworth Castle on the death of his uncle's widow. He married the daughter of Sir Richard Shireburn, and at the death of her niece, the Duchess of Norfolk (who was the only child of the last baronet of that name), he inherited the Shireburn estates in Lancashire. He was succeeded by his son Humphrey, who married Margaret the daughter and heiress of Sir John Simeon, and through her the Welds became the representatives on the female side of the very ancient and honourable family of Heveningham, who, according to Fuller, could count twenty-eight knights in unbroken succession. In 1745 an attempt was made to implicate John Weld, grandson of the above, in a Jacobite plot. It was alleged that an anonymous letter addressed to him at Lulworth had been mislaid by him and picked up at Poole, which proved his complicity with the King's enemies. Weld was

summoned to London in order to clear himself, and gives the following succinct account of his journey in his diary.

On 30th September 1745 we find the letter endorsed: "Copy of ye letter found near Pooll."

"*October, 2nd.* Mr. Bond called here; the six coach-horses sent to Mr. fframpton's.

"*Sunday, 6th.* Col. Dury, Capt. Biron, ye two messengers Ward and Tomson and 4 soldiers came about seven at night.

"*7th.* I sett out for London with them.

"*9th.* Arrived in Town at Ward ye Messengers, ye corner of St. Martin's Churchyard.

"*12th.* I was examined at Lord Harrington's, by ye Duke of Newcastle and Lord Harrington.

"*15th.* I was carried down to ye Cockpit and there discharged by ye D. of Newcastle, and went to my sister Betty's."[1]

Thomas Weld, son of the above, succeeded his brother (who died childless in 1775) at the age of twenty-five. His was to some degree an arresting figure. He is represented in a fine portrait at Lulworth as a tall and exceedingly good-looking man holding in his hand, the plan of the chapel built by him in the grounds—the first destined to be used for the services of the Catholic Church since the Reformation.[2] He died at Stonyhurst, the old mansion-house of the Shireburns, which he had made over to the Jesuits on the Feast of St. Ignatius, after making his annual retreat there.

He left a property to each of his six sons. Lulworth to Thomas, his eldest son, who was first married,

[1] *Lulworth and its Neighbourhood*, p. 21.

[2] He was given permission to build this chapel by George III., who, however, stipulated that it should bear as little resemblance as possible to a religious edifice.

then after his wife's death entered Holy Orders, and was raised to the dignity of Cardinal by Gregory XVI. in 1829. To Joseph, the second, he bequeathed Pylewell in Hampshire; Chideock, to Humphrey; Britwell, in Oxfordshire, to James; Hodder, to John (the Jesuit); and Leagram, in Lancashire, to his youngest son, George.

Frederick Aloysius, third son of Humphrey Weld of Chideock, was born on May 9th, 1823.

THE LIFE OF SIR FREDERICK WELD

CHAPTER I

Sir Frederick Weld begins the reminiscences which he wrote for his children partly in 1886 and partly in the last year of his life as follows:

"Chideock, where I was born, belonged to my father, Humphrey Weld. He was a younger son of Thomas Weld of Lulworth Castle and of his wife Mary, daughter of Sir John Massey Stanley of Hooton Hall. My mother was Maria Christina, daughter of Charles Lord Clifford of Chudleigh and of his wife Mary Eleanor, daughter of Henry Lord Arundell, all old Catholic families who had rendered good service to the Church and State in trying times, and had been distinguished for their loyalty as well as for their religion.

"My grandfather Weld had a very large property. He owned land in Lancashire and Hampshire as well as in Dorsetshire. He founded Stonyhurst College, and many convents and missions, and brought over refugees to this country (amongst others Trappist monks and Franciscan nuns) during the French Revolution. He obtained for doing so the personal assent and support of King George III., who showed much favour, and even affection, for him and his family. Holy in his life, patriotic, high-minded and generous to an extreme degree, magnificent when occasion required it—though personally remarkably self-denying—fulfilling all the duties of a great country

gentleman, equally to his king, by raising men for defence during the war, and to his neighbour by his support of field sports and his hospitality, Thomas Weld might have been looked upon as an ideal proprietor, yet not even the personal favour of his Protestant king could place him in his proper position while the penal laws were yet unrepealed. Chideock, an old Arundell property, was bought by my grandfather Weld from my maternal great-grandfather Arundell. It was in a neglected state. Its old castle had been destroyed by Sir Edward Hungerford and his Roundheads after the gallant resistance of old Daniel the steward, whose body lies in Chideock churchyard. All that was left was a priest's house, which included a little chapel, where Chideock now stands. My father built the house, and greatly improved the property. These outlays and the bringing up of a large family kept him comparatively poor, and prevented him from doing more than leading a quiet life in the country—where, however, he did an immensity of good amongst the poor, as magistrate and in other ways. He and my mother were models of every virtue. She sold her finest jewels (which she loved, as they had belonged to her mother) for the poor, in the Irish famine. Her life was a series of good works. Most of my early recollections are connected with Chideock and Ugbrooke and, a little later, with Lulworth. I remember particularly how I used to wish to sleep out at night under a certain old tree at Ugbrooke, and the scorn of the nurses who failed to recognise the early development of my ' bush ' instincts.

" When I was not quite five years old we went to France and my uncle Clifford came to live at Chideock. Our route would probably have been from Chideock to Lulworth by Dorchester, whence we sailed in my uncle Joseph Weld's yacht, the *Arrow*, to Portsmouth. We went across from Portsmouth to Havre de Grace in a steamer. I can remember the nurses were rather frightened of them, and the Chideock fishermen used to say that they would frighten all the fish out of the Channel.

" From Havre we went up the Seine to Rouen. I remember the chestnut tree avenue there, the

glorious old cathedral, and the smell of the tanneries. From thence we went to Versailles and lived in a house in the Place d'Armes. Here I was in my glory, as there were reviews, parades, and drilling going on under my eyes all day long. Nearly every day we went to walk in the Palace Gardens, which were open in the absence of the King and court. I remember well the fountains and statues and the smell of the violets in the *bosquets*. I have been told since that I always saluted the sentries, and that some of them—much amused no doubt—when no one was looking would salute in return. My military ardour ran so high that when my brother Edmund was born I got all ready to drill him. At last, when after two hours anxious suspense I was allowed to go and see him, I was shocked at his diminutive size and asked to see his feet; on beholding them I said, 'With such little feet he could never be drilled,' and wept and would not be comforted."

As a youth Frederick Weld was exceedingly delicate, and whilst at Versailles his life was despaired of by the doctors from an attack of ague following after typhoid fever. That he recovered he ever believed was due to his mother's prayers.

The memoir goes on to say:

"We remained that winter at Versailles, and then went to Paris and stayed a few days in the Rue St. Honoré, opposite the Tuileries gardens, where I saw Charles x. That was the spring of 1828. Two years later he was driven into exile, and was received by my father and mother at Poole, and lunched at Upton on his way to Lulworth, where he stayed, with the Duchess d'Angoulême and the rest of the royal family, for some weeks till the English Government offered him a refuge at Holyrood. After a short stay in Paris we took a small house at Honfleur and there spent several happy months. I was gradually re covering my strength, and I used to enjoy working in the garden, digging out ponds and trying to make them hold water. Charles, my eldest brother, came

to us there from Stonyhurst where he was at school; and so did my second brother, William, from St. Acheul, a school near Amiens, and my eldest sister, Eleanor, from the Sacré Cœur Convent at Paris—then the fashionable place of education for the daughters of families of the *ancien régime*, many of whom had been for generations friends of our families. Apollonia and Chrissie were there too, Edmund was the baby. Amy and Lucy were born after our return to England. I was still a poor weakly thing, and even after leaving France, when we got back to Lulworth, I remember when my mother left me, as she sometimes did, I used to fear lest I should suddenly die during her absence. At Pylewell and at Lulworth I used to play at regattas with my cousin Mary, and I saw (and drew a picture of) the Champion Cup being won by my uncle's yacht *Alarm*, which beat the Duke of Norfolk's *Arundell*, Lord Belfast's *Louisa*, and Lord Durham's *Albatross*."

Catholic Emancipation became law whilst he was staying with his parents at Ugbrooke: "when we" (this is his comment upon it) "who had been born legal helots in that England which had been made by Catholics, and whose Constitution was built up and is still maintained on Catholic principles, by means of Catholic traditions, became once more free. My grandfather left Ugbrooke to take his seat in the House of Lords, and a great reception was given to him on his return."

The recollections which follow show that he was gradually outgrowing the delicacy of his early youth, by the evidence it gives of the keenness with which he threw himself into every boyish game and sport—an ardour to succeed in everything which he undertook, which followed him through life, and was one of his strongest characteristics. Fishing was his passion, both in the brook which ran close to his home and in the sea, where, he notes, "under the care of a steady old fisherman from the village I was sometimes

allowed to go out boating and fishing." The same keenness attended him in his other pursuits, playing at soldiering was one of these, also reading and drawing.

At last the moment came for him to go to school. He felt it deeply, he tells us :

> " I can still remember as if it were yesterday looking back through the gateway and gaps in the hedges to get a last glimpse of Chideock. We must have been at least a week getting to Stonyhurst, where my school-life was spent. I knew a good deal of English history and was charmed beyond measure at recognising the battlefields—Tewkesbury, for instance—and various abbeys and castles which I had read about ; and almost equally so with the rich beauty of the scenery. I remember making a drawing of the Tor at Glastonbury, and of the Wellington Monument at Wellington, to send home in my letter."

He went first to Hodder, which is the preparatory school for Stonyhurst, and only removed from it by a distance of a mile, and followed on, with the rest of his class in his second year, to Stonyhurst. He was not a hard worker, he tells us, except where his special tastes were concerned. These were history, languages, and geography. He had also a turn for versification, and generally carried off the prize for poetry.

> " For my age," he writes, " I was well up in English literature. I had a good general knowledge of our poets, and nothing delighted me more than to discuss my favourite passages with my friends. My political ideas have always remained much the same. I have deeply loved true liberty, based on Catholic principle, and combined with reverence for authority. I have always been able to enter into the views and feelings of an antagonist with respect, when such was merited by honesty. I have always recognised that simple and absolute truth was divine and not attainable in the human sphere—attainable in religion therefore

with a divine guide, but not in politics ; that there is a spiritual and temporal sphere, each with their special mission ; that each should support the other as far as circumstances render it possible ; that neither should invade the province of the other, but that the moral should nevertheless rule the political, and that the exposition of the moral law—though not the direction of matters in purely temporal exigencies—must rest with divinely constituted spiritual authority. My views in this respect have never altered, and after I left Stonyhurst they were much developed by Fr. Freudenfeldt, the Professor of Philosophy at Friburg. Moreover, I was always an ardent admirer of the English character when seen *at its best*, and I believe I have understood it as well as appreciated it. To this much of my success in life is due. God made me an Englishman heart and soul ; thus only could I approach the ideal which was ever before me, and thus only deal with my fellow-countrymen."

Fred Weld made many friends while he was at Stonyhurst, some of whom were lifelong ones. Such, for instance, was his friendship with Simon Scrope, and he was also on terms of close intimacy with A. Macdonell, Count Charles de Croisy, and Henry and William Clifford, and Alfred Weld—the three last being his first cousins.

His recollections go on to tell of keen competitions for a first prize in poetry and composition (in these he generally came out victorious), and his love for games, especially football. But such reminiscences may be looked upon as of greater interest to his own family than to the general public. His vacations were spent either at home or at Lulworth or Ugbrooke, in the enjoyment of the sports he loved, such as fishing, shooting, and even—on rare occasions—hunting, when he was lucky enough to get a mount. On one occasion, his parents having gone abroad, he spent the winter vacation with his relations the Arundells of Wardour. He was then seventeen and a half years

of age, and a conversation he had with Lord Arundell one night in the smoking-room for the first time set him thinking that the pleasant holiday life he was leading could not go on for ever.

"One day we were sitting together after dinner, whilst he smoked his nightly cigar, and he said to me, 'Fred, you are growing up ; what do you intend to be ?'

"I answered that I had not made up my mind, but that I should like to be a soldier. He replied, 'That is an expensive profession nowadays. But listen to me : none of your family have taken to professions, and the penal laws while they existed debarred Catholics from many. But all that is altered now. Remember this : If you vegetate on a small allowance you will go to London for the season and get through your money in no time ; then your relations will take pity on you and say, 'Poor fellow, we must ask him here for some shooting ; and we shall feel we are conferring a benefit on *you*.' But if you take to a profession and work hard at it, it will be the other way. We shall say, 'He is a busy man, I wonder if he could spare time to run down and have a day's shooting ? and then you will be doing *us* a favour.'

"These words from my shrewd old cousin made a great impression on me, and years afterwards I recalled this conversation to him, and pleased him much by telling him the effect it had had on me."

The following year Fred's father took him away from Stonyhurst, and sent him to complete his studies at the University of Friburg in Switzerland. He tells us he was very sorry to leave the "dear old place," to which, in nine years, he had got deeply attached. The reason which influenced his father in making this change was, in the first place, because he would have better opportunities of following up the higher studies at Friburg—under distinguished pro-

fessors—than existed in those days at Stonyhurst; secondly, because at Friburg he would be given the advantage of cultivating foreign languages, for which he had already shown a marked aptitude. He could at this time speak and read French with facility, had mastered Italian sufficiently to read Dante in the original, and he also knew a little Spanish. Later on he added German to the list of languages with which he was familiar. Fred found some of his Stonyhurst companions at Friburg, amongst others Henry Clifford, who had preceded him there by a few weeks, Philip Vavasour, and Alfred Weld. He says:

"We formed a small English colony in the midst of eight hundred students of all nationalities. I was in philosophy, and worked at metaphysics, logic, ontology and physiology under Fr. Rothenflue, and at the philosophy of history under Fr. Freudenfeldt. The latter became my great friend, and I received lasting benefit from my studies under him. I also attended a course of modern law, and one of chemistry and natural philosophy. I did not like Friburg nearly so well as Stonyhurst. The exceedingly strict continental method of supervision was very irksome to Englishmen, and I am afraid that insular pride and pugnacity led some of us to assume airs of superiority, and to resent affronts that were not always intentional. Matters culminated when, avowedly in defiance of the Frenchmen, we gave a Waterloo banquet in a summer-house in the playground, to which we invited our friends, a few Belgians, Poles, and Hungarians. We formed a small but enthusiastic party, and the French assembled in front and hooted us. Whereupon we charged with nearly as much effect as the Guards did on the day we were celebrating, and *sauve qui peut* in the enemy's ranks was the order of the day. The next morning we were sent for into the august presence of the Father Rector, himself a Frenchman. With great firmness and kindness he pointed out the impropriety of our conduct and the subversion of law and order which must result from such outbreaks. He ended by

putting us on our honour never to repeat these provocations, and sent us away completely subdued and determined to show that an Englishman put on his honour can be trusted anywhere. After that we had no more rows. With Fr. Freudenfeldt, who had been specially recommended to us by the Rector as guardian and mentor, I formed perhaps the greatest friendship of my life, and I may almost say I still think of him daily, and never without love and gratitude. He was the wisest man and the best adviser and held the widest views, as well as the most just ones, of any man I have ever known. Also, he had the keenest insight into character.

"His life had been a remarkable one. At an early age he had been attached as tutor or governor to the person of the two royal princes of Prussia, of whom the elder of the two became King Frederick II. He was for a time lecturer on the literature of Southern Europe at the University of Göttingen. Then when Germany was crushed under the foot of the first Napoleon after the battle of Jena, Freudenfeldt was one of the patriotic poets who by their war-songs roused the spirit of the German people. And when the hour arrived to strike a blow for liberty he helped to raise and joined a 'students corps.' He was A.D.C. to General Liethen commanding the 1st Prussian Division in 1815, and on the day of Ligny (called by the Germans *Fleurus*) he was temporarily attached to Blücher's staff. He was present in his capacity of A.D.C. at Waterloo, and was one of the first to enter Paris when it was taken possession of by the allied troops. After peace was declared Freudenfeldt, in spite of great inducements being offered to him to remain in the army, returned to his literary pursuits. He accepted the chair of Professor of the Philosophy of History at Bonn University, stipulating that he should be free to express his opinion on religious subjects in the University, which was half Catholic and half Protestant. The result was such as might have been expected, and as he himself partly anticipated. When it came to such burning questions as the Reformation, and the causes that led to it, and the consequences that followed from it, though supported by his own pupils, his opinions led to dis-

turbances which, in the absence of support from the University authorities, led to his resignation. He had other trials of a domestic nature of a deeply trying kind, and finally he sought consolation in religion and joined the Jesuit novitiate.

"I left Friburg at Easter 1843. I had talked much with Fr. Freudenfeldt about my future. My own wish was to go into the army, but he dissuaded me from it as he thought that with no prospect of war the life was an idle one. I was sorry to leave Friburg and to part with many friends whom I could hardly hope ever to see again; nevertheless I was delighted to return to England. I travelled by diligence to Basle, thence by rail, newly opened, to Strasburg and down the Rhine by Liege to Brussels, where I found many friends and relations. I enjoyed myself very much there and visited Ghent, Bruges and Mechlin, also Louvain, where my uncle George Weld and his family were living at that time. I visited, of course, Waterloo, and read and learned every possible particular regarding it, besides thoroughly studying the plan of the battle. I went over the field with Sergeant Cotton, and asked him what were his impressions of the battle. He had been a light-cavalry man. He said that in the morning the English were struck by the immense extent of the French front as it deployed into line, and at the number of their batteries. Also that they knew that they could not count on most of the continental contingents that made up a considerable part of our army. Nor did they know what support they would get from Blücher; but they had immense faith in their leader, the great Duke, and the old soldiers who had been in the Peninsular War inspired the young recruits who filled our ranks with implicit confidence that somehow or other they would be able to beat the French. Such were the impressions of one of the rank and file in the great battle that decided the fate of Europe for more than half a century."

Fred Weld's return home after two and a half years' absence was a joyful one. He found the

family party nearly complete, the only exceptions being that of his eldest sister, who had gone to be a nun at the Visitation Convent of Westbury, and of his eldest brother, Charles, who had settled down to an artist's life in Rome.

" To me (he says) home life, varied with visits to my friends, for instance to Simon Scrope, or Henry Clifford, and to my relations, fishing and shooting and going to Cowes regatta with my father, appeared at that time a dream of perfect happiness. But I knew it could not last. Lord Arundell's advice was ever before my mind, and I felt I could not bear to be a burden to my father, or a hanger-on on my relations. It was proposed that I should be an engineer and go to the United States, but civil engineering was not in my line, and I objected to going outside the shadow of the British flag. For the same reason—also because my father was opposed to it—I did not accept a nomination in the Austrian Army which was offered to me through my brother Charles, by the Austrian Ambassador in Rome. I had thought of the Bar, but I doubted whether I had the special talents necessary for success. My natural tendency was towards the Army, but in those days the Army was a very expensive profession, and men for the most part entered it as a means of leading a pleasant life and rising by purchase to high positions rather than for any other reason. People seemed to think there would be no more wars—so long had peace lasted. One profession remained which had always had an attraction for me, and that was colonisation in a new country.

" My cousin Henry Clifford and I had often wished that our lot in life should be the same, and we had always put a life of adventure in a new country as an alternative to the Army. He entered the Rifle Brigade and I went to New Zealand : such was the outcome of our dreams. To leave my family and all I loved in England for years (for it could be no less) cost me the deepest pangs ; but the more I thought about it the more I inclined that way. I saw in that course a probable means of at

once becoming self-supporting, and at all events of being a burden on no one. Then the excitement that must attend on pioneering in a wild country, of adventures with savages, 'hairbreadth escapes by land and flood,' all told on my imagination, and I thought, and still think, that what Bacon calls 'the heroic work of colonisation' is one worthy of the keenest minds and the stoutest hearts. To help to tame the wilderness, and build up a young nation, to bring knowledge of the truth to savages, and extend the rule of the British Empire are no unworthy objects; and if any one should doubt what colonists—many of whom were animated by similar aspirations—have done, let him look at a map of the world of the sixteenth century and contrast it with one of the nineteenth, and notice the great nations that have arisen in that interval; and how religion, commerce, the arts, and civilisation have followed in the footsteps of the colonist. If my early—or perhaps it would be better to say my lifelong—aspirations were dreams, it may at least be admitted that they bore fruit and were not idle ones. 'They call us enthusiasts,' said John Godley, himself a great colonist, at a farewell dinner given in his honour at Wellington, New Zealand, 'but I should like to know when anything was ever achieved without enthusiasm.'"

The reasons which turned Fred Weld's thoughts towards New Zealand were as follows: It was a country with a future before it, and three young men, Henry Petre, Charles Clifford, and William Vavasour, of whom two were relations, had preceded him there the year before. Also a friend, Frederick Jerningham, a member of a family well known to the Welds and connected with them, was at that moment occupied at Weymouth in getting recruits in the shape of labouring men to take out with him to that country. Fred therefore, at his father's suggestion, went to Weymouth and got all the information he could collect from the intending colonist

and talked over the situation with him. On his return journey he says :

" I took a dog-cart to Abbotsbury, to see the swannery there and the ruined chapel of St. Catherine-on-the-Hill, and walked back thence by the cliffs to Bridport, and so on to Chideock. That walk was the turning-point in my life. It is long years ago, but I still seem to see the wide blue expanse of the western bay glittering in the sunlight, and sweeping round the Bill of Portland—the farther hills on the Devonshire side lost in a soft blue haze. I still see the smooth rounded Dorsetshire downs which I trod, and can almost fancy I can smell the fragrance of the wild thyme and the gorse. I won't say all that passed in my mind ; sufficient that when I reached the end I had made up my mind. 'Jacta est alea.' No looking back ! Courage and forward. I thought also of the motto of the grand old knightly race of Heveningham, of whom the Welds are the representatives, 'Dieu et ma dextre,' and I adopted it henceforth as my own. I arrived at Chideock just before dinner, but nothing was said until it was over. After my mother and sisters had left the room my father asked me what I thought about the colonisation scheme, and I told him my decision, and he gave me his and my mother's consent to it."

The decision reached, much remained to be done before Fred started on his voyage. Farewells to various members of his family had to be made, valedictory visits to Lulworth, Ugbrooke, and Pylewell. Also provisions to be laid up for the long journey. Finally, Fred started with a modest sum of golden sovereigns in a bag, and a land order from the New Zealand Company of one hundred acres, and another for a town-lot in the (future) city of Wellington.

CHAPTER II

"The true nature of a man includes all he has in him to become."—ARISTOTLE.

FRED WELD felt much the parting with his family, to all of whom he was bound by the most affectionate ties, but to one of his buoyant spirits a long-continued depression was an impossibility. Accordingly we find him before long throwing himself with his accustomed keenness into his new life. The ship in which his passage was taken and that of his new friend, Frederick Jerningham, and the emigrants he had collected, was called the *Theresa*, a small sailing-vessel of 750 tons. As the date of their embarkation was 27th November, it is not surprising to hear that the Bay kept up its traditional reputation and was passed under reefed top-sails.

"I enjoyed myself," he writes, "as I have ever done at sea, especially in a sailing-vessel. When we had made a little southing and began to stretch away to the Azores, the other passengers began to come on deck, and their appetites began to rival mine, which was no gain on 'fresh meat' days. We had fresh pork and fresh mutton twice weekly, on the other days excellent ship's pea-soup and salt meat. So we did not exactly starve. Also Jerningham and I had laid in a stock of Dutch cheese and tinned meat; so to be asked by us to supper on these delicacies was looked upon by our fellow-passengers as a great privilege. Our drinking water had been taken from the Thames, and could have been smelt a mile off, but we were told it was quite wholesome, and that its merits consisted in this: that it would

ferment, and so work off its impurities and then keep for ever. This at least was the nautical view, and I believe there was something in it, as after a certain stage of nauseousness the water did get better, and remained so, though it certainly would not be considered drinkable nowadays."

After comparing the fare of the somewhat "ill-found barque" *Theresa* to the modern luxury of the ocean liners, he continues :

"Still, good salt pork and good pea-soup are not to be despised when one is young and healthy, and with such an appetite as mine was—an heroic appetite, one such as an Homeric feast would alone have satisfied. The fare on the *Theresa*, especially after all the sheep and pigs had been killed, was not only not luxurious, but not even over plentiful, and I remember on one or two occasions when we had fried porpoise liver it was looked upon as a welcome addition to our bill of fare.

"Our first adventure was being chased by a pirate brig showing Danish colours, off the Azores. She hoisted her colours, tacked, and stood after us close-hauled to get to windward. She came within range, but probably took us for a troop-ship from the numbers on board, and because as she neared us we began shooting with rifles. Jerningham and I guessed what she was from her manœuvres, her look, and the evident anxiety of our captain. We said nothing, but proposed getting out all the rifles and guns, and commenced practising at bottles.

"She fell astern again in a light and baffling wind, which favoured us, in the night, and at daybreak she bore up and went off in an opposite direction. A week or two after that date she chased and nearly captured another English vessel. We heard full particulars of her and of her captain and crew and armaments later on. She carried four long guns, and might well have captured us, especially as she slightly outsailed us on a wind. I mention this as she was, I think, one of the last regular pirates on the Atlantic. It was said that, by connivance of certain Portuguese authorities, she sometimes passed

muster as a trader, and made her headquarters and got her supplies at Porto Praya, where she spent money and was well known."

This incident was followed shortly afterwards on Christmas night by the passengers on board the *Theresa* being woke by shrieks of fire. The usual panic under such circumstances took place. It was supposed to have broken out in the hold, so the hatches were battened down. The women in the steerage hearing the tumult rushed on deck in their nightgowns. The fire-bell rang for the crew to turn up, but most of them had been keeping Christmas only too well and were too drunk to leave their bunks. When an effort was made by those who had kept their heads—amongst whom were young Jerningham and Fred Weld—to discover the extent of the fire, it was found that the whole thing was a practical joke on the part of some of the second-class passengers.

"The next day," Fred remarks, "we held an indignation meeting, but the captain being himself to blame, shielded the guilty ones, so that nothing came of it. A few days later, soon after sighting Tristan da Cunha Isles, we had another adventure of a very different kind. I happened to be on deck, and saw a white squall coming up. I warned the mate, who, however, only laughed at me. In a moment it struck us and we lost our main-top mast, and all our lighter sails and hamper, and split our fore top-sail into ribbons. The squall came up with a cloud of spray, driving the sea-birds before it. It struck us utterly unprepared, and reduced us to a wreck before we could look round. The sailors behaved admirably. I ran down to my cabin, and got my book and sketched our main-mast. I have got the sketch still. We heeled over but righted as our sails were blown out of the bolt ropes. We were then off the Cape of Good Hope, and I hoped we should have put in there for repairs, but instead of that we were

all made to set to work to repair the damage, and having done so we pursued our voyage. At length, one morning just before daylight, on the 17th March I was awoke by the cry of 'Land.' Day dawned on a dull heaving sea. All we saw at first was a low line of coast; then the sun rose behind the tall cone of Mount Egmont, which I then thought and still think one of the most beautiful mountains in the world, and we saw its glorious outline standing out against the morning sky. Such was my first view of New Zealand.

"The next morning we anchored off New Plymouth in an open roadstead, and went ashore, through the breakers in a surf-boat provided by the New Zealand Company. A tiny settlement had been founded there not long before, consisting almost entirely of West Country folk. Several Dorsetshire and Devonshire men when they heard I was on board—knowing my name—came to see me, and were most friendly and obliging, asking me to their cottages, and offering me presents of various kinds. We slept that night on land in an empty shed, rolled up in our blankets. I was up early and set off to explore the nearest 'bush,' with my gun, and after the manner of newcomers I remember admiring immensely the long creepers and other signs of semi-tropical vegetation; but I do not think I shot anything worth mentioning. The next morning Jerningham and I started on foot on a twelve-mile walk to the Waitara, a river afterwards well known in New Zealand history. We were hospitably received at 'Taranaki' Cook's farm on the way, and slept that night in a grove of Karaka, or New Zealand laurel, on a bank overlooking the river, and were regaled by the two 'Pakeha Maories' (as Europeans who had adopted semi-native habits were called) on cockles and wild pig. Next day I went out to sketch and bathe at the mouth of the river, and there my adventures very nearly came to a sudden end. I was alone, and I walked along a curved spit of land formed at the mouth of the river along which the tide was running out strongly. Unfortunately I slipped and fell from shallow into deep water, and found myself being carried out to sea. I was no

swimmer—Henry Clifford had done his utmost to teach me at Friburg, but had failed. But now, seeing certain death before me, I suddenly remembered the instructions I had received, to strike out slowly, etc., and before long I found myself surmounting the first and second line of breakers, and at last felt my feet again on land. I remembered then that my father's life had been saved from drowning in almost precisely the same way.

"We returned next day to New Plymouth. A gale of wind was blowing and the *Theresa* was drifting inshore, and was nearly on the rocks. A crew of shore whalers went off in a heavy surf and got sail on her—a slant of wind favouring her—and brought her up again in the offing. We got put on board, but the wind changed again. The sailors, who had quarrelled with the captain, refused to work, and the result was that we hung on till we lost an anchor, and again drifted almost on to the rocks. Next day we got under way with a change of wind, and by dint of helping to work the vessel ourselves, we stood across the straits to the settlement of Nelson—then in its infancy—where we anchored; and here most of our crew were sent to prison or to such a substitute for it as the place afforded. Nelson was still in a state of great uproar and excitement over the affair of the Wairau which had just taken place. In that ill-advised and ill-carried out attempt to arrest the powerful chiefs Rauparaha and Ranghiaiata for their interference with the survey of the Wairau Valley, Captain Wakefield, R.N., the New Zealand Company's agent, Mr. Thompson the resident Magistrate, and many other of the finest colonists and truest friends of the native race lost their lives. That was bad enough, but it was not all: British prestige suffered a severe blow on that occasion from which it took years to recover. Before this happened, in the days of the earliest pioneers and the old whalers and seal-fishers, the English were looked upon as invincible; the natives now discovered their mistake. In short, I had arrived in New Zealand at a time of deep discouragement. The Governor, Captain Fitzroy, R.N., though a worthy man and doubtless well-intentioned, was quite unequal to the situation. There was a

standing feud between the Government and the New Zealand Company. The settlers could not get possession of the land which they had bought and paid for, and the universal discouragement was such that public meetings had been held at Wellington, where the New Zealand Company had established its headquarters, to debate the question whether it would not be better to abandon the country and move *en masse* to South America."

Though a newcomer, and with only such knowledge of the situation as he could pick up from the friends he had made, as he went from one tiny settlement to another, Fred Weld never lost heart, or doubted the ultimate success of the undertaking into which he had launched his fortune.

"I liked the country," he continued, "from the beginning, and believed it had a great future before it. But of those who first came out, the great majority came to grief in one way or another, some morally, some physically, the greatest number financially. Of the thirty-five cabin passengers who sailed with me in the *Theresa* not above two or three were successful. It was a case of the survival of the fittest."

After a delightful week at Nelson, where Mr. Jerningham and Fred were hospitably entertained by a cousin of the former, Mr. Dillon, and a Mr. Francis Dillon-Bell (afterwards Sir F. Dillon-Bell, K.C.M.G.), who was the New Zealand agent there, they took ship again, sailed through Cook's Straits and anchored in Wellington Harbour at nightfall—a thin line of lights scattered along the beach showing the houses of the settlement. Fred landed on St. George's Day, 23rd April.

His cousin, Charles Clifford, came out in a boat to meet him, and he soon after forgathered with two other relations, Vavasour and Petre, and these and

Colonel Wakefield accorded him (he tells us) a true colonial welcome in the hearty spirit of the early days of New Zealand.

" Of the land," he continues, " which I had bought, I found that my town acre at ' Windy Point ' was being sold by the cart-load for mortar by an enterprising blacksmith. On being asked by what authority he did this he answered, ' By none at all. People offered to pay him for the sand, so he saw no objection to selling it.' My other purchase of a hundred acres had been seized with the rest of the district to which it belonged by the natives, and it was not for some years that I gained possession of it. I then let and afterwards sold it, for I never had any taste for pottering about little bush cultivations, an occupation which is more suitable to labourers with large families.

" I had not been long in the country before I made up my mind that sheep-farms alone were likely to prove remunerative in New Zealand, and to give it that impetus which it required to save it from disaster. Great difficulties there were, no doubt, but, as I believed, not insurmountable ones, and these got over I felt convinced that a fair prospect of future success awaited colonists who were prepared to face hardship and exposure. These difficulties were, as I have said, great ; no pasture-land was in the hands of the Government, which, moreover, steadily discouraged all enterprise in that direction from fear of opposition from the natives. Also it was the opinion of many that the country was not adapted to sheep-farming ; and very little was known, and great doubts expressed, about the existence of good pasture-land. Then the difficulties of transport and communication had to be faced—the absence of roads in a very wild country, abounding in dense forests, steep hills, rivers, and morasses. Also such a life would necessitate great sacrifices on the part of any one who adopted it. He would have to live almost alone with a few shepherds and servants, in the midst of turbulent and warlike tribes, whose confidence could only be gained by uniform tact and firmness—for only by

such means could he maintain an ascendancy over them which would ensure the peace of the district. The first step would necessarily be the assent of the natives to the occupation of certain defined areas in consideration of a fixed annual payment ; but the Government at this time refused to recognise any such agreements. And yet experience was to show that such agreements were not only the foundation of the prosperity which came later on—giving the country its largest and principal article of export—but also contributed to the civilisation of the natives, and the establishment of the good relations which afterwards came to exist between them and the settlers.

" I was not long in starting my new life. Clifford, Vavasour and Petre had entered into negotiations with some chiefs in the interior, and were about to start a pioneer sheep station in the newly discovered Wairarapa Valley. They had bought a few hundred sheep from New South Wales, and I at once offered my services to help to get the flock to its destination, and be of all the use I could in carrying out this new enterprise.

" It was on the 1st of May, nine days after landing, that I began my experience of bush life. I started on that bright May morning full of joy and hope, and in the best of health and spirits. Wellington Bay was a glorious sight in those days. Thick forests clothed the hills, now bare, in some places down to the very water's edge, and the snow on the summit of the Tarirua Hills made a perfect setting for the trees and the glittering foliage of the laurels and other evergreens in the foreground. Petre had put me up the night before we started at his house, so he and I set forth together, each with his roll of sleeping blanket, and a few indispensable articles wrapt up in it, on his back. We were joined at the other side of the bay by Vavasour, and here we found the flock of sheep in charge of a shepherd and boy, and some men who had been hired to carry flour, salt pork, cooking utensils, guns, axes, and such things. The hills were uncommonly rough and steep, the sheep weak after their journey, and the men's loads heavy, so we only reached the lagoon beyond

Pencarrow Head the first night, and there under the side of the hill I passed my first night of camping-out.

"It was cold and windy, but I woke well-refreshed and with a great appetite, as usual, for salt pork and 'damper,' the latter on this occasion, owing to adverse circumstances, containing an undue proportion of sea-sand and ashes. But these were minor drawbacks, and I soon learnt what it was to do without pork or damper, and to depend on dried eels and wild colewort, or the product of the chase, for provender.

"We were many days reaching Wairarapa Valley, which was our destination, and lost some sheep on the way on the rocks, and in getting them round the headlands which were washed by the sea, there being no road inland. We encamped there in a grassy gully, and here we met another flock of sheep, belonging to my future neighbour, Mr. Bidwell, in charge of a Mr. Swainson. They were travelling in the same direction as we were, and, like us, were waiting till an arrangement could be made with the Maories to ferry the sheep across the outlet of the lake into the new district. I slept that night under the shelter of a blanket tied to some sticks fastened together with bands of flax-leaves. On either side of me, tied to the supports, were two bulldogs, which we had brought with us for the purpose of hunting wild pigs. At first I slept soundly, in spite of the chilly wind which swept down the gully, but presently I was awakened by a sudden gust of wind accompanied by a storm of rain which upset my shelter, tore off and whirled away my blanket, and wet me to the skin. Each dog thinking the other had attacked him and was the cause of all the pother flew at the other's throat, and in an instant we were all rolling on the ground together. That was the night of my coming of age birthday, 9th of May,[1] for which reason I remember it well.

At last the Maories, who are the keenest hands in the world at a bargain, especially in a case like this when they knew we were entirely dependent on their services, came to terms. This was a bargain of much importance, as it was bound to fix the price of

[1] 1844.

such dealings in the future, and so seriously affect our access to our market. Some days, therefore, were taken over it, and at the end we had to give about twice as much as would have been asked by any English ferryman. The sheep with the shepherd and boy and all that remained of the provisions were sent on to our new station, Warèkaka. Petre then returned home, and Vavasour and I remained with the Maories in order to see about getting up food and stores which had been dispatched in a whale boat to Tekopi—a native village and whaling station at no great distance, which was the nearest practicable landing-place.

"A week or more passed and no provisions appeared. We lived on potatoes without any salt, and on a few ducks which I had the luck to shoot, for here we found a scarcity of game. Then, knowing that there could be little or nothing left of the provisions which had gone up to Warèkaka with the flock and shepherd (the sheep themselves of course were as thin as scarecrows after their voyage, and were lambing and quite uneatable) and that they had not even natives in that district to supply them with potatoes, we settled that Vavasour should stay and watch for the boat whilst I went to Warèkaka in order to keep the men with the proceeds of my gun. There was a faint native track up the valley, also marks of the passage of the flock to go by, so I arrived all right, carrying a load of ducks and pigeons which I had shot in the swamps on my way—a welcome addition to a nearly exhausted commissariat. I found a bark hut on the ground constructed by the natives on what they considered the most correct and latest European principles. It had two large holes for doors, and two others on each side which were intended for windows; but as both doors and windows were wanting, the rain and wind drifted right through the house. Moreover, the roof leaked like a sieve, and the hut itself was built, for no conceivable reason, on a low bit of land which was often flooded by the river—as we soon found out to our cost. Of course it ought to have been pulled down and built up at once elsewhere, but the people we had got with us were a useless

lot, and I was a young bushman and had everything to learn. Also the pressing necessity was to keep the house supplied with food. Besides this, I did not own the house. Vavasour had paid what in those days was considered a large sum—£25—to the natives for building it. True, its value was represented by the bark and the reeds, but it was a 'warè nui,' a great house, and there was nothing to equal it in size (30 feet by 12) within sixty miles on one side, and the breadth of the island on the other. At first we slept on beds of fern round the fire, but later on (in the rainy season) we built up an island of stones in the middle for a fireplace, and moored our canoe alongside it. One advantage was that I could shoot duck and waders out of the door, and paddle the canoe in and out of the window without any difficulty. All these experiences did not come at once, and we had many very pleasant ones before we changed it for a better situation.

"Our greatest trial while we lived there was mosquitoes. No pen can describe, or mind conceive, the horrors of them. They put out the wick in a tin of fat which constituted our only apology for a lamp; they got into our mouths while we were eating; they filled the air with their hateful humming. I have since been in many countries renowned for mosquitoes in various parts of the world, but never have I known anything approaching, even remotely, the horror of the mosquito season in the Warèkaka Valley in those days. I am, however, anticipating. At this time we were suffering, not from floods and mosquitoes, but from hunger. Many years afterwards, Bidwell, who was now encamped near us, and with whom we shared our provisions and ammunition, used to recall with me the 'happy days of starvation' in the Wairarapa Valley. Salt pork, flour, tea, rice, and sugar were things of the past, ducks and pigeons in the vicinity were getting thinned down and shy, and our stock of ammunition even was running low. I had sent away some of the men to get some more food, but my doves were a long time returning to the ark, and meanwhile things were beginning to look serious. The party consisted of a shepherd lad who lived, I suppose, on

his fat, as starvation seemed to leave no trace on him, and who spent his time looking after the sheep —in other words, sleeping; M. E., a young man whose principal characteristic was laziness, but who undertook to cook whatever I shot. I was game-keeper, commander-in-chief, and general purveyor. With the first glimmer of dawn I used to get up, and, gun in hand, with my powder and shot in a pouch tied round my neck, accompanied by my bull-mastiff (who made a splendid retriever), plunged into the swamps—very often up to my neck—and disturbed the wild duck at their early breakfast in order to provide for ours. Midday was generally spent in the woods; I was unfortunate in never coming across wild pigs, but I did not then know their haunts, and as a morning lost meant a dinner lost I could not spare time for exploration.

"About a fortnight of this sort of life passed, and still there was no sign of the relieving party and my stock of powder and shot began to get very low. I did not dare to risk a difficult shot, and the birds were becoming scarce and shy. One evening I made the following proposal to E.—that I would divide that day's spoil of the chase with him and the boy (three pigeons only), taking half one with me as provision for the day; that I would start at the earliest dawn which would give me time to explore some woods several miles from the hut, where I had previously seen game, and should not return till nightfall. This, with any luck, should give us a full larder for a day in advance. I made only one stipulation, namely, that, having divided one pigeon between them, the other one and a half should be put into the pot with a handful of rice, which was all that was left of the provision we took up with us, and some wild cabbage, to stew, so that on my return there would be something for us all to eat. E. did not much like the prospect of a day on such remarkably short commons; however, with the prospect of an enticing supper, and of a replenished larder, he agreed. Moreover, he had a pipe and tobacco, and nothing to do but to lie on a bed of fern all day and watch the pot and long for the evening—being bound, of course, by solemn vows not to touch the stew, but leave it

for fair division when I returned from my *chasse*, and the fat boy from his daily sleep among the sheep.

" The next day I started off at an early hour. Owing to scarcity of ammunition I only dared to risk a shot when I was certain of bringing down my bird, so it was late in the day before I had made a bag of eight pigeons, and turned my head homewards. I then got a teal, and soon after, to my great joy, caught sight of a number of wild duck feeding close together in an open pool in the middle of a flax swamp. I cautiously waded towards them, concealed by the tall flag-like leaves of the flax, and just as I was beginning to fear that I was getting out of my depth I found myself within easy distance of them. Hunger knows no compunction, and I was desperately hungry—so I gave them both barrels as fast as I could pull, one on the water, and one just as they rose. Four never moved again, one, a wounded one, was retrieved by my dog, and another escaped among the reeds, but I bagged five and got home at dusk, triumphant with over a dozen head of game in my pockets or hanging over my shoulder. My first inquiry was after the stew ; E.'s answer was satisfactory. He had sampled it at noon : ' Just a spoonful to see it was all right, and it *was* good.' ' Off the fire with it then,' was my answer, ' and we will divide it between us.' Oh ! the vanity of human wishes ! Oh, cruel fates ! My pen declines, *infandum renovare dolorem*. No water had been added since noon, and all that was left of that dish for the gods was a little gluey substance of the colour of tar which stuck to the bottom of the pot. I will draw a veil over what followed, and the remarks I made to E. When the fat boy had recovered from the dangerous effects of his disappointment he was made to scrape out the pot, and E. was turned out in the cold to pluck and prepare some of the birds. We did not get supper till a late hour, and E. got his last—which was a comfort.

" Poor E. ! he was not without good points, but they were not of a nature to be of much use either to himself or others. After coming to grief in various ways in New Zealand, his passage home was paid by

a kind friend, and he was sent back to his relations in England; and more lucky than many a youth who found his way to the colonies because he could be made nothing of at home, he ended by making a good marriage, and he and his wife—as far as I know—lived happily ever afterwards. Few of the many specimens whom I have come across of the genus ne'er-do-weel so affectionately shipped off to the colonies by their relations, who, to use a trenchant colonial phrase, wish to bury their dead out of sight, were as lucky as E. was. I have known more than one sink to the lowest depths of degradation, moral and physical, deprived of all the influences for good which might have been brought to bear upon them by their friends in England. In pleasant contrast with these are the manly, high-principled gentlemen, the stout yeomen, and sturdy labourers whom I have also known as colonists in New Zealand, and who have laid the foundation of her prosperity and future greatness. All these indeed were not successful. Some failed, and others rose upon their fall—a more monied class as a rule, and with lower aims; but in the nature of things the early simplicity of life and brotherhood could not last. Many old dreams, and perhaps illusions, fade away, but I, for one, look back on those early days and the friends I made then with truest affection, and shall retain that feeling to the last.

"I have wandered some way from Warèkaka. When (as usually happens) things were at their very worst they began to mend. One night we were sitting supperless over the fire, talking over the situation, and we settled that next day the shepherd lad should return to the gully where we had left Vavasour and the relief party, to find out what had happened to them; and meanwhile, as I had four or five charges of powder left, I decided to stick to the ship as long as any hope remained. The outlook was as dark as the night around us, when suddenly far down the river we heard, or thought we heard, for the sound was too faint to make certain, the sound of a gun-shot. An anxious pause; then another report; then another. Could it be Vavasour with the men and food? A few minutes more—as

the canoe turned round another reach of the river—we heard shouts, and more discharge of firearms. It must be—it *was* the convoy. On went fresh logs, up blazed the fire, sending sparks up to the very roof, whilst we put on our biggest pot so as to be ready for the salt pork, potatoes, and other luxuries which were so soon to be ours. In no time at all the whaler was at the landing, and Vavasour jumped out, his face beaming with pleasure at seeing us, and finding us still alive—starving indeed, but not starved. He had long explanations, of course, to give of unavoidable delays. We also had much to say. What a night it was! We consumed oceans of pannican tea, and dough-cakes quickly prepared, and salt pork—there was nothing wanting to the feast. Then, finally, this was followed by a luxurious sleep on fresh fern covered with warm blankets which Vavasour had brought up with him. Thus ended a glorious evening.

"We now considered the station as fairly established. The natives came and settled down in a pah (stockade) at about a mile off, and began the cultivation of potatoes. I, meanwhile, continued and extended my shooting expeditions in order to save our provisions as much as possible. Before long we came across the haunts of the wild pig—a most useful discovery. I also set to work to clear, dig, and plant a garden, and the first European vegetable ever grown or eaten in the Wairarapa district, now the home of many thousands of Englishmen, was a turnip raised by me. Later on, before I left New Zealand, I 'lived' like Mr. Justice Shallow 'to eat many a pippin of my own graffing,' but these were early days, and my efforts then were limited to the strictly necessary. We were in great difficulties at that time with our sheep, which were in a miserable condition, and many of them diseased. The shepherd turned out badly and finally left us. Then the winter was upon us and again we were on very short commons. The natives also gave us trouble; for having paid for the hut we found it impossible to make them finish it, and in those days we neither understood their ways nor they ours.

"The first winter which we passed in the Waira-

rapa also was one of exceptional severity, and it was followed by heavy floods. We had prepared, as we thought, for anything that could happen, by building berths on logs to raise our beds of fern off the ground. But even this precaution did not avail us. One day we were awakened at daybreak by a rushing and gurgling sound, and on stepping out of my berth I found myself up to my knees in water : the river had risen and flooded the hut ! I woke up Vavasour, and the fat boy, and then waded out, and found our canoe fortunately moored within reach. We then set to work and built a platform inside the hut with some big logs, which made a foundation for the hearth. We lit a fire, put on a kettle to make tea, and filled the canoe with dry fern from our beds, moored it alongside the hearth, and as we had already put our not too plentiful supply of flour, tea, sugar, etc., in security, we felt pretty comfortable. The roof leaked, but to that we were quite accustomed. Before taking off my wet clothes I waded out and got some duck in the swamp, which was now level with the river, the valley being all one lake. On my return I settled myself with my two 'pig dogs,' Lump and Boxer, beside me in the canoe, whilst Joe, sitting at the opposite end, poured out tea and fried salt pork at the fire which was now burning cheerfully. As to Vavasour, I can see him now. He sat on a high long-legged stool of our own manufacture with his feet on a bucket, smoking a short clay pipe and perfectly happy. How we laughed, and how we enjoyed that breakfast ! I remember it as if it were yesterday. Scarcely had it ended, however, when the water began to rise above the level of Vavasour's bucket ; so he decided to bolt, and seek shelter in a hut which had been built a short time before by some stockmen, higher up the valley. He reached this at last, though not without considerable difficulty, as all the creeks were in flood. But if the flood had been good fun the subsiding of it was not, as it left the floor deep in mud, and coated the sides of our bark hut with the same miry substance to the height of three feet. We had two more floods in the course of that spring, owing to the melting of the snow on the mountains.

"In the spring Clifford returned from Auckland, where he had been attending Fitzroy's Legislative Council, bringing with him a man of the name of Cavershill—a Border sheep-manager and a first-rate man. Cavershill's services were sorely needed. We knew nothing about sheep, and, as I have said before, our little flock was decimated by disease, and we had lost half that year's crop of lambs owing to the bad weather and other causes. The first thing Cavershill did was to take them up to the hills, and from that time they began to improve. He was a very intelligent man, and an enthusiast about sheep. He was quick too in adapting his knowledge to the new conditions, and in some ways our hills were not unlike the Cheviots, the country from which he came. I threw myself heart and soul into the work, thoroughly mastering it in all its branches. I remember often sleeping out with the flock at night to guard them from wild dogs, and I made a point of going among them till I came to know most of them by their faces and general appearance. It was my great ambition at this time to be a first-rate bushman and sheep-farmer, and I may honestly say, looking back on those days, that I consider that I owe my success in life, humanly speaking, to my devoting all my energies to any task which I undertook, and always doing it as well as I could, and with all my might. I did not mind risks or hardships much, and I was always of the opinion that a gentleman ought to set the example in such matters to the men under him. In spite of drawbacks of all kinds I enjoyed the life. I did not dwell much on the future—it certainly did not look very promising at this time. Still I was, I believe, one of the very few who took to the country from the very first moment and never lost hope in its future.

"We did not see much of Clifford at the station. The mosquitoes and hard fare were not to his taste. He lived at Wellington where he conducted a land agency, and when I went to town he always gave me a most hospitable reception. I never went there, however, except to get my English letters, or for pressing reasons. What a treat those letters were! They were always four or five months' old, but how I

longed for them, and how often I read and re-read them! We were fifty miles from Wellington, and frequently in a high tide had to wade through the sea, and cross the creeks (sometimes up to one's arm-pits in water), to get there—climbing up and down rocks and steep hillsides. In those days I thought nothing of walking forty miles a day, carrying a load on my shoulders consisting of a blanket and provisions, besides, often—on my return journey—things we required for the station. Such was my apprenticeship to bush life in the Wairarapa."

CHAPTER III

"He that wrestles with us strengthens us; our antagonist is our helper."—BURKE.

FEW probably of the Colonies which have attained success and prosperity are as little known to the British traveller as New Zealand; the obvious reason being that though he will face discomfort by land it requires more than a common reason to encounter the same, or even lesser drawbacks, on a long sea journey. A short description, therefore, of the country and the position of affairs politically and socially at the time Frederick Weld landed there will help to explain his history.

The two islands, North and South, which form New Zealand are divided by Cook's Strait, and are 1200 miles in length with an average breadth of about 120 miles. The climate differs considerably. In the Bay of Islands, in the extreme North, oranges and lemons ripen in the open air, and the vegetation is sub-tropical. In Otago, in the Southern Island, frost and snow are not unknown, and oats and Scotsmen are popularly said to thrive there—taken as a whole it may be described as that of the British Isles with the three worst months left out. If the climate offers every inducement to the European to settle in New Zealand, the scenery to any one with an artist's eye possesses an even more irresistible attraction. Rivers, exquisite inland seas, a mountain range in the Southern Island which rises to over 14,000 feet—its sides clothed with forests, and, in places, with tree-ferns and many varieties of flowering bushes

of the most gorgeous description—everything combines to make it one of the most attractive countries in the world. And yet at the time of the landing of the passengers of the *Theresa*, many of the colonists, as we have seen, despaired of its future, and were on the point of re-embarking and setting sail for South America. To account for this state of things we must go back to the time when the great English explorer first set his foot on the Islands.

With Captain Cook's landing in New Zealand in 1769 the history of New Zealand as a British colony begins. He took possession of it in the King's name, as he had previously done in his discovery of the Islands of Oceania and the great continent of Australia. He reported that the natives were friendly and intelligent, and departed, leaving a most useful legacy behind him in the shape of some pigs, which ran wild, and increased and multiplied, the Maories probably not becoming acquainted at once with their merits from a culinary point of view; and these for fifty years afterwards were the only quadrupeds on the Islands. In the wake of the discoverers came whalers and sealers, and later on—in 1810—missionaries. Later still, in the 'twenties and 'thirties, a certain number of settlers from New South Wales, attracted no doubt by rumours of fat lands in New Zealand, and facilities for purchasing them from the natives, came and squatted there. So far the Colonial Office had taken little or no interest in this far-away appanage of the Crown. It had mildly discouraged settlers for fear of difficulties with the natives; but an event at last occurred which obliged the authorities at home to take up a line of some sort; and that was the formation of the New Zealand Company. The question then had to be faced: Were emigrants to be encouraged to go out to colonise New Zealand, or were they not?

Undoubtedly Exeter Hall was responsible to a large extent for the answer. The missionaries, Anglican, Wesleyan, and Methodist, had had a great success in New Zealand, and we cannot blame them for doing their utmost to stop the introduction of a hitherto foreign element—a crowd of squatters, in whose wake drink and every vice of civilisation was certain to follow. There was, moreover, a strong feeling in favour of the "noble savage," for such he was made out to be in every pamphlet and journal which took up the subject. Why should we molest him in his happy hunting (or fishing) ground? was their cry. Perish the thought! And sentiment, being as we know the distinguishing mark of the early Victorian period, carried the day. The New Zealand Company was treated with sternest disdain; no means short of imprisonment and fine was left untried to force them to give up their scheme. But all was of no avail. They had a strong board of directors,[1] and a determined man, Lord Durham, as Chairman. So in spite of receiving no assurance of support from the mother country, who in fact all through treated the luckless Company like the proverbial step-mother, reserving all her delicate attentions for her ugly elder daughters the Maori, they chartered several vessels, and set sail for New Zealand.

It is perhaps hardly to be wondered at that the (step) mother country did her best to discourage English enterprise, as she had practically cut the ground from under her own feet ten years before. In that year (1832) a gentleman of the name of

[1] Lord Petre, who was one of the directors, equipped and dispatched an emigrant ship, the *Tory*, to New Zealand in 1839, his son the Hon. H. Petre being on board. The Government sent a frigate in her pursuit, but the *Tory* having secured a good start reached its destination without hindrance.

Busby had been appointed by the Government to New Zealand under the title of Resident or Representative of the Crown, with the function of protecting British commerce, and "repressing outrages of British subjects on the natives." A little later the Crown, acting on the advice of Mr. Busby and the Governor of New South Wales, who had a kind of titular authority over the Islands, presented the collective tribes (who were not collected, and being nearly all at war with each other had no autonomous existence whatever) with a national flag, which was formally hoisted and saluted by a British man-of-war. Later still, in 1834, the Resident got thirty-five chiefs together purporting to represent the Maori race, and which (to quote an impugnable authority) really only represented one tribe occupying not one-fiftieth of the Island, and invited them to sign a declaration asserting "the independence of the united tribes of New Zealand, and constituting them an independent State."

In the year 1840, however, a complete change came over the spirit of England's dreams—or perhaps it would be better to say that she woke up only just in time to find that a rival was in the field, and that France had sent a frigate to take possession of the Islands on the strength of her repudiation of them in order to use them as a penal settlement. No time was to be lost. Accordingly Captain Hobson was deputed in hot haste as Consul, with the mission of recovering the British sovereignty by treaty with the natives. Again the same farce was gone through. The treaty of Waitangi was signed by forty-five chiefs (properly speaking, heads of families) belonging to a single tribe, the Ngapuhi, who occupied the district from which the treaty took its name.

Aware no doubt of the insufficiency of the claim

of the negotiation to represent the Maories as a nation, Captain Hobson sent messengers round the country to obtain further signatures. A Major Bunbury, who had been dispatched armed with these instructions, was only just beforehand with the French;[1] and finding that he was closely pursued by emissaries of that nation, he cut the Gordian knot by proclaiming the Queen's Sovereignty "by right of discovery" over the Southern and Stewart's Islands. By this treaty the natives acknowledged the suzerainty of the Queen, but the full possession of their land was reserved to them. It was with considerable difficulty that the native mind could be made to grasp an abstract idea such as that which was involved in the claim made for her Britannic Majesty, as they had nothing that corresponded in the smallest degree with it in their own language or customs; but they finally accepted the interpretation, that it signified giving up the shadow and retaining the substance; and with this they were satisfied.

That the treaty of Waitangi meant anything to anybody except to its framers and the wiseacres at home may be confidently denied. New Zealand settlers, known to be authorities on the subject and thoroughly acquainted with the native mind, unanimously declare that as regards the vast majority of Maories it was never anything but a dead letter. The evidence given twenty years later on the subject of the treaty at the Kohimarama Conference—a sort of Maori Parliament at which representatives of most of the Maori tribes assisted—was as follows:

"Paul Tuahaere, a very intelligent chief, at the time member of the Provincial Government, said:

[1] The French colony at Akarao, in the Southern Island, is the only survival of the effort made by the French on this occasion to colonise New Zealand.

'Blankets were brought by Williams' (Captain Hobson's emissary), 'these I call the bait. The fish did not know there was a hook within; he took the bait and was caught. Mr. Williams' bait was a blanket. When he came to a chief he presented his hook, and forthwith drew forth a subject for the Queen.' Another very respectable and loyal native, Heme Parae, said: 'As to what is called the treaty of Waitangi I heard nothing about it. It is true I received one blanket. It was given to me without explanation by Mr. Williams.'"[1]

This treaty, though the immense majority of Maories had never heard of it, and the few before whom it was laid never grasped its meaning, was accepted in its entirety by the Crown's advisers; and the New Zealand Company, in their attempts to buy land from the natives, found themselves continually thwarted by the attitude of their representatives in the country. Possibly if they had gone to work slowly and tactfully, gaining the confidence of the natives, who in many cases were as anxious to sell land as the Company was to buy it, all would yet have been well. Unfortunately before they had been three years in the country they made a *faux pas* of such magnitude, that it not only extinguished all the Company's prospects of success as a colonising agency, but justified every measure taken in their disfavour.

This incident, which is mentioned by Frederick Weld in the previous chapter, occurred six months before he emigrated, in June 1843, and is known as the Wairau Massacre. The claims of the New Zealand Company to land purchased from the natives amounted to some million acres, these were situated partly in the Northern Island and partly in the northern portion of the Southern Island. These

[1] *Journal* of the Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute, vol. xiv. p. 105.

claims were in many cases stoutly resisted by the natives—some rightfully, on the ground that as by native custom land was always held by the tribe in common, the consent of all the heads of the families had not been gained. Or, as was the case in other instances, when they found they could get a better price for it by holding on, and disowning the original sale.

It was in the case of a disputed sale (though whether it belonged to the first or second category will ever remain uncertain) that a party of land-surveyors who had been sent from the Nelson Settlement to mark out the ground in the Wairau Valley, a district in Cloudy Bay, for occupation by intending settlers, were stopped by the Maories, their stakes pulled up, and every means used to turn them from the performance of their task. This information coming to the ears of Captain Wakefield, coupled with the news that Rauparaha and Ranghiaiata, two powerful and unscrupulous chiefs, had advanced claim to the disputed land, and evidently meant mischief—having already burnt a hut belonging to the chief surveyor—he hurried to the spot. In a letter written by him to his brother [1] before starting, he says: " The magistrates have granted a warrant on the information, and Thompson, accompanied by Captain England, self, and a lot of constables, are off immediately to execute it. We shall muster about sixty, so I think we shall overcome these travelling bullies. I never felt more convinced of being about to act for the benefit

[1] Edward Gibbon Wakefield, author of *The Art of Colonisation*, and secretary of the New Zealand Company. Opinions in the Colonies differed about the merits of his theories; but the view held by J. Robert Godley, the great coloniser and philanthropist, was undoubtedly shared by many. In a letter to Adderley he remarks: " I earnestly hope and believe we have now seen the last of colonising Associations. I long held with Wakefield that they were positively good; then I came to look upon them as lesser but necessary evils. *Now* I consider they do more harm than good."

of all, and not least so with regard to the native race."[1] Accordingly Captain Wakefield set forth to the scene of disturbance, accompanied by half a dozen colonists, Captain England of H.M. 12th Foot Regiment, Thompson, the chief constable of Nelson, Mr. Brooks as interpreter, and about twenty-five labourers, and other men connected with the Survey department. On the 15th they reached the mouth of the river Wairau, and here arms consisting of cutlasses, muskets and pistols were served out to the men, who had been sworn in as constables by the Company's storekeeper. The following day the little party marched up the valley and came in sight of the two chiefs and their followers—having previously divided into two bodies, one under command of Captain England and the other of Mr. Howard. Strict injunctions had been given to the men not to fire without orders.

At first all went well; then Mr. Thompson showed his warrant and directed the constable to execute it on Rauparaha, and instructed Brooks to explain the meaning of it. Mr. Thompson also explained that he was the Queen's representative, and, pointing to the warrant, said that was the Queen's book, and that Rauparaha must go on board the brig with the constable to answer for the offence of burning Mr. Cotterell's house. This, he explained, had nothing to do with the land question. Was it surprising that Rauparaha refused? The conversation now became heated. Thompson said that if the chief would not come, he would use force, and pointing to the English, said: "There are my men, and they shall fire upon you all if you won't come." A man of the name of Richardson, who apparently kept his head, called out: "For God's sake mind what you are about."

[1] This account (considerably abbreviated) is taken from Swainson's *New Zealand and its Colonisation*, pp. 109–15.

Thompson paid no attention, and called on the armed party to fix bayonets and advance. They did so, and, whether by accident or design is uncertain, a shot was fired on the side of the English. The firing then became general, and at first it seemed as if the latter would have the best of it. Then they wavered, and Rauparaha seeing his opportunity urged his warriors to the pursuit. Again and again Captain Wakefield and Thompson shouted to the men to hold their ground, and turn and charge. The white men were totally undisciplined, the large majority labourers, who had probably never used a bayonet or a cutlass before in their lives ; and, when the panic had become general, were powerless before savages used to war and armed with guns and tomahawks. The slaughter was terrible. Rauparaha, it is said, destroyed the greater number with his own hand. At last Captain Wakefield, finding it impossible to rally his men, ordered them to lay down their arms. The triumph of the native was complete. The losses of the English were nineteen killed and five dangerously wounded ; the numbers engaged being fifty-six on the British and about forty on the native side. The Maories lost four killed, and five wounded. Wakefield and Thompson were among the slain.

The explanation of this tragedy can only be given in the Latin saying : Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat. Anything so ill-planned, so rashly entered into, so feebly carried out, it is impossible to conceive. The immediate results were that the Maories made the discovery that instead of the English being invincible they were able to inflict a crushing defeat upon them in spite of the preponderance of numbers on their opponents' side. The result to the settlers all over the Islands may therefore be easily imagined. The first settlement which was threatened with an

attack was Wellington ; as, anticipating retaliation from the English, Rauparaha and Ranghiaiata instantly crossed Cook's Straits with a large band of warriors and entrenched themselves in the neighbourhood of that town, which was then the headquarters of the New Zealand Company. A conflict was averted by the influence of the missionaries, but murders and outrages inflicted on squatters in outlying districts became of frequent occurrence ; in short, the native problem had reached the acute stage. This was one of the many results of that fatal day. Another was that it placed the various contending parties in the Islands into entirely fresh relations with each other.

To begin with the New Zealand Company : the massacre of Wairau may be said to have dealt them their death-blow. The main difficulty they had to contend with from the first was to carry on negotiations with the natives for the sale of land under the steady discouragement of the Colonial Office and its representatives in New Zealand. These difficulties were now increased tenfold. Their affairs became more and more involved. "On all sides they were beset with claims for compensation and redress, their capital was expended, and the native owners of the soil were now unwilling to deal with them for the sale of it on reasonable terms." [1] The Company as a last resource claimed compensation from the Government, and a committee was appointed in February 1849 to examine into the complaints made by them of losses sustained in consequence of the proceedings of the Colonial Office and of the local Government in New Zealand. Lord Howick was appointed Chairman, and the committee reported that in their opinion the Company were entitled to redress. The Conservative Government was then in power, and

[1] *New Zealand and its Colonisation*, p. 137.

Lord Stanley, who was at the time in the Colonial Office, refused to carry out this injunction. In 1852, Lord Stanley with a change of Government went out of office, and was succeeded at his post by Lord Howick, who meanwhile had been transferred to the House of Lords through the death of his father. Lord Grey having supported the Company's claim when in committee (as Lord Howick), could do no less than carry out his own recommendations. Accordingly, after much discussion, in the House and out of it, this compensation was fixed at the sum of £200,000, which was settled as a debt on the waste-lands of the New Zealand colony.

Such was the somewhat inglorious ending of the "John Company" of the southern hemisphere. To conclude with Swainson's verdict, from whose pages we have taken the above facts: "Taking a general view of their proceedings, it must be accorded to the New Zealand Company that but for their timely and zealous efforts New Zealand might have been lost to the British Crown; that they hastened the measures too tardily taken for its colonisation; and that they colonised it at several points with some of the finest settlers who ever left the parent State."[1]

To return to Rauparaha and Ranghiaiata, whom we have left in open revolt against the Crown's officers, and terrorising the district, it is but natural to ask what means were taken to punish the offenders and protect the innocent. The answer is a simple one. None. Governor Fitzroy (Hobson's successor) was no doubt well-intentioned, but timid, and wholly without initiative, and finding himself incapable of unravelling the tangled web of events he referred the whole matter to the Colonial Office. As it required eight or nine months to get a reply to dis-

[1] *New Zealand and its Colonisation*, p. 148.

patches, and Her Majesty's advisers were at an even greater disadvantage from many points of view than the Governor himself, the answer when it arrived—like many another—answered nothing. Temporising was what was chiefly recommended, and carefulness to keep out of such scrapes in the future. As for blame, it was equally and impartially bestowed on both parties.

That the case was a complicated one may, in justice to Fitzroy and his counsellors, be readily conceded. Also that in the absence of the chief witnesses—for the natives had taken to the bush, and their opponents were butchered—it would have been exceedingly difficult in the inflamed state of colonial public opinion to have obtained an impartial verdict in the case of a trial, may also be admitted. But the effect on the native mind was none the less disastrous, such subtleties for *him* having no existence. To the Maori one fact only was clear as the sun at noon-day ; that he had defied the power of England with impunity, and that he had dipped his hand in the white man's blood and gone unpunished. All this signified weakness on the part of the enemy—a fatal miscalculation which cost the lives of thousands before it was set right.

A series of acts of aggression on British lives and property date from the time of the Massacre of Wairau. It was followed ten months later by an attack on Whale Island by Heki and his tribe. Moreover, when disputes rose between the settlers and the Maori, instead of resorting to arbitration, a method they had readily adopted in earlier days, frequent recourse was had to the gun or the tomahawk. The appointment of Sir George Grey to the governorship of the Islands and the energetic means he took to put down the rebellion in the Hutt campaign, also the personal ascendancy he gained over the natives by a

policy of mingled firmness and clemency, produced a temporary lull in the hostilities. But the peace which followed was at best but an insecure one. The confiscation of the land of the rebel chiefs, an extreme measure frequently threatened but at last carried into execution, stopped the native wars in New Zealand. Till this means of punishment was resorted to the two sides were unequally matched; for whereas war meant death to the Colony's prosperity, it was the natural occupation of the Maori, his favourite pursuit which took precedence, in his estimation, of all others. There is no doubt that it was a long time before "the powers that be" in England, to the profound exasperation of the colonists, could be made to understand this indubitable fact. No one who was in frequent and intimate contact with the natives, and had got to understand the working of their minds, would deny them the possession of fine points, but any calculation made on any basis but that the Maori was first of all a *fighting man* would necessarily be delusive. All their habits — their cannibalism, the infanticide they practised on their female offspring, point to the same conclusion. Like the Red Indians, the subject of greatest pride with them was the numbers they had slain in battle, and the native wars (we are told by a first-rate authority) were, at the time the English began to colonise their country, rapidly bringing about the extinction of the race. The same authority[1] tells us that when he first landed in New Zealand, in 1842, a celebrated native of the Southern Island, who went in whaler society by the name of Bloody Jack, had just succeeded in driving Te Rauperha back to Cook's Strait with great slaughter, and when on going on board a British man-of-war he was asked

[1] Sir Charles Clifford, *Journal* of the Royal Colonial Institute, vol. xiv. p. 112.

who he was, replied, " Me all the same as Duke of Wellington, Rauperha all the same as Napoleon." Which anecdote shows that the native had some sense of humour, as well as a knowledge of history.

It has been said of the Maori, by one who knew them well, that it was impossible to describe them in general terms : that they were at once the most generous and the most rapacious of savages ; the most faithful, and yet the most ungrateful ; the most bloodthirsty, and yet, on occasion, the most kind-hearted. To label them generally—as it would be possible to do without gross unfairness in the case of a lower-grade nation, such as the Australian aborigines—would be to give an utterly deceptive impression of their merits or their defects. It would be as correct to describe them as devils or pious Christians (and they have been placed in both categories) as to speak in the same way of the inhabitants of Liverpool or Chicago. More so, as respectability and the policeman having no existence in the case of the savage, natural instincts had it all their own way. And just as individual differed from individual so tribe differed from tribe, even in their strongest and most generally recognised characteristics, as for instance their passion for war. Some tribes, it was well known, would willingly have lived at peace with their European neighbours, cultivated their potato patches, given their labour and shared their land—such of it as they did not require—in return for the tobacco and blankets, and various other things, for which a partial civilisation had given them a taste. Others, on the contrary, like the savage tribes in the centre and eastern shores of the Northern Island, such as the Waikato, the Ngatiporo, and the Uriwera, had no sooner sown their seeds in the spring than they sallied forth in search of

adventure. Spring with them meant "the time when kings go to war."[1] These deep-rooted differences between the various tribes of New Zealand were no doubt all in the colonist's favour, when he strove to throw out roots in various parts of the Island. If by some he was looked upon as the enemy of their race and nation, by others he was welcomed as their friend, almost their saviour.

Fox, in his account of the Maori wars, gives an instance of this:

"The Ngatiwhatuas," he writes, "occupied a district which lay between the two greatest and most warlike tribes in the island, the Ngapuhi and the Waikato. These latter tribes were always at war, and when Waikato invaded Ngapuhi *via* Ngatiwhatua they usually gave the latter a back-handed blow in going or coming. So when Ngapuhi invaded Waikato they in their turn gave a dig in passing, and as these invasions were annual the position of Ngatiwhatua became something worse than that of Belgium used to be among the belligerents of Europe. In short, they were known to say: 'If you English had not come they would have eaten us up between them'"[2]

The result of this state of things was that the Ngatiwhatua pressed his lands on the only too-willing Pakeha, and was glad to part with a portion of his territory in order to enjoy peaceful possession of what was left. It was in this manner that the Auckland district was settled upon by Europeans. But this partial and temporary truce which occurred after the colonisation of New Zealand was too pleasant to last. It lasted with (comparatively) insignificant interruption for twelve years; from the time when the native risings after the Wairau disaster were put

[1] They have an equivalent for this phrase in the Maori language.

[2] W. Fox, *War in New Zealand*, p. 26.

down by Governor Grey with a strong hand in the year 1847–48 till the year 1860.

About the year 1854 a movement was set on foot by the disaffected tribes of the interior of the North Island to oppose the sale of land to Europeans. This was followed a little later by their electing a king to rule over them. The leading spirit in both cases was an astute native of the name of Tamihana, known to the English by his "missionary" name of William Thompson. Though these developments of the native mind were looked upon with a suspicious eye by the governing powers, they did not at first oppose them. Both Sir George Grey and Colonel Gore Browne adhered to a line of policy which had been adopted with regard to the Maori race from the outset, and which it must be admitted was a sound one, namely, that they were to be allowed to manage their own affairs in their own way as long as they did not menace European lives and laws. As long as the Queen's writ ran over the Islands the Maori might be and was allowed to choose his own chief, and to call him king or by any other name that he fancied. That the passive policy of their Excellencies was blamed when it was followed by trouble and disaster goes without saying; a fairer verdict would be that their action had little or no influence on the course of events. It was improbable that a warlike people such as the Maori would have allowed the gradual encroachment of the white man on their lands and liberties without a struggle. The struggle had to come, and, equally, it had to end in the supremacy of the stronger and more civilised race.

CHAPTER IV

"Thou, O God, sellest all things at the price of labour."
DA VINCI.

BEFORE young Weld had been long at Warèkaka negotiations were started between him and its owners with the object of his joining them, and buying up a fourth share in the station, his means not allowing of his buying a third. Petre, who had been joint-owner with Clifford and Vavasour in the concern, had decided to give it up in order to devote his attention to horse breeding. The plan seemed to promise well all round, and Fred, writing to his father on the subject, says :

" I hope I shall be of real use to them, and I trust I shall as you know the French saying, *l'œil du maitre fait les brebis gras.* Now as Clifford has to be generally at Wellington to attend to his agency affairs, and Vavasour goes back to England in six months, some one must be here to look after our interests. Then what an advantage it will be to *me*, when I go home, to be able to leave them in such safe hands. . . . With regard to advising any one to emigrate to this country, I can only repeat what I said before : there is very little money in the colony at present, consequently very little sure pay even when there is work. Still there are a good many instances of men beginning with nothing who have worked their way to a house and a bit of land, especially at New Plymouth."

Writing a little later, when the terms of his partnership were concluded, he says :

"As soon as the purchase is completed I shall be part-owner of 450 Merino and Southdown ewes and of about 250 lambs on a splendid station rented from the Maories, with a hut, etc. I shall have the benefit of Clifford's experience, and of his acknowledged talent for business. You will no doubt see the immense advantages to me in this plan. I will only add that sheep-farming is undoubtedly the most promising speculation which can be gone into at present in New Zealand. The wool alone must in the first few years pay the expenses of the station, and then one has the certain prospect of an increasing flock. This station, too, offers many advantages. The wood behind the house furnishes us with fuel; the water we get from the river, which is close at hand, is excellent—though on one occasion we had a little too much of it. However, a flood is probably very rare, as the banks are 15 feet high. We are going to erect a saw-pit on the opposite side of the river, and John Foss, who has lately been working for Jerningham, is coming to saw boards, and make doors and shutters for our new house. The river furnishes us with a communication with the sea, and Clifford is looking out for a boat to put upon it which will save great expense in bringing up provisions, which at present have to be carried up by natives from the coast, a distance of fifteen miles. Warèkaka itself is about fifty miles from Wellington, and the road over the hills being impassable we have to follow the coast-line which is anything but direct. The distance from a market therefore renders more cultivation than is necessary to supply our own wants totally useless, and this state of things will probably last for many years to come. The soil is in many parts excellent, and some day possibly will repay the agriculturists; at present the value of the place arises from its being the nearest land to Wellington for pastoral purposes on a large scale. The station, which consists of about one mile square of undulating grass land backed by a fine range of hills—also available for sheep—and possessing bush land enough for all our requirements for a hundred years or more, is rented by Clifford, Vavasour and myself at £12 a year from the native chiefs, who are glad to get

white men amongst them to buy their pigs and potatoes, and supply them with tobacco in return for work. We are also going to take an adjoining plain for a winter station if we can get the chiefs to part with it, for our present one though first-rate in summer is much too wet in winter, and the plain is always dry. In addition to this the river and swamps are thronged with duck and widgeon and teal ; the woods are alive with kakas (large red and brown parrots) and for most part of the year with pigeons. There are not a great number of wild pigs close to the house, but there are plenty, we have lately discovered, at a short distance.

"There is no doubt that in a short time the whole of this valley and the adjoining ones will be settled on by sheep and stock-breeders, as they are quite equal to any part of Australia for pastoral purposes. We may therefore reasonably expect a good return for our capital if we continue increasing our stock, and paying attention to our breed—keeping at the same time our whole establishment on as economical a footing as possible. We have also the advantage of being the first settlers in the valley, and when we have sheep to sell, who would not prefer buying his sheep to stock a new station on the spot to sending for them to Sydney ? A very little reflection must show that the advantages of being early settlers (for pastoral purposes) in a country like New Zealand, which if it goes ahead must ultimately become the centre of farming operations, is incalculable. Moreover, New Zealand wool fetches a higher price in England than that of Australia, and as the population increases, so will the demand for mutton. You may therefore see your son now transmogrified into a shepherd ! I take my gun in my hand most mornings and sally forth to visit the 'fleecy treasures,' and see how they are getting on ; and on my way I often knock over a hawk that rises from some dead lamb he has been devouring—we lost a good many lambs this year from the wet, the ewes having lambed at the wrong season ; and perhaps I get a shot at some huge paradise ducks or 'poutang a tangi' that come flying heavily past me. Returning home I work at the future garden, or at anything else that may turn

up, or I may set off for the woods to shoot pigeons or parrots for dinner. Another day I take my little native servant with me, and paddle down the river in a canoe and turn into the lagoons, and lying on the bow of the boat I bang away right and left at the ducks that rise on all sides. Or I may go to some native settlement and return with the little craft loaded with potatoes and perhaps a pig or two in return for tobacco. Then there are expeditions of various kinds to be made and an occasional pig hunt, so you see we always find plenty to do.

"The household consists of Vavasour and myself, shepherd, shepherd's boy, and the little Maori, who is principally employed in cooking. He lives with us because he gets good food and clothing. He is about ten years old, and is a young chief among his own people. He is perfectly ignorant that we consider him as a servant, and thinks that we are very kind in letting him stay here, and he helps as a matter of course, and obeys as being the youngest. He seems very fond of us, and if he goes on as he promises to do, I should pronounce him to be one of the best specimens of a Maori that I have yet seen. We had another lad before him, but we got rid of him as we caught him making off with a lot of stolen articles. Besides these we have generally a native or two, and sometimes a European working on the place. . . . I have let a small part of my town acre in Wellington for seventeen pounds a year, and the agent is trying to dispose of the rest of it at ten shillings a foot rental for frontage. My country section is a very fine one, but is still in the possession of the natives."

Writing a month later to one of his twin-sisters he says :

"I am lying down on a mat in my little 'warè' or hut, before me on the ground is a fire, and on it a pot boiling with some pork for dinner. I had just begun to write this when in walked a native chief, and with him half a dozen of his retainers, and laid himself down by my side. So you may fancy me now, lying

down writing with my visitors round me all watching the motions of my pen with the greatest interest, never dreaming that I am in the act of describing them. The chief, who is much tatooed, is rather a handsome, I may say gentlemanly-looking, savage. He is draped in an English blanket and wears a shark's tooth in his ear by way of ornament ; by his side is his Meri Poemannoo or green-stone club and head-breaker, as the white men call it. It is about a foot long, very heavy, and cut out of a lump of hard green polished stone. This chief is a great friend of mine. He calls *himself* sometimes Wetterike (Frederick) and *me* Narro (his name). He sells me potatoes and pigs for tobacco, and threatens to break any man's head who steals from me, so I sometimes give him a cup of tea as a great luxury, and a bit of hearth cake or dough-nut. At my feet is my little native lad dressed in white trousers, and a blue sailor's shirt, his head ornamented with white albatross feathers. On the other side of the fire are two or three natives and a little boy ; one is dressed in an old counterpane, and the rest in mats of their own manufacture, some of which are very curious and beautiful. I see one of them is looking intently at my iron soup-pot, but he is very much mistaken if he thinks he will get my dinner. The worst of these visitors is that they are sometimes given to thieving, and as I am alone in the house this week (Vavasour has gone to Wellington to get seeds for the garden) I am obliged to remain indoors all the time they stay. It is not often I let in so many. I am expecting every day the arrival of John Foss to finish the house, and shall be very glad when we get the doors up as we shall then be able to keep the natives out without any difficulty."

In a letter written a month later, Weld gives an account of an exploring expedition made by him and Clifford in search of winter pasture for their sheep :

" We started from Wellington," he says, " for Tecopi (a pah in Wairarapa Bay) in a little trading cutter. There was a heavy ground swell, and we were

becalmed for some hours under a hot sun, and to my surprise I was so desperately sea-sick that I verily believe that if the *Alarm* herself had come alongside, and on the other hand a canoe to paddle me ashore, such was my anguish, I should have jumped into the canoe and made for the land. The next morning, after landing at Tecopi, we started for the sheep-station accompanied by a number of natives, who happened to be travelling our way. Clifford and I could not help speculating at what you all at home would have said if you had seen us surrounded by these natives who, armed to the teeth, were playing every kind of game as we went along. You would certainly have thought that the good-naturedly brandished tomahawk was about to descend on our heads in order to furnish food for some of the elegantly tatooed jaws that were grinning round us. It is very difficult to judge of the native unless you have lived with them as we do here. A savage, when his passions are dormant and he is treated as a companion and friend, is quite as safe—probably more so—than two-thirds of the Europeans you meet in these colonies. It is true that the foolish conduct of the Governor in allowing the natives to take the law into their own hands, and not allowing equal justice to white man and Maori, have estranged the settlers from the natives. But even now if he comes to their houses he invariably receives food, and seldom goes away without a present of tobacco or a trifle of that sort. If disputes occur it is undoubtedly owing to the policy of Hobson and Fitzroy and the Exeter Hall philanthropists who have persuaded the natives that they may do anything and everything with impunity. If a native chief is taken up for stealing he is persuaded to make restitution, and then gets a horse or some such gift from the Governor for having been a good boy and given back what didn't belong to him. A year and a half ago Rauparaha murdered the Nelson magistrate at Wairau in consequence of a dispute about some land (which has since been proved to belong to the New Zealand Company), and Fitzroy this year issues a writ appointing him a native constable, a post which is held in great honour by the Maories. The Governor gives this to the murderer,

and refuses it to chiefs who have behaved well. What is the consequence? the Ngateawa chiefs say openly, 'We have always behaved well; we have killed no white men; but now we see the Governor gives payment to Rauparaha for killing white men. We will do so too. We can kill white men as well as Rauparaha.' This candid remark of old E. Puosi, a Port Nicholson chief, is a better comment on Fitzroy's 'policy of conciliation' than all the newspaper criticisms that have ever been written.

"On our way up to the station we met some settlers on their way down who told us that our house was flooded, and that Vavasour, when last seen, was seated in a canoe in the parlour calmly smoking his pipe. Pleasant news for people who were hungry and tired after a long day's walk. We were relieved on arriving to find that the house instead of being knee-deep in water was only ankle-deep in soft slimy mud. We found Vavasour well, and quite prepared for the expedition which was to start the following day. Accordingly we dispatched messages to the natives, and on 18th November started on a pioneering expedition to Warè-homa. The party consisted of Clifford, Vavasour and myself, three white men, and about six Maories—the main body of the tribe having gone forward. Te Koro, who accompanied us, is the chief of the tribe or clan to which Warè-homa belongs, and like all other natives he is very anxious to have a white man on his land. His clan are part of the great Ngategahuni tribe, to which all this southern end of the Island belongs and which is divided into septs or families, each of which has its own chief—a distinction earned partly by gifts of nature and partly by birth—but all of whom would unite in times of danger. We started at an early hour, the Maories carrying our guns and overjoyed at being lent pistols, and other weapons to ornament their persons. We were all in great spirits, with Lump, who is a cross between a bulldog and mastiff and a perfect beauty, barking and careering about as if quite aware of the opportunities he would have of pig-hunting.

"The road lay for the first few miles on a nearly level and grassy plain; then we halted at a small

pah at the foot of the hills which surround the valley where lies our sheep-run. I had been so far before, but when we ascended an opening in the hills all was new and unexplored. The country was hilly, abounding in grass, and with quite sufficient wood both for shelter and fuel. The most important discovery we made was of a herb called anise or aniseed, of which the existence in the Northern Island had hitherto been denied. It possesses remarkable fattening qualities, especially for cattle. It is much used in France, as you probably know, for flavouring cordials, etc. It grows in this country in great profusion, scenting the whole air. We saw numbers of flowers which were unknown to us, amongst others an extraordinary-looking orchid. Some Maori girls who joined the party at the pah presented us with bouquets of flowers, and seemed highly amused at our interest in them. After a longish day, with only one halt for a smoke, we began to speculate when we should come up with the main body of the natives, when a lad just ahead stopped, and pointed to a thick wood by the hillside whence a thin curl of smoke could be seen slowly rising. We entered the wood under an arched passage of evergreens, and found ourselves in the midst of natives in a space cleared of underwood, and containing bark sheds. Great was the uproar when they beheld their 'white men' and the chief; and mighty the yelping of curs and squealing of pigs. When the uproar had subsided a little I was introduced to Te Koro's wife, a jolly motherly-looking dame, wrapt in a mat, and comparatively clean, and very good-natured in appearance. We made friends at once, and she began by presenting us with a little pig. She has three grown-up sons, and a brat about eight, the ugliest and most amusing little beast I ever came across. Also a daughter of about fifteen or sixteen called Irrihabeti—not pretty, but with a pleasant expression. In one ear she wore a shark's tooth, and in the other a half-crown piece. Her black hair was neatly smoothed down, and bound with a strip of flax like a diadem across her forehead. She wore a mat of native manufacture with a girdle round her waist. This

description will give you a good idea of the get-up of a New Zealand belle.

"The first scene on our arrival, whilst our men were pitching the tents, was a desperate affray between Miss Irrihabeti and her monkey of a brother. The young lady had caught a fine fat rat and was cooking the delicious morsel at the fire when the brother came behind, and with a sudden jerk pitched it into the fire. Poor Irrihabeti picked it out, and recommenced toasting it, but again the brat jerked it off the stick, seized it and made for the bush. Who could stand this? Irrihabeti could not, so she pursued the culprit, caught him, scratched and slapped him, but the rat was lost in the struggle, and she returned finally to the fire, avenged but empty-handed. The Maories after a great feast on wild pig (which they caught on the way) fell asleep round their fires, and we went to our tent, and were not long in following their example.

"Our path the next morning led over hills and through woods till we halted at midday on the banks of the Ruamahunga River. The natives did not seem at all inclined to go on any farther, urging that the river was in flood, etc. However, we passed over, and found the current, though rapid, was not above knee-deep. The scene when we forded the river was truly ludicrous. Our party was about fifty or sixty strong, and we were accompanied by a large retinue of cur dogs and pet pigs. The latter were carried away by the stream one after another, whilst the old women shouted to them in the most plaintive manner from the bank. Finally, six large pigs were carried down a rapid below the ford, when suddenly a young native leapt in after them, and a most exciting chase followed. After a time the Maori reached them, and with great difficulty succeeded in getting them all ashore. I never witnessed a finer feat in swimming. The scenery at this ford was very picturesque, and I took a rough sketch of it after passing over. Leaving the river we traversed a fine grassy plain and encamped in a wood for the night.

"Our journey the next day (20th) occupies a large space in my journal, for we saw much that was

important to the sheep-farmer and grazier, this part of the country being as yet wholly unknown. Our route lay through a succession of the most beautiful plains covered with luxuriant herbage, well-watered, and sheltered by belts of forests. In some places one might almost have imagined oneself in an English park, and in others where the road left the valley the scenery became even more beautiful and wilder, and one caught sight of the distant snow-clad ranges of the Porirua. These plains would be of great value if any means could be devised of getting the produce to market, as some day no doubt there will be, when the country is opened out. We saw some fine trees in the woods and I measured one, a tetara pine, that was 24 feet in circumference at 5 feet from the ground, which ran up for 40 or 50 feet without a branch. I also saw a rata tree of even greater size and circumference, and tetara pine of great size are common. Towards evening we approached a large pah, and our arrival was announced by firing the guns and pistols—a great waste, but one which is insisted upon by our conductors. The inhabitants were all assembled at the entrance, but not one moved forward or offered to greet us, until we formed in order and advanced all together towards them. We were then welcomed by loud whining, and cries of, ' Come, come,' uttered by all the old women of the place. The Tangi then followed, which is a ceremony peculiar to the Maori, and is used as a wail over a dead body, or, as on this occasion, as a sign of joy at the meeting of friends. A more curious one could hardly be imagined ! They all sit down on the ground, as only natives could do, with their knees on a level with their chins, and begin to cry. The women howl in the highest notes and the deeper notes of the men forming a bass accompaniment. The Tangi concluded, rubbing of noses followed, after which a chief dressed in a handsome dog-skin mat made a speech to which the bystanders did not seem to pay much attention. Then Te Koro got up to reply, and from what I could learn, congratulated the Tukiswaihinese on the prosperity of their tribe and told them that he was taking white men to see his land, and that if we liked it, and were good to him, he

would be 'warm in his old age'! Then the Maori ovens were opened, and the feast began. The ovens consist of holes in the earth; a layer of heated stones is laid at the bottom, the food is placed upon them, then a layer of wild cabbage, and some other leaves with an aromatic flavour, the whole is well soused with water, covered up with earth and left to steam. This was the contents of the oven, which were piled up in a pyramid in front of the principal hut. First there were eels and potatoes and wild cabbage in flax baskets, then two tubs full of lumps of pork swimming in melted fat. All eyes were bent on the appetising edifice, and one of the hosts came forward and, striking one of the baskets, called out in turn the names of the principal guests. A great set-to followed, the givers of the feast mutely gazing, and envying the felicity of their guests, but never offering to share it. Some of the famishing pah-dogs, entertaining no such scruples, made a vigorous attack at the pile, and actually succeeded in carrying off some lumps of meat, and when after abundant kicks they were made to deliver up this booty it was distributed among the women and children, who doubtless found it excellent. The women at this pah were got up in gala costume, their hair fantastically adorned with wreaths of ferns and flowering creepers, and with ear-drops of polished green-stone. The 'old lady,' Te Koro's wife, had her hair tied up with loops formed of the transparent filament of a leaf brought on purpose from the Southern Island, one of which, at my request, she gave me. We left the pah after a good deal of trouble and delay, the tribe being very anxious for us to spend a night there, and—I believe—to avenge their disappointment, misdirected us. After a time we got on to the right path, which led through a wood where we were much impeded by the luxuriant growth of creeping plants which abound here. We struggled, in single file, up hill and down dale through dense bushes and a network of creepers, sometimes drenched by rain or enveloped in thick mists from the mountains. Never was I more pleased than when at dusk we found ourselves close to a bark hut in which we sheltered for the night, drenched to the skin, and as hungry as hunters. So far we had been travel-

ling in a north-east direction, but we turned off now to the south-east, and were making straight for the coast.

"The next morning (22nd) we made an early start and journeyed the whole day through woods, and up and down some steep hills, besides having several deep streams to cross, one of which was breast-high. We might have killed several pigs had we had the time to spare. Lump had an exciting chase after one, but it managed to get away. Towards evening we encamped in a wood, behind which rose a steep hill from whose summit we heard that a view of the land of promise, Warè-homa, could be obtained. Clifford and I could not resist climbing it to get a sight of what was the object of our expedition. The view was glorious, and the fine plains and meandering river—everything seemed to point to its being all that we required. Vavasour, on our return to camp, shared our anticipations, and was equally excited. The only doubt was: whether the plains were wet. Te Koro assured us they were *not*. We dined on our last piece of salt beef, and two potatoes each—a present from 'the old lady,' and after making a roaring fire fell asleep in pleasant anticipation of the morrow.

"The next day we started by walking about seven miles down the bed of a river, then turned off, and a mile more brought us in sight of the plains of Warè-homa. A great disappointment awaited us there. Our ideas and Te Koro's certainly did not correspond on the subject of swamps, for the land we had come to see was ankle-deep in water, covered with reed-grass, and filled with pig-ruts. Towards midday we came on to a native clearing, where we managed to buy potatoes; we also shot a pig which turned out to be ear-marked, *i.e.* private property; however, we made that all right by promising full payment. Towards evening we reached the seaward boundary of the plains, and no doubt remained that the main object of our journey was a failure and that Warè-homa would always be too marshy for a sheep-station. The old chief was as much disappointed as we were, and I really felt quite sorry for him finding all his hopes for a 'warm old age' being frustrated. The next morning we left Warè-homa, which, by the way, means 'the house of losing,' the

natives having deposited some green-stone in the river with the idea *they would breed* (they fancy it is a kind of fish, because they find it washed down in the beds of mountain-torrents), but instead of breeding the tide rose and washed it away: hence the name. The following day we reached Castle Point, so called from some very fine rocks which rise to a height of almost 300 feet above the sea-level, and bear some resemblance to the broken and dismantled walls of an old medieval castle. The scenery here is most beautiful, and in addition Rauginacomo (the native name for the district) possesses a beautiful harbour, or rather three, the centre one being a land-locked cove.

"On the 26th of November we left Warè-homa to return home, and I am sorry to say that the Maori nature of our old friend Te Koro showed itself by the usual begging, accompanied by extortionate demands for services he had rendered us. That night we pitched our tent near the pah of a man who calls himself Wereta or Wellington, a brother of Rauparaha's and one of the most truculent-looking natives, also one of the most greedy and extortionate I have yet come across. His hut was the finest I have seen since I came to the country, and is worth describing. It was about 50 feet long by 20, and 6 feet in height, and supported down the centre by a row of pillars. The roof was thatched with reed-grass, and tied with flax in a symmetrical pattern. The beams of the porch were painted black, red and white, and the side walls were red and black laths, half concealed by a fretwork of milk-white bark. The peak of the roof was surmounted by a figure of a Maori coloured in red and yellow ochre, and much decorated by feathers. The colours were so tastefully blended that the effect of the whole was remarkably good, in fact it was the best specimen of native taste that I have yet seen. The next day we continued following the coast-line till we reached Pahoa, and from there we struck across country, taking a northerly course, and travelling mostly up the bed of the Ruamahunga River (the hills, and even banks on each side, being so precipitous as to be practically impassable) till, on the 29th, the anni-

versary of the day I sailed for New Zealand, we got back to Warèkaka.

"In spite of having failed in the principal object of our expedition we did not for a moment regret having made it, as we had gone over a great deal of ground hitherto unexplored, and we have also learnt a good deal about the habits and ways of our Maori neighbours. All that we have seen, both on this occasion and on previous ones, confirms what we have been told ever since we came into the country, and that is, that the natives who have come under the Fitzroy-cum-missionary influence have not gained much by it. The principal tenets of the so-called Christian natives is that if they read the Bible and chant hymns twice a day they are sure to go to heaven. Now the natives who have to do with the whalers, instead of the Bible distributors, when they steal or break their bargains are brought to their senses by an application of Jack's fists; on the other hand, when they behave well he is ready enough to share his 'baccy' with them and treat them kindly. The consequence is that where Jack Tar has been governor and missionary the natives are honest, and proud of their white men. If Fitzroy had followed the sailors' example of wholesome severity and well-timed kindness, all these difficulties about non-fulfilment of bargains with the Maories would never have happened. The authorities will some day find out their mistake. A sound thrashing is the only cure for the arrogance of some of these chiefs, and the general opinion is that the sooner it is administered the better."

Weld's prognostications of the future success of the sheep-station seem to have been more than justified, as we learn from a letter written home a year later, 1845, in which he says that he and his partner Clifford then had a flock of 900 ewes and 80 wethers, besides rams; also that they had made arrangements with a newcomer into the valley to winter his sheep at 1s. 6d. a head, a very paying bargain, he adds.

" I am more confident than ever in the success of our sheep speculation," he writes. " We have now, by an agreement made lately with the natives, got a run of about six miles by one and a half in extent, and a boundless back run of hills, which are the most valuable part of the ground, and which for their ' lay ' and quality of pasture are, in the judgment of experts, quite unequalled in this part of the world. Our only fear now is of a native outbreak, or that this land may be offered for sale, in which case, like the patriarchs of old, we should have to strike our tents, and drive our flocks to yet remoter districts. As regards risk of sale, I do not think it a very serious one, for the following reasons. It would not pay any one at present to farm so far from a market. Secondly, a great part of the Wairarapa land is poor and only fitted for grazing, though there is some very good soil, and probably all but the bogs and gravelly tracts might be rendered productive. Thirdly, if a new colony is formed in this district it would probably be on the opposite side of the lake, so instead of being a detriment it would be an immense benefit to us.

" As for the native difficulty, you may have heard a report of a row in the Wairarapa Valley, so I will give you the true account of it. A month or six weeks ago a man of the name of Barlow was invited by the natives to found a station about thirty miles from here. I happened to meet him on his way up, and introducing myself we fell into conversation, and I said to him : ' Whatever you do, be firm with your natives.' He did not take my advice. Wereta or Wellington, a chief whom I mentioned to you in my letter a year ago, came to his station and of course tried to extort presents from him—as all the Maori do. Barlow, instead of boldly refusing, gave him a bag of sugar, etc. Of course the savage got more and more insolent, and one day when Mr. Barlow was away, encouraged by repeated compliance with his demands, insisted on being given some clothes, when the white man who was in charge at last made a stand, refusing to give him anything more. Wereta then grew outrageous, and a native of his tribe sitting outside the hut said, ' White man is

right, Wereta bad man.' Hearing this Wereta flew at his unfortunate clansman and, according to one account, tore out one of his eyes—according to another, *only* half killed him. This done he turned to the white man and said, ' It was *you* who made me so angry. *That* was the cause of what the Maori said, and which made me hurt him. So I seize everything you have got to make up for the injury you were the cause of my inflicting ! ' (or words to that effect). This judgment, which is in strict accordance with Maori notions of equity, was accordingly carried out, and the station plundered of everything it contained.

" After this there were symptoms of a disposition to plunder by the natives in the valley, but a report that the Port Nicholson whites have taken notice of it, and that soldiers are now on their way to New Zealand, have squashed it. You have heard of the destruction of the Bay of Islands settlement ; since then a regiment under Colonel Hulme attacked Hêki, the rebels having taken refuge in one of the most strongly fortified pahs in New Zealand, but as he had no artillery he was forced to retreat. He has lately been superseded by Colonel Despard, who arrived with reinforcements from Sydney, and we now hear that the latter attacked the pah on the 3rd of July, and being also short of artillery, determined to carry it by assault. The attacking party advanced gallantly and carried the outer palisade. They then found themselves confronted with a second stockade formed of trunks of trees, and doubly loopholed. The men (volunteers, militia, and sailors), who should have been carrying ropes and ladders and axes, had thrown them away after storming the first palisade, and now found themselves exposed to a deadly fire in front and on the flanks, and unable to climb or overthrow the stockade, or return the enemy's fire. A retreat was sounded, and the *very* few who were unhurt carried off the greater number of the wounded, but seventy dead were left on the field. A night attack was projected a few days later, but meanwhile Hêki and his tribe had, unperceived, abandoned the pah, and gone off to the bush. The horrors—cannibalism in its most revolting forms—inflicted on the bodies of the slain were past belief.

Poor Philpotts of H.M.S. *Hazard*, son of the Bishop of Exeter, was first in the attack, and shot down in the breach. He was a gallant dashing sailor and universally beloved here. When the troops entered the deserted pah his shipmates found his eye-glass and part of his scalp hanging to the stockade."

Early in the following spring (February 1846) news reached the Wairarapa Valley that Fitzroy had been superseded as Governor by Grey. The excitement all over the colony was great, and the settlers' hopes ran high that the policy of the new Governor would reverse that of his predecessor. Nor were they disappointed. Before long the colonial party and the natives were equally satisfied that Grey was prepared to take an impartial view of the many burning questions of the day, and not to deliver judgment till he had heard both sides. One of his first actions was to take vigorous measures to put the settlers in possession of the Hutt district, which they had been forcibly kept out of by Rauparaha and Ranghiaiata, in spite of the Maori acknowledging that they had no rights over it, and that the sums asked for it by its former owners had been fully paid. The news of the Governor's action having reached Ranghiaiata, " his first move was " (we quote Weld's letter) " to incite some of the natives to refuse to leave the ground which they had sold. This was followed by the murder of two families of out-settlers, and at length he attacked a British camp, and tapu-ed the roads to Wellington from the Hutt valley, which from the Maori point of view was equal to putting it under a blockade. Till now Ranghiaiata had been professing friendship to the Governor (trying to hoodwink him as he had done Fitzroy), but now the mask was fairly thrown off. Rauparaha played a deeper game. He at first succeeded in persuading the Governor of his good intentions, but

a letter of his coming into Grey's hands proved unmistakably his treachery. Grey caused him to be arrested in his pah by the police and sailors, and lodged on board the *Calliope*—struggling and biting his captors and screaming for the Ngatiporo to rescue him. The moment he was taken prisoner his tribe joined the Europeans. The Hutt militia and friendly natives have taken Ranghi's pah, and the joy of the great number of the natives, as well as colonists, knows no bounds. Ranghiaiata is still at large, but his power is gone, and there is little doubt he will soon be in our hands."

Though Fred, in order to avoid alarming his parents, touches lightly on the risks he ran from native outbreaks, we know from his diary and from an account published later of his early life in New Zealand that he took his full share of them. His knowledge of the country, and of the language and habits of the natives, caused his services as volunteer or guide to be much in request. Thus we find him accompanying the expeditionary force to Porirua in the Hutt Valley campaign, on which occasion he met with the following adventure.

The British troops on their way to the seat of the disturbance encountered an unfriendly tribe, headed by a well-known filibuster of the name of Teringa Kuri. The officer in command disposed of his men in a potato-clearing in the forest and awaited their attack. Fred, believing that the natives were lying in ambush, climbed up a solitary dead tree which commanded a view of the position, to reconnoitre. His surmise turned out to be correct, and he found himself an easy mark for the enemy who were concealed in the inequalities of the ground. He got back without being fired upon, and reported what he had seen, and at the same time warned the officer in command that the main body of natives

were, in all probability, posted in the woods on the hills leading to Porirua ahead of them. Also that, as the troops had marched in double file through thick jungle to gain the potato-clearing, they must be prepared for an attack in the rear. The situation was a critical one. Grey, who had accompanied the force, asked Weld what he advised. He at once offered to return to the stockade at the Hutt bridge and lead a body of men thence along the hills, so as to command the natives' position and threaten their rear and line of communication with Porirua. This he considered would induce them to retreat, in which case, if the commanding officer chose to attack them, they would be between two fires. Grey favoured the suggestion, but it was not adopted—the commanding officer deciding to await the enemy's attack in the position he had taken up. Accordingly he posted his sentries and piled arms, and the natives, after a short interval, proceeded to follow his example. Weld then crossed the neutral ground, passed the sentries and held a parley with the natives. They said they were quite ready to fight, but were waiting for the English to begin. It was for this reason that they had not fired at Fred when he climbed the tree, it being a bad omen to kill the first man. They wanted the first killed to be on their side as a sacrifice to the god of war. Next day the Maories retreated, and built a strong pah in the hills near Porirua, which shortly afterwards was surprised and gallantly captured by the Hutt militia after a long night march through the dense forest.

On another occasion a report reached the inhabitants of the Wairarapa that a large force of natives belonging to the northern inland tribes were on their way to attack them. It was also said that the line of communication between that district and Wellington was threatened by a marauding party,

who had established themselves at the Muka-Muka pah, half-way between the two settlements. A meeting was hastily summoned by the defenceless squatters, at which they decided by a large majority to seek safety by flight. Weld announced his intention of holding on, or taking refuge temporarily—should events make it necessary—in the mountain gorges between the valley and the sea. It was resolved, finally, that a messenger should be sent to Wellington to find out what the authorities there would be prepared to do for the protection of the settlers. Weld at once volunteered for the post. The journey was encompassed with difficulties, as the road lay between the Muka-Muka pah and the sea—the hinterland being impassable. There was no time to be lost, for not only the peril was imminent, but it was important to encounter the enemy's stronghold at the dead hours of the night. Accordingly Weld started off without a moment's delay on his perilous journey. The night was well advanced before he reached the critical point of the expedition, and rounded the headlands which project on either side of the bay; here he ascertained beyond doubt that the pah was in the possession of the enemy. A full moon lighted the scene almost as clearly as if by day. To walk past the houses along the beach without being seen was to attempt an impossibility, and it was equally impossible to pass behind them. Weld saw that his only chance was to keep in the wash of the sea—making a dash whenever he saw his opportunity. Accordingly he crouched and ran, lying flat as the wave broke and letting it wash over him; then again rising and making another short run, till at last he had passed the village and got under the shelter of some rocks. A dog or two barked whilst he was crossing the bay, and he heard voices, but no alarm was taken, but as soon as he

had reached cover a chorus of dogs barking roused the natives. Fred, however, did not stop to listen, and being now out of sight he started at a run, leaping from rock to rock till he reached the little stream of the Waimarara four miles distant. Here he took to the water—wading for some distance up the stream in order that if he was being pursued by dogs, the scent should be lost; hearing no sound of pursuit, he lay down in the bush and slept till dawn. The following morning he reached Wellington and fulfilled his mission.

This alarm turned out to be a fallacious one as regards the inhabitants of the Wairarapa Valley, the hostile natives having turned their attentions elsewhere. But on referring to Fred's journal for the following year, 1847, we find that he was once more steering his barque in stormy waters.

On 14th June, we read the following entry:

"A row in Kimi Kimi pah—Tiffin (the shepherd) and I against the Maori. Rohpia began by endeavouring to 'rush' Tiffin's gun. I broke a stout Maori stick on his head, inflicting a severe wound.[1] Guns, tomahawks, knives, etc. were produced, but we held our ground, with our backs to a precipice, and no one dared to approach us. After this had lasted for half an hour, we left the pah with flying colours—Rohpia and his mob being entirely nonplussed, and public feeling amongst the Maories running high on our side. We had gone to the pah to try and get a dog which had been worrying sheep. Rohpia (who had once before tried to tomahawk young Tiffin) is an intruder on Matuere's ground. The satisfaction with which the Maories seem to regard the affair was due to this circumstance and from his having begun the row. There were about twenty natives in Rohpia's pah, mostly armed with tomahawks and adzes."

[1] To appreciate the gravity of this fact it should be mentioned that among the Maori the chief's head is looked upon as sacred, and the penalty of injury to it is death.

It may not be without interest to the reader, who has followed young Weld's career so far through perils in which he may literally be said to have carried his life in his hand, to learn from one of his home letters the spirit in which he encountered them.

Writing to his father he says, alluding to his solitary life in the bush :

"But God can shower down His graces on the inhabitants of the wilderness as well as on him who is permitted daily to kneel at His altar, and I feel confident that Our Lady who has brought me so far safe through so many difficulties will not desert me now when I stand so much in need of her protection. It is this confidence which makes one look forward without fear to the chances of a sudden death. . . . I have often thought this over, and I am convinced that if God places a man in a position in which he is deprived of religious succour—and I feel sure that it *is* God who has placed me here—He thereby, in a manner, binds Himself to give proportionate grace and assistance. . . . Be sure I never pass a day without thinking of you all, hardly an hour. Still, though I long to be with you, I cannot but own that I am quite happy in the exciting life I am leading. Our 'Lord Western' sheep have arrived. They cost us a good deal, but I think they will prove a good 'spec,' as they will give our flock a name. We are all in high spirits here on account of Grey's appointment. So far he has been a great success. He is quiet in his manner, uncommunicative, and very decided. Not above asking for information before making up his mind. Strict with his officials, but very affable to the settlers, and to all appearance much interested in everything that has been done—the very reverse of his predecessor. He has already gained a great name amongst the natives, and I am confident that if things *can* be put straight out here—and I firmly believe they can—he is the man to do it."

The owners of Warèkaka, as we have already perceived, had no intention of letting the grass grow

under their feet. Accordingly early this year we find Fred exploring the country south of Cook's Strait in the Southern Island, with a view to starting a " run " there.

" I have just returned," he writes to his father, " from an expedition to the Wairau. I went up Queen Charlotte's Sound, which is a long sea inlet running up into the land for about thirty miles, and forming a series of splendid harbours ; indeed, ships may lie close inside the rocks in deep water. Captain Cook was its first discoverer, and the name of his ship and the date of his visit cut on a tree may still be seen. The scenery is most beautiful. There are several small islets, and the mountains are heavily wooded, with here and there clearings and patches of cultivation and native villages. There are a few European cottages belonging to men who live by whaling—a wild race of beings who, however, possess the quality of hospitality in a high degree, and go in this country by the name of ' New Zealand squires.' After an evening walk along the shores of the Sound, amidst flowering shrubs, and enlivened by birds which appeared fearless of our approach, we slept at a ' warè ' of one of the aforesaid ' squires,' who regaled us with wild pork and hearth-cakes, potatoes, and tea made from a native shrub, and goat's milk. The next morning—our host having, indignantly almost, refused all payment—we climbed up through a deep defile on to the plains of Wairau. Our guide (a native) got off the track on our way there, consequently we had to cross and re-cross five times a deep, though narrow, stream, stepping on logs far below the surface of the water ; one was actually floating, and, of course, rolled as we passed over it. We next crossed a swamp and then emerged on to the scene of the massacre, which I examined, naturally, with much interest. Old Rauparaha's position was an exceedingly strong one. Had the Europeans anticipated a fight they would never have made their advance where they did, as owing to the lie of the ground it would have been a moral impossibility to have gained any decisive

advantage over the enemy. Poor Wakefield and his companions are buried on the spot where they were tomahawked in cold blood ; a railing marks the place."

Writing home a little later, he alleges a number of reasons for this fresh departure. One of the foremost of these was that there was no possibility of expansion in the Wairarapa Valley, as the flock increased, such as was to be found on the plains of Wairau. Reasons of health also contributed ; the constant exposure and hardships that the life at Warěkaka entailed, also the malarial air of the marshes, had seriously impaired Weld's health, though for fear of causing uneasiness to his parents he had hitherto made light of his maladies. After the change had been effected he more than once mentions how much he had benefited by the change. He writes in the following terms of the proposed plan to his sister :

" I don't know what you will think at home about our giving up the Warěkaka ; you will perhaps be sorry for it, regretting all that has been done to improve the place ; also on account of its beautiful scenery. These thoughts certainly weigh with me also, but in spite of all I am very glad to go.

In the first place, the want of woodland scenery is compensated for to *me* by the sea, and the great extent of dry and open downs ; I shall also with my yacht be much nearer the town than I am now. Then I shall have no river to ford, sometimes breast-high, no rocks to climb at high tide on the beach, or (as an alternative) to sleep out in the rain all night. Nor shall I, in the Southern Island, have any more anchoring off lee shores in open boats or *swampings in the surf*—of which last I have had enough to last me for years."

In a letter to his father on the same subject he says :

" I have invested my last year's profits from

Warèkaka in the new station, and as that was not enough to keep up my fourth share (as at Warèkaka) of 2000 of the best sheep in New South Wales, I have borrowed £500 from Clifford—or rather his father—and the sheep will, I hope, pay off interest and capital in two or three years. . . . The Dorsetshire downs may give you some idea of the country this side of the Straits. It differs totally from the other Island. I have not a neighbour, native or European, for forty miles, so I am 'monarch of all I survey.' It is a fine healthy country, with neither swamps nor forest, and with a range of snowy mountains, the Lookers-on, in the background. We have five horses, one a very beautiful, well-bred mare which I call Mirza and which Clifford bought for me at Sydney; some cows and a bull. The sheep, which are far the best ever imported into the colony, are as follows: 2000 Clifford's and mine[1] and 500 on a 'thirds of increase, and half-wool' arrangement. We may sell the old station if we get a good offer, as there is great difficulty in getting a trustworthy manager, otherwise we should keep both. In either case I shall make Flaxbourne my headquarters, as this will be the most important station. The house is nearly finished, and will be very comfortable. I intend having a garden and vinery in a deep glen behind the house. The sides of the glen are of white limestone rock, and a clear stream rises through it and falls at a height of thirty feet at the head of it. This cascade is overhung with creepers, and I defy Switzerland to produce a lovelier spot—contrasting as it does with the bare hills by which it is surrounded. I will send some sketches home, as soon as I have time for them."

That the process of installation in their new quarters was not done without some hardship and discomfort, the following extracts from Weld's journal will testify.

On 5th August he notes:

[1] Three years later (March 1850) he writes: "We have now 11,000 sheep on the ground, and we are selling our rams at £20 apiece, the highest price ever given in the colony."

"I left the *Ocean* with the first lot of sheep ever driven from Port Underwood to Wairau. Storm and rain—a killing night. Arrivėd at Robin Hood's Bay half dead. Sheep ditto. Camped out with them, being afraid of native dogs. Clifford followed with more sheep next day.

"13th August. Crossed 1103 sheep over the Wairau, sent them on with shepherd, and returned next day to Port Underwood; found the *London* barque in harbour discharging sheep.

"17th August. Took the *London* sheep to Robin Hood's Bay; rough work, very bad wet night.

"18th. Trouble with natives at Wairau River.

"20th. Crossed the Bluff River with sheep, had to throw them all into the water, a day and a half's hard work. Sent back shepherd, and with the boy drove the sheep to the station (Flaxbourne) which we reached 24th August.

"3rd September. Dreadful storm of hail and rain. As soon as the flood caused by it was over dispatched men to Cloudy Bay for supply of provisons, ours running short.

"14th September. Reduced to wild cabbage. Had to kill a ewe for food; got very tired of it when —on 18th September—boat arrived with provisions.

"30th September. *Petrel* arrived; her first trip.

"3rd October. Sailed in *Petrel* for Cloudy Bay, and returned with cargo.

"13th October. Man overboard from *Petrel*. He jumped after the dinghy, which had broken loose, and the wind proved too strong to let him get back to the ship or overtake the dinghy. Sam (the only other hand on board) slipped his anchor to save him. I could not tell from the shore whether he got the man or not. He brought up again under the Steeple rocks. We are still in uncertainty, and shall remain so till the wind lulls. Trust all is right, as Sam recovered dinghy and made no signal.

"14th October. Pulled off early next morning to the moorings to get the anchor, but found the wind south-east, and the *Petrel* standing away for Cloudy, having picked up her anchors early. The man is all right."

The following entry in Weld's diary a few days later, "I have been very unwell lately," will cause no astonishment to the reader.

Apparently, however, this illness was only a passing one, as later passages in his diary show that he was once more in vigorous health and was exploring the country in his neighbourhood, shooting, yachting, and attending to the business of his "run" as before.

A year later (1849) he writes to his mother as follows :

"I begin a letter to you from old Warèkaka, the scene of my earliest labours as a bushman. I have been here a fortnight, and find everything looking well and prospering, with the exception of a serious loss in sheep killed by native dogs. The natives themselves are behaving very well, and are daily improving. Dressed in smart blankets, shirts and trousers, and many of them riding good horses they are hardly recognisable, externally, for the same filthy, half-starved, quarrelsome beggars they were less than five years ago when our first sheep were driven down the valley. No less remarkable is the change in the appearance of the country, or *in ourselves*. We were happy, then, if we could get pigeons and potatoes once a day ; we sheltered ourselves in a sieve-like barn, lay on fern round an open hearth, when the floods allowed of a fire, and warmed ourselves after a hard day's wading after ducks by drinking sugar and milkless tea (we hadn't always the *tea*) or swilling jorums of the soup in which our ducks or pigeons had been boiled. Then, too, we were in hourly uncertainty as to the continuation of friendly relations between ourselves and the native tribes—with individuals of which we were constantly obliged to differ and even to have to use our fists, in order to maintain our rights and the respect due to us.

"Now the Wairarapa contains some dozen good houses, fenced enclosures, wheat fields, bridges, drains, etc. Rude carts are to be seen on the roads,

drawn by horses and oxen, and on the river the smartly painted whale-boat with its load of wool or stores has begun to replace the long snake-like canoe, painted dark red with its prow adorned with curious carving and plumes and manned with swarthy paddlers who used to make the forest echo with their yelling boat-songs. One of the newest features of the valley is the appearance of cottages belonging to the wives and children of the European settlers, and consequently gardens in the front and poultry yards at the back, just what one would see in an English village. . . . Yesterday, one of the natives came to me to inquire as to the possibility of putting up a water-mill. His plan, however, hardly fell in with my ideas. *I* was to put up the mill and then *if the natives liked it* they would pay for it. I told him what steps could be taken should they decide on building one, but declined the honour of doing so myself. This shows, however, how the mind of the Maori has turned to peaceful ideas of late. Two years ago, if I am not mistaken, this very man was one of a mob who threatened to burn the house and heaven knows what besides."

CHAPTER V

> "Our acts our angels are, or good or ill,
> Our fatal shadows that walk by us still."
>
> BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER.

IN describing Fred Weld's life as a colonist in the previous chapter, we have, in order not to interrupt the thread of our narrative, given a somewhat one-sided impression of him. Ardent of character, he asked of life all that it had to offer; warmest affection in his home-ties, art, friendship, sport, and, in addition to all this, what has been well called "religion of the heart,"—in his case the moving spring of all his actions. He was also of a most genial and sociable disposition; and it might be said of him that he touched life, and his fellow-men, at many points. Thus in spite of the fact that his letters bear no trace of complaint at months of enforced solitude, when business or pleasure took him to Wellington, he thoroughly enjoyed his holiday, and threw himself into society—regattas, balls, or whatever offered—with the keenness of one who has never had the chance of wearying of such amusements. Of course it was not long before the colonial society of the capital got up races, racing competition of one kind or another being as necessary to the Britisher wherever he may find himself as the air he breathes. Accordingly we find him writing home in 1849 regretting that an accident had prevented his entering his mare Mirza for the Wellington races. He remarks:

"We have formed this year a Jockey Club at Wellington, of which Petre is president and I am a member. It was started in order to put a stop to certain acts of blackguardism which had begun to show themselves last year. Rather than allow this it would be better to have no races at all."

Passionately devoted as Weld was to sailing, the building of a boat, which was a necessity to the partners at Flaxbourne in order to take their wool and stores backwards and forwards to "town," was full of interest to him.

"Our new boat," he writes, "will be finished next month. She is to be 36 feet over all, with proportionate beam, decked, but with large movable hatchways. She is built of cowrie, the best possible wood, and copper-fastened in the most substantial manner. A thoroughly experienced boat-builder is building her; she will carry about nine tons. As to form, she will not be very beautiful, I fear, as for greater safety we have given her a sharp stern, and a sheer fore and aft; this is required here in case of heavy seas, particularly in beaching the boat, should that be necessary. Her rig is to be a cutter with a little mizzen, dandy rig, like the *Alarm*! We are giving the command to an experienced whaler, who will work on the station when the boat is not in use —at least he is to be captain, and I commodore, and between us a crew can be dispensed with. We shall have no boom, and a brail to main-sail. As Flaxbourne is only six hours' run from the Port Nicholson heads with the two prevailing winds to take one backwards and forwards, and ports for small crafts on both sides of the Straits, you need not be afraid that I shall drown myself."

That the *Petrel* was a success we see from a letter written a little later:

"Yesterday I sailed half-way across the Straits, but a shift of wind contrary to tide, with a very

heavy sea, drove us into port again. In going out we beat the *Eagle*, a large brigantine that ought to have been able to hoist us on deck and beat us, and in returning we licked a little schooner that had the impudence to come out of one of the bays and challenge us, though we had reefed main and mizzen-sail and storm jib at the time, as it was blowing hard."

The remoteness of Flaxbourne from all human habitation was not of long duration, as he writes early in 1849:

"I am beginning to get neighbours here. A young man, Sir George Congreve, is going to settle close to me; he seems likely to make a capital 'squatter,' and his society will be a great acquisition. He has been staying here for a few days, and I liked him very much. I am also in hopes I shall have a Major O'Connell and his wife for neighbours. I know them very well and am quite at home in their house at Wellington. He has spoken to me a good deal about settling, but as he is a brigade major and has good hopes of promotion, I hardly like to advise him to sell out, and settle in the bush. . . . Another advantage besides society will be the number of books that will come into the country. The O'Connells in particular have a good number, and have already been most kind in lending them to me."

A little later he writes:

"I have just had two officers of H.M.S. *Acheron* and four men here, surveying. One of the former, a midshipman, is a brother of Lady Grey's. They seemed to enjoy themselves very much. The sailors, too, were in high glee, and thought it great fun to work amongst the sheep in the pens. They were of great use to me—helping my men at a busy time of the year, and I gave them as much tobacco, fresh meat and potatoes as they could manage. As to the officers, when they were not surveying we went out shooting, and when they returned to Wellington the boat was, literally, laden with duck, woodhens,

and rabbits for presents. (New Zealand gentlemen do *not* sell their game !) Just before they started, Spencer, whilst shooting, came on to the leg bone of a Moa (the gigantic Dinornis) sticking out of the ground. He did not seem to care for it, and gave up his right to it to me as Lord of the Manor. Since he left I spent part of two days digging out the rest of the skeleton. It had been covered by a landslip, and, commencing at the feet, or rather the next bone to them (for they were lost), I disinterred a tolerably perfect skeleton up to the neck. I was in hopes of finding the head, but there was no sign of it. One of the legs was perfect, it must have been 6 feet long, and the bird must have stood 14 or 15 feet high at least ; yet even this is not so large as some, which, according to Owen, have attained the height of 16 or 17 feet. By the way, it is not certain they are as yet extinct, and they were undoubtedly not uncommon at a very recent period. I wonder Cook never heard or saw any of them. The natives think they still exist in the interior, though I never heard of one who had seen them. There is no doubt that they formerly ate them, as their bones have been found, mixed with human bones, in their ovens."

That Weld's exile at the Antipodes was tempered by attractions which appealed to him equally as an artist and a sportsman, may be seen by a letter he writes to his eldest sister in this same year. On returning from a two days' expedition in search for sheep that had been lost, he says :

" I was never more struck than upon this occasion with the beauty of the Flaxbourne lakes covered with wild-fowl. They remind me in a way of the swannery at Abbotsbury, though on a much larger scale. You have no idea what a glorious sight it is in the early morning when the mist is just clearing off the waters. Unseen one creeps along the banks, and poking one's head up over a tuft of flax one beholds thousands (no exaggeration !) of ducks floating on the shadowy surface of the lake. There is the big paradise duck, something like the muscovy duck, with its amber

breast and white head reflected in the waters; the common grey wild duck, the teal, and the bright plumaged widgeon chasing one another in play, or in pursuit of insects; whilst on the banks the long-legged plover struts about, and perhaps a white crane shows itself on the rising ground—the latter being so shy that one never can get a chance of a shot! Possibly one may hear the distant boom of a bittern. Then the uproar which arises the moment a head is raised from the place of concealment; off flies the white crane, the ducks quack, the whole lake is in commotion—the enemy has appeared."

Two events occurred about this time which not only were full of interest to young Weld, but also helped to shape his future career. One was the departure of his partner, Mr. Clifford (who had been married the previous year), for England, and the other, the invitation given him by Governor Grey to become a member of the Legislative Council.

With regard to the former, he writes to his father:

"Clifford's departure, owing to his dissolution of partnership with Vavasour, which renders his presence in England advisable, though it took me by surprise, I welcome, for this reason: I had always feared that he would want to return when I did, and, of course, we could not both go at once. By the present arrangement I shall be able to start within six months of his return, and by that time I hope to have made money enough to pay all my expenses home and out again, without coming on you or injuring myself. . . . You will of course see him and talk over the subject with him. I can well see the objections which may be raised; it may be said that after being in England I should not like to settle down again to the life I am now leading, but I feel I should be doing you an injustice (as well as myself) if I were to suppose you would not trust me to do what I have shown I can and am willing to do. Besides, I like this wild life, only I feel I must have a holiday sometimes. A more valid

objection is, that badly off as I am it would be a loss of time and money. To this I answer: with your consent I am determined to start for home in two years, and nothing on earth—excepting, of course, your wishes—will keep me longer without going home. It is said out here that three years in the bush unfit a man for civilised society. I don't hold that doctrine; I consider that a gentleman by birth and education will always remain such as long as he retains his self-respect, but yet were I to remain many years without mingling with English and family society, I *do* feel that though I should not think less—or less affectionately—of you, that it might have a disadvantageous effect on my future life, which by God's help will not *all* be spent in managing a station, in exploring the wilds, in hunting boars, or in negotiating high treaties and compacts with my blanketed allies."

During the time which intervened before his return to England, he again and again alludes to the longing he had to revisit the beloved home circle.

"Yesterday," he writes to his father six months later, "I went out in my whale-boat to see if I could not pick up a Friday's dinner, and caught a fish like a 'seatown cook,' two rock-cod, and a fish that, though small, could only be compared in beauty with his satanic majesty. After that I could not get another bite, and conjectured that some big fish was driving the others away; and so it turned out. He announced his presence with a jerk on my line that nearly took me overboard. I played him ten minutes, and finally hoisted into the boat a fine Harbonica weighing 70 lb. They are rather like a cod, only far better to eat, the head makes a capital soup, and they are very good salted. I wish you were here to share my fast-day dinner—though I think after all, if that could be, the Harbonica would occupy but a small part in our thoughts. Yet besides the intense desire I have of seeing you again, I often wish that you could look in upon me, were it only for you to admire my little garden, with its peach,

vine, plum, apple, apricot, cherry trees, besides its fuchsias, almond trees, and honeysuckle. With what pride I should take you into the shearing-shed, and show you fleeces weighing 5 and 6 lb. of the very finest wool from Merino sheep, which for symmetry of frame would rival your own South-downs. Then I should take you to see Mirza and Glendon, and the other horses, and to the cowshed where you would read me a lecture on the cows such as I fear in the old days at Chideock I used to attend to so little! Then we would call Scout and go for a ride on to the downs—spotted with sheep and almost recalling the downs at home, though with the difference *here* of the snowy peaks of the Kaikoras looming in the distance. . . . Now, having wasted half a sheet of paper in inditing this foolish daydream, it occurs to me that the pleasure will be even greater when we meet at Chideock, as please God we may, next year."

As his own affairs made less demands on his time and attention, also the still more pressing "native question" being for a time in abeyance, we find Weld's interest in politics increasing. His letters were now full of allusions to them. Thus early in the year 1847 he writes as follows to his father:

"As to political news, we have not ceased agitating for self-government; and as the waste of public money (*our own*) and that voted to the colony by Parliament still continues, we trust that as this fact becomes known in England we shall obtain those powers of self-government that all Englishmen have, except those who devote themselves to extending the colonial Empire of Great Britain. You will hardly believe it, but one of the latest acts of our Lieutenant-Governor has been to give X. £200 a year, in spite of the expenditure being thousands in excess of the revenue; and this in a country in want of roads, of schools, of native hospitals, of light-power, and a hundred other things; meanwhile we, the settlers, have no recognised mode of endeavouring to stop this system of profligacy and waste. Remember

that we are taxed at the rate of £3 10s. a head over the whole European population, men, women and children, by the arbitrary authority of a Governor, and a council composed entirely of members appointed by him. . . . The condition of the natives is gradually improving, and they are daily adopting more and more our habits and customs. A Maori newspaper has been started by some Europeans, which may be very useful in instructing and civilising them. They are very much interested in it, and most anxious to *borrow* it, but their natural instinct of avarice prevents their giving much support to it in a pecuniary way."

Early in 1848 he writes again as follows :

" Our new Constitution has been burked by Governor Grey, who represented to the authorities at home that the natives would never submit to a rule in which they had no part—a very frivolous argument, as they have *now* no part in his absolute sway, whereas in a representative government they would be admitted to a share of self-government as soon as they were sufficiently civilised to register a vote. At present they are indifferent by what form or Constitution they are governed. A more sensible reason would be that Grey feared to find himself hampered by factious opposition, at all events in the north, which has always given most trouble. Moreover, I think him naturally fond of unlimited power ; however, be that as it may, his policy on the whole has been good, so we have reason to congratulate ourselves on the reign of King Grey, autocrat of all the New Zealands ! "

The following year [1] he mentions to his father :

" Sir George Grey has been giving us a council and offered me a seat on it, which I declined. The proposed council is, in fact, a mere blind, with no object except to take responsibility off the Governor. Its members are all government nominees and officials, and are not allowed to bring in any Bills without the Governor's permission. This is to be a

[1] January 1849.

temporary measure only—representative government being hung up for four years. Now, in the first place, I dislike the idea of acting as a puppet; and secondly, in my opinion, if it be now impracticable to give us some degree of self-government, it would be better to go on as before, an absolute government in name as well as in fact. Personally I am convinced that representative institutions could never be introduced under more favourable conditions, for public opinion is strongly in favour of Sir George Grey's general policy, and no factious opposition need be apprehended. It is admitted on all sides that the Constitution must come sooner or later, and I for one should wish to see it started under a capable and popular man like Sir George Grey, rather than under some incompetent bungler like his predecessors. The Governor sent for me a month ago very suddenly. I had arrived only an hour before from the bush, and had not a moment given me for reflection. He was prepared with arguments and persuasions, whilst I had not discussed or taken the opinion of anybody on the subject. Yet for two hours we kept up an animated discussion, and I found afterwards that my arguments and suggestions by a curious coincidence were precisely those of several men on whose judgments I place the most reliance, and who have thought out the matter most deeply. Grey was most flattering in the manner he offered me the seat, and I took care to express my appreciation of his kindness and of the honour he was doing me, and I think he realised that my refusal of it was not due to any party motives or chimerical ideas. I have since had two or three most delightful days' yachting in his company. We had long talks on a variety of subjects, including his own plans. He is a man who likes to hear people's opinions fully and unreservedly, and his own ideas are often exceedingly interesting and valuable."

Weld's appreciation of Sir George Grey's kindness and good intentions did not, however, prevent his taking a leading part in an Association which was got up six months later (August 1849) to defend the settlers'

interests in New Zealand. The resolutions passed unanimously by the " Settlers' Constitutional Association " do not mince matters. The Chairman of the Committee, in a letter addressed to Lord Grey (the Colonial Minister), refers to the postponement of representative institutions recommended by the Governor, and says that "the party which I represent was called into existence by his Excellency's attempt to deprive the colonists of New Zealand of the boon of self-government which your Lordship had determined to bestow." After more than hinting that his Lordship's confidence in the Governor's honesty of purpose was misplaced, the Chairman submits thirteen resolutions to Lord Grey's consideration in which the Committee set forth with much plainness their wrongs and grievances against the said Governor. The tenth resolution, moved by Weld, declares :

" That the advantages proposed by Sir George Grey to be derived from the four years' acquaintance with the practice of legislation which he imagines his Nominee Council will have before Representative Institutions are conceded, are entirely fallacious. Any skill in the art of legislation supposed to be thus attained must necessarily be merely personal. But it is certain that scarcely one—probably not one—of those whom Sir George has persuaded to sit in his Nominee Council will be returned by the suffrages of their fellow-colonists to the future Representative Councils, and the fruits of their four years' experience would thus be entirely lost. Nor, indeed, is there much chance of such skill being attained. Men never learn to do the work of freemen by wearing the despot's livery. ' Many politicians,' as one of the most distinguished of Her Majesty's ministers has observed, ' are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition, that no people ought to be free till they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the fable, who resolved not to go into the water till he had learned to swim.

If men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait for ever.' This is the answer, and a most conclusive one, to all the insinuations of Sir George Grey, that the colonists are to learn the art of freedom and the craft of legislation by contemplating the acts or joining the deliberations of his Nominee Councils. If proof of the position be required, it is to be found in the fruitlessness of the late session of the Nominee Council of this Province, when the lame attempts at legislation, the want of intelligence, and total absence of independence displayed, drew down the contempt and laughter of the whole community."

The above, and remaining twelve resolutions, which certainly show no lack of enthusiasm in the good cause, were forwarded both to the Colonial Secretary and Sir W. Molesworth and other members of Parliament, and personages known to be interested in New Zealand matters.

This year and the following one were very busy ones for Weld. In the absence of his partner, Charles Clifford, in England, he had the sole superintendence of two large stations, but in spite of the work and duties they involved he managed to find time for more exploring expeditions. In December 1850 he started in company with his friend John Robert Godley, who had lately come out from England as agent for the Canterbury Association, for Port Cooper. After inspecting the site for the future town of Lyttelton, then consisting of a few scattered huts prepared for the reception of the immigrants, he went on to Christchurch. From thence, accompanied with a single native, and with only the provisions they were able to carry on their backs, and a blanket each, he started on his return journey through country which had never been previously trod by Europeans, back to his station at Flaxbourne. A little later he succeeded in finding a pass through the Kaikora

KAIKORA MOUNTAINS. 23RD DECEMBER 1850.
From the camp on the Avatere.

[*To face p.* 86.

range of mountains which divide the Wairau from Canterbury, thereby conferring a great boon on the settlers of both districts.

January 1851 finds him once more in Wellington, and his journal records that he and his partner, Charles Clifford, had settled to part with Warèkaka and take up land in a new station (Stonyhurst) lately discovered by Weld. "We had a gay time at Wellington," he remarks, "the races helped to make the time pass rapidly, and Mrs. Petre gave a grand picnic before we sailed. Early on Monday, 10th February; I jumped out of bed, and saw the ship getting up her anchor, ran down to the beach where I found my men just coming for me, got on board in the nick of time, and we were soon beating out of the Heads." The voyage lasted four months. On the 12th of June they sighted the Start, left the ship in a pilot boat, and "when morning dawned we were in the well-known Weymouth roads. I never felt more crazy with joy than on landing. We took the coach to Bridport, and on my way I heard of Charles's marriage,[1] and found the village decorated with flags, in his honour. Every one was out when I arrived. I sent messages to say I had come; my father met me from the sea, the rest by 'Mamma's elm.'" The journal records a very gay and happy six months in Fred's life—visits to old friends, and to the homes of his youth, to Lulworth, Ugbrooke, and Wardour. Also to Danby, where, on the 12th, on Stanton Moor, he bagged 29½ brace of grouse. On the 21st of August he went south to see the *Alarm* sail for the Challenge Cup against the *America*, which he mentions as "a most unsatisfactory race." "We won," he says, "the Queen's Cup at Ryde a few days later."

[1] He married Mary, daughter of Thomas Bland of Kippax Park, Yorkshire.

Keen as Weld's enjoyment of sport was, and his pleasure in his friends' society, and home life, they did not distract his thoughts from certain problems which had been occupying him for the years previous to his departure from New Zealand, as the following paragraph in his journal proves:

"On leaving London I proceeded direct to Ham House, Mr. Adderley's place in Staffordshire, where I met Fox, Sewell, and Wakefield, to consult on New Zealand politics. We had previously helped to defeat the intention of ministers to saddle the New Zealand Company's debt on the general revenue of the country. We now concocted a Constitution which was afterwards approved of by the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Lyttelton, and upon which Gladstone's resolutions were founded. I stayed at Ham House three days."

Many delightful visits are noted during the course of the winter: covert-shooting parties, and hunting. Particularly is noted a visit to his great friend Simon Scrope, "where," he says, "I spent some of the pleasantest days of my life. It would be needless for me to attempt a description of my first day on 'Peri,' with the 'Harworth,' from Melbury cover, with only Simon and I well over the last fence—I am not likely ever to forget it, or the disaster with the 'Irishman' Hairtrigger, or our long day with the Duke of Cleveland's."

The new year was to bring Weld a great sorrow. On the 8th of January the news reached him at Tichborne that his father had died suddenly at Allerton, in Yorkshire. A long gap occurs in his diary. The next entry we find is as follows:

"I was for a long time prostrate in mind and body. Finally I resolved to go out to New Zealand as soon as possible. Many causes contributed to this conclusion; it was my mother's wish too, and I felt it was the best thing I could do."

The summer was spent at Chideock, with occasional absences in London to make preparations for departure, and farewell visits to his relations. He embarked in August and saw land off Otago on 12th December. On his return, Weld flung himself with his habitual energy into his old life. During his year's residence in England he had found time to write a pamphlet, entitled *Hints to Intending Sheep Farmers in New Zealand.* In this he treats at length of the capabilities of soil and climate in that country for sheep and cattle rearing. Also on the most remunerative breeds of sheep ; on cross-breeding as opposed to pure breeds ; and on the diseases to which sheep are liable. Also on the price of land, and the prospects of success to capitalist or squatter. He concludes with remarks which were certainly drawn from his own experience :

" Besides possessing the practical qualifications which I have enumerated, a man to be happy in such a life should have resources in himself. He should be fond of all kinds of active exercises : riding, boating, duck-shooting, sea-fishing. Above all he should be of a studious turn, as sometimes his book and his dog will be his only companions. Such accomplishments as painting and music, far from being out of place in a bark hut, are invaluable there. At home they are agreeable occupations, but in the bush they are more. For in moments of gloom or despondency, of vain regrets for the past, or useless longings for the future, the mind is often diverted and aroused from a morbid state by their cheerful and soothing influence."

This pamphlet ran to three editions, and even now may be consulted with advantage by the would-be colonist.

His return to New Zealand at the end of the year 1852 coincided within a few months with the grant made by the Imperial Parliament of a Representative

Government to New Zealand. This Act established a General Assembly, consisting of a Legislative Council[1] and House of Representatives—the former being appointed by the Governor, and the other elected on a £5 property qualification which was equivalent to manhood suffrage. No distinction was drawn of colour or race in this enactment, and it was a moot point for some time amongst the colonial authorities whether the franchise was extended to the natives or not. Their vote, however—in practice—was never refused at the poll, and in 1864 a law was passed giving them equal rights with the British settlers in this as on other questions. The country was divided into six provinces, which were governed by a superintendent and local council, in whom very large powers of self-government were invested. This Constitution was proclaimed by Sir George Grey on the 17th of January 1853. Within six months of this date, he was moved to the Cape. Before leaving the Colony, he called the provincial governments into existence without, however, summoning a General Assembly: a crucial error of judgment which led to disastrous results. For the local authorities were not long in assuming powers incompatible with that invested in the central government, to the grievous detriment of law and order in the Colony.

The following year Lieut.-Colonel Wynyard, the acting Governor, summoned the first General Assembly, in which Weld sat for Wairau, and Mr. Clifford was elected Speaker. The House met on the 17th of May, and Weld proposed the first amendment on a motion "that a clergyman be asked to open the proceedings with prayer." This was to the effect that the House, though recognising the importance of religious

[1] The Legislative Council numbered fifteen, and House of Representatives sixty. These numbers were subsequently increased.

observances, objected to an act which might tend to the subversion of that perfect religious quality which was guaranteed by the Constitution. The amendment was lost, but its principle was recognised by a formal resolution unanimously passed ; prayers were then read by an Anglican clergyman. On subsequent occasions prayers were read by the Speaker.

Weld's first speech in the House was on responsible government. The old official party still held the reins, and affairs were at a deadlock. After a debate which lasted several days the House passed unanimously the following resolution :

"That amongst the objects which this House desires to see accomplished without delay, both as an essential means whereby the General Government may rightly exercise a due control over Provincial Legislature, and as a no less indispensable means of obtaining the confidence and attachment of the people, the most important is the establishment of ministerial responsibility in the conduct of the legislative and executive proceedings of the Governor."

Colonel Wynyard, on receiving this intimation of the wishes of the Representatives, sent for Mr. J. E. Fitzgerald, who had taken a leading part in the discussions, and requested him to carry on the business of the House till the Home Government could be referred to to facilitate the retirement of the "old gang." Fitzgerald associated with himself Weld, Mr. Sewell—a lawyer of great ability—and Mr. Dillon-Bell, and proceeded to draw up some very urgently required measures. At first all went smoothly, but before very long it was clear that there were adverse influences at work. What these were we read in a letter from Weld to an old and intimate friend :[1]

[1] Mr. Simon Scrope.

"When we entered office it was agreed that the officials who formed the old executive should continue for the present to fill their posts and carry on the routine work till their retiring pensions were agreed upon, and the Home Government had accepted their resignations. Well, things went on this way till—the end of the session approaching—the Assembly declared in unmistakable terms its wish that permanent arrangements should be made for the transaction of business. Besides this, such strong evidence of financial mismanagement had come out that the House demurred at voting large sums of money to any but a responsible executive. Again, we had in several of the Bills introduced by us asked for large powers for the Governor and the executive, in order to remedy various existing evils; the House—a very Conservative one—was quite ready to grant these powers, but only to a Governor with responsible advisers. The acting Governor at first appeared to side with us, but he was won over by our opponents. I, for one, would not retain my place in the Administration unless all the offices were filled with really efficient men in cordial co-operation for the same ends. Mr. Fitzgerald—the head of our ministry—came round, after a little consideration, to the same opinion; and the two others thought the same. The Governor would not give in, so we resigned. The Representatives were, of course, furious, and there was a very stormy scene in the House. Responsible Government which they rightly considered had been conceded to them had been upset by the tenacity of the old officials, who had made it impossible to carry on the government. A vote of thanks and confidence to us was at once passed *unanimously*, Wakefield and two or three of his followers not remaining to vote."

The prorogation of the General Assembly followed on the resignation of ministers, and the Colonial Office at home settled the question six months later by pensioning off and dismissing the former office-holders. Colonel Gore Browne was appointed Governor of New Zealand the following year. On his arrival

he announced to the General Assembly—then sitting—his intention "to continue the policy hitherto adopted towards the aborigines in maintaining inviolate their right to their land, and securing to them an impartial administration of justice." He also signified his intention of carrying out the principle of ministerial responsibility in all its integrity. He then dissolved Parliament. With the new General Assembly which met on 15th April 1856, and not till then, could parliamentary government be said to have begun.

To return to Weld, one is conscious from an examination of the letters and other papers relating to this time of a change that has come over him. He had gone through a great sorrow. It was his first, and for the moment it was an overwhelming one. His home was broken up, his family scattered. We have got letters—too intimate and sacred to be published—in which he offers to give up his prospects, at that time very encouraging ones, to go and live with his mother in England. She refused to let him make the sacrifice. Her health was delicate at the time of his father's death and she only survived him six years, and those years she dedicated to God; following the example of her daughters—all of whom had adopted a religious life—she became a nun of the Benedictine Order at a convent in Staffordshire.

The Crimean War was at this time occupying every Englishman's thoughts, in the colonies no less than at home, and we find Weld writing to his eldest brother to ask him to ascertain if there would be any chance of his being able to get out to fight as a volunteer. He tells him all his old longing to be a soldier has returned, that his life in New Zealand has begun to lose its charm, also that as his affairs there had prospered greatly he could well afford himself a

holiday.[1] Pending the arrival of an answer, Weld started on an expedition to the hot springs of New Zealand, with a friend, the Hon. James Stuart Wortley. They left Auckland in the last days of September at the end of the session, and found themselves, after various watery adventures at Tauranga, on the east coast of the Northern Island. Weld's journal, from which we quote, was illustrated by a number of sketches.

" *October 3rd.* A canoe put us across to the south side of the harbour, passing Archdeacon Brown's house—prettily situated on a hill amongst peach trees, above the bay. Breakfasted on landing, then crossed sandy flat below the Monganiu which—Gibraltar-like—forms the south head of the entrance to the harbour. We then found ourselves on a sandy shore (good walking at low water) which stretches to a distance of fifteen miles to Maketu. Wortley and I reached it two or three hours before our Maories. Having had our letters forwarded to Rev. J. Chapman we called at his house on a rising ground a little distance from the pah. Mrs. Chapman asked us to stop. Spent the evening there, but went back to our tent to sleep in order to make an early start in the morning. Maketu pah on a cliff above entrance of the river, schooners can enter. Haupapa, chief; gave him letter from Governor Wynyard; a big handsome man, face tatooed all over. He was very anxious to lionise us over the country; we declined the honour.

" *October 4th.* Off at sunrise. Country swampy, hills covered with fern. Reached fine river about 4.30, encamped a mile farther on near some warès. The Maories—one a hunchback—came on with us the following day.

" *October 5th.* Country hilly, with fern and fine Rimu and Tawa trees. Strong sulphurous smell. We came in sight at midday of lake Roto Iti, and

[1] The answer, when it arrived, gave no encouragement to Weld's hopes; the war also was drawing to a close.

descending to the banks of an inlet camped there, awaiting the advent of a canoe which Bartholomew, the hunchback, had arranged with us in the morning to send across to meet us here. This our first view of the lakes was certainly a very beautiful one. Canoe arrived but was too small. Wortley crossed lake with luggage, and the rest of us walked on. Met a Maori and engaged a canoe to return and pick up Wortley, and come back for us afterwards and land us at a pah at the junction of the Roto Iti and Rotarua lakes. This appeared to be a more direct road to Te Ngue than the one over the hill from the place where Wortley had landed. Waited for some time and sketched one of the headlands with a picturesque pah. Returned with our guide, and launched a large canoe at his kaingu still farther up the lake. At this spot the Maketu River flows out of the lakes, and the road starts for Tauranga. Paddled up the Koto Iti, which is about eight or nine miles long, hills and islands wooded, with promontories crowned with remains of pahs. After going about three miles down the lake, found Wortley at Warè Tata. A hot stream flows down into the lake from a source that was puffing up clouds of white steam on the hill above. The water a pleasant heat; our Maories took a bath. Slight smell of rotten eggs. Pushed off again and returned up the lake, passing several hot springs on the left hand. Heavy hail and thunder storm, in the midst of which we got to Moreha pah. Pushed on for Te Rotorua—our natives employing others to carry our packs. Two miles brought us there. Mr. Smith made us welcome, and here we passed the night. His house is on a flat with garden and orchard, and seemed comfortable and homelike.

"*October 6th*. Canoed across Rotorua to Ohinemutu, about six miles. The lake is about seven or eight miles long, with an island which is inhabited. Legend says that a maiden called E. Hine Moa swam across, three miles, to her lover—a rock was pointed out to us on an opposite headland where she had left her clothes. The lake is of no particular beauty. Steam of boiling springs rises at several points round its shores. Met a canoe laden with fresh

water mussels, and got some. Arrived at Ohinemutu, and sent Bishop Pompallier's letter to Marino, who was working at a mill that a European is building a mile hence for the natives. He turned up directly, a tatooed face, with dress and manner a cross between a groom out of place and a seedy sacristan. He touched his hat (!), shook hands, and took us up to the priest's house—which was empty—where he and his wife 'Mary' (a clean, tidy-looking native) fed our Maories and ourselves on the fat of the land. Ohinemutu, both as regards nature and art, is by far the most interesting place I have seen in New Zealand. Formerly it must have been beautiful, now, like all the pahs I have seen, it bears unmistakable signs of decay, and of a dwindling population. Quantities of very fine and elaborate carving lay scattered on the ground. The outer palisade had fallen, a fact due no doubt to the posts decaying from the heat of the ground; also possibly to tribal wars. Enough remained, however, to show what it once was. In the evening Wortley and I wandered about in the pah—amongst boiling springs and geysers—passing from one warè to another and admiring the beauty of the carving, in many instances painted, with which these now deserted houses are loaded. We noticed three-fingered men amongst the figures. But the artificial curiosities of Ohinemutu are nothing to the natural ones. The point of land on which it stands appears to be a mere crust entirely undermined by cavities filled with boiling water. In many places one has but to push one's stick into the ground to cause a jet of boiling water to spurt out. Springs are puffing up steam on every side, and their water flows off into pools of varying temperature—where the natives spend most of their time, smoking and chatting, some bathing, whilst others enjoy themselves squatting on hot flat stones. The whole place, built amongst and over these springs, is a perpetual vapour bath. Some of the springs throw up jets of water to a height of twenty feet—one did so whilst we were looking—and then subside to their usual bubbling state. Others again never get beyond a gentle simmer; some are of pure water, others flop up mud and slime. Natives civil and obliging.

Marino and his wife hospitality itself ; we got clothes mended, bread baked, etc. They had no flour of their own and potatoes were scarce.

"*October 7th.* We sent our Maories on the road to Okarika along the shores of the lake, whilst (under Marino's guidance) Wortley and I took a more inland route in order to see the hot springs of Waka-rewa-rewa, intending to join the men at the end of the lake. After passing over a moorlike tract covered with manuka scrub and fern—a puff of steam now and then rising from the ground—we reached Waka-rewa-rewa. These springs are even more remarkable than those we had previously seen ; they consist of cauldrons of hot water and mud, and boiling springs, some in pits amongst the manuka, others rising out of craters of calcareous stone and chemical salts, apparently formed by the action of the jets of water. This place is situated at the foot of the hills at south-west end of the Rotarua lake, and about a mile from the shore. The ground round it is broken and rocky. The general aspect of the country is wild and moorlike ; small patches of bare calcareous stone are scattered amongst the scrub ; the rocks are covered with pure sulphur in crystals, hot mud as well as water springs rise in all directions, and steam pours out of every crevice and fissure in the rocks or earth, whilst there is a constant noise of bubbling, hissing and puffing—in short, all the sounds and pulsations that tortured steam can produce, both in the ground under one's feet, and above it. Marino put us on the main track, and we soon overtook our natives. We then kept straight on till we reached Okanka, a very pretty lake about two miles long by one mile broad, with fine wooded banks and beautiful distant views of the Terawera Mountains. We got a native boy to row us down the lake, then landed, climbed a low hill and found ourselves in sight of Lake Terawera. Our course lay along the shores of this lake. At Karadee (Galilee) we got a boat—a good deal of sea on, but the wind fair. After a time we got into smooth waters, between narrows, on one side trees down to the water's edge, on the other the bare rocky slopes of the Terawera Range. The headlands here were crowded with pahs, occupied (our natives

told us) by rival chieftains who have all, within the last six months, been at war with each other. We passed one pah which was a heap of ruins—having been destroyed in a night surprise. A man came down to our camp fire who had been wounded in three places and who described his escape with much pride to our Maories, showing them his scars. From the narrows we passed into a very rapid stream of which the waters were pleasantly warm, and which flowed through a swamp abounding in wild duck, which, however, are protected by 'tapu' from being slaughtered. It was nearly sunset when we reached Te Tarata, which I can only describe as one of the loveliest sights I have ever seen. It is a succession of basins or terraces of stalactites, the colour of marble or alabaster, over which water flows from basin to basin till it falls into a crater filled with boiling water at its foot.[1] This crater, or pool, is intensely blue in colour, with an island covered with red rocks, and brilliant green foliage; on three sides of the pool there are steep cliffs partly covered with bushes. We encamped here for the night, and the Maories made themselves a blanket hut, and were happy feasting on a pig I bought at Karadee.

"*October 8th.* Got up early and ascended terraces, admiring the pools of opaque blue, and pure blue water enclosed in delicate shell-like basins of spotless stalactite. Tried several heats, and, finding one to my liking, bathed, and returned to my blankets till breakfast time, leaving my dirty clothes in a pool to boil. After breakfast walked to the top of the crater, and sketched. In the afternoon Wortley and I, guided by the wounded native, started to see the other wonders of the lake. Rotomahana is small, not above a mile across in any direction, reedy, and apparently shallow. Wild fowl abound, especially a white-winged teal, and the pukeko was strutting about everywhere amidst the reeds. We landed, and were taken up to a most picturesque spot amongst the hills to see a pool of boiling water, which, whilst we sat near it, suddenly favoured us by spouting up water to the height of 20 or 25 feet, and then quietly subsided. An overgrown path over soft moss, and

[1] These terraces were destroyed in an earthquake, June 1886.

"TE TERATA," LAKE ROTOMAHANA. 8TH OCTOBER 1854.

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through a luxuriant growth of manuka, led us to a little lake of a deep pea-green colour. Returning to our canoe we passed two islands with red rocks and green bushes, and yellow flowering shrubs, and landed at Olukupuarangi where the rose-coloured terraces are situated on the opposite shore of the lake. Climbed up to the top of the terraces which are even more beautiful, we thought, than any we had yet seen. They are white, and shaded with delicate rose-colour, the steps deeper, and more uniform than at Tarata—from which they also differ in there being fewer pools after every ascent or step. We walked half round the crater (above the terraces) as far as the natives considered it safe to go, in some places standing on the shore, which is encrusted with sulphur, looking down into the fathomless depths of the lake, in others wading in, where it gradually shelves off, to get a view of the shallows—which fade away into the most exquisite shades of blue and green. We returned late to the camp, having seen more beautiful sights than I had ever witnessed before in my life."

After thoroughly exploring the volcanic region, Weld and his companion continued their journey westward to Lake Taupo in the centre of the Island. Their road on leaving the lake lay through very wild and uncultivated country, where they more than once encountered natives who had never before looked upon a white man's face. They reached Wanganui in the last days of October, and New Plymouth shortly afterwards, from whence Weld took ship to Wellington and returned to his pastoral occupations at Stonyhurst and Brackenfield.

In August 1854 the news reached New Zealand of the great eruption in the Sandwich Islands. This was an opportunity not to be lost; accordingly Weld, accompanied on this occasion also by Mr. Wortley, chartered a small sailing vessel and started off for the scene of action. They took nearly three weeks

for the voyage, and long before they reached their destination they could see that the "great mountain" (for such is the meaning of the name Mauna Loa) was in full activity. Weld sent an account of his ascent of the crater to Sir Charles Lyell, and it was afterwards published in the *Journal of the London Geological Society*. The following is a somewhat epitomised version of it. On landing on the island Weld says :

"We saw three principal summits, Mauna Kea (13,800 feet), Mauna Loa (the 'Great Mountain,' 13,700 feet), and Mauna Huala Lei, rising above the forests and upland valleys, not, however, with that sharp-cut angularity of form usual in volcanic regions, but rounded and swelling in their outline. We crossed the island by the open valley of the Waimea, where many products of the temperate zone flourish, and, passing over the shoulder of Mauna Kea amid forests and belts of timber, descended thence into the Hamakua district on to the little town of Hilo, following a tract above the eastern seacoast through a most beautiful country. Numerous ravines filled with banana, bread-fruit, and candle-nut trees cut deeply through the grassy slopes, which—dotted with clumps of pandanus and bamboo, and varied by small coffee and sugar plantations—rose from the sea-cliffs to the forests. As we approached Hilo, clear bright rivulets dashed down the rocky channels of the ravine and fell in cascades into the sea.

"Hilo is a place of some importance as a resort of whalers, who frequent it for supplies. It may be said to stand at the foot of Mauna Loa, though the summit of the mountain is about forty miles inland with a gradual ascent the whole way. . . . The present eruption broke out on 11th August 1855, at about 12,000 feet above the sea-level on the northern side of the mountain. Having spent some days at Hilo, and completed the necessary arrangements, we started with natives and horses for Kilauea, intending to proceed on foot. The ascent, though very gradual,

may be said to begin immediately on leaving Hilo. The weather was unpropitious, and where the path was not lava it was deep mud, so that it was not till the second day that we reached Kilauea. The country varied between woods and jungles, and open tracts of fern, Ti (*Dracœnia terminalis*), and other bushes. A little before we reached Kilauea we entered the region of the Koa—a tree resembling the Australian Eucalypti, but which I believe is classed by Douglas among the Acacia tribe. The soil, which is of a red colour, was covered with masses of scoriæ, and in many places by streams of old lava. On the afternoon of 14th November we stood above the great crater of Kilauea, 4104 feet above the sea. We found a grass-built hut on the verge of the upper rim of the crater, and here we took up our quarters. The mountain of Kilauea may be described as the base of a broad, low, truncated cone, standing on a high level plateau on the side of Mauna Loa. From our hut we looked down upon two partially sunken ledges, covered with grass, fern, and bushes. Below these ledges lay a great crater like a round basin, about seven miles in circumference at the upper rim. The depth from the highest of the surrounding cliffs to the bottom of the crater has been calculated at about 1500 feet; these cliffs form a kind of wall of yellowish gravelly clay and dark basaltic rock, and are nearly perpendicular. Looking down into the crater it had the appearance of a flat plain of dull lead-coloured lava, and containing an infinity of small mounds and craters, whence issued clouds of smoke. Mr. Stuart Wortley, who was prevented by indisposition from going on with me to Mauna Loa, and remained at Kilauea, observed some small craters within the great crater occasionally ejecting hot stones and melted lava. The lava cools into every variety of form and consistency; the most curious is the capillary lava called by the natives 'Pelé's Hair.' It strongly resembles hair of reddish, brownish, or golden hues, and is supposed by the Sandwich Islanders to be the hair of the goddess Pelé, who luxuriates in the bath of fire of her volcanoes in the same way as they do in the cool waves that break over their coral reefs.

"Having spent a night in the grass-hut I started

early in the morning of 15th November with three natives for the new craters of Mauna Loa. After walking a couple of miles through a grass country we entered a wood, and began the ascent. In about two hours we began to emerge from the wood, and by 9 a.m. we were fairly upon the lava. It was an old lava stream, with various species of Epacris—a red whortleberry—and similar plants growing in its crevices. Our course this morning had diverged a little to the north, and then to the south of west, but now we made straight for the upper crater on the rounded back of Mauna Loa—bearing about west. Before us lay a vast wilderness. On either side belts of woods that had escaped comparatively recent eruptions struggled yet a little higher up the mountain side. We passed several large caverns, once the ducts of molten lava, and formed of the cooled upper crust of the lava-current. Proceeding onwards, over lava and loose porous stones like pumice, only harder and somewhat heavier, we arrived about 11 a.m. at a little oasis of coarse grass, with a few bushes and koa trees, an old hut and a deep pool of delicious water in a deep cave. Here the old track to the north-west of the island turns northwards—passing between Mauna Loa and Mauna Kea. We halted here for a few moments to refresh ourselves and then pursued our course up the bare lava. At about 3 p.m. the guide, disappointed in his expectation of finding water in a cavern, altered his plan and instead of keeping his westerly course turned north-west. Shortly before sunset we found a little water amidst a few solitary stunted bushes, and then, turning westward, shaped our course directly for the lower of the two craters, which were sending out dense volumes of smoke above us. We lay down for the night in a little patch of half-vitrified ashes, at a height as near as I could calculate of about 9000 feet above the sea. The next morning we started before sunrise. Our way lay, mile after mile, over loose, light scoriæ boulders, yeasty-looking basins, and tortuous folds and waves of solidified lava—caverns whence the hot lava had flowed away, and hillocks of stones burnt to a deep orange-red. The view from the site of the eruption of 1852

GREAT ERUPTION OF MAUNA LOA, HAWAII. 16TH NOVEMBER 1855.

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which we passed during the morning was most glorious. The old conical craters on its summit were covered with newly fallen snow ; its huge outline lay shadowy and dim and the clouds of smoke that rose round its base from the valley below, the wild dreariness of the foreground, and the tropical sky above all, formed a picture which was indescribably grand and impressive. About midday we arrived at the scene of the present eruption. After walking some distance across the recent lava, we obtained a good view of the fiery flood below, through a broken part of the surface. The huge arch and roof of the cavern glowed red-hot, and, as with some difficulty we reached a point directly over-hanging it, the glare was absolutely scorching. The lava at almost a white heat flowed slowly down at the rate of about three or four miles an hour. Passing several similar abysses and fissures we arrived at the lower crater. The upper crust of the lava having cooled, the discharge there was entirely subterranean. Lying down on the hot stones I attempted to look over—as it were down a great chimney—to see the boiling lava, which I heard seething and bubbling below. I got my head over the edge, and had just time to see a long broad fissure full of smoke when I was almost suffocated with smoke and sulphuric acid gas and thought myself lucky to beat a retreat in safety. . . . Our sleeping-place was about 500 feet below the level of the crater. The night with us was fine, but whilst above us the crater rolled up dark columns of smoke, below—over Hilo and Kilauea—a great thunderstorm raged. Later it rained, and in the morning the outside of the rug in which I slept was white with hoar frost."

The descent was performed without difficulty, and in half the time taken for the ascent.

A month later Weld started for England. His stay on this occasion was short. He was back in New Zealand early in 1857, and remained there till the autumn of 1858, when he again embarked for home The following winter was to mark a fresh departure

in his life, for he met the gentle being who was to transform his existence, giving him what his affectionate nature craved for, more than for any of fortune's gifts—a home.

The history of their courtship is a short one. They met, fell in love, and after a short interval he proposed and was accepted. Filumena was the daughter of Mr. de Lisle Phillipps[1] of Garrendon Park, and Grace-Dieu Manor in Leicestershire, and his wife, Laura Clifford, the latter being Weld's cousin in the second degree through his mother. They were married on the 10th of March 1859, in the private chapel at Grace-Dieu, and spent their honeymoon at Teignmouth. This was to have been followed by a journey to the south of France, but on their way thither they stopped at Chideock for a passing visit to his eldest brother and his wife. Here he was taken ill with what turned out to be a severe attack of typhoid fever. For weeks he hovered between life and death, and finally was nursed back to life by his devoted wife and his sister-in-law. His convalescence was a long and slow one ; but he was sufficiently recovered by the month of October of the same year to start, with Mrs. Weld, on his return journey to New Zealand, where they arrived in January 1860.

[1] Mr. Phillipps assumed the name of de Lisle in 1862, and was afterwards known as Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle.

Sir Frederick and Lady Weld.

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CHAPTER VI

"The day is short and the work great. It is not incumbent upon thee to complete the work, but thou must not therefore cease from it."—TALMUD.

NEW ZEALAND at the period which we have now reached was passing through a critical moment of her history. More than one cause contributed to this state of things. The Constitution was a new machine, and like many new machines it did not at first work smoothly. The provinces, instead of acting in harmony with the central authority, intrigued against it ; thus much of the time and energies of the Government were taken up in a struggle for supremacy which might have been directed to more useful ends.[1] The native question also had come once more to the front, and there were unmistakable symptoms that the fire which had been smouldering for twelve years was about to burst into flame. Many causes contributed to this, but the one that lay on the surface was that the hitherto inarticulate wrongs of the Maori had found a voice in Tamihana,[2] and a rallying-point in his puppet-king Matuera Potipau. If we could look into that little-understood thing, the black man's mind (the rule applies equally to those of a

[1] The provinces claimed great powers in financial and other matters, even passing laws affecting the contract of marriage, which accordingly differed in different parts of the colony.

[2] Tamihana, or William Thompson, *alias* the King-maker, by all of which names he was known to the settlers, was a Christian. He took a prominent part in the rebellion, but ended by making his submission to the Crown.

tawny skin, and to the native of other lands besides the New Zealander), we should probably see small fear of the British soldier, but a deeply-rooted one of the power behind him. To the Maori the soldier was anything but the invincible being we like to think him. Tradition dies hard in the bush, and tradition no doubt recalled the triumph of Ranghiaiata and Rauparaha at Wairau—triumphs, too, which went unpunished, and were followed by no reprisals. There were other reasons as well which contributed to give them confidence. They had possession of the whole interior of the Northern Island. In that wild country, amidst primeval forests, and mountains which had never been trod by a European foot, the native had a safe place of retreat whither the redcoats had never attempted to follow him. He was as well armed, too, as his adversary, as till the war broke out little or no embargo had been laid on the sale of arms. To the leaders of the war party, therefore, all that appeared necessary was an excuse to break the peace so that they might "try conclusions" with the soldiers, and having beaten them, turn the Pakeha bag and baggage out of the Islands, and the hated and ever-encroaching British rule that they represented.

The excuse was soon found. A native of the name of Rawiri defied the land league and offered a piece of land in the province of Taranaki to the Government for sale. He was first warned, then on persisting he was made an example of and shot. Colonel Wynyard, acting on the theory that it was no part of his duty to interfere between natives in their disputes, left the crime unpunished. A blood-feud ensued in which the murderer was slain by Rawiri's friends under circumstances of peculiar atrocity. Taranaki was still the scene of disturbances when Colonel Gore Browne was appointed Governor. He visited the province early in 1859, and held a meeting

there, first with the settlers and afterwards with the natives. On the latter occasion a chief of the name of Teira offered his land for sale, which was accepted by Gore Browne on condition that he could prove his title to it. Wirimu Kingi, who was present, objected to the sale, and on his being asked to show his rights over it he disclaimed any. Having made his protest he called off his followers and departed.[1] The Governor treated this as a test case ; that he did so was unfortunate in the light of future events. But the information which might have saved him from making the mistake was not forthcoming at the time, and no blame could be attached to Gore Browne for his ignorance of it. In a dispatch to the Colonial Office of the 29th of March 1859, after explaining that it was absolutely necessary to vindicate a right to buy land, he says :

"The right to sell land belonging to natives without interference on the part of other chiefs (not having a claim to share in it) is fully admitted by Maori custom. Any recognition of such a power as that assumed by Kingi would therefore be unjust to both races, because it would be the means of keeping millions of acres waste and out of cultivation. I have, however, little fear he will venture to resort to violence to maintain his assumed rights ; but I have made every preparation to enforce obedience should he presume to do so."

Directly afterwards Parris, the land commissioner, was sent to Taranaki to examine into Teira's title. The investigation was concluded in January 1860, and decided in his favour ; accordingly part of the purchase-money was paid and orders received to proceed with the survey, and some relations and followers of Kingi who had settled in the district

[1] He is reported to have said, in the picturesque phraseology of his nation, "Yes, the land is Teira's, but I will not let him sell it ; he has floated it, but it shall not go to sea."

were forcibly evicted.[1] This was a signal for revolt. Kingi stopped the surveyors with an armed force. He was opposed by British soldiers. Pahs were erected by the Maories and fired upon by the troops. Kingi got reinforcements from the Waikato tribe. The Governor sent to Australia for more troops ; the war had become a national affair, openly supported by nearly every tribe in the Island, and secretly sympathised with by the remainder.

A dissolution of the General Assembly enabled Weld, on his return to New Zealand (May 1860), to offer his services once more to the electors of Wairau. In his address he alludes in the following terms to the two questions which at that time were agitating all minds in the colony :

"The present difficulty at Taranaki is not a question in any way of ownership or title to land. It is this : Can a chief who assumes tribal authority forbid the exercise of rights of ownership by a native owner of land? I hold that quasi-sovereign authority, as claimed by W. Kingi in his forcible attempt to prevent the sale of land which did not belong to him, to be incompatible with the authority of the Crown. Whilst I deeply regret the necessity of an appeal to arms, and foresee the losses, bloodshed, expense and other sacrifices which it may entail on the colony, I yet doubt not but that the most humane as well as the wisest course is now, once and for ever, firmly to uphold and establish the supremacy of the Crown.

"I will now pass to the second question of vital interest to the country. Is New Zealand to be divided into a federation of petty states with arbitrarily fixed yet unchangeable boundaries? Should not rather the action of the people of the country be given free play to enable them to fulfil the conditions of a healthy growth by altering old geographical and political boundaries to meet such requirements as may be deemed necessary under changed condi-

[1] The Governor was supported in these measures by his ministers and all the leading men in the House, with the exception of Fox and Fitzgerald.

tions? The tendency to the former system has grown out of the mode in which our Constitution was launched adrift by Sir George Grey, whilst the latter system was no doubt the ideal formed by the Minister of the Crown who proposed, and by the Parliament that granted, our Constitution."

In the former system, he goes on to say, he sees a great and unnecessary expense, confusion arising from concurrent powers—six or eight legislative bodies doing badly what might be better done by one—and a multiplicity of laws. In the latter system he sees a reduction of expense, simplicity and unity in laws and administration for common objects, one legislative body in which competent men might meet, with full local self-government, legislative and administrative in all local matters.

He concluded by pleading his health, which had not by any means recovered from his severe illness of the preceding year, as a reason for not meeting his constituents in person.

As soon as the House met, Mr. Stafford, who at that time possessed its confidence, was asked by the Governor to form a ministry, and at the Premier's invitation Weld became minister for native affairs.

In one of the first speeches he made in this capacity he laid down in the following oft-quoted words his views on the right way of dealing with the race:

"The rule," he says, "for managing the natives resolves itself into a simple axiom which I will give you. *At all risks be just, at all risks be firm.* Justice requires wisdom, firmness requires external support; much therefore depends on the support of the Home authorities, much on the assistance afforded by this House."

He goes on to say that his attention had been given for years to native matters, that, in his opinion, the

true course to have taken in New Zealand would have been to have shown in an unmistakable manner the power of the Crown side by side with its justice and mercy. He denied indignantly the accusations which had been made against the colonists as a body, and expressed the opinion that "if the noblest race of savages that we know dies out, its ruin will be caused by its friends not by its foes. It was the so-called friends of the natives who had opposed measures which would have strengthened the hands of the Government and enabled it to do what was necessary for their education and civilisation."

One of the most useful measures brought forward by Weld during his term of office was one for the amendment of the existing Militia Act. In his speech on the second reading he gives a strong testimony to the services rendered by both the Volunteers and Militia of New Zealand in past days. "I remember well," he said, "how the Hutt and Wellington Militia behaved in the old war. No men could have behaved better ; New Zealand has a great deal to be proud of in her Militia and Volunteers." Measures of great use and importance were passed in this session. When the ministers came into office the finances of the country were in a very unsatisfactory state. The outstanding debts, including that due to the New Zealand Company, amounted to nearly half a million ; measures were taken by which these were provided for by fixed payments distributed over a period of years, equitably over the whole colony. Powers were also obtained from the Home Government to pass an Audit Act which gave the Legislature complete control over the Public Accounts. Steam communication was established with Australia and round the coasts of the Islands, and considerable sums expended on the necessary and pressing work of roads and bridges.

Whilst these measures were occupying the attention of the House, the guerilla warfare was being carried on with varying success between the natives and Her Majesty's troops and the Militia. At the end of a year little advantage had been gained on either side. The flourishing settlement of Taranaki had been laid waste by the natives, and the women and children had had to flee to New Plymouth for safety. The arrival of General Pratt infused fresh energy into the war. He sapped the approach to one of the strongest of the enemy's pahs, and at the last moment, when it was about to be blown up, Tamihana, who was in league with Kingi, and the prime instigator of the whole movement, sued for peace. The Governor, accompanied by the Minister for Native Affairs, went to Tearei pah to conclude a treaty of peace ; the latter gives the following account to his brother of what happened there :

" I am in camp on the Waitara," he writes, " with the Governor, as the insurgents here have asked for peace. We, of course, are equally anxious to give it, as we hope it will break up the confederacy which threatens the whole of the settlements of the Northern Island. We shall have enough left on our hands still when this chief submits—if he does so. We have had a suspension of hostilities for a fortnight, and yesterday there was a meeting between the Attorney-General, Native Secretary, and myself, on the part of the government and the heads of the native troops. There was a grand reception afterwards of the hostile natives and the friendly ones. One of the chief features of their proceedings was the appearance of a young girl to whom, according to their customs, it is left 'to say the word of peace.' This girl was clothed in a red shawl and a mat, and, her hair plaited with fern, and bare-legged, walked in front of the hostile warriors, weeping as she approached our natives. Their wives, decorated with green leaves and white feathers, welcomed them with cries and loud wailing. Entering the pah they sat down in

two parties and all lamented together; after that they made ceremonious speeches and feasted. To-day we meet them again, and if all goes well the Governor will be produced to read his speech to them, but we don't want him to appear till all has been settled and agreed upon."

Nothing came of these negotiations, but a peace was patched up a little later which lasted with only minor outbreaks for about two years. In October 1861, Colonel Gore Browne's term of office having expired, he was sent as Governor to Tasmania.

The appointment of his successor, Sir George Grey, was attended with a considerable flourish of trumpets. The colonists were given to understand that he was sent by the Home Government as "a great proconsul," a pacificator, who by his influence with the natives would bring about the end all had in view and many had striven for in vain—a lasting peace. It was even whispered that he had caused it to be represented in influential quarters that if the tangled web of New Zealand affairs was ever to be unravelled he was the man to do it. Whether the colonists shared in these sanguine views or not is a different matter. There is strong reason for believing that those who were most behind the scenes did *not*; but they loyally and unanimously determined to give the new policy and its author every chance.

The Stafford ministry had been replaced, in July 1861, by one of which Mr. Fox was the leader. This ministry was in power when Sir George Grey met the General Assembly for the first time on his return to the country in July 1862. It did not long possess the confidence of the House—Mr. Fox resigning on a question arising out of an offer,[1] made

[1] This dispatch was in answer to one from Sir G. Grey asking that the native affairs should be placed on the same footing as the other business of the colony.

by the Colonial Office, then represented by the Duke of Newcastle, to give the management of native affairs, which had hitherto been in the hands of the Governor and controlled by the Home Government, to the colonists. Mr. Fox's resolution was defeated by a union of the extremists on both sides. Those who wished entire ministerial responsibility did not consider he had gone far enough. On the other hand he did not satisfy such of his supporters who were in favour of leaving the native affairs under the Home Government till such time as peace was restored, and were also desirous of giving Sir George Grey a free hand in the management of the native question. The Dillon-Bell ministry, which took office on Mr. Fox's resignation, pledged itself to use every means for the pacification of the country—now trembling on the edge of a war—and, besides declining the Secretary of State for the Colonies' proposition to take over the entire responsibility of the management of the Maori race, asked for "an inquiry into the respective obligations of the mother country and the colony towards the native race." In pursuance of the former object the government in power (which became known as the flour and sugar government) started mills for the benefit of the natives wherever they were asked for or required; various Acts, framed by the previous ministry to lead the natives into habits of law and order, were enforced; native Commissioners and Magistrates with large salaries were appointed, and numberless natives were made paid assessors and constables. In short, whatever the Governor deemed necessary to back up his friendly overtures to the Maori was given without a murmur or stint by an obedient Ministry and a complaisant Opposition.

The natives accepted the olive branches, but as far as results were concerned, the sums expended

might as well have been thrown into the sea. They looked upon the Governor's policy as a confession of weakness, and bided their time—waiting, as was their wont, for the Pakeha to make the first move. The colonists also waited for something to be done, for the situation called for immediate remedies. In spite of the Maori having sued for peace at the end of the last war, the slight advantages gained by the British troops had never been followed up. The Tataraimaka block was held by the natives without a show of right on their side. Waitara was only in the nominal possession of the Colonial government, and though many of the original Taranaki settlers stuck to their guns, they did so at the peril of their lives. The cause of the native disturbances focussing on the province of Taranaki is easily explained. It was surrounded on two sides by hostile natives. The Waikato and Ngatiruani, both powerful and warlike tribes, had undisputed possession of the dense forests in the interior of the Island on its west and south-western frontier. Again and again it had been laid waste by Maori incursions, but the settlers, who were for the most part sturdy west-country folk, stood their ground. Living under the shadow of that glorious peak Mt. Egmont, it was said of them that they had imbibed something of the love of the mountaineer for their adopted home. To the Taranaki man "the mountain," as it was always called by him, was an object of love—almost of reverence. "Like the Greek islander who, placed in the vale of Tempe, asked, 'But the sea, where is the sea?'; so the Taranaki man would have asked if he had been moved elsewhere, 'But where is the mountain?'"[1]

A year elapsed without any further developments. Sir George Grey visited the Upper Waikato and

[1] F. A. Weld, *Notes on New Zealand Affairs*, p. 48.

Mount Egmont, "Taranaki." 1861.

[*To face p.* 114.

tried to get an interview with the king, but this design was frustrated by his majesty's wily advisers. He returned empty-handed—leaving a bad impression behind, as he had been heard to say that "he would dig round their king's flagstaff till it fell." He made another effort to meet some hostile natives near Wellington. Here also he was foiled. The "personal influence" game was played out. Some of the attempts to get hold of the natives had come to signal grief. The well-meant but indiscreet efforts of a stipendiary magistrate, Mr. Gorst, had produced a revolt which ended only just short of bloodshed. A military station which the Governor had made on the Waikato River, and the report which had been spread that he was going to put a steamboat on it, was met by determined opposition. The natives wrecked the building, and put a powerful bar across the stream. Matters were in this state when the Governor, early in the spring of 1863, whilst Parliament was in recess, announced his intention of taking possession by armed force (if necessary) of Tataraimaka, and ceding the disputed territory of Waitara to Wirimu Kingi and his friends.[1] The seizure of the Tataraimaka block by an unlucky disregard of consequences preceded the cession of the Waitara. It was hailed as a declaration of war by the Maori chiefs ; a few days later a small detachment consisting of two officers and eight rank and file were ambushed by a party of the Waikato tribe and shot down to a man. The Government also intercepted letters addressed by the leaders of the king's party to the natives in Cook's Straits exhorting them to "Sweep

[1] The Governor's reason for giving up Waitara was based on the fact that Kingi's relations had occupied pahs for ten or twelve years on part of the land sold by Teira to the colony. This, according to tribal customs, did not invalidate Teira's power to sell, but it led to difficulties which induced Sir G. Grey (contrary to the general feeling of the colony) to cut the Gordian knot by its surrender.

out their yard, and we will sweep out ours." This letter announced the intention of the chiefs to attack Auckland, and concluded with the last line of a well-known war-song: " Grasp firm your weapons, strike! fire! "

Directly afterwards the colony was informed of the surrender of the Waitara. That such a sequence of events was unfortunate (to say the least of it) in view of its effect on the native mind, which is ever ready to connect surrenders with defeat, can scarcely be denied, though to the Englishman it simply meant carrying out an act of justice previously determined upon. These events were followed by a vigorous prosecution of the war on both sides. Reinforcements of all kinds, including five gunboats, were sent from Australia and Tasmania, and a large army of 15,000 men, inclusive of militia and volunteers, under General Cameron took the field.

When the General Assembly met on the 19th of October 1863, the war, dating its commencement from the murder of the British escort on 4th May, had lasted nearly six months; moreover, the policy of the Government was reversed to an extent that must almost have taken away the breath of its members. Undoubtedly Sir George Grey's conduct smacked more of the autocrat than of a Governor of a colony provided with a Constitution and responsible ministry. But the situation was a grave one, and the " Royal speech " was received with commendable forbearance. In it, the Governor, after referring to the native rebellion and the means that he had taken first to avert it, and then to defend the colony, goes on to say that the most obvious of the measures which will have to be taken for the prevention of future wars, are " the introduction into the disaffected districts especially of an armed population sufficient to defend itself against all aggression. It should be distributed

in military settlements along the frontiers of the settled districts and elsewhere, so as to afford protection to the inhabitants of these districts. A considerable number of volunteers for such settlements have been introduced, and Bills will be submitted for your consideration to authorise and make provision for the carrying out of these objects on as extensive a scale as seems practicable at present. This will necessarily involve the occupation of a portion of the waste lands of the rebellious natives, but while ample land will be left for their own requirements, it is only just that they should be made to feel some of the evil consequences of plunging the country by wanton and unprovoked aggression into the expenses and miseries incidental to civil war."

A dispatch from the Duke of Newcastle followed, in which he announced to the Governor that in future his position with regard to his advisers would be the same with regard to native as to other affairs; that is to say, that he would be generally bound to give effect to the policy which they recommended for his adoption and for which, therefore, they would be responsible.

The House of Representatives, in reply, passed a resolution, without a division, to the effect that recognising "the thoroughly efficient aid which Her Majesty's Government is now affording for the suppression of the rebellion, and relying on its cordial co-operation for the future, the House cheerfully accepts the responsibility thus placed on the colonists." A similar resolution was passed in the Legislative Council (or Upper House). A new ministry was formed by Fox, with Whitaker as his Attorney-General.

Schemes of the magnitude outlined by the Governor in his "message" demanded a corresponding outlay. The House rose to the occasion and voted that the

sum of three millions should be raised, and applied as follows: War expenditure, £1,000,000; immigration to the North Island (of 15,000 to 20,000 people), £300,000; public works, such as roads, bridges, and general expenses of location of settlers, £900,000; arms, £100,000; electric telegraph in South Island, £150,000. Also £550,000 for purposes specified in the Loan Act.

Considering the (already) heavily indebted state of the country's exchequer, and the small number of its European inhabitants—at this time about 180,000—this loan could only be described as a portentous one. It was proposed to pay it by a first charge on the proceeds of the sale of land in rebel districts, the interest and sinking fund being charged on the general revenue of the whole colony, estimated for that year at £691,600. The "Suppression of Rebellion" Act was also passed, which, besides being opposed by Weld and Fitzgerald (his future colleague), was characterised by the former in one of his letters as being "tyrannical, and based on the worst type of Irish legislature of the last century." It was never put into force, and one of Weld's first acts on being made Prime Minister was to have it repealed.

Enough has been said earlier in this chapter to show the deep divergence between Weld's political opinions and those of the ministers who succeeded him in office. Without agreeing with their programme he did nothing to embarrass it. His own policy with regard to the native question never wavered. He was in favour of one of conciliation, which was as far removed from what he called (in one of his letters home) the "pap-feeding" one as it was from the drastic measures by which it was succeeded. Above all, he was in favour of continuity in the treatment of the so-called subject race, and he foretold from

the beginning—in his speeches both in the House and out of it—the effect on the natives of the vacillations on the Waitara question and its final surrender, and of the petulant changes of policy of the head of the administration which savoured more of temper than of statesmanship.

Though Weld took his share in the work of legislation in the years 1862 and 1863, he steadily refused to have his name put forward as a candidate for office. His life at home was now a fully occupied one. He had lately transferred his home from Flaxbourne to Brackenfield in the Canterbury district, in the neighbourhood of Wellington. Here, like the patriarchs of old, he looked after his flocks and herds and—profoundly blessed in his domestic relations—led a life of almost ideal happiness. An artist to the core, he had chosen a beautiful site for his house, and his letters home are filled with accounts of the growth of the trees he had planted and of his plans for its future embellishment. It must be borne in mind, too, that Weld's income was entirely dependent on his profession ; his wife had brought him but a small dowry, and he had already given "hostages to fortune," being at this time the father of three daughters. Under these circumstances he did not consider himself justified in making heavy sacrifices, such as taking up the time-absorbing and exceedingly ill-paid game of politics would have entailed, unless forced to do so at the call of duty.

The war meanwhile was being prosecuted with as much vigour as the tactics of the natives permitted. On more than one occasion when attacked by British troops in a strongly defended pah they contrived to escape by a masterly retreat under the very nose of their opponents. Finally, in November 1864, they sustained a crushing defeat at Ranghiri, where 189 prisoners were taken and more than one rebel chief

was found among the slain. General Cameron followed this up three weeks later with an attack on Ngaruawakia, the stronghold of the Waikato and the residence of the king. This was also successful.

A descent had been made simultaneously on Tauranga on the east coast, whither the king and W. Thompson had sought refuge, and here also, after various hotly-contested engagements (chief amongst which was the attack and defence of the Gate pah, and its subsequent evacuation by the natives), the British troops obtained a partial success. Still the war showed no signs of drawing to a conclusion. It had received a fresh impulse on the enemy's side by the outbreak of the Hau Hau or Pa Mariri fanaticism. This sect first showed itself in March 1864, when a body of natives, having surrounded and butchered a small detachment of English commanded by Captain Lloyd, proceeded to drink the blood of those who fell and cut off their heads.

"A few days afterwards (according to the native account) the angel Gabriel appeared to those who had partaken of the blood, and by the medium of Captain Lloyd's spirit, ordered his head to be exhumed, cured in their own way, and taken throughout the length and breadth of New Zealand, that from henceforward this head should be the medium of man's communication with Jehovah. These injunctions were carefully obeyed, and immediately the head was taken up it appointed Te Ua to be high priest."[1]

The following were amongst the tenets prescribed by the sect:

"The religion of England as taught by the missionaries is false. The Scriptures must all be burnt. All days are alike sacred, and no notice should be taken of the Christian sabbath. Men and women must live together promiscuously so that their

[1] W. Fox *The War in New Zealand*, p. 127.

children may be as the sand of the seashore for multitude. The priests have superhuman power, and can obtain complete victories for their followers by shouting the word 'Hau.' The people who adopt this religion will shortly drive the whole European population out of New Zealand—this is only prevented now by the head not having completed its circuit of the whole country. Legions of angels await the bidding of the priests to aid the Maories in exterminating the Europeans." [1]

This creed, which was framed on the attractive principle of embodying all the most cherished dreams of the race, spread like wildfire. In a very short time thousands of so-called Christian natives enrolled themselves under the prophet's flag, for his doctrines appealed not only to their nationality but to the brutal passions of the savage, to gross immorality, cannibalism, and the excitement of wild and obscene fanatical rites.

This new development damped the hopes of those who looked for a speedy termination of the war. When the General Assembly met in November 1864, the political and other prospects could hardly have been blacker. The prisoners (214 in number) had escaped from the island of Kawau and had entrenched themselves on a hill commanding the city of Auckland. The ministers, discontented with the Governor's policy, had resigned after an acrimonious dispute with him. Sir George Grey and General Cameron were on the worst possible terms. The financial position of the colony could hardly have been more unsatisfactory. Mr. Reader Wood, who had been sent to England to negotiate the £3,000,000 loan, had found the Home Government unprepared to guarantee it except on impossible terms. The pressing need for money was such that he had to "instruct the Crown agents to dispose

[1] W. Fox, *The War in New Zealand*, p. 129.

of a million of the 5 per cent. debentures unfettered by the restrictions of any minimum. On the 26th of August they reported that they had disposed of that amount, realising from it £803,657, the purchaser paying the half-year's interest of £14,448."[1] The year's expenditure owing to the war-bill and the heavy liabilities occasioned by the large state-aided immigrations amounted to £909,505, and money was still pouring out at the rate of £70,000 a month. Another cloud on the horizon was the movement for separation which began to show itself in the Middle Island. So far the Southern Island had backed up the North from motives of loyalty, but free as it was from a "native question" it was beginning to groan under taxes imposed on account of a war which threatened to be interminable.

Weld, writing to his brother in October whilst on his way to the opening of Parliament, alludes to the amnesty offered by the Governor to the natives, and regrets that it is not likely to lead to a lasting peace as "the Maori always considers that the first direct overture for peace is a confession of defeat." He then goes on to discuss the prevalent rumour that he would be offered the premiership.

"I think," he writes, "my policy would be too bold for the Representatives. I should propose to ask the Home Government to take away *all* the soldiers, and reduce our own forces to about 2000 men, whom I should arm with the best rifles procurable; these I would have trained to bush work and employ a part of them on the roads when not required to fight. With regard to the natives, I should not disarm them—it would be equivalent to a war of extermination to insist upon doing so. Their pride would be hurt as well as their fears roused, and we should only succeed with the loyal tribes, who would thus be at the mercy of their enemies. I should pardon all offenders except those

[1] Major Richardson, *Our Constitutional History*, pp. 33–4.

convicted of murder, and I should confiscate only enough land to show them that they lost by going to war, and, in order to secure the peace of the country, by starting armed settlements where they were required. But I should leave even the most turbulent tribes more land than they could ever require, which would then be of treble its present value. I should offer every inducement to the defeated tribes to settle down quietly, and enforce their submission by making roads through the most disturbed parts of the country —*by force* if necessary. At the same time I should stop the lavish expenditure in presents and bribing the natives to keep quiet. By the policy I have sketched out I believe the expenses of the colony might be reduced by one-half."

Weld had an opportunity within a very few days of carrying out his views.

The morning after his arrival in Auckland he writes in his *Notes* :

"The Governor sent for me and asked me to undertake the formation of a ministry and, as he said, to assist him in saving the country under overwhelming difficulties. My health was not strong at the time, and I had other private and personal reasons which at any less urgent crisis would have led me to decline, but I felt it to be my duty to go to work, and I consented. But before attempting to form a government, I obtained from His Excellency a pledge that I should have his concurrence in carrying out my policy should I secure the approval of the Assembly.

"I felt strongly that divided responsibility, or rather divided authority, for all British subjects as responsible to the Queen and to our common country, was at the root of half our misfortunes. I also felt that the time had come to put into force the true old-English Colonial policy of self-reliance. I knew that I should be called quixotic, that the timid would fear, the lovers of military routine be shocked and scandalised, the self-interested would cry out. Self-reliance included also self-exertion and self-sacrifice—it was not difficult to realise what that meant to a

people accustomed in a great degree to rely on others. I did not expect to succeed at once, especially in view of the difficulties by which we were surrounded, but I hoped to plant a seed of life which would bear fruit in time though I might never live to see it."

As a condition to taking office, and before forming a ministry, Weld gained the Governor's consent to the following propositions :

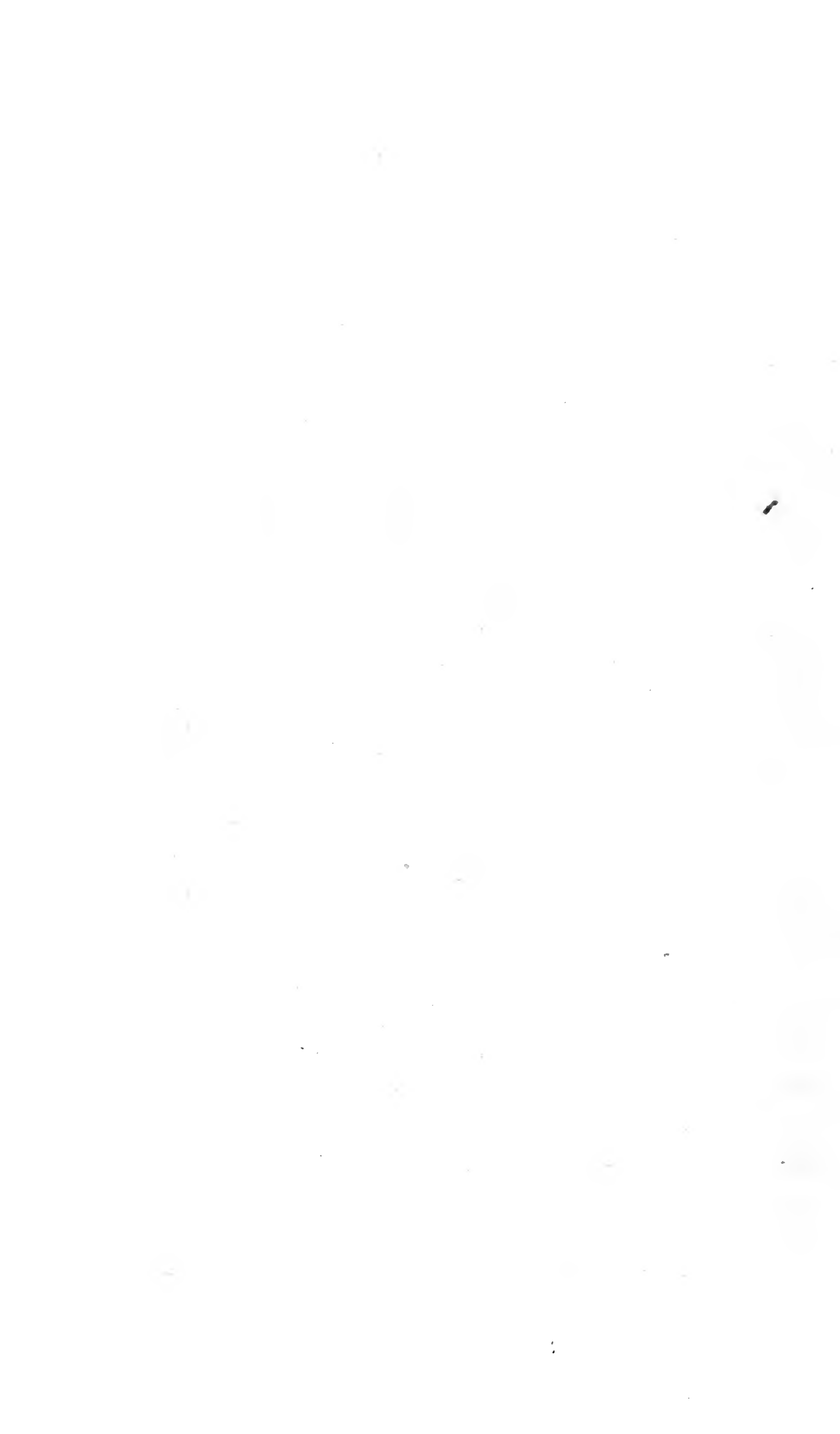
"(1) Mr. Weld, having received the Governor's commands to undertake the formation of a ministry, and having at an interview stated the grounds upon which alone he should feel justified in placing his services at the Governor's disposal, now submits in writing the following propositions for His Excellency's consideration.

"(2) Mr. Weld is of opinion that the system of double government by Governor and Ministers has resulted in evil to both races of Her Majesty's subjects in New Zealand. Recognising the right of the Home Government to insist on the maintenance of their system as long as the colony is receiving the aid of British troops for the suppression of internal disturbances, he is prepared to accept the alternative, and will recommend the Assembly to request the Home Government to withdraw the whole of its land force from the colony, and to issue such instructions to the Governor as may enable him to be guided entirely by the recommendations of his constitutional advisers, excepting only upon such matters as may directly concern imperial interests and the prerogative of the Crown.

"(3) Mr. Weld is aware that the Governor, before taking action upon a proposition which would change the whole aspect of the relations between the mother country and the colony, may probably feel it his duty to ascertain the views of Her Majesty's Government; he would therefore, pending their decision, recommend to the Colonial Parliament that the colony should undertake a reasonable liability for the services of troops actively engaged in the field, at the especial recommendation of His Excellency's Ministers, and for such troops only.

Mount Odin, "Tapuaenuku." 1861.

[*To face p.* 124.



"(4) Mr. Weld would recommend that a small standing colonial force be kept on foot, armed and trained with special reference to the nature of the services required.

"(5) It would be his duty to advise that at least one strong military post should be occupied about the centre of the coast-line of the Ngatiranui country with such force as the Lieut.-General may deem requisite, and that a road may be made from Wanganui to the northern part of the Taranaki Province.

"(6) The colony having entered into arrangements with a large number of military settlers, Mr. Weld proposes that sufficient land, being part of the territory belonging to the insurgents, and now in military occupation, should be seized to fulfil those engagements."

In a seventh paragraph, Weld alludes to a measure passed in the last session to change the seat of Government from Auckland to Wellington, and proposes to carry it out at once; and in a concluding one he informs His Excellency that should he think it his duty to differ on any material point with his constitutional advisers, "Mr. Weld would without hesitation place his resignation in His Excellency's hands, and consider it essential that in such a case the Assembly should at once be called, or other advisers summoned."

The Governor having acceded to the above proposals, Weld formed a ministry consisting of Mr. Sewell as Attorney-General, and Mr. Fitzherbert as Colonial Treasurer. Major Richardson, Major Atkinson, and Mr. J. C. Richmond also joined the government, and at a later period Mr. Fitzgerald became Minister for Native Affairs. The House of Representatives, when Weld stood up to address it as Prime Minister, was doubtless in the mood to listen to any one who professed to have a "new cure for an old evil." He was also personally popular with the members. He could therefore count on a patient

hearing. After a speech which lasted an hour and a half, in which he explained the proposed ministerial policy, he ended with the following peroration :

" Sir, before I sit down I must, in a few words, allude to the circumstances under which we have taken office. When I was sent for by His Excellency, and requested to form a ministry, he intimated to me that the task he desired to impose upon me was one of extreme difficulty, but which gave an opportunity of performing great service. I had also been told on trustworthy authority that a large number of people in the colony did me the honour of calling upon me to devote myself to the public service in this great emergency. Doubtful, as I well might be, of my ability to meet the difficulty, and recognising as I did that in the twenty years in which I have known New Zealand no crisis of similar magnitude has ever arisen, I have yet, sir, felt it my duty, having ascertained from His Excellency the Governor that there was a prospect of my being able to carry out my policy, to place my services, should I secure the approval of the House, at the disposal of the country. My hon. colleagues know, as well as I know, what we risk by taking office at such a time —with native affairs unsettled, financial difficulties impending, with public feeling in England seeking to withdraw the assistance of the mother country from the colonies, an empty treasury, and heavily taxed resources. Therefore we may ask for a large indulgence and a generous support on the part of this House. We have felt, to use the words of a great Englishman, that ' Her Majesty's Government must be carried on.' We come forward then, when called upon, to carry on Her Majesty's Government over the colony of New Zealand. . . . When we measure the importance of the crisis, and turn to our own capacity, we might well—and better men than we might well be disheartened, but we are supported by the consciousness that if we fail, and if we fall, we shall at least fail—or fall—at the post of honour and of duty."

Weld, in a letter to his wife, gives the following

account of the reception he met with in the House. He says:

"I write this during a debate on resolutions we have proposed about the troops being recalled as soon as possible; also about our relations with the Home Government. We tried our strength in 'the Lords' to-day, and with four or five of the Southern men absent had a majority on the removal of the seat of government resolution. In the other House we had the largest majority I ever remember a ministry to have had—thirty-five to eighteen, with three absent who would have voted for us. I was mentioned specially by Fitzgerald in terms that made me feel quite ashamed; he ended by saying that the country was quite safe in my hands: that I was a man of tried courage, that every one knew what I had done in old days single-handed in a wild country, etc. etc. Stafford also was very complimentary, and quite faltered when he spoke of our old friendship, and of not being able quite to agree with me now. Even Fox promised me his cordial support. I know it would have pleased you to hear all this. So now I suppose we may consider the whole thing settled; for your sake I am very sorry, but I know you will do your duty as willingly and cheerfully as any wife in the world would do, and I will try and do mine."

The remainder of the session, which lasted till the 13th of December, was taken up in passing various Bills required to carry out the new policy. In view of the indebted state of the colony, the Customs Revenue was increased from £600,000 to £800,000. "Another part of the new policy was to take power to raise one million of money by the issue of short dated 8 per cent. debentures in anticipation of the three million loan, thus to avoid the ruinous sacrifice of raising money at 20 per cent. discount." Powers were also given to carry out the Panama mail contract. The Assembly was then prorogued till July.

[1] *Our Constitutional History*, p. 37.

The pacification of the country by means of roads carried through the disturbed districts had been a prominent feature in the new programme. With this object, Weld lost no time in starting military posts between Taranaki and Wanganui, a distance of 120 miles, of which about 90 was already held by the colony. The natives, encouraged by the Governor's amnesty, and Mr. Cardwell's dispatch (in which he recommended a policy of "voluntary cession" on the part of the natives instead of confiscation), took heart of grace, and attacked General Cameron, who had advanced in support of these posts to the Waitotara River. The Maories numbered between 400 and 500 men, and the General being taken by surprise narrowly escaped defeat. In this engagement the British troops, who were about 900 strong, all told, lost eleven men, and the same number of dead on the Maori side were found on the field. This was the only engagement of any note during a campaign which lasted from the end of December till April. The natives took to the bush, "whither," as the General observed in his dispatch, "it was useless for us to follow them,"[1] and the General kept to the road —traversing the distance of fifty miles which divides Nkumaru and Waigongoro at the rate of one mile per day. This road or track lay along the sea-beach, so the natives in allusion to this, and the pace at which he went, called him the "lame sea-gull."

The autumn having now set in, General Cameron went in to winter quarters at Auckland—being the only soldier, according to Sir George Grey, who ever thought of doing so in New Zealand. From this instance of military ineptitude it is a relief to turn to the doings of the colonial forces.

General Cameron when crossing the Waitotara

[1] Fox's *War in New Zealand* is the authority for the above facts. See pp. 175–76.

River had left a strongly fortified pah called Wereroa on his right flank. This pah not only threatened his rearguard, but was a standing menace to the Wanganui township. A long correspondence ensued between him and the Governor as to the feasibility of attacking the pah, Cameron declining to do so without more troops from England. To this Weld replied (in a memorandum of 20th March 1865), that "he advised the Governor to oppose any such demand; and he refused to recommend any operations to be undertaken which might involve the retention of imperial forces in the colony, and submitted his opinion that a colonial force of bushrangers and cavalry united with the loyal natives, whose interests are identified with those of the colonists, would be sufficient to undertake and execute all operations required."

The Governor, eventually, under the advice of his ministers took the matter in hand himself. With a small force, consisting of about 300 friendly natives, 140 Forest Rangers, and 25 Wanganui cavalry, he attacked the pah—having divided his forces, and sent one contingent under Major Rookes and Major Macdonell by a very rough track through the bush in a mountainous country, to carry a redoubt commanding the enemy's position. The redoubt was taken, and likewise fifty prisoners, who had come to the relief of the pah, without the loss of a life. The pah being no longer tenable was abandoned by the natives, and had the colonial forces been backed up by the imperial, every man would have been captured. Unfortunately the latter, under the command of General Waddy, "had no orders" from his superior officer, so though in close vicinity of the encounter the regulars took no part in it. The colonial troops followed up this success with an attack on Pipiriki, a stronghold of the enemy in the Waikato

country, and took this and another pah, Ohoutai, with hardly any losses. These successes were the subject of a leading article in *The Times*, where it was said that "the volunteers were taking pah after pah, and making short work of the war." Thus Weld fully proved his contention of the superiority of "men accustomed to the bush, confident in their own superiority in bush-fighting over the Maories, carrying their own provisions, and able to hut themselves quickly and comfortably as any bushman can, armed with the best and most perfect weapons. Such men, properly led (and there were men to lead them) and moving in small bodies, would be invincible." [1]

When Parliament met in July, the increased cheerfulness of the outlook was reflected in the response of the Legislative Council to the Governor's address. They "heard with satisfaction" various announcements; amongst others that a Bill was to be laid before them to appoint a Commission to advise upon the best means of obtaining parliamentary representation of the native race—for which object certain chiefs were to be invited to a conference in Wellington. Also that the "policy agreed to by us relative to the withdrawal of Her Majesty's land forces has been approved of, and will be adopted by the Home Government." They agree to the thanks of the colony being due to Major Rookes and other gallant officers of the colonial and native forces, and recognise that General Waddy and officers and men under him had given all the assistance in their power, "though precluded by their orders" from taking any active part in the conflict. They concur in the opinion that additional proof has been given by the operation in Taranaki and Wanganui, that the colony may rely with confidence on the skill and

[1] F. A. Weld, *Notes on New Zealand Affairs*, p. 29.

gallantry of its own officers and men, and the devoted courage of the loyal natives. It continues, as follows :

"We thank Your Excellency for your promise to issue orders for the return to England of five regiments, which we trust and believe will be quickly followed by the remainder of the imperial troops. We rejoice to think that the conditions imposed on the colony for the full attainment of constitutional government in native as well as in ordinary affairs will thus be fulfilled.

"We also note with satisfaction that the Act of last session relative to the establishment of a postal service by Panama will be carried out at once, likewise that the recent gold discoveries in the Middle Island have opened new fields for emigration, and given fresh impetus to the development of the material resources of the colony."

The document ends by concurring with His Excellency in seeing no cause for anticipating any check to an onward progress, which by God's blessing cannot fail to carry them through difficulties which already had begun to disappear.

Several important measures were passed during the session. An Act was passed confirming the contract for the Panama Mail Steam Company which completed the chain of steam communication round the globe. "This," Weld notes, "though New Zealand doubtless benefited by it, we did mainly on the ground that we were bound in honour to do so, owing to previous transactions to which the credit of the colony was pledged."[1] The Natives' Rights Bill was carried, which, besides benefiting the Maories in various ways, aimed at removing certain legal disabilities which prevented their having easy access to the supreme Court for the registration of their land titles. Other Bills affecting the public security in outlying districts became law. The Separationists

[1] F. A. Weld, *Notes on New Zealand Affairs*, p. 35.

were defeated. But as the session drew to a close it became clear that the disintegrating elements of New Zealand politics—the petty jealousies, the parochial views, which a common fear of a common danger had brought into line—were working for the downfall of the ministry. In this critical state of affairs Weld's health, which had been seriously undermined by his illness in 1859, and had never wholly recovered, broke down utterly under the pressure of anxiety and hard work, and he was unable to take his place in the House.

The question on which the ministry fell was a financial one. They had inherited a huge debt from their predecessors, and though in the year they had been in power they had introduced measures which were already effecting a saving of £160,000 a year to the exchequer, though Weld by his general policy had given confidence to the public, so that the New Zealand debentures, at one time unsaleable, were now negotiable at 8 per cent., yet additional taxation was required to meet the current expenditure. To raise the required sum the Government proposed the imposition of a duty on stamps. A coalition between the members of the province of Auckland, who were thirsting for the blood of the ministry who had had the courage to carry out the will of the country regarding the transfer of the seat of government from Auckland to Wellington, and a coterie in the Middle Island with whom Weld had refused to make terms on the Otago Native Reserves Bill—which he had opposed as unfair to a small tribe of natives in that district—opposed the Bill. Weld had warned his party that he would resign in the event of not obtaining their full support ; accordingly when he was saved from defeat by the casting vote of the Speaker only, he at once sent in his resignation.

Weld's comment on the proceeding in his note-book was as follows :

" Resigned—as the House would not afford us that full and cordial support (in imposing additional taxes) which was necessary to carry out our policy of self-reliance, to provide for the proper maintenance of the financial credit of the colony, and to complete the pacification of the Northern Island. His Excellency, by my advice, sent for Mr. Stafford to form a ministry. His Excellency, in our final interview, expressed in the very strongest terms his regret at losing us, but, he said, if the blow was to come he was glad that the ministry should fall with dignity, and in a manner (and in a cause) which would raise the character of the colony immensely in the estimation of England. He said our administration had already done so. I thanked His Excellency for the cordial co-operation he had always given us. I explained the reasons why I did not think it right to ask for a dissolution. I further said that the policy of self-reliance had, in my opinion, been tried and had succeeded, that no great principle can be established in government without undergoing temporary checks, and that I trusted to time to prove the justice of our cause."

These words were fulfilled to the letter.

These were not the only benefits derived by the country from Weld's term of office. As the leading newspaper of New Zealand wrote :[1]

" He has done wonders ; surrounding himself with able colleagues, he has finally accomplished two measures which the greater part of the colony had been anxiously desiring—the abolition of the system of double government, and the removal of the capital to a more accessible situation. He has recovered the finances from a state of chaotic confusion, and carried on public business with a vigour and success long absent from our colonial affairs. He has routed out the spirit of idle ' half-work ' which had been fostered under the unchecked pro-

[1] *The Press*, November 1865.

fusion of the previous administration, and stamped his own uncompromising honesty and energy of purpose on every department of the service. His policy has met with warm approbation from the Home Government and has been still more heartily approved by the large majority of his fellow-colonists."[1]

If we concede all the above merits to the "self-reliant" administration it may well be asked if there was no other cause, deeper and more far-reaching than any we have mentioned, which would account for its fall. To this we cannot give a better answer than by quoting another passage from the same paper:[2]

"Many of those who had greeted their policy with loud welcome, and exhausted their terms of admiration over Mr. Weld's chivalry and British pluck, drew back when they were called on to pay the cost. They admired self-reliance, they gloried in the fact that the colony had undertaken to defend itself without the assistance of British troops, but they wished to achieve those noble objects economically. It was good that a policy should be spirited, but it was better that it should be cheap. The credit and the honour of the colony might, they contended, be redeemed at too dear a price."

A dissolution also was impending, and the dread, in the minds of many, of facing their constituents

[1] The writer might have made out an even stronger case. It was said later: "Up to the time of Weld's government the public accounts of the colony were only published when from one to two years old. Long delayed, when delivered they were unintelligible. His government made an entire change. They inaugurated a system under which quarterly and annual publications of accounts was required to be made punctually. Also measures for auditing and comptrolling public expenditure; in short, measures of a character that could alone form the basis upon which any real and not imaginary schemes of retrenchment and economy can be established."—Fitzherbert, *The Hutt*, 14th Feb. 1866.

[2] *The Press*.

with the guilt upon them of having voted for fresh taxation outweighed all other considerations. "The shade of the hustings was over them all"; to this and to Weld's uncompromising straightforwardness his ministry owed its downfall.

Mr. Stafford signalised his assumption of the reins of office with a speech "feeble and unsatisfactory beyond any which has ever been delivered on such an occasion."[1] Weld, who had recovered sufficiently to struggle down to the House—answering from the front Opposition bench—"exposed the shallowness of the Prime Minister's statement of his policy, showing that he had avoided every question on which the country had a right to be informed as to the real views of the Government. Did he mean to keep the troops, or not?" Mr. Stafford answered that what he had said was, that he would offer no advice to the Governor inconsistent with the instructions sent out from England. "Exactly," retorted Mr. Weld. "Then you mean that we are to pay £40 a man for the troops?" Mr. Stafford tried to get out of this conclusion. Mr. Weld then called on the minister to show his colours before he went to the hustings. "I," said he, "have always said clearly what the Government wished and intended; we showed our colours so that all could see and understand them. The hon. member has sent up his colours, as they do at sea, tied up in a ball: I call on him to pull the ensign halyards and let them float out to the wind. Let us go to the country on a distinct question of policy. If you can save £240,000 to the colony, I will support you. But I say such economy is a delusion; you can only economise now at the cost of greater expense hereafter."[2]

These were Weld's last words in the House of

[1] *The Press.* [2] *Ibid.*

Representatives. His health had broken down under the strain upon it, and he was warned by the doctor that unless he abstained for some time from all brain-work and, above all, kept away from the excitement of political life, he would run the risk of being an invalid for life. That this view was not unduly pessimistic we learn from other sources.

Mrs. Weld, writing home, mentions that her husband has had to give up all his active habits, and has been prostrated by headaches which prevented his making any exertion, mental or physical. In one of these letters she says that

"Fred has had a testimonial presented to him and signed by a large majority of the members of both Houses, saying that they hoped, if his health permitted, that he would again take his place as leader of his party; and that the 'stop-gap party' (which is the name Stafford's ministry goes by) would soon give place to the 'self-reliant.' There have been huge meetings all over the country in support of Fred's policy, at which the mention of his name was sufficient to bring out vociferous cheering. The Christchurch people have sent a deputation asking him to stand, and saying that they will return him free of expense and without his going near the place, if he will only consent. But the doctor says it would be madness. He wants Fred to leave the country and go home to England, for a complete change, but this, he says, he cannot afford to do at present."

Sir George Grey in a letter to his former minister, dated the 16th of October, alludes to "the very sincere regret" with which he parted from him. He says:

"I shall always feel grateful to yourself and your colleagues for the ability and discretion with which you have at all times advised me, and have conducted the affairs of this disturbed country during a most difficult period. You thus afforded me an assistance which can only be duly appreciated by those who,

having had equal difficulties to contend with, have had at the same time a support of equal value afforded them."

The closing of the session of the year 1865 followed almost immediately on the defeat of the government. Ten months elapsed before the House reassembled in August 1866, giving Stafford ample time to redeem his pledges to it with regard to financial reforms. Fortune favoured his administration; the opening out of fresh goldfields in the West Canterbury district in the winter of 1865 had brought a large increase of population, and with it a corresponding rise in the revenue. Native affairs wore temporarily a brighter outlook in consequence of the vigorous measures taken by General Chute (Cameron's successor) to put down the rebellion.[1] Yet in spite of these advantages, and the increased confidence in the monetary world which the Stafford ministry owed to the wise measures initiated by their predecessors, rumours gained ground long before the House met that the £240,000 of savings promised by the head of the government would not be forthcoming when the day of reckoning came. These rumours were converted into certainties when Mr. Jollie, the Colonial Treasurer, produced his Budget. The liabilities of the colony—to the reduction of which a large sum had been allotted by Mr. Fitzherbert—remained untouched; the expenditure had increased, Auckland had benefited by a sum of

[1] With regard to this campaign Weld wrote: "Mr. Stafford has stated in the House of Representatives that he did not advise the campaign. I should have resigned rather than permitted it. General Chute marched victoriously from one end of the district to the other; he entirely re-established the prestige of British troops, but also upset all Mr. Parris's negotiations with the natives, destroyed at least one friendly village by mistake, shot a prisoner against the protest of the only colonial authority present, and though his success from a military point of view was complete, nothing could have been more unfortunate for the prospects of peace."—*Notes on New Zealand Affairs*, p. 48.

£100,000 and fresh engagements had been entered into to the extent of £200,000. To meet the deficit Mr. Jollie asked for an income-tax as well as a duty on stamps. A vote of want of confidence was at once moved by Mr. Moorhouse, which was carried by forty-seven votes to fourteen. This was followed by Stafford's resignation. The Governor then sent for Moorhouse, who declined to take office and recommended the reinstatement of the Premier, a course which was agreed to by the House after some days' discussion.

It may seem strange that Parliament after marking so strongly its disapproval of Mr. Stafford's administration should have submitted to his resumption of power, but several causes led to this result. Dissatisfaction had long been felt in the colony for the constant changes of ministry—changes which were destructive of all continuity in public affairs. Personally, also, Stafford enjoyed the confidence of the House, and held foremost rank amongst its leaders. When, therefore, he professed his readiness to adopt the cardinal points of his predecessor's policy, and with this view invited the leading members of the late government to join him, he succeeded in conciliating the most determined of his opponents. Before long he was able to announce to the House that he had gained the consent of Mr. Fitzherbert to act as Colonial Treasurer, Mr. Hall as Postmaster-General, and Mr. J. C. Richmond as Commissioner of Customs. Colonel Haultain continued to occupy the post of Defence Minister. Major Richardson also agreed to join the Government and act as its representative in Otago. This coalition was successful in retaining the confidence of the country for nearly five years.

Many months elapsed after Weld's retirement from office before he was able to resume his ordinary life

and occupations. A year later he wrote as follows to Mr. de Lisle:

"As to my health, I can at last speak of considerable improvement; I am to-day going to travel up the country by easy stages. The doctor recommends it as a change, and that I may be out of the way during the excitement of the elections. Besides this it is very necessary to me to visit the sheep stations on business grounds—as it is eighteen months since I have been able to go to Flaxbourne, my principal station. . . . Our little chapel is just finished. It is all wood, and built so as to show its construction, with an open roof, etc. The windows are of stained glass, the three lights over the altar containing figures of St. Joseph, the Mater Dolorosa, and St. Filumena. The wood itself is very fine, and the panelling well executed. It has a square tower, and reminds me a little of one of the early Lombard churches in the Grisons. Brackenfield is beginning to look very beautiful. The trees have grown astonishingly; we are now revelling in the finest peaches and nectarines, the former grown on standards, all, of course, in the open air. The place, too, is becoming stocked with pheasants and quail which we have introduced. We are much fonder of it, Mena especially, than we ought to be, considering that we are about to leave it, possibly for ever. As far as money matters go, it would be more satisfactory if I could remain on here another eighteen months from this time. If I go on improving I may possibly do so. Much will depend on my getting a good tenant for Brackenfield, which is a property which should eventually become very valuable."

In May 1867, Weld, having arranged his affairs in New Zealand, started with his wife and family, now consisting of four children, for England.

Weld was correct in his anticipations. The current of events was to carry him to other countries, and to a fresh career.

He had landed in New Zealand a youth of twenty, he was leaving it at the age of forty-four, a man of

mature judgment and experience. He could look back, during that interval, to twenty-four years of strenuous effort and fruitful endeavour. Moreover, he could claim to have assisted at the birth of the Constitution, and to have witnessed its full development ; and he had given his largest co-operation according to his lights on both occasions.

Though during that period—in which a generation had grown up—he had seen the colony weather many a storm, he left it at a time when it was still far from having attained to that immunity from disorder, external and internal, which it has since attained. New Zealand during the years which preceded his departure may have been said to be standing " at the parting of the ways." It was due to him, and to " the good men and true " who shared his counsels and divided his labours, that the colony adopted the honourable and self-sacrificing policy which led to its ultimate success, both as regards the domestic problems which were dividing the public mind at that time in New Zealand, and the larger ones which had reference to its connection with the mother country.

Of the first-mentioned problems enough has been said already ; of the last, a word or two remains to be said.

It is not necessary to go very deeply into the annals of the history of the colony to realise that not only the action of the Crown's advisers was at times exceedingly unpopular with the settlers, but that more than once the tie which bound them to the mother country was strained almost to breaking-point. There were several causes for this state of tension. One, doubtless, was that the distance of England from her colony at the Antipodes interfered greatly with the use and value of her advice, frequently rendering it worse than futile. Another, that the changes of policy necessitated by the British

government-by-party system was specially disadvantageous in the case of New Zealand, which, complicated as it had to be by a native question, made a firm and consistent bearing with regard to that race a matter of supreme importance. When to these difficulties we add an ever-recurring money problem, the situation—as affording grounds for a quarrel—may be considered complete.

The case for the settlers has been put with some show of reason as follows :

"The conduct of the imperial authorities for a series of years has brought the colony to its present state of embarrassment, and instead of charging the authorship of this state of things on the colonists, it is the duty of those who, from the first, had the management of native affairs to reduce them to order. The colonists, indeed, are making ruinous efforts to remedy the evils caused by others, but their efforts are thwarted by the attempt to impose impracticable conditions on them. When they seek to defray a large and (as Mr. Gladstone admitted) unprecedented portion of the cost of the war—first entered into without their being consulted—and apply to the Home Government for the nominal assistance of an imperial guarantee to enable £3,000,000 to be raised at a lower rate of interest than would otherwise be possible, their application is virtually refused.

"In place of three millions, a guarantee is offered for but one million, and that only on conditions which —so impossible of fulfilment are they—it is difficult to characterise properly, especially having regard to the causes which led to the loan being required. It is sufficient to state that it would be difficult to conceive conditions more ingeniously calculated to effect the ruin of New Zealand. They are such as would not only produce present financial embarrassment, but would destroy the future credit of the colony, and all belief in its honour. One, indeed, of these conditions, namely, that the payment of loans already obtained (except one guaranteed by the Imperial Parliament in 1857) was to be postponed in

favour of the million which they offer to guarantee, is so monstrous, that it would scarcely have been believed that it had been seriously proposed by a British Government, had not the dispatches and Bill referring to it been published." [1]

Such was the situation when Weld took office. From the first he set to work to establish a *modus vivendi* between the two opposite camps—with what result the reader will already have seen. His loyalty to his adopted country never interfered with his regard for justice and the rights of the mother country. One of his first acts was (we quote from his *Notes*) "to instruct the Crown agents to deliver to the Lords of the Treasury securities to the amount of £500,000 to which we considered England had an equitable claim,—conduct which raised the credit of the colony, and which has since induced Her Majesty's Home Government to meet us in regard to other claims and counter-claims in a spirit of liberality." That this view was a correct one we learn from the Colonial Secretary's dispatch to the Governor, acknowledging the receipt of the news of Weld's resignation.

Mr. Cardwell says:

"It is very desirable you should clearly understand that no change of ministry in New Zealand will affect the views of Her Majesty's Government in respect to the policy embodied in the resolutions of the Assembly of New Zealand in December 1864. Having accepted with entire satisfaction that policy, Her Majesty's Government intend to adhere to it and to be guided by it."

This was not the only occasion in which Weld's policy met with the approval of the Crown's advisers, as we learn from a debate [2] in the House of Commons which followed the Maori rising in 1868. On that

[1] *The Case of New Zealand*, p. 13. [2] 12th August 1868.

occasion the Rt. Hon. Mr. Monsell, the Under Secretary for the Colonies, alluding to the trouble in New Zealand, said that :

" After Mr. Weld went out of office they (the Government) had omitted to take the precautions which common sense suggested for their own protection ; and that it was on account of the absence of precautions that these lamentable events had occurred. There were two parties in that country : the self-relying party, and the one which wished to go back to the old system. The self-relying party were strong enough to get the principle of self-defence sanctioned to the full extent, but were not able to obtain the means of carrying out the necessary measures of defence, the absence of which was one of the causes of the horrible massacres which had lately occurred."

This policy with which Weld's name is associated was also favourably commented upon in a debate in the Upper House.

This chapter of Weld's life may be fitly closed by quoting words used by Mr. Dillon-Bell in the General Assembly the year after Weld's resignation of office :

" The absence of Mr. Weld from that House would be to all who had taken a part in the affairs of the country for so many years a subject of very great regret. He held, perhaps alone, among the public of New Zealand, the place of a man whose word was never doubted, whose honour was never questioned, whose advice was always sought, and whose counsel was never refused in cases of public difficulty."

CHAPTER VII

"Grow old along with me,
 The best is yet to be,
The last of life for which the first was made.
. . . .
Youth shows but half—see all,
Trust God, nor be afraid."

BROWNING.

WELD'S health benefited much by the sea-voyage on his return to England, and the change of scene and the rest which followed it completed his cure. To a man of his active habits and vigorous mind a life made up of holidays would have been utterly uncongenial. Rest meant for him recuperation after past exertions, and preparation for fresh effort. It was not long, therefore, before he began to look out for work. Two courses were open to him. He might have returned, with restored health, to resume his political career and pastoral occupations in New Zealand. Or he might have availed himself of a promise given to him by the colonial authorities of a Governorship in the Australian Colonies, a post to which his long apprenticeship to politics in New Zealand had made him specially eligible, and for which his services to the Crown had given him an acknowledged claim.

There is little doubt but that New Zealand tugged a good deal at his heart-strings at this time, for he loved the country, and it was once more in trouble. As he wrote to a friend somewhat later, a great deal of the spirit he had tried to infuse into his fellow-colonists had oozed out for want of encouragement:

"Men only exert themselves when they can carry out their own plans; military spirit is only evoked in a people when they know they may need to have to defend themselves; cost is only reckoned when they know the bill will come home. In short, when men can depend upon others they will not rely on themselves. Recent events are proving that the colony *can* defend itself, and this in spite of the self-reliant policy having been worked by ministers who did not believe in it, who were ready to triumph in its failure, or who—at best—only half believed in it."

The state of affairs in New Zealand in the years 1868 and 1869 certainly justified the misgivings felt for that colony by those who longed for its peace and prosperity. General Chute's campaign in 1866 had shown what British soldiers could do even in the bush, when fighting the Maori on his own ground. It was short and decisive, so decisive that hopes were entertained that the natives would be content to accept it as final; the last struggle in that trial for strength which they had waged with the white man ever since he came on to their territory. The result was that the long-deferred move of sending away the imperial troops was carried out. One regiment only was retained for the defence of the colony; New Zealand was left to her own resources. Now would have been the opportunity in a time of peace to prepare for war, but Mr. Stafford was still at the head of the Government, and, deceived by that ignis-fatuus which has so often led the official mind astray—false economy, he at once took measures to reduce the colonial forces. The result might almost be looked upon as a foregone conclusion. For the natives, having recovered from their losses in the Chute campaign, once more took up arms to avenge themselves. Again were past scenes and tragedies enacted, settlers were massacred at Patea and elsewhere, a prophet of the name of Titokowaru had risen up and was attracting all the

discontented to his standard, and the Northern Island was once more involved in a native war.

The cry of a " strong man " is a national instinct in times of difficulty. Such a name Weld had made for himself in New Zealand. The following appeal therefore may be taken as expressing the feelings of many who had begun to despair of the power of the Government then in authority of coping with a critical situation.

The writer, after asserting that " were Mr. Weld in the country he would undoubtedly be called to power by the voice of the people," goes on to say that " he neither overrates his abilities nor underrates the abilities of other public men, but in time of public danger one quality there is which is of more value than all others—the capability of gaining public confidence, the power of evoking the latent energies, and the courage and heroism of a people. No public man has ever enjoyed the public esteem and affection of the country to the same extent as the late Premier. In this great emergency, then, in which the colony is placed we say : Send for Weld. The country will rally round him. That this rebellion might be put down utterly and for ever in a few weeks if the colony chose to do so, we are confident. That 200,000 Europeans could overwhelm and destroy the elements of savage life which exist —and, alas, are rapidly spreading—amongst a people numbering about 30,000, of whom many are not in arms against us, and many are on our side, is absolutely certain. But with every day's delay the danger increases. It is confidently asserted that Titokowaru had but 40 followers when he began the war, now he has 800. The Chatham Island fugitives numbered about 180 when they landed, now they are 800, of which it is said more than 100 are cavalry. There are now as many or more Maories

in the field than there were at any time opposed to General Cameron. Every success brings fresh allies and the ranks of the enemy swell daily. It is a dreadful calamity to have to fight ; still more so to fight in a civil war ; worst of all when the war has been brought about by our own faults and follies. Again we say, the man who first raised the standard of self-reliance, and bore it to the front amid the acclamations of the colony, is the man to show what he meant by that doctrine. He at least never disguised the necessity of maintaining the force of the law by organised power. Had he been in power during the last three years we should not have seen the present reign of anarchy, extending to the lowest rank in the army. Again we say: Send for Mr. Weld."[1]

This appeal must have reached Weld at Rotherwas, his temporary home in England, within a few weeks of the Secretary of State for the Colonies' offer to him of the Governorship of Western Australia. Whether there was much hesitation on his part between the two invitations or not we have no means of ascertaining. That common sense and the doctor (on this occasion agreed) had much to say in the decision, we cannot doubt. His wife and friends in England were unquestionably on the same side. His complete breakdown under the heavy strain of work and anxiety during his Premiership must have warned him of the folly of encountering the same risks again. When, therefore, he received Lord Granville's offer he at once accepted it.

Weld's definite severance with New Zealand politics dates from this time, but his interest in the affairs of that country lasted till the end of his life. This interest was not confined to matters which affected him personally as a landowner or co-proprietor in pastoral enterprise. It was shown at all

[1] *The New Zealand Times*, November 1868.

times and on all occasions. The correspondence which he carried on with his friends there, and the keenness with which he followed the course of the last New Zealand war, which, as we have seen, was again testing the manhood of that country, sufficiently prove it.

Tedious and slow as was the campaign against Titokowaru, its ultimate result was never for a moment in doubt. Not only did the dwindling numbers of the Maori race render them with every successive year less of a match to the ever-increasing European population, but one tribe after another was by degrees won over to the side of law and order. The Waikato and the Uriwera—the latter a brave mountaineering race, who had possession of the precipitous range of the interior, north and north-east of Hawke's Bay—alone held out.

The campaign which opened in the spring of 1869 began badly for the British arms. A small and hastily raised detachment under Captain Westrup was defeated at Paparatu by Te Kooti, who on escaping with his companions from Chatham Island had joined forces with the Uriweras. A detachment of militia and volunteers under the able command of Colonel Whitmore [1] was sent in pursuit of Te Kooti, who, acting on the usual Maori tactics, having gained a success, took to the bush. Whitmore, though labouring under every possible disadvantage, with only raw recruits under him, and hampered by a disaffected contingent of native troops, pursued and caught up the Uriweras in the bed of a wild mountain torrent (the Ruakiture) where he defeated them, and wounded their leader Te Kooti.

[1] Afterwards Major-General Sir James Whitmore. He was made K.C.M.G. and Commandant of the New Zealand Colonial Forces in reward of his services. His history of *The Last Maori War under the Self-Reliant Policy*, which was dedicated to Sir Frederick Weld and his colleague, I. E. Fitzgerald, G.C.B., is the authority for the above facts.

Trusting to this success for the pacification of the east coast, Mr. Stafford (who at this time was still at the head of the Government) recalled Colonel Whitmore to Wanganui on the west coast, where hostilities had been begun against Titokowaru, who, with a following of 600 warriors, was terrorising that district. Again the first encounter at Moturoa resulted in the partial defeat of the Colonial troops. The Maories, however, in spite of this success, made no attempt to take the initiative. Titokowaru retreated to the hills, and after several rearguard encounters with the troops under Colonel Whitmore's command, he was finally brought to bay in the swamps of Te Ngaire. Here the insurgents met with a crushing defeat, one from which they never recovered.

The closing scenes in Te Kooti's career, though less dramatic, were equally disastrous to the Maori cause. Having recovered from his wounds he and his followers made a descent on a settlement in Poverty Bay (now called Gisborne) and foully murdered its inhabitants, including the R.M. Major Biggs, his wife and child, and servants of both sexes. An expedition, again led by Colonel Whitmore, was sent out against him to Ngatapa where he had entrenched himself in a strong hill fort, and from whence he was dislodged, with great loss of life to the defending party. For four months afterwards he and his band eluded the British troops in the woods and fastnesses of the wild Uriwera country. Finding it impossible to hold his ground there he crossed the island and attempted to gain adherents from the Waikato tribe. The prestige of his name, however, was fast dying out, and at last, after a campaign which lasted fourteen months and in which his countrymen, Te Keepa [1] and Ropato, distinguished themselves by their valiant

[1] Better known, to the colonials, as Major Kemp.

services to the Queen, he made his submission to the colonial government. With Te Kooti the last hope of the conquered race expired; 1870 dates a new era in the history of New Zealand. Since then the two nations have lived together in peace and amity as loyal subjects of the Crown.

Weld was appointed to the Governorship of West Australia in March 1869. A few days before his departure his friends took advantage of the occasion to give a dinner in his honour, at which a considerable number—both personal and political—were present. Amongst these were Lord Lyttelton, the Bishop of Ely, Earl of Denbigh, Lords Clifford and Arundell, Rt. Hon. C. Adderley, M.P., Sir T. Gore Browne, K.C.M.G., Sir George Grey, K.C.B., Admiral Erskine, The Master of Lovat, Col. Hon. Henry Clifford, V.C., Sir Charles Dilke, M.P., H. Sewell, etc. Lord Granville, K.G., took the chair. In proposing the health of H.E. Governor Weld, he made a passing allusion to his own position (of Secretary of State to the Colonies), which gave him the power of selecting the best and fittest men for Governmental posts. Then applying this to the subject of the toast, he said that Mr. Weld had had a cosmopolitan education, and at an age when most men were still at college he was battling successfully with all the hardships and difficulties met with by the first settlers in a new colony. By his moral and intellectual qualities he had raised himself in the estimation of his fellow-colonists until he was placed in the high position of Prime Minister of the colony, and in that position he followed out, and imbued others with, the principles of self-reliance which were now bearing fruits in New Zealand. After going at some length into the question of what was required to make a good colonial Governor, and pointing out that these

qualifications were united in the new Governor of Western Australia, he said that his friends must not undervalue the difficulties he had to encounter; he was going to a colony which had greatly increased of late in wealth, in revenue, and more particularly in public works; but that much of this prosperity was due to the convict labour which had been largely introduced there, and of which the colony would now be deprived, and he felt that Mr. Weld was just the man whose energy, and whose power of inspiring energy in others, would help the colonists to tide over the effects of the temporary blow.

Weld, in answering the toast, acknowledged the complimentary terms in which it had been proposed, and said—alluding to his career in New Zealand—that though some of those who were present had not always approved of his policy, he trusted that all who knew him would acquit him of vanity in saying that in every public act he had been inspired for the good of the colony. He had the more confidence in saying this because he had been fortunate enough to meet with the utmost generosity, even from those from whom he had been compelled to differ, and he believed that in doing his duty as a colonist he had done his duty as an Englishman. He had been an exponent of views which had been advocated by greater men than himself, and if this demonstration indicated sympathy with the colonies it was sympathy which would grow in proportion to the development in the colonies of the self-reliant qualities which Englishmen admired and which had made England what she is. In conclusion he said that though loving his country as dearly as any man, its associations, and its field sports, he would resign them at any rate for a time, because work was the highest end of life, and he could not assist in developing the resources of the colonies without at the

same time promoting the interests of the old country.

Ten days later, on May 15th, 1869, Weld and his wife and family (the latter now consisting of four daughters and two sons) started for Australia. He took an aide-de-camp and secretary with him; the former, Frank de Lisle, being his brother-in-law, and the latter his cousin, Henry Weld-Blundell.

They arrived at Adelaide on the 2nd of August, and were received with much kindness and hospitality by Sir James Ferguson, who was then Governor of South Australia. Weld describes his first impression of the country to his father-in-law, Mr. de Lisle, in the following terms:

"It would be impossible to tell you how kindly we have been treated by Sir James and Lady Edith Ferguson, or to enumerate the festivities, inspection of public institutions, etc. etc., that we have got through since we arrived here. I had a day's hunting with the hounds (oh, how different from Leicestershire!), also what the newspapers called a 'vice-regal' shooting party, which was great fun—just like a day's shooting in the Zoological Gardens: kangaroos of all sizes, wallabys, thousands of black swans, ducks, bustards, pelicans, and cockatoos. Unfortunately the blacks drove the game the wrong way, owing to some mistake, so we did little or nothing, except seeing the game out of shot."

Mr. and Mrs. Weld took leave of their hospitable entertainers on August 15th, and having sent their children by long sea to Perth, took the mail boat *Balclutha* to King George's Sound, with the intention of proceeding thence by land to the capital of Western Australia and seat of his future Government.

Before they got far on their journey the *Balclutha* sprang a leak; her screw-shaft, owing to the pressure of the water, broke down, and the stern compartments of the ship were flooded to the depth of 6 feet. By

dint of great exertions on the part of the captain and crew the leak was partially arrested, but the vessel was utterly disabled and drifted like a log before the wind. On the 18th, the day after the accident, she was sighted by the barque *Aurifera,* which came to her assistance, took her passengers and mails on board, and conveyed them to Wallaroo, the nearest port on the western seaboard. Weld, in a letter to Sir James Ferguson, speaks with admiration of the pluck and coolness of the captain and crew in presence of a danger which threatened at any moment to become fatal, a coolness which was shared by his wife, "who never lost her head for a moment and at once began to make preparations for a flight to the boats, should the ship sink at once," and by the rest of the passengers. The incident, though it delayed considerably their arrival at Perth, had no other unpleasant results. A tug was sent to the rescue of the *Balclutha,* and she was safely towed into port. The Welds re-embarked in the *Rangatira* and arrived at Albany on King George's Sound on the 18th of September. Here they met an enthusiastic welcome, accompanied with much speechifying, from the colonists and local authorities.

"King George's Sound," Weld writes to Mr. Monsell (then Under Secretary to the Colonies), "is the coaling station of the P. & O. Mail Steamers, and is a fine harbour quite landlocked. Unfortunately the water shoals so gradually that boats drawing a foot or two of water only can go alongside the jetty; when we can afford it we must run it out a good deal farther. We are just now going to lay down water pipes to the end of the jetty from an excellent spring; the expense will be small and the accommodation to shipping very great. There is very little good land about Albany, though a few farms show that an attempt has been made to cultivate it; the soil is chiefly sandy and rocky, and—on proceeding inland—covered with forest; also with beautiful flowering

shrubs and plants. From the geological formation of a range of hills in the vicinity I believe it more than probable that gold will be found there. No proper search has yet been made. The people do not seem at all enterprising; still, Albany has improved very much since I last saw it, and is really a pretty little place. After visiting schools, and pilot station, and inspecting the convict department and getting information on many points respecting it, we proceeded on our way to Perth, partly riding and partly driving. We slept either at police stations or at roadside 'accommodation houses.' As it was impossible to change horses on the road, we had to travel at the rate of about 30 miles a day. We reached, however, the end of our journey of 260 miles without any undue fatigue to Mrs. Weld and with the horses in excellent order. The country we passed through was all forest, the timber in places very fine and valuable; the soil generally inferior, and much that was quite useless for cultivation. Still there were spots of considerable fertility, and we passed one village on our road which showed signs of quiet prosperity, and where we were greeted by nicely dressed school children, who welcomed us with bouquets of flowers, and a little guard of honour of pensioners who presented arms as we arrived. To come across such a scene in the heart of the Australian forest was very striking. We were on all occasions most kindly received at the police stations, and everything possible done for our comfort, the rooms being often decorated with wild flowers and wreaths in token of welcome. The forests, as I have previously said, were interminable, but so rich were they in wild flowers that we never found the road wearisome, and the kangaroos, wallabys, emus, and cockatoos, which we were always coming across, were a constant source of interest. Passing through the Darling Range amid forests of jarrah (or West Australian mahogany) we emerged upon the broad belt of flat land which stretches from the Range to the sea, watered by the Swan River and its tributaries. Here signs of civilisation began to appear; we passed a cart or two carrying sandalwood, and occasionally caught sight of a few woodcutters' cottages, and some gardens and cultivations

in which vines, oranges and peach trees were growing in great profusion. At last we pulled up at a roadside inn where Colonel Bruce (the officer administering the government) had come to meet us with a wagonette and fresh horses ; and, drawn up under a tree, were a body of mounted volunteers looking very smart and soldier-like in scarlet uniforms, commanded by an old officer of the Dragoon Guards. From thence we drove to the Channing township, where we found a great concourse of settlers, also arches, and so forth, and where I received a loyal address which was followed by luncheon. A carriage and four conveyed us in the afternoon to Perth, which we reached in the evening of 30th September. An address was read by the Chairman of the City Council under an arch of palm leaves, the town being very prettily decorated with arches and flags. I was then duly installed and sworn in, the pensioners, a fine body of men, forming a guard of honour.

"Our house is a charming one, Elizabethan or Tudor (or a mixture of both), built rather in the continental than in the English style of that period. The grounds by which it is surrounded are well laid out ; orange trees, vines, olive and date palms, bananas and Indian Neam trees grow side by side with the English oak and the Australian Lanthorrea and Eucalyptus. At the foot of the garden there is a broad reach of the estuary of the Swan River. The town of Perth consists of a collection of small houses, cottages and gardens, and a few good buildings ; the roads and streets are bordered with the Indian Neam tree—now a mass of delicate lilac flower. The roads, alas, are very sandy, badly made and badly metalled. Since my arrival I have been to Fremantle, which is the port, and a bigger place then Perth, where I came in for a great reception. I have also been to Guildford to receive an address. Besides this we have held the usual levee and Drawing-room. All went off very well and, I hear, gave great satisfaction. Beyond this I have hardly moved out of my office, and have been working hard. Everything here seems to be referred to the Governor. I have to sign my name to selling an old cart, or buying a spade. I think much of this system of detail may be altered later on with

advantage. I have every reason so far to be satisfied with the men who are with me, and I think my Executive and I shall work smoothly together, and with a little tact I hope to get a hearty support from both them and the people. Hitherto all has been plain sailing, but there are plenty of rocks ahead. In the first place, the country is suffering from a very bad season, want of rain and no crops, low price of wool, and general trade depression. Next, there seems to be a general, or fairly general, dissatisfaction at the form of government, and a feeling that nothing has been done to develop the resources of the colony. Also, that till larger powers of dealing with the land, and with immigration, are given to the colony, or to some power in the colony, this cannot be mended.

"Again, there is the education question. Probably Lord Granville will take no steps of decided nature in the matter till I can report more fully, more especially as he has called upon me (disp. 10th July 1869) for a report upon the whole cognate question of grants to religious bodies. I have only this morning had his dispatch handed to me, but before advising upon a matter of such delicacy and importance I must have time to inform myself thoroughly on the subject. Indeed it may be necessary to await the result of the census which is to be taken shortly, more especially as I hear that it will entirely alter the relative numerical proportion the various denominations bear to one another. It would also be proper and desirable that I should talk the whole matter over carefully with the Bishop of Perth (Church of England), who is now absent at Champion Bay. I may count, I am told, on finding him a thorough gentleman, and one who will assist me by giving me all the information in his power. I owe my best thanks to Colonel Bruce, late acting Governor, who has done everything in his power to assist me. Mr. Barlee, the Colonial Secretary, also shows every disposition to support me. Of Mr. Wakeford, the Comptroller of Convicts, I have already formed a very high opinion. We have engaged the services of a good geologist, and I propose to get a first-class engineer to report on our harbour, and on public works: both of these steps are of urgent importance.

We are also negotiating with a company to open out the timber trade and make a tram or railway to the forests, where there is an inexhaustible supply of the finest timber in the world for railway sleepers and piles for water-jetties and piers. The demand for this wood in India and the colonies is unlimited, but we cannot supply it without improved means of access to the forests. No other colony would have been so long in moving in the matter, but our deplorable land regulations stand in our way, and we have no power to alter them. Every other colony can deal with the land question,—*you* must help us in this. We have a hard struggle before us to send this colony ahead. I think it can be done, but you must not tie our hands."

A little later, he writes as follows to the same correspondent:

" We have just concluded, with greater dispatch than I had anticipated, a preliminary arrangement (or, rather, basis of one) with a company to make a railway to our timber forests, and to commence exportation on a large scale. The terms, I may safely say, are such as no other colony under the circumstances would hesitate to give, but they are in excess of the present land regulations, which are such as to prohibit any attempt to open the country by giving land for railway-making. The fact is, the framers of these regulations appear to have been quite ignorant of the value of land here; we have millions of acres utterly valueless except for timber or minerals. Again, the Crown reserves its right to minerals, which is the case in no other Australian colony: under such circumstances what are we to do? How can we progress? How compete with other colonies? Now you must not think that I have begun by committing a breach of the law; the company's representative is satisfied to set to work at once on the understanding that I shall use my best endeavours to get the Secretary of State's assent to our agreement. I tell you frankly that the fate of the colony depends upon its getting an export at once. Here we have one. India alone will take

500,000 sleepers a year of our timber—this I have on high Indian-Railway authority. The other colonies will also take a large quantity, and our supply is equal to any demands upon it. But we have not the money to make railroads, especially in uninhabited districts, and without rail or tram roads we cannot get our timber to a port at a paying price, or in any quantity. We have room for twenty such companies, and there is only one way we can pay for rail or tram, and that is in land, land which is mostly bad, and at this moment utterly valueless. Now I want to enlist your support, and to make you believe that we on the spot, with local knowledge and experience in these matters, know best how to deal with the land, for the good of the country, and so as to give it an export and bring a population into it, and enable it to be self-supporting. I hope to hear from you sometimes, and that you will take an interest in my poor little Cinderella of the Australian colonies. We have found a small amount of gold, and I hope for more when we get our geologist here—then will Cinderella ride in a gilded chariot, drawn by kangaroos."

Weld was successful in his appeal to the Colonial Office, and a modification of the land laws enabled him to carry out his engagement with the railway contractors.

The land question being one of vital importance to the colony at this time, a short survey of the laws affecting it, and of their subsequent readjustment, is necessary for a full comprehension of the situation.

Roughly speaking, the early colonisation of the Australian colonies may be classed under two headings: that which took the line of least resistance—in other words, the policy of drift—or its opposite, a stern adherence to certain theories which had been carefully elaborated in the study, but which when carried into practice were found wanting in some or all of the qualities necessary to ensure success. The principal exponent of the latter method (the

colonisation by theory) was the well-known writer on political economy, Edward Gibbon Wakefield. He may be said to be the spokesman of the rigid views of an earlier school of thought, and by his brilliant though delusive treatise on Colonisation, and the Society of that name founded by him, he acquired considerable influence over the men of light and leading of his day.

The prominent feature in Wakefield's scheme was the creation of a fund from the sale of land at a fictitious value, by which labourers were to be brought out to the colonies free of cost. His aim was to start the three grades common to civilised countries, of proprietor, small farmer, and labourer, in Australia. This method (a very plausible one on paper) was the precise opposite of that employed in the colonisation of Western Australia, which accordingly, in the opinion of the convinced followers of Wakefield, was a colossal instance of the failure resulting from the absence of all system or policy. Undoubtedly the Wakefieldian was right in ascribing as a main cause to the slow progress between the years 1845 to 1865 of the Australian colonies, to the paralysing effect of great blocks of land being in the hands of a few owners, and the want of systematic colonisation, as exemplified by dearth of labour and discouragement of immigration.

Unfortunately the followers of Wakefield, in avoiding these pitfalls, fell into others in South Australia, where their theories were given full play, of equal magnitude and significance. These were described by Wise in his *Commonwealth of Australia* [1] as follows:

"In order that the colony should be self-supporting from the start, the Commissioners entrusted with its foundation were to sell £35,000 worth of land, and raise a guarantee fund of £20,000. The land

[1] P. 117.

was to be sold in sections of eighty acres at £1 an acre, with a town allotment added, making the total cost £81. The Act authorising the venture was passed on 14th August 1834, but by December 1835 not more than £26,000 worth of land had been sold, and the price was reduced to twelve shillings an acre."

Though the scheme was given every chance of success by the Commissioners, who, as Wise remarks, "were men of business though enthusiasts," it did not take them long to discover that it was unworkable. The inflated price of land ruined a great many who had come out with a little capital, and who having spent all they had in buying land either diminished or lost their power of giving employment. Accordingly the penniless immigrants who had been brought out in large numbers hung about the towns, and "men," to quote the same authority, "who should have been growing wheat were employed in building public offices. Emigrants kept pouring in . . . and yet the increase of population seemed but to increase the rate of wages. In truth, the colony was living on borrowed capital. The inevitable result followed. The Governor's drafts on England were dishonoured, and but for the fortunate discovery of copper (1842) and other minerals, the colony must have been abandoned. The Wakefield system had proved a mere delusion."[1]

In Western Australia, on the other hand, all the worst consequences of a policy of drift, or of no policy, were exemplified. Thus in the early days of the colony, the country being of boundless extent and much land worthless, the first settlers were given large acreages at nominal prices with conditions attached to them which were possibly difficult of fulfilment, and in practice never enforced. One of the leading spirits among the early settlers was Mr. Thomas Peel, to whom was allotted 250,000 acres,

[1] B. R. Wise, *The Commonwealth of Australia*, p. 118.

coupled with the obligation of bringing out 400 settlers; Sir James Stirling, the first Governor of West Australia, and Colonel Latour received each 100,000 acres on similar conditions. As these large grants of land, which a generation later were frequently owned by absentee or do-nothing landlords, were mostly in close proximity of the few centres of civilisation, the newcomer on landing in Western Australia found himself at such a disadvantage that he showed his opinion of the situation by taking the first occasion that presented itself of moving on to the next colony.

The first step towards an improved state of things was taken by Lord Grey in 1849, when he invited a Committee of the chief settlers in West Australia to consider what could be done to attract immigration to their shores by adapting to their requirements the "Waste Lands Acts" introduced by him in 1843. By this measure the land was divided into A lands and B lands. The A lands were limited to 320 acres, or under, and were let on eight-year leases at 1s. per acre, subject to conditions as to cultivation. The B lands were leased for pastoral purposes at a rental of £5 per 1000 acres, and 10s. per 1000 acres for every additional area of that size — also on eight-year leases. Special inducements in 1864 were offered to sheep farmers to settle in the northern districts of the colony. Still more favourable conditions were given in the early 'seventies to purchasers of land. The waste lands in rural districts in the hands of the Crown could be bought in blocks of not less than ten acres at 10s. per acre, or on "occupation leases" in blocks of 100 acres by deferred payments of 1s. per acre spread over a term of years.

The Torrens' Act, which was introduced into Western Australia by the Legislature in 1878, gave great facilities for the transfer and registration of land and did much to attract population to the country.

CHAPTER VIII

"Le monde fait progrès toujours, mais c'est un progrès en spirale."
MADAME DE STAËL.

THE early history of Western Australia, or the Swan River Settlement as it was first called, may be given in half a dozen paragraphs. One explorer after another—Edel and De Witt early in the seventeenth century, D'Entrecasteaux in 1792, George Dampier a little later—touched its shores, found little to attract them and passed on. No riches below the soil or fertility above it, or promise of success for commerce or enterprise raised the cupidity of its visitors. To sum up, the line of the poet Gray describing the "short and simple annals of the poor" could have been used as appropriately for the history of the Swan River Settlement up to the middle of last century as for that of the village of Stoke Poges.

In 1829, Great Britain, which had already annexed the eastern seaboard of the continent of Australia, sent Captain Stirling as her representative to the western shores of that country, and he established the seat of Government at a spot about eight miles from the coast to which he gave the name of Perth. For nine years, Stirling struggled under the almost overwhelming difficulties of the situation in which he was placed. The settlers, who had been attracted in the first instance by the offer of free gifts of land, one by one deserted the colony, preferring, perhaps wisely, flight to slow starvation. In 1832 he was petitioned by the few who persevered to return to London to represent their hard case to the Colonial Office.

His mission was successful, and, having got grants in aid of their more pressing necessities, he returned to his post in 1834. From that time the fortunes of the colony began to look up, and when Stirling gave up his command to one John Hutt in 1838 the colony had already made some strides in the direction of prosperity.

These years were eventful ones to the colony on account of the great expansion of its bounds. Dale in 1830, in his explorations due east of Perth, discovered a fertile tract of country watered by a stream to which he gave the name of the Avon. Before long two townships sprung up in the locality, to which the names of York and Northam were given, and these soon rivalled the seat of Government in numbers, and eclipsed it in prosperity. Roe, another intrepid explorer, three years later penetrated 500 miles into the south-western hinterland, and Moore and Colley taking a north-easterly course mapped out and surveyed the country which was afterwards known as the Victoria Plains. Captain Grey[1] in 1839 explored a large extent of country stretching north-east of Champion Bay. He likewise discovered and named the Gascoyne, Murchison, Hutt, Irwin and Arrowsmith rivers, and all the country between the 24th and 33rd degrees of latitude which was watered by those streams. The country then discovered, and added to the oversea dominions of Great Britain, is 12,080 miles in length and 800 miles in breadth, and computed to be about eight times the size of the United Kingdom.

It is a great drop to come down from these large figures to the number of the population, which in 1838 was given as 1928 and in 1843 as 3843. The increase in the following five years (between 1843 and 1848) was even smaller—769 instead of 1915—with the

[1] Afterwards Sir George Grey, K.C.M.G.

result that the colony yielded to its fate, and a deputation was sent to the Governor to ask him to take steps to make Western Australia a penal settlement. This experiment (for it was undoubtedly looked upon in that light) answered; the convicts were sent and the colony was supplied with what at once made for material prosperity, namely, free labour. A town sprang up where previously only a collection of mud or timber huts had existed, large sums of imperial money were expended, and, in short, a new era began for the colony. That there was the "reverse of the medal" goes without saying, but on the whole the plan worked well, and the steady progress made by the country between the years 1850 and 1868 whilst it was used as a penal settlement testifies to the fact. It was also generally agreed amongst those best acquainted with the criminal class in Western Australia that, though a certain number had to be classed as irreclaimable, a large majority when taken away from sources of temptation readily renounced a life of crime. To these the facilities offered by the colonies for a fresh start in life were incontestable, many married and settled down, and eventually became useful members of society.

The one blot which sullies the early annals of Western Australia, and which was of so grave a nature that it can hardly be passed over in silence, was the treatment by the settlers of the aborigines. To show the estimation in which they were held in the early days of the colony, it is only necessary to quote the testimony almost diffidently advanced of Sir William Robinson, that, in spite of the general opinion to the contrary, they probably had souls! These are his words:

"Notwithstanding any generally received prejudice that they are incapable of improvement, and

the opinion still occasionally expressed that they are not to be considered as men, and have no souls, they have both physically and mentally the powers, capacities, sympathies, and affections which distinguish men from all other animals." [1]

Acting on the convenient theory that the natives had no greater claim for kindly treatment than the wild dingoes which marauded the vicinities of their villages or homesteads, the settlers gave them no quarter. Whenever the aborigine disputed the ground with the white man, or infringed on what he considered his rights, the black man went to the wall. The following testimony recorded in the *Colonial Times* of 6th July 1832, shows the treatment they received in the Southern States of Australia, and that of the Western States differed in no way from it:

"Last week a party of our citizens killed a large number of savages. They surprised them seated round their fires, and having placed themselves on some rising ground near, shot them down with a carbine without running any risks themselves." [2]

The more humane amongst the settlers, assuming that the aborigines were incapable of any rise in the social scale, left them severely alone, and not till many years later, in 1846, when the Benedictines founded the colony of New Norcia, was any effort made to educate or civilise them.

Hutt was succeeded as Governor in 1846 by Colonel Irwin, who made way for Mr. Fitzgerald in 1848. Weld's immediate predecessor was Governor Hampton.

Lord Granville in his remarks on the difficulties Weld was likely to encounter in his new post did not overstate the case. Western Australia was at the

[1] Sir William Robinson, K.C.M.G., *On Duty in Many Lands*, p. 48.
[2] *Dublin Review*, 3rd series, vol. v. p. 62.

time when he assumed the reins of government in a state of transition. The withdrawal of imperial subsidies, in consequence of the colony no longer being made use of as a penal settlement, produced a depletion of the exchequer which affected every class and industry. Immigration at this time was at a standstill. No encouragement was afforded to private enterprise. The resources of the country were utterly undeveloped. Again, the colony was so completely cut off from the rest of Australia by its isolated position, and the almost entire absence of postal, telegraphic, and steam communication with its neighbours, that competition, that powerful incentive to public spirit, was conspicuous only by its absence.

Before setting to work to tackle these problems, Weld started for a tour of inspection of the principal districts of his Governorship, so as to make himself acquainted, by a personal survey, with the resources of the colony and its wants and deficiencies. With this object he started on his first progress on 26th October, in a north-easterly direction, his objective being the mining district of Geraldine. Mrs. Weld accompanied him as far as Guildford, returning the same day to Perth. His letters to her form a journal of the expedition. He dates his first letter from York.

"After leaving you," he writes, "we rode through many miles of forest till we reached a range of hills which we climbed by an easy ascent. There was a fine view on the summit, and had not the sun been too low we should have seen Perth and the sea beyond it. The forest stretched far below us, showing here and there a break of lighter green, denoting patches of cultivation. We slept at a neat little roadside inn at a place called Mahogany Creek. It was kept by an old man-of-war's man, called Gregory, who having married a widow with thirteen children (a nice-looking woman) came to anchor here for the

rest of his days. He had the ensign flying in my honour at the end of the trellised vine walk which led to the door of the inn. In the morning he showed me an apricot tree in his garden, off which his wife had sold in one year £10 worth of fruit. Next day we rode again through endless forests consisting mostly of jarrah; the road quite a fair driving one all the way. We passed one or two inns, a so-called lake, of reeds, but little else of interest. The inn, where we took a long rest at midday, was neat and clean, and covered, as seems usual here, with vines. After riding about forty miles we came in sight of the valley in which York is situated, and of cultivated land—fields of green corn stretching up to the edge of the forest. Here we were met by a large cavalcade of well-mounted gentlemen and farmers. They formed up on each side of the road (perhaps sixty or eighty in number) and I rode through the middle, bowing. Later on we were joined by more people in carriages. There was much cheering, and I then led them at a smart trot into York, riding in front with the Colonial Secretary, and one or more of the principal farmers on either side of us. We slackened our pace as we approached the town, which is about the size of Guildford. Arches had been prepared, one of palm branches, with inscriptions and flags—quite pretty, and a guard of honour turned out. There was again more cheering as we rode along the main street on our way to the hotel; altogether it was a great turnout considering the size of the place, and they tell me York was never so gay before. The Agricultural Show takes place to-day, but owing to the shortage of feed, from want of rain, they say it will not be a good one."

York being a central spot, Weld made it his headquarters for some days. He visited thence the neighbouring townships, Newcastle, Toodjay, and Northam, at each of which settlements he was greeted with triumphal arches, speechifying and other tokens of welcome. He writes on the 31st of October to his wife as follows:

"I am writing this to-night in order to be ready for the next opportunity of posting a letter to you, as the posts here seem very irregular.

"I rode on Friday in the direction of Beverley and back by another road, a distance of about thirty miles. I visited Mr. Lee Steere's place which was being sold by auction; a good house, with fine farm-steadings, etc., all going for very much less than their value. A man with £4000 to invest could hardly have found a better chance of making a start in life. Afterwards I lunched with Mr. Taylor, a rich yeoman and miller, and owner of some fine fields, a garden and orchard—all very nice: he was once a labourer. On Saturday I took an early walk before breakfast, and went afterwards to the Parkers to see their place. He is also now a rich man, and he told me that he had begun on next to nothing. I am more and more of the opinion that a young man who has made up his mind to work hard—as I did when I first went out to New Zealand—should do well in this country, and the risks and hardships to which he would be exposed would be nothing in comparison to what I underwent in New Zealand. From the Parkers I rode on to 'Auburn,' so named by a man who claims descent from the poet Goldsmith; it now belongs to an individual called Mackay. I went from thence to Hawkhead, and afterwards to Tipperary, which belongs to Mr. Sam Burges; the latter is a very fine place. Mr. Burges showed me his horses, and I rode over the farm on a magnificent one which he offered to lend me later on in the year if I liked to have it. We got back to York in the dusk of the evening."

A ball was given at Newcastle to celebrate the Governor's arrival, of which Weld gives the following account to his wife:

"The ball at Newcastle was very funny; there were some good-looking girls at it, quite nicely dressed. The men dressed anyhow, and some danced like kangaroos, but nothing could exceed the order, fun, and good-humoured enjoyment, and withal propriety, that prevailed both at the ball and the

supper. Having gone to bed about 2 a.m. after the ball, I was in Mr. Phillipps' wagonette by 6 a.m., and he drove me to his place (which is now let), called by him Culham after his brother's property in Oxfordshire. His tenant had neglected it, but it might be made into an exceedingly fine place. Here, and elsewhere, I saw large fields of wheat not much affected by the bad season. The hills which surround it are beautifully wooded, just like what a gentleman's park would be at home. We went on thence to Mackintosh's farm for breakfast ; Mackintosh began life as a shepherd boy and is now a well-to-do land-owner ; he is a first-rate specimen of a Scottish Highlander, and an excellent settler. I came by appointment, and he met me some distance from his place on horseback, with his son and two daughters —the latter strapping, big, good-humoured lassies. They rode behind the carriage, and got all the dust, and when I remonstrated one of the girls answered, 'What does it matter ; we can get a good wash when we get home !' We found the usual arch, and flags flying as we neared the house, and having come some fourteen miles before breakfast—besides inspecting Phillipps' horses and farm—I did full justice to the beefsteaks to which our host regaled us. We went afterwards to the sheep-shearing sheds, and I believe I quite won old Mackintosh's heart by the interest I took in the work ; all his shearers and household turned out as we rode away and cheered lustily.

"We were now leaving the settled country and had about thirty miles to go before reaching New Norcia. We had not gone far when Frank's horse cast a shoe, so he returned with Phillipps in his wagonette, and is to rejoin us to-morrow. We soon left behind the hilly and wooded country through which we had hitherto been travelling, and came on to sandy plains with fewer trees, where scrub and flowering shrubs predominated. The flowers, which must have been lovely, were nearly over, but I have kept and dried some for your collection. After a ride of about ten miles we came upon a little open space with a spring surrounded with grass, and here, under a wide-spreading gum-tree, we saw some travellers reposing. Ten or twelve miles more of

wild bush country brought us to another oasis where we found fine shady red-gum trees, paper-bark shrubs, and grass and water. We were also greeted with the sight of the wagonette and cart which had been sent on before us, with the materials for a capital luncheon. Sergeant Buck produced wine and soda-water beautifully cooled from the spring, which after our long ride in the blazing sun we found exceedingly refreshing. We rested for some time afterwards and read the English papers, which Buck had brought with him, and then went on with our journey. We noticed before leaving the spot the Mission brand on some of the big trees, and I found later on that the spring and land surrounding it had been bought by the monastery from Government. A few miles more brought us to the confines of the Benedictine settlement, where we were met by the monks and natives—the latter to the number of about eighty or a hundred—and I was presented with a congratulatory address. Escorted by the Prior and followed by the crowd we passed through fields beautifully cultivated and under a triumphal arch, and finally arrived at the monastery church. Here the Abbot Bishop met us, robed in full pontificals, and led me up the church to the sanctuary. *Domine salvum fac* was then sung by all the community, in which the dusky congregation joined lustily."

A day or two later he writes again as follows :

" I cannot say enough about the kindness I have met with since I came here. Nothing could exceed Bishop Salvado's hospitality, so, though I came with the intention of spending a day or two only, he has persuaded me to prolong my stay over Sunday. This place is full of interest too from every point of view ; I have learnt much about the natives and of what can be done for them—also about their limitations. The monks tell me that, like children, they cannot work long at a time. So they are encouraged to spend some hours every day in dancing, and singing, and gymnastics, of which they are very fond. Also they are allowed now and then to go off to the woods and return to their former wild life for a bit. Then they come back and go on again

quite happily till the fit returns. When I get back I shall have much to tell you about this place and its founder."

No sketch, however brief, of the early days of the colony would be complete without some account of the success achieved by the Benedictines in solving a problem deemed insoluble by all but them, namely, that of training the aborigines to a civilised life. This conquest—for it was no less in the moral order—was mainly due to the devotedness of one man, Rudesindo Salvado.

He and his companion Serra were Spaniards and members of the Benedictine Order at the time of the suppression of the monasteries in Spain in the Revolution of 1835. Ejected from their monastery of Compostella they sought refuge in Italy, and at the end of ten years, despairing of being able to return to their own country, they volunteered for the evangelisation of the Australian aborigines. Gregory XVI. accepted their services, and in a beautiful parting address he bade them, "Remember you belong to the family of our glorious Patriarch St. Benedict: Remember how many apostles there have been—my brethren and yours—who have not only converted barbarous natives to the Faith, but have likewise trained them to a civilised life: Remember you are about to tread the same path they trod: Do not dishonour the habit they wore! Go forth, and may Heaven bless your holy aspirations." [1]

Salvado and his companion set out for the scene of their future labours in June 1845, and arrived on the shores of Australia in January the following year. No trial or discouragement was wanting to the intrepid missionaries in the first years in which they toiled in their difficult enterprise. Within a month

[1] *Memorie storiche dell' Australia,* per Mgr. Rudesindo Salvado, O.S.B., Vescoco di Porto Vittoria, p. 144 et seq.

of their arrival at Perth, after a service in the little Catholic Church—which, we read, was crowded by Protestants as well as Catholics, who had assembled to wish them God-speed—they started, staff in hand, two carts carrying all their worldly possessions, and headed for the wilderness. For five days they travelled in a north-easterly direction ; then, reaching a farm which was at that time the farthest outpost of civilisation, they halted for three days to rest their oxen. On continuing their journey they encountered almost at once the dire obstacle to Australian exploration, namely, scarcity of water. For days they wandered under a burning sun, and uncertain whither to turn their footsteps. At last, when both man and beast were on the point of succumbing, they came to a spring in an oasis. The drivers now refused to go any farther, and, having unloaded the contents of their carts, abandoned the Benedictines to their fate and returned whence they came.

Salvado related that their first and most pressing necessity being to get a roof over their heads, they set to work with tools they had brought with them to build a shelter from the tropical sun and rains. Whilst thus employed they suddenly discovered that they were surrounded with natives who had taken advantage of the cover of the trees to approach them and—judging from the spears they carried in their hands—with no pacific intentions. The night came on, and they lay down in their half-finished hut, but, as Salvado tells us, sleep fled from their eyes, and they spent the night in prayer. In the morning the savages had disappeared, but the following day they returned in greater numbers. On the third day the savages advanced once more, and this time with threatening gestures, brandishing their spears. Salvado and his little following—four in all—went

out to meet them, with (he says) God knows what fear in their hearts but showing no signs of it on their countenances, and holding out little cakes sweetened with sugar which they had prepared as peace-offerings. At first the natives seemed inclined to refuse the gifts, but the monks having by their gestures showed that their errand was a friendly one, and induced some of the number to eat, the others followed, and they were soon devouring the food and disputing for the crumbs that were left over.

A beginning was thus made, but many more dangers and difficulties followed. The provisions disappeared rapidly, bribery being the only means of keeping on good terms with the natives. Illness broke out amongst the missionaries, which, considering they were now reduced to the same fare as the savages, namely, roots of a more or less edible nature, grubs and lizards, was hardly astonishing. In order to get help for his brethren Salvado returned once more to Perth under the guidance of a native. A subscription was raised there, and, provided with some of the more pressing necessities, such as provisions, a plough, and seeds, he hurried back to find that a colleague—the Irish catechist, Gorman—had fallen a victim to the awful privations entailed by the situation.

Their numbers were now reduced to three; still they never lost heart, though their troubles were by no means over. On one occasion after they had built a little chapel and reclaimed a piece of ground from the wilderness, returning from a short absence they found that a great mob of wild horses had torn down their fences and trampled on and laid waste the fruit of a year's industry. Another time a native, from whose murderous assault they had rescued a woman, had in revenge set fire to the bush which surrounded their holding, and their lives were saved

by what could only be looked upon as a miraculous intervention of Providence. The difficulties they had to contend with in gaining an influence over the savages, with no means of communication, at first, except what they could convey by signs, may be readily imagined. Not only were the Benedictines ignorant of the language of the aborigines, but so low were these in the scale of humanity that their vocabulary was wanting in any words except those required to express their material wants, which were of the most elementary description. In a wild state they never cultivate the ground ; they went naked, being ignorant of the simplest form of weaving ; they had no knowledge of the use of metals. Like wild animals they roamed through the primeval forests, sometimes reduced to starvation, when (like them) they fed on the weakest of their tribe, or, at others, gorging themselves with the flesh of kangaroos which they killed with their spears or dowarks—primitive weapons, but which we are told they used with astonishing dexterity.

It was at the cost of years of patient perseverance and self-sacrifice that the native was taught that the white man whom he looked upon as his natural enemy was his friend. But when that lesson had gone home the rest by degrees followed. Little by little they were reclaimed from their savage life ; they learned to sow, plough, and reap, and the Benedictines, by making them share the fruits of their industry, had no difficulty in inspiring them with an interest in it. A church, school, cottages, rose up, and at the time of Governor Weld's visit New Norcia was one of the most flourishing settlements in Western Australia.

Weld's first letter to his wife after leaving New Norcia is dated from Mr. Whitefield's station. He says :

"We arrived here after a very pleasant and prosperous journey. We stopped on our way at Mr. Macpherson's to look at his horses. We were accompanied, on leaving him, by his three sons with their kangaroo dogs, and we had a splendid gallop after an emu. I enjoyed it immensely and my mare 'Maura' carried me well; though I had a bad start I was well up when the emu was lost in the bushes—the horses and dogs were quite tired out. The next day we got on to sandy plains covered with scrub; a few flowers were yet in bloom, some of which we collected for you. We camped out that night. Next morning Mr. Phillipps and I started after a kangaroo. It got up before me, and I had not galloped far when the mare I was riding (a very good one of Phillipps') caught her foot in a root, or stump of a tree, and fell. My foot was bruised—but nothing to signify. I only mention this in case an exaggerated report might reach you; it was not her fault or mine. To-day I drove, as I thought possibly the stirrup might hurt my foot. We reach the Irwin Hotel and the 'settled' country to-morrow. You may expect us back in the second week of December, by which time I shall have been over a thousand miles."

Weld's next letter is dated 11th November, from the Irwin Hotel on the Irwin River:

"The day after I wrote to you we drove over plains of sand—the rich undulating country of the Upper Irwin stretching far on our right. The sandy dunes were covered, as usual, with flowering bushes. We are now in a cockatoo country, and I saw six cockatoos—all white, with rose-coloured crests—on one bush close to the road. Such beauties they were! At dusk clouds of black and of white cockatoos were flying about near the water-holes on the Irwin; we also saw some emus. We lunched at a place called Strawberry Hill, the police station on the Irwin, and as we were leaving the dogs killed a kangaroo. I forgot to tell you that when I was at Whitefield's Mr. Barlee brought me a young 'dolgite'—a little beast something between a kangaroo and a shrew-mouse. It was only half-grown, with a long nose and very pretty. It had only just been caught, and

it proceeded to curl itself up in Barlee's hand, and went fast asleep. They wake up at night. Mr. Brown, the Resident Magistrate, came to meet us here. My foot is all right; I am still a little stiff in the side, but the pain is going off, and I hope not to feel it during the short distance we have to go to-morrow to Dongarra. I am writing to Sir George Grey from this spot, once the scene of his great suffering and privations, now—as he predicted it would some day be—covered with golden grain. I feel sure he would like to hear from me from hence."

The letter is resumed from Dongarra:

"We rode here," he writes, "from Irwin House on Monday, and were met by the usual cavalcade. I visited the port and a fine jetty at the mouth of the Irwin which is nearly finished. I inspected also a steam corn-mill, and arranged about a beacon and school-house being built; both of which were much wanted. Yesterday we rode about fifteen miles to Reynold's Inn. The corn-growing country does not extend much beyond Dongarra, but a great deal of the land that we passed through would be quite fit for cultivation. Captain Wilkinson, a retired army officer, now a settler, brought us news at the inn of the sudden death of the Resident Magistrate of Geraldton (Champion Bay), a Mr. Durlacher. They tell me he leaves a wife and children who will be quite destitute. We waited at the inn till a Mr. Maitland Brown (the Greenough Resident Magistrate) had time to ride on to the town,[1] to ascertain what steps had been taken about my reception. A postponement seemed probable, Durlacher having been very popular in the district. Brown returned in a very short time and told us that they had decided not to give up the celebrations, on the ground that the display of loyalty should take precedence of personal feeling. Accordingly we set out, and now the six greys came in to requisition. A beautiful mare had been selected for me, very fiery, but free from vice. Maitland Brown said he knew I was a rider so should be able to *sit her*, but if I was still suffering from my fall perhaps I ought to take another, a quieter one. However,

[1] Greenough Flats.

she was such a beauty that I could not resist her charms. She danced about a great deal and was mad for a gallop, in which I indulged her, but we were soon on excellent terms. The Colonial Secretary and Comptroller's greys gave them enough to do. Mr. Brown rode by me on a powerful iron grey. They were a splendid lot, mostly bred on Brown's own stations. We had a ride of about fourteen miles before we came on to the first arch, where we found a cavalcade drawn up. My mare acquitted herself to perfection, and seemed quite to enter into the spirit of the thing ; she was not the least frightened by the arch or the crowd, but advanced proudly, rearing a little, and pawing in a very slow canter, and apparently bowing right and left just as I did. Maitland Brown, who is a first-rate horseman and one of the greatest lovers of horses in the colony, said he had never seen a prettier performance. At the lunch, which followed afterwards, there was no speechifying except the loyal toasts, and a few words from me in reply to my health being drunk, on account of poor Durlacher's death. A particular request was made to me to take a ride in the afternoon round the district (about ten miles) to see three or four more arches which had been erected in honour of the occasion. I think some of my suite had had enough by this time, having already accomplished thirty-two miles on horseback ; however, I did not like to disappoint the people, so we started, and all the mounted men rode with us. When we came to the last arch I addressed them, wishing them good-bye and thanking them for their grand reception, which showed their loyalty and good feeling ; I also told them that before returning to Perth I would take a quiet ride round the plains, and look in at some of their homesteads.

" This morning before breakfast I walked down to the seashore, which is about a mile and a half off, and collected flowers on the way. There are sandhills between this and the sea, and on the other side of the house a great stretch of cultivated land—now covered with waving corn. It is a fine country from the agriculturist's point of view, though the crops owing to the late drought are poor, but the people will have enough for their own wants, leaving

some over for exportation. This, for Western Australia, is undoubtedly a very rich district. Barlee, Maitland Brown, and Phillipps, have gone to Geraldton for Durlacher's funeral, so I am taking a day's rest. To-morrow I make my entry there; I then visit various stations and go on to the Geraldine lead mine, and see the copper districts. Then my farthest point will be reached, and I shall begin to work back—first to the Irwin, thence by a road along the coast *via* Gingin and Bindrom to Guildford and Perth. I am going to have a new road made in this district which will not cost much, and save a long detour of from forty to fifty miles to the inhabitants."

After receiving the usual enthusiastic welcome at Geraldton, Weld visited the convict station, prisoners' quarters, and hospital; and then made a tour of inspection of the shifting sand-drifts surrounding the town. He mentions that the work of planting and laying down bushes on these sand-hills had already been begun by his predecessor, and that he proposed extending the zone of operation. He then inspected the mouth of the Greenough River with a view to a possible shipping place. "The country north of Champion Bay," he writes, "is for the most part arid and bare, diversified with rising ground of, however, no great height, such as Wizard Peak, and Moresby's flat-topped range. There are some fine views, and the dazzling orange or gold colour of the *Nutzia floribunda* literally lights up the landscape with its blaze. As a plant the *Nutzia* is insignificant, but its flowers are so brilliant that they are visible at a great distance." After leaving Geraldton, Weld proceeded to the mining district on the Murchison River. He says "want of capital alone prevents the great natural mineral resources of the country being developed." The Geraldine lead mine at the time of his visit employed about a hundred men, and between 80 and 85 tons

of lead were raised monthly ; but with more money expended these figures might be increased indefinitely. An effort had been made some years previous to his visit to open out the rich copper mines of Geraldine, but they had failed from want of capital, and all that remained were the deserted shafts and ruined cottages, once occupied by workmen and their families.

On his return journey Weld was persuaded to consult a doctor about the pain he still felt in his side, and he then learned that one of his ribs had been fractured in his fall, and the discomfort from which he had suffered was the result of the efforts of nature to reunite the bones. He makes little of the injury in writing to his wife, and after mentioning it goes on to observe :

> " I have not suffered at all as yet from the heat, though one day the thermometer stood at 100° in the shady verandah, and (I was told) was 132° in the sun ; but I think this is a very exhilarating climate —at any rate it agrees remarkably well with me."

Three weeks after returning from Champion Bay (in January 1870) Weld set out once more on his travels. This time he took a southern course and visited the Blackwood district, making a short stay at the principal stations, such as Dardanup and Bunbury. At the later town he was entertained at a dinner at which he summed up his impressions of the country in a speech which throws considerable light on its social and commercial status at this period, as well as on his own views and future policy.

He began by saying that he believed he would be meeting the wishes of the colonists by telling them what he thought of their country, and its future prospects, and that he had only delayed doing so till he had been given time and opportunity of forming his opinions. He was aware that the colony's

progress had been slow in the past, but he believed that it contained the elements of future prosperity, and that as the necessity of finding fresh outlets for capital was spreading day by day there was a good prospect of its being attracted here, where they had a clear field with little competition. The colony was beginning to be better known, and he was convinced if people, especially the labouring class, came to Western Australia and kept from drink—the real and greatest obstacle to their success here—they would find, and bring, prosperity, and have no need to search for it elsewhere. He saw great capabilities in the southern districts he had visited ; they would keep a considerable population—men who, like the Canadian lumberers and backwoodsmen, look on trees in the same light as the farmer does on his crop of corn. Part of this country, as well as the northern districts, would support a wheat-growing population, but he thought more attention might be given to other products of the soil, such as wine, oil, and fruits, whose prices varied less than that of corn. He then alluded to the risks of the land being thrown out of cultivation by over-cropping—examples of which he had known in the other colonies and in America. He said he looked on artificial grasses and green crops as the salvation of the farmer ; cattle-feeding would give him the means of renovating his land.

Referring to other forms of industry, he reminded his audience that there was an American whaler then lying in their port with a cargo on board of oil taken on their coasts. The American farmers, he said, clubbed together to fit out whalers, supplying them with stores, pork, flour, etc., from their farms, and sent them thousands of miles to these coasts whilst we—forgetting that much of the early prosperity of Sydney and Hobart-town was due to whaling enterprise—made no effort to compete, though, he

said, he need not hardly remind them there were plenty of whales for them and for us. The farmers had some great advantages in the colony; one was in their roads, which were much superior to those in almost any country he was acquainted with, and another in the cheapness and excellence of their fencing material. The agricultural class, he said, were the backbone and sinews of a country. The pastoral class were the pioneers; they should be encouraged to the utmost, consistent with the interests of the agriculturist, and as long as they did not stand in the way of the cultivation of the soil. He strongly advised them to pay increased attention to the quality and breed of stock. After alluding to the natural wealth of the country in ore and timber he said that these were temporarily locked up through difficulty of access and want of capital. There were impediments under the present form of government to obtaining a loan, but he thought they might be overcome, and in his opinion public money might be legitimately employed in making tramways, improving the harbours, and in other ways which would develop the resources of the country. In referring to the movement which was beginning to show itself for Representative government he said:

"My political opinions are well known, and I am not likely to swerve from principles which have guided me through life. Though I am very far from supposing that any form of government is perfect—for all have advantages and disadvantages—still I believe that the Representative form is the one best adapted to the genius of the English-speaking race. I also believe that no government will succeed that does not reflect the spirit and genius of the people it has to govern. The question before you is: How and when should Representative government be introduced? I believe

I am at one with the people of this colony in saying that they are not as yet ready for Responsible government. They are not ready now, because the best men among you now cannot afford to give up their time and neglect their private affairs to take office on an uncertain and precarious tenure; and if they find it impossible to do so, office would go into the hands of men seeking only its emoluments. The result would be the worst form of despotism: a despotism founded nominally on the will of the people, but really on the power of a few men who would ride rough-shod over you and make your interests subservient to theirs. I must also warn you that Responsible government may follow closely on Representative government. It grows out of it, and though its introduction might be delayed for a time by the exercise of tact and forbearance on the part of Government and representatives, yet it might come sooner than you wish or consider advisable. The adoption of the Act 13th and 14th Victoria has been pressed upon me. I do not regard this Act as perfect, but I think it workable. I am not a doctrinaire with regard to Constitutions. I believe that all that is required is a skeleton which may be covered with flesh and blood; in short, may have life put into it to suit the circumstances of the country into which it is introduced."

After discussing the pros and cons of an immediate adoption of the Act, and alluding to the unanimous desire on the part of the population in every district he had visited to have it passed, he said:

" The absence of all political excitement may be advanced as a proof of the fitness of the present moment for a new form of Government. Delay might be dangerous; a gold discovery or similar cause might at any time lead to a sudden influx of population from the other colonies, and we might be forced to take a sudden plunge, such as that of universal suffrage, at the bidding of irresponsible demagogues, which might be disastrous to the interests of the colony. I desire to avoid such a plunge; I do not think a very low suffrage would be

for the good of this country. I should like to see, concurrently with constitutional changes, an increase of local and individual exertion, a start made in the direction of road boards and Chambers of Commerce. Municipal and educational business, also mining affairs, should be managed less by Government, more by local authorities. Free and individual action would thus be encouraged. This is my idea of educating people, and if it is urged that they are not fit for self-government, I would answer, When would they be fit ? "

He concluded by saying :

" It has been my aim in life to render my humble assistance in the great work of raising up a people at the Antipodes, whose fresh life and vigorous action would rather invigorate than drain the resources of the mother country ; whose loyalty might be instinct with memories of the past and aspirations for the future. If I could evoke such a spirit, and could hope to leave the people of Western Australia more patriotic than I found them, more of a community and less of a collection of units, I should ask for nothing better by which to be remembered."

Before entering into the questions of the change in the Constitution and other developments, social and political, contemplated by Weld, it may be of interest to read his summing up of the capabilities of the country which he traversed between the months of October 1869 and March 1870. The following are extracts from a dispatch to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. After mentioning that he had travelled about 2100 miles on horseback and visited every district of any importance in the colony, with the exception of the small outlying pastoral settlement of Nichols Bay, which is frequented by pearl and shell fishers and cannot be visited except by a long uncertain voyage in sailing vessels, he says :

" The whole of the settled country of Western Australia lies between Albany, King George's Sound,

in the south and the Geraldine lead mines on the Murchison, the extreme northern limit of my journey—that is to say, between the 28th and 35th parallels of south latitude. This country is for the most part level, often undulating but never mountainous. The western seaboard is comparatively flat, and of sandy character, composed chiefly of the detritus of old coral reefs. Farther inland a formation which is here called ironstone prevails; it appears to be a conglomerate of disintegrated granite, stained with iron. Granite, slate, quartz, pipeclay, and in some places trap, are found in this country. The Darling Range, for instance, presents all these characteristics. It runs from north to south in the central district inland of Perth, and appears once to have formed the coast-line. The whole country from north to south, excepting the spots cleared for cultivation, may be described as one vast forest; sometimes, but comparatively seldom, the traveller comes upon an open sandy plain covered with shrubs and flowering plants in infinite variety and of exquisite beauty, and often (especially in the north and eastern districts) low scrubby trees take the place of timber. The jarrah, sometimes erroneously called mahogany, a tree of the Eucalyptus tribe, covers immense tracts of land; as timber it is extraordinarily durable, and as it resists the white ant and the *Teredo navalis* it is admirably adapted for railway sleepers, and for bridges and harbour works. The sandalwood already affords an export; and tuart and kari, both of which run to an enormous size, are valuable timber trees. In the southern districts I have ridden for miles amongst kari trees, some of which, lying on the ground, I have ascertained by measurement to reach 150 feet to the lowest branch; many, I estimated, are twice that height from the ground to the topmost branch—thus emulating in size the Californian *Wellingtonia*, the kauri (*Damnara australis*) of New Zealand, or the great Eucalyptus *Purpurea* of Tasmania.

"The geological features of Western Australia would indicate the presence of gold, but as yet it has only been found in minute quantities; copper, lead, plumbago, and other minerals abound,

especially in the Champion Bay district,—affording, there can be no doubt, opportunities for the investment of capital. I have now in my possession a specimen of coal which I am assured is of considerable commercial value; it was found on the Murchison River. The pastoral resources of the colony, though far from inconsiderable, are smaller than might be expected from the extent of the country, but I have seen some very fine grassy tracts, and many bushes and plants which would afford good feed for cattle; and I have everywhere remarked the fine condition of the stock, even in this exceptionally dry season. As a horse-breeding country, I think, with care this should have few rivals. An expedition which I am about to send out along the shores of the Great Australian Bight will, I hope, not only open up communications with South Australia, and add to our geographical knowledge, but may also result in extending the area of pastoral enterprise. A considerable amount of wheat of remarkably good quality is grown in Western Australia, which possesses some fine agricultural districts; the crops generally are light, but that is owing to over-cropping and slovenly farming. It is to be regretted that more attention is not paid to fruit- and wine-growing; this is essentially the land of the olive and vine. The Western Australian wines are, as a rule, carelessly and unscientifically made, but as far as I can judge they seem to possess many of the characteristics of the Spanish and Sicilian wines, and they are found to contain a larger proportion of alcohol than the wines of other Australian colonies.

"It has been often remarked that it is a drawback to Western Australian colonisation that its best land is scattered about in patches. This is true in reference to land available for corn-growing, or for natural pasture, but it would be a mistake to suppose on that account that one could not get a crop out of it; the light sandy soil about Perth, for instance, astonishes me with its abundant garden produce. The vine grows luxuriantly everywhere, even on the apparently sterile ironstone ranges; and the flooded low-lying lands would grow the New Zealand flax to perfection.

"Probably Western Australia will never support as

large a population in proportion to its area as many other countries, but I believe it will support a very much larger one than is generally supposed, when the necessity is recognised of not forcing nature but of growing Mediterranean products in a country which possesses a Mediterranean climate and in many places a South African soil. I cannot omit all reference to harbours. The port of King George's Sound is well known, and there are several good roadsteads and anchorages along the coast, but a careful survey and some additional lights would be very beneficial. I shall have the honour of forwarding to your Lordship by next mail a report by Mr. Dogmour, consulting engineer, upon Rockingham, Fremantle, and the Swan River navigation."

Directly after Weld's return to Perth he carried out a plan of which he had first conceived the idea soon after he set foot in Western Australia, and which, in the six months' interval which followed, he had had time to mature before putting into execution. This was the dispatch of an expedition under the conduct of Mr. John Forrest,[1] a young man who had already made his name as an explorer, to report on the southern coast of the colony between Albany and the northern frontier of South Australia.

In a summary of the acts of his administration before leaving Western Australia in 1874 he refers to this measure as " The last act of an expiring autocratic régime," and he admits that he would not in the then-existing state of public opinion have got a vote in favour of it. He goes on to say :

" I believe nothing I have ever done was more unpopular, and yet I am convinced no sum of public money was ever expended with greater results. For Mr. Forrest's expedition has bridged the gap that separated Western Australia from the other colonies, has led to settlement on the shores of the Bight, and

[1] Afterwards Sir John Forrest, K.C.M.G., the veteran politician of Western Australia and its Premier for ten years.

to the connection of this colony with the rest of the world by electric telegraph."

Mr. John Forrest had already proved his qualifications for the office to which he had been appointed, by his services in an expedition which had been organised to recover the remains of Dr. Leuchardt and his party two years previously. Weld refers to him and to the expedition in the following terms, in a letter to Sir Roderick Murchison dated 10th June 1870:

"I have shown him (Forrest) my appreciation, as far as lay in my power, of the services he has already rendered, and am now employing him on an expedition which if successful will, I have reason to hope, confer great benefits both political and economical on this colony, by connecting it with the south-eastern colonies, and by opening out new fields of enterprise. It will also, in any case, extend considerably our area of geographical knowledge. He is now exploring overland along the Great Australian Bight, with orders to proceed to Adelaide, and to halt at Eucla or other suitable spots where he can extend his researches inland. He has with him a small but carefully equipped and selected party. He is to proceed by land, and a small coasting vessel will supply him with provisions at two points on the coast. I hope much from this expedition, and see good grounds for my expectations being fulfilled with regard to it ; they are not very generally shared by the people of this colony, however, who see in the expedition a present expense which we can ill afford, and are sceptical about future benefits."

Three months later Weld writes to Mr. Monsell :

"The exploring expedition under Mr. Forrest has been heard of from Port Eucla, whither I sent a small coaster to provision them. They are now doubtless on South Australian territory, having traversed some fine grassy tracts of country. The natives they came across were friendly, and, I hear, express unbounded astonishment (they themselves being naked) at one of the exploring party *taking off*

his boots. No doubt they expected that the white man was constructed so as to take to pieces altogether. I am very much pleased with the success of the expedition and cannot overrate its importance to the future of these colonies."

He writes to the same correspondent in October of the same year :

"Mr. Forrest, the explorer, has returned. He was well received in Southern Australia ; he has not yet sent in his full report, but the ultimate results of the expedition will, I doubt not, be very far reaching. We shall in a year have telegraphic communication across Western Australia from Fremantle to Perth and King George's Sound, and there is talk in Victoria of a cable to connect Melbourne with the Sound. I hope this war will raise[1] the question of a cable from Point de Galle to Fremantle, thus directly connecting Australia with the British and Indian systems."

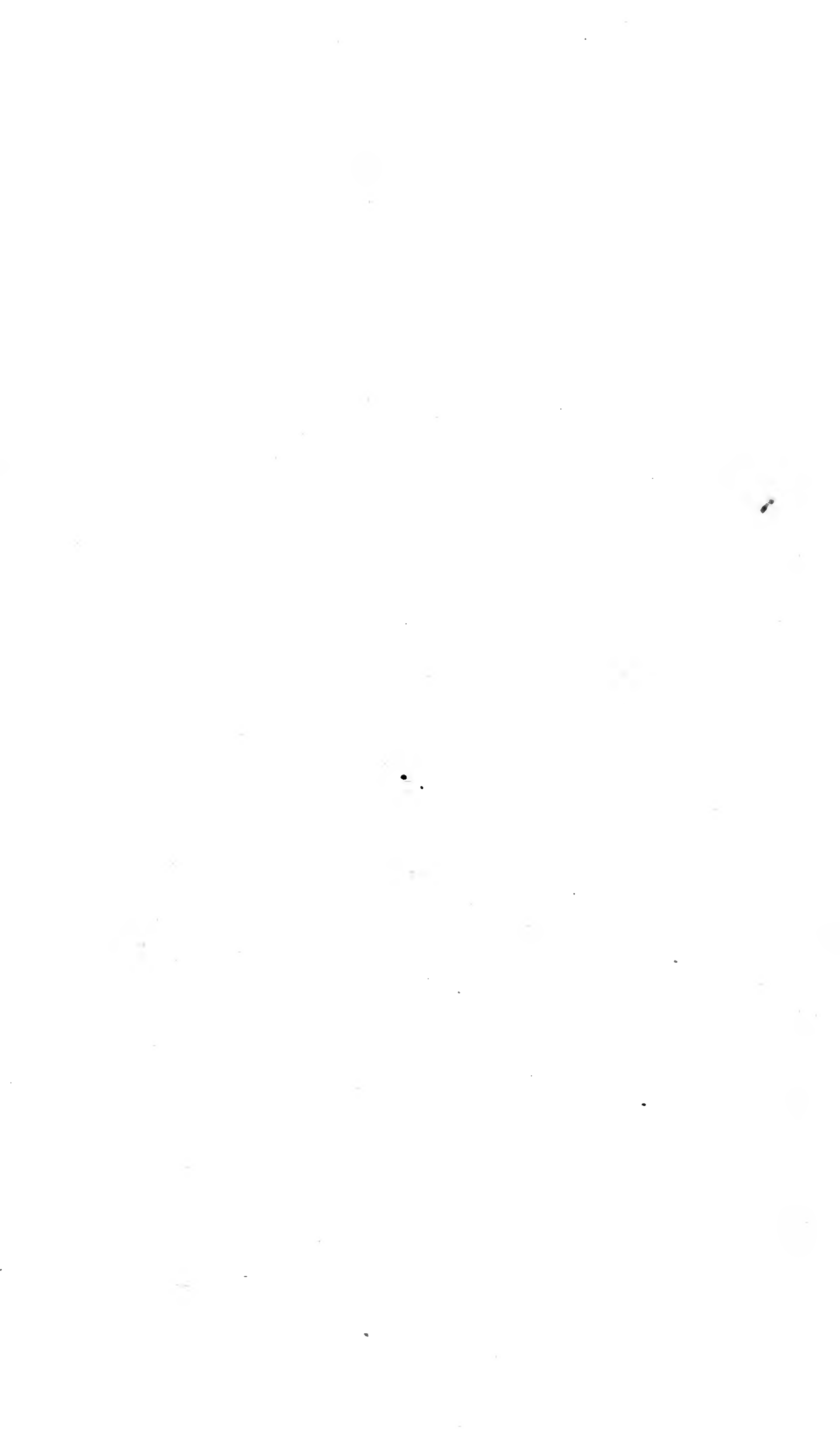
1870 was notable in the annals of Western Australia for more than one reason, for it was in the course of that year that the first step was taken by the Legislature towards Representative Government. The process of development whereby a Crown colony, which had hitherto been ruled by an autocratic Governor who was responsible only to the Colonial Office, was admitted to the privileges of self-government was in this case a slow and gradual one, befitting the importance of the change.

There is no doubt that public opinion was strongly divided at this time in Western Australia on the subject of the preparedness of the country for free institutions. The convict element present in the colony was one which could not be overlooked in any estimate of its state, social or political. But, as Weld remarks in a letter to Lord Granville, they had already arrived at a point where it was im-

[1] The Franco-Prussian War.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, PERTH, WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

[*To face p.* 188.



possible to retrace their steps. For in the Constitution granted to Western Australia, it had been provided that "upon the presentation of a petition signed by not less than one-third of the householders of the colony, praying that a Legislative Council be established in accordance with the conditions of the above Act, it shall on certain prescribed conditions be lawful for the now existing Legislative Council to pass an ordinance to carry the prayer of the petitioners into operation under the provisions of the aforesaid Act."

These conditions had been fulfilled. In 1865 a petition under the prescribed form had been presented to the Legislative Council signed by a large number of householders, and had been rejected by it. Again, in 1869, a petition to the same effect had been brought forward, and was awaiting the consideration of the Governor and Legislative Council at the approaching session. Under these circumstances, Weld goes on to say he is of opinion, after giving very anxious and careful consideration to the question, that nothing would be gained by further postponements. Moreover, he considers that the upper and yeoman class to which the franchise under the provisions of the Act was virtually restricted, was politically as sound there as in other colonies. He had been struck by the primitive simplicity and kindliness of manners shown by many of the inhabitants of the settlements he had visited—a state of things which was remarkable in a country peopled in a large measure with members of the criminal class. He adds, that he would be unjust were he not to point out that it was not uncommon to find men belonging to that class who have made good settlers, and have raised themselves to positions of respectability and independence. The measure having thus been discussed in all its bearings, and

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ample time having been given to its consideration, all that remained to be done was to carry it into execution. Accordingly Weld summoned a meeting of the Legislative Council on 23rd May, and placed before its members a Bill embodying the form of Representative Government, provided by the Act 13 & 14 Vict. (cap. 59), and invited them to consider the advisability of adopting it. Having himself spoken strongly in favour of the measure, he put the motion "that the Bill be read a second time." The fate of the Bill was decided by a narrow majority. In a Council consisting of eleven members, five voted against, and six—including Mr. Barlee, Colonial Secretary—were in its favour. The Governor's vote gave it a majority of two, which carried the Bill.

In the new Constitution given to Western Australia the administration continued to be vested in the Governor, who exercised his functions with the assistance of an Executive Council, whose advice he asked, but was not bound to follow. The House of Representatives during the first three years of its existence consisted of twenty members, of which number eight were appointed by the Crown, and twelve by the votes of adult householders, paying a rental of not less than £10. Perth and Fremantle returned two members each to Parliament, and the other eight districts into which the colony was divided sent one member each. That an administration conducted on these lines was not unattended with difficulties and occasional pitfalls for the "man at the helm" will readily be conceived, for being himself debarred from taking any part in the proceedings of the House, either by speech or vote, he had only the services of the eight nominees of the Crown to depend upon to introduce and defend his measures. Of these, four were Government officials, who accordingly acted as spokesmen for the Head of the Ad-

ministration. The remaining four, though nominally supporters of the Government, occasionally asserted their independence by differing from it—thus causing considerable friction in executive circles. It is obvious, therefore, that the post of Governor in a colony which was neither a Crown colony pure and simple, nor one endowed with a responsible Government, but an anomaly partaking of the nature of both, was one that required no small amount of tact; and perhaps Sir W. Robinson was not far wrong in saying, " Let no man take charge of such a form of Government who is not as patient as Job, as industrious as a Chinaman, and as ubiquitous as a provincial Mayor in France." [1]

[1] *On Duty in Many Lands*, p. 51.

CHAPTER IX

"La parole c'est un acte ; c'est pourquoi j'essai de parler."
E. Hillo.

If "to see oursels as others see us" (to quote Burns's somewhat hackneyed line) is useful for nations as well as individuals, the inhabitants of Western Australia must have drawn profit from a newspaper[1] article entitled "The shaking up" of that colony, in which the opinion hitherto held by the more advanced Southern States with regard to their sister colony of the West, is set down in a manner more candid than complimentary. According to this article "Western Australia seems at length to have reached the turning-point of its history where progress begins. For the last forty years it has been known by repute only as a penal settlement, or a dead-alive place that could never become a prosperous colony. An English serial in 1865 referring to it as 'Big Western Australia,' the most sleepy and stagnant of all our colonies, went on to say: 'Roundly speaking, nobody does anything in this last-named place ; nobody has any money, nobody buys or sells, nobody lends or borrows, nobody wants any workmen, and nobody could find any if he did ; but everybody wants to go away unless the Government will continue to support the place as a penal settlement.' This description given by a writer in *All the Year Round* would have been as truthful twelve months since as it was five years ago. A remarkable change, however, is now taking

[1] *The Queenslander.*

place which it is no exaggeration to state is entirely the work of one man. What credit is to be given to the Imperial Government for the selection we know not, but it was a fortunate thing for Western Australia when Mr. Weld was appointed Governor."

Probably to every country "the moment" comes sooner or later; and in such cases "the man" is seldom wanting.

The Town Hall of Perth, which had been begun by Governor Hampton, was opened by Weld on the "Glorious First of June," the anniversary of the great naval triumph of Lord Howe over the fleets of France and Spain. He drew the attention of the company assembled on that occasion to the steps that had already been taken in the nine months since he had come to Western Australia to develop the resources of the colony. A start had been made with the timber trade; the whaling industry had been given a fresh impetus; an exploring expedition had been sent out which besides having for its object a discovery of a route to the neighbouring colonies, would, by discovering fresh country, give a new outlet to pastoral enterprise. Encouragement had been given to a company seeking to establish a through telegraphic system, which was one of the greatest boons that could be conferred on any community. The rates of intercolonial postage had been reduced, and the postage taken off newspapers. Again, a great step had been taken in the direction of Responsible Government. Much still remained to be done, still he thought it might be said of the colony, "At last she moves."

The first session of the Representative Council of Western Australia began on 5th December, when the Governor in his message was able to congratulate the members on the progress of the colony in spite of commercial depression and three successive bad

seasons. He announces that a Bankruptcy Bill and other important legal measures tending to assimilate the laws of the colony and practice of its Courts to English forms would be submitted to them. Also that the Education question—which was one of the greatest importance—would be placed before them for their earnest and impartial consideration. The protection and amelioration of the condition of the aborigines being an imperative duty and one which he hoped to see increasingly recognised, he proposed submitting to them a Bill for the protection of the natives at the pearl fisheries, and to regulate their employment.

He ends by saying that, relying on the assurances of support that he had received from the country and with the concurrence of the Crown, he had established a Representative form of government in the colony, and that its success, with God's blessing, would mainly depend on the wisdom, moderation, and patriotism of its members.

The Council was prorogued on 7th January 1871 till July of the same year.

A letter to Colonel Maude who was at this time at the head of the Emigrant and Colonist's Aid Company, shows Weld's interest in a subject which affected so nearly the prosperity of Western Australia. After alluding to the circular he had received from Colonel Maude, he says :

"I take a great interest in emigration questions and hope your company may be the means of supplying a great national want, and conferring equal benefits on the colonies as well as on the mother country. This colony possesses immense tracts of unoccupied land, much of which is of inferior quality, but there is some good land, and even the light and sandy soil of the ironstone country grows vines in luxuriance. Flax also could be cultivated with profit here. We have the finest hard-wood forests in the

world, and great undeveloped mineral riches, and added to this the best climate on the Australian continent. What we want is population, and capital for public works of a reproductive character. The colony is very poor but owes no money, and though stagnant to a deplorable degree there is not much actual want—less I should say than in some of the neighbouring colonies. We have, however, as a rule, an inferior labouring population, from the fact that a large proportion are released convicts; the rest of the population is a well-conducted one, simple and primitive. Crime is infrequent, and life and property as safe here as in any other part of Australia. This colony is ages behind any other—it has simply vegetated; it wants new blood."

Writing a little later to another correspondent, Weld remarks:

"The country itself is underrated by the outside world, and not understood by its inhabitants. What it needs are Italians and Spaniards to grow wine, silk, oil, and fruits; Norsemen or Canadians for its forests; English or Scots-men to cultivate its lands. Shepherds of a superior quality, again, are much wanted, and capitalists who would run the mines and start fresh industries. Also we require a commercial body of men who would establish a healthy system to take the place of the truck system which prevails here. I have been a colonist for years and have travelled much, and I have seen no better field for the investment of capital than Western Australia; but a new population is wanted, and must be introduced before any real progress can be expected from the colony."

So far all had gone well between the Governor and governed in this remote Australian colony; each saw the other through a rose-coloured atmosphere. Such a state of things could hardly last. It lasted until Weld put his foot on the hornet's nest—in other words, till he drew upon himself the wrath of the convict population and its press, a force to be reckoned

with at this time in Australia. This is Weld's account of his misadventure to Mr. Monsell :

" I am in dreadfully bad odour now with the self-constituted 'convict aristocracy' here. Their organ says I am the worst Governor they ever had, though all were bad ; and they compare me to the Emperor of the French, and the King of Prussia ! This is because I revoked the ticket-of-leave of a rascally convict lawyer, a member of the aforesaid aristocracy ; until then I was the best of men and of Governors. Fortunately, if I am a despot I am a remarkably thick-skinned one, and am quite impervious to abuse."

These clouds were not the only ones on the horizon. The Representative system of government being a new one in the colony, the lately-elected members naturally showed their sense of their new privileges and their British independence by obstructing government measures in which they detected the smallest desire to coerce them ; and, like children, they were very ready to detect the pill in the jam. Weld writes a little later to the same correspondent as follows :

" The difficulties that usually attend the exercise of newly-acquired political powers by persons totally unaccustomed to them have, as I anticipated, been felt very noticeably here. Indeed, owing to the persistent misrepresentation which that part of the press owned and edited by ex-convicts had indulged in of every act of the Government since I revoked the ticket-of-leave of which I have previously told you, these difficulties have been exaggerated. You cannot imagine the effect of personal abuse has on the people here. Magistrates (paid) will not do their duty in convict matters for fear of abuse from the press ; and members vote for measures which in private they do not attempt to defend, under threat of the lash that is held over them. You will be amused to hear that I am accused of being the cause of their not getting a large loan—my dispatch to Lord Kimberley and his answer notwithstanding—

and they gravely assure the people that the Home Government would have been quite ready to give a guaranteed loan, and mention that the open-handed Mr. Lowe (a sobriquet quite new to him I should think) is only too anxious to give one. As to our Council they are well-meaning, fussy, and full of plots for petty obstructions which are intended to show their power and independence. Individually they express their confidence in me, and when we meet in private seem easily convinced by my arguments; then they go to the House and badger the Colonial Secretary, and the next day come and tell me that they did not understand the effect of their action. I always, as you know, expected that I should have a great deal of trouble under the new order of things, yet I think it was best for the country that its political education should have been begun, and I believe that my ambition for it will be realised, and that having found it a corpse I shall leave it a living and intelligent body. There appeared no chance after the election of carrying an Education Bill either on the basis of a double system, such as now prevails in England, or on the Irish plan. They were in favour of a perpetuation of the present system. I therefore agreed to a compromise, under which the Catholic schools of Perth and Fremantle would have had a grant equal to the sum saved to the Government by the children educated at those schools. The Council very unexpectedly threw this out. The popular feeling now is setting in the direction of the recommendations made in my dispatch, and Mr. Keenan's much-abused memo., so I am not unlikely to carry out my views in the long run.

The Council has carried a resolution proposed by the leader of the Opposition in favour of an arrangement being entered into to put an end to the dual system of convict management—by which the control and expenditure on the convict account may be handed over to the colonial authorities. Some such arrangement would no doubt save expense, and I had already mentioned it in one of my letters to Lord Granville, and since alluded to it in a dispatch, but I considered it a matter in which the initiative properly lay with the Home Government. Should

such an idea be entertained it must be very carefully worked out, and the strictest and most definite stipulations made, and full powers kept in the Governor's hands to enforce them, by withholding moneys, or appointing or removing officers. It must be remembered that even leading men and government officials are under the influence of the convict element here to a degree unknown in any other convict colony. This and other difficulties will be solved —as they are already in a fair way of being solved— by immigration and by capital being attracted to the colony. I do not intend pressing for an immigration agreement on a large scale at present. I think that the best way would be to make a money compromise, and let us bring out a few families of the kind we need, and as we need them. I shall wait meanwhile to see what action, if any, will be taken by the Legislature before I report again on the question."

The Session of 1871 was chiefly memorable for the passing of an Education Bill. This Act before being made law passed through many vicissitudes in the hands of a suspicious Opposition who detected a Popish plot in every paragraph. The form it at last assumed closely resembled the one in operation in England at the time it was passed. Schools were divided by this Act into two classes, elementary and assisted. The elementary were largely subsidised by Government, and were under the control and supervision of a central board, assisted by local district boards. The central board, which was appointed by the Governor, consisted of five members, all laymen belonging to different religious denominations. The local district boards were elected every three years, and all ratepayers were eligible as office-holders. Half an hour a day was set aside for reading the Bible, or other religious book approved of by the board ; but a conscience clause prohibited the use of catechisms or any religious formularies, and the Bible, if used, had to be read without note or comment.

Compulsory attendance could be enforced by local boards. Assisted schools received capitation grants from Government on condition of submitting to inspection of secular results, and to the observance of a conscience clause during the four hours of secular instruction provided for by the Act.

Catholic schools were in the hands of the Christian Brothers, and their teachers were certificated by Government.

The following letter from Sir James Ferguson (Governor of Adelaide), to whom Weld sent a draft of the Bill to ascertain what was being done in the other colonies with regard to education, may be of interest to readers :

" I like your Bill a good deal. I don't think we should have the least chance of carrying it here, and expect to find irreligious education a *sine qua non* of any Bill that is accepted. As you desired it, I showed it to our Bishop. He points out that clauses 22 and 24 comprise the chief objects of the Bill and that the conscience clause is very fair. He objects, however, as I do, to the 'ticketing' the children according to denominations, and so of stereotyping their schismatical or sectarian bringing up. I should say the right of withdrawal from religious teaching was sufficient. I suppose you found it necessary, however. He thinks that clause 9 will make your Government schools quasi-pauper schools, and drive from them the better class. Such, however, is not our Scotch experience, where a similar provision has always existed. Further, he thinks that the proposal to assist denominational schools, even where a Government school exists in a district, is rather extravagant and unfair to the Government school, and that this is designed in favour of the Roman Catholic Schools. If it is, I do not dislike it on that ground, for a Royal Commission of Scottish schools, of which I was a member while we denied the existence of a 'religious difficulty' in the case of Scotsmen in general, at least of Presbyterians in

general, recognised it in the case of the Roman Catholics, and proposed that to them alone separate grants should be made. I dare say this feature is the one which irritates both the Bishop of Perth and the Protestant dissenters. You must know that even among Anglo-Catholics recent events at Rome[1] and elsewhere have aroused a good deal of irritation and jealousy which before was confined to the sects who live upon their abuse of Catholicism. I, however, think that if the Church of England cannot produce guilds or societies to evangelise the people as your regular clergy and sisterhoods do, we have no right to be jealous."

A Bill was also passed during this Session to regulate the grants made by Government to religious bodies. On Weld's arrival in the colony he had found a dispatch from Lord Granville to his predecessor, dated 10th July 1869, directing the officer administering the government to report on the subject of ecclesiastical grants with a view to an equitable distribution alike in substance and in form of such grants. And he was further desired to report whether the circumstances of the colony created any difficulty in applying to Western Australia the principle of religious equality which had long been recognised in the Australian colonies. Though the change foreshadowed in the above dispatch produced a certain amount of agitation in ecclesiastical circles—where it was popularly spoken of as "the disestablishment of the Church"—it did not take long for members of all Churches to realise that the Bill which was framed to carry out the principle of equality was a fair and equitable one. Weld, in a private letter to Mr. Monsell on the subject, says in allusion to this accusation: "I think you must admit that if it is true that I have disestablished the Church of England in Western Australia—which was never established—the revolution at least was a very rose-water one."

[1] An allusion to the Vatican Council.

Weld gives an interesting account of a tour of over 900 miles which he made on horseback in the south and south-eastern districts in a dispatch to Lord Kimberley, dated the 30th of November, from which we give the following extracts :

"I left Perth on the 10th of November for Albany. I was anxious to see the state of the main road to the Sound, along which the telegraph line is now in course of construction, and also to inspect the convict depot before withdrawing the convict establishment from King George's Sound, which I propose to do almost immediately. I find the road much improved since my first arrival in the colony, and, owing to the plentiful rains that have fallen this spring, the country was in unusual beauty. I stayed a day in the Williams district, and rode down the valley a distance of some fifteen miles, returning on the opposite side of the river after visiting several farms which impressed me favourably with the capabilities of this district. It has also much good unoccupied land. I left Albany on the 22nd and reached the hospitable homestead of Mr. Muir of Forest Hill, one of our prosperous settlers who has raised himself to the position he now occupies, and has brought up a large family who owe their success entirely to his, and their, industry and energy.

"I now proceeded to carry out a design which I had long entertained, of exploring the little-known south coast country which stretches westward to Cape Leeuwin, the extreme south-westerly promontory of Australia. Sending on my baggage and the rest of the party by a bush road to a point on the Warren River and taking one pack-horse with me, and accompanied by Andrew Muir and a mounted police-orderly and a native, I diverged to the sea-coast, and after travelling for six days a distance of about 160 miles without meeting either European or native inhabitant I reached Mr. E. Brockman's station on the Warren River, where I was rejoined by my suite. During this part of my journey I was enabled to make several sketch corrections on the map of some importance. After fording the

Gordon and afterwards the Walpole River above Nornalup Inlet I reached Broke's Inlet, which is very incorrectly laid down in the maps, and I found that the Shannon falls into it near its north-west extremity. A considerable stream which runs into the Shannon from the westward at a few miles from its mouth I called the Chesapeake—thus associating the name of the Shannon with that of her gallant antagonist. I believe that a careful survey at Point D'Entrecasteaux would establish a safe anchorage under Low Island. Sunken rocks are scattered over a wide area, but there appears to be plenty of room to work a sailing vessel between them. The southern coast of the colony from Albany to Broke's Inlet is deeply indented. The land generally is poor. From Broke's Inlet westward the country may be described as follows: At fifteen to twenty-five miles distance from the coast it is thickly wooded; the undergrowth is so dense in places that it is most difficult to penetrate through it without using the hatchet, and would be impossible but for the absence of climbing or parasitical plants. Nearer the coast we came upon swampy plains covered with coarse vegetation into which our horses frequently sank and from which they were with difficulty extricated. Here the kari and jarrah forests broke up into smaller areas, and varieties of Melaleuca, Casuarina, and Banksias predominated. The grassy knolls and undulations of ground were frequently enlivened with the bright turquoise blue of the dwarf lobelia; the peppermint—greener than most Australian trees—is found here in profusion, growing singly or in groups, whilst in the valleys the black-stemmed Xanthorrea and its congener the palm-leaved Xamia fix the distinctive Australian characteristics of the scenery in an unmistakable manner.

"One of my principal objects in visiting this part of the country was to judge for myself its fitness for settlement. A good deal of the open country is occasionally occupied by the stock of a few settlers who live inland, but I am told cattle require frequent change, and can only be left a limited period on the low ground by the seashore. By the introduction of Indian couch grass, and English grasses for which

the climate is well fitted, the capabilities of the coast country might no doubt be increased indefinitely. As I have on a previous occasion described jarrah and kari forests I will only now mention that the question of shipment is the single one that presents any obstacle to establishing a large timber trade on this coast, and a survey would in all probability remove that difficulty. This coast offers exceptional facilities, especially at Augusta (the mouth of the Blackwood River), for building schooners and other small vessels, from the proximity of the forests to the sea and the quality of the timber. Whales abound on the coast, and the estuaries teem with fish. Augusta was settled in 1829 and deserted many years ago; as I looked on its forests and its fine river and inhaled the fresh breeze from the Dorsetshire-like downs that rise above Cape Leeuwin (the most south-westerly point of Australia), I could not but wonder that a spot possessing such attractions in climate and scenery, and no inconsiderable natural advantages, should have been abandoned. Two families yet remain at Augusta; but much of the land here is owned, as is the case in many other parts of the colony, by absentees and non-residents. Almost the whole of the country which I have described is well watered. In the vicinty of Cape Leeuwin there are several subterranean streams of large size. I have seen them in more than one instance pouring a large volume of pure water into, or out of, a hill of limestone formation. Very curious conical mounds exist near Cape Hamelin, also on the coast a few miles eastward of Augusta. I could not give the time required to investigating them, or to ascertaining their origin."

A second letter, dated 30th of January 1872, records a journey taken by the Governor to the north-west of the colony. After mentioning that H.M.S. *Cossack* had called for him and his party and landed them in Tien Tsin roadstead in Nichols Bay, he writes:

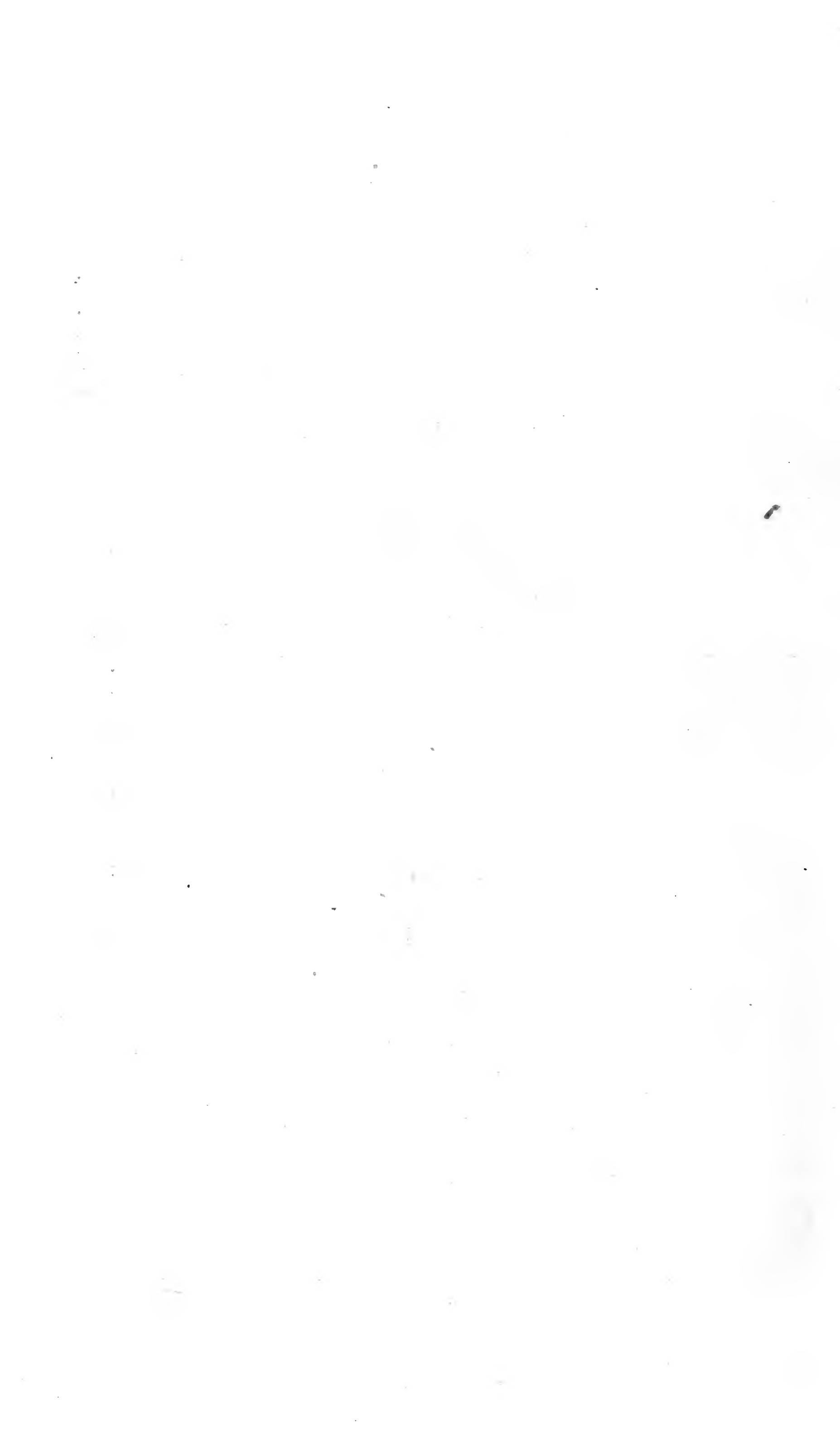
"The town of Roebourne is twelve miles from the landing-place and consists of a few scattered houses,

including the Residency and courthouse, and police quarters, which are good substantial buildings of their kind. No attempt has been made at cultivation or gardening, the appearance accordingly of the town is not prepossessing. It stands on the slope of a bare range of hills, a river-bed with some trees and bushes in front of it, and beyond a plain covered with grass and bushes and low hills in the distance. The day after my arrival I started on an expedition inland with a small party consisting of the Surveyor-General, Lieutenant Eden of the *Cossack*, and Corporal Vincent of the Mounted Police, under the guidance of two settlers, Messrs. Macrae and Patterson. We returned after four days' journey, our farthest point being the Fortescue River, which is about eighty miles from the coast. As we went and returned by different routes we gained a good knowledge of the principal features of the country. A belt of low hills and plains surrounds the coast to a distance of about fifteen to twenty miles. After that we came on to high tablelands from which a few hills such as Mount Bruce stand out, attaining an altitude of from 4000 to 5000 feet. The formations are occasionally sandstone, but more frequently metamorphic igneous rock. I noticed granite, tufa, quartz, and slate.

"Looking at the country from a geological point of view, it strikes one that it is only now in course of undergoing the transformation necessary to make it ready for the occupation of man. One sees piled up masses of rock, split and rent by the action of tropical suns and rains, which are again being reduced, by the same process, to gravel and shingle, and then to fine red dust. This is caught up by the tufted spinifex which, in its decay, goes to the formation of a soil which only requires irrigation to grow all the lavish wealth of tropical vegetation. Such soils are even now visible in the district. I travelled over plains consisting of light-red soil, where wild yams were growing amidst a scanty vegetation of spinifex and grass, and after rain I was told that a profusion of plants—amongst others the wild melon—spring up and cover the ground, and I witnessed myself how a passing thunderstorm had brought up a luxuriant growth of herbage. At the Fortescue a

West Australian Vegetation. 1869.

[To face p. 204.



stream rises suddenly out of the ground and runs for some distance parallel with the deep pools which form the bed of the main river. This stream irrigates, and partly surrounds, a piece of land of extraordinary fertility which was covered with luxuriant vegetation, amongst which the slim tall shaft and graceful fronds of the Fan Palm were conspicuous. I noticed a dwarf fig bearing a small edible fruit, which might be improved by cultivation, and a larger species much resembling the *Ficus macrophylla*.

"The fauna of this district is of considerable interest. I saw several different species of kangaroos of a kind new to me, and which I should say are unknown to the southern parts of the colony. There appeared also to be a great variety of birds; we saw bustards, partridges—so called—pigeons, cockatoos, duck, teal; also flights of pigeon of a kind apparently peculiar to this district, a few emus, a flock of the little shell-pink coloured parrots, and pink and slate-coloured cockatoos in countless numbers. The bird that goes by name of partridge I have also never seen before; it is a beautifully marked and crested little bird, wonderfully tame and somewhat resembling the Californian quail, but is larger; the flesh is white and delicate but with no game flavour.

"The country that we traversed is better watered than I had anticipated, we rarely travelled fifteen to twenty miles without encountering springs. We came across a good many sheep and cattle stations on our journey. The present number of sheep in this district is calculated at about 56,000. I see no prospect of any rapid increase, as owing to the prevalence of long droughts, and the intense heat, light stocking is a necessity. Cattle appear to do well; there are about 800 head in the district. Horses also thrive, though increase is slow owing to mortality among the foals. The breed should be improved by an admixture of Arab blood; the horses I have seen were coarse and underbred, and consequently liable to suffer in a long journey in the great heats to which they are exposed in this tropical climate. Shipments have been lately made to Singapore of horses, sheep, and some cows, and highly remunerative prices have been realised; return cargoes were taken of tea,

sugar, rice, and other commodities. It is said here that unless freight and charges at Fremantle are reduced, the Nichols Bay trade will desert that port, and flow in the direction of Singapore. A steamboat bought by an enterprising settler is now on its way out from England, which will in all probability give considerable impetus to the settlement by improving its communications with other ports, as well as by promoting its industries.

"The chief reliance of the North-West Settlement is placed on its pearl-shell fisheries. It is carried on by about seventy-five Europeans, who employ about three hundred and fifty aborigines belonging to the district, exclusive of women and children, and a few Malays. The industry is of growing importance; it is carried on from small craft about thirty in number, most of which average from 10 to 25 tons. The season, which is limited by the temperature of the water, lasts from September to May, both inclusive, with occasional breaks owing to stormy weather. The fishery is carried on by divers who work on the banks at slack water, generally from two to three hours a day, or more when days are long and the tides turn, and dive to a depth ordinarily not exceeding 3 to 3½ fathoms of water. The take this year has exceeded so far any previous one; and as new banks have been traced, and will probably be hereafter worked along an extended line of coast, also old banks appear to be periodically replenished from deeper waters, there is a good prospect of this industry becoming one of considerable importance. Several valuable pearls have been found, but the mother-of-pearl shells are the mainstay of the fishery. They are quoted as high as £216 a ton in the London market, the average being about £150 or £160. Probably 150 tons will be exported this year.

"Whaling has also been carried out with marked success on these coasts. I have allowed Messrs. Marmion & Pearce of Fremantle to establish a whaling station on Rosemary Island, and this year after securing 42 tons of oil they were obliged to suspend operations for the season from want of casks, though whales were still plentiful. I have also made arrangements to enable an establishment to be set on foot,

on payment of a nominal rent, to commence operations on Borrow Island for preserving turtle in tins for Melbourne and the general market.

"The total European population of this district is about 200, and consists chiefly of adult males; these are for the most part energetic and enterprising, and as they look to their own efforts for success, they are likely to achieve it. The settlement has been formed by the joint exertion of men from the Western and Southern Australian colonies. The natives, who are in constant intercourse with the Europeans, are docile and friendly, and appear to be on good terms with the settlers. Almost all the labour is performed by them; they receive food regularly all the year round in return for services rendered during the pearling season—money they do not value. I am happy to say that consequently drunkenness is rare amongst them. Though a red handkerchief to wrap round the head appears to be admired, and in the township some slight covering is affected in deference to European prejudice, clothing also is reckoned a superfluity among them. The aborigines I came across up country were clothed in their native duskiness only, all but one gentleman, who was attired in a single strand of grass twine tied round his waist.

"Though the labour of the district is almost exclusively in the hands of the blacks, where they are not brought in immediate contact with settlers, they are not always to be trusted to respect property, or even life. A policeman not long ago was killed by natives, and the murder of a man of the name of Lazenby, a master pearler, occurred quite recently. Mr. Lazenby was reputed to be kind and considerate with his natives, and a favourite with them, but sufficient grounds appeared in the inquiry to induce the Resident Magistrate to issue a warrant against four of his native servants, who have been committed for trial.

"It would be very desirable, when our means permit of it, that a small armed schooner should be maintained as a police boat, in which the Resident Magistrate might at times patrol the coast. Moderate licence fees for pearling boats might then be imposed; at present other boats come from other colonies to pearl, and add nothing to our revenue. I should

also wish to see a cottage hospital and a gaol erected. There are at present only ten children in and about Roeburne, but before long a school will have to be built, the Board of Education only requiring twelve children to grant assistance from Government funds."

The hard life and exposure for days in the saddle under the burning sun of the tropics brought on an attack of gout, from which Weld was still suffering when the arrival of H.M.S. *Clio*, under the command of Commodore Stirling, obliged him to make efforts for which he was still unfit. Stirling being the son of the first Governor of Western Australia, Sir James Stirling, whose name was still held in high honour by the settlers, received a welcome worthy of the occasion and of the name he bore. Weld records the arrival in his journal as follows:

"*March 16th.* Drove from Perth to Fremantle with de Lisle. Went off with Captain Croke, Harbour Master, and the Colonial Secretary in a pulling boat to H.M.S. *Clio*. Commodore Stirling saluted with nineteen guns and yards manned when I went on board. They got up anchor and steamed out of the harbour soon after we arrived. Fire broke out in the hold when we got off Rottnest Island. I was struck with the admirable order on board—every man in his place, no noise or confusion. The fire was put out in about twenty minutes. Very little damage was done, some firewood, a cask or two of tobacco, and the ship's side and lining partly burned."

The *Clio* landed its passengers at Geraldton, where a great reception was given to Commodore Stirling. It was followed by a dinner at Greenough Flats, and another at Glengarry. A kangaroo hunt on a large scale was organised by Mr. Maitland Brown—the owner, according to Weld, of the finest stud in Western Australia—at which the gallant colonist

mounted the officers and their friends. The Governor, unfortunately, was debarred from taking a part at these festivities, as after the first two days he succumbed to them—falling into the hands of the doctor, who, he mentions in his journal, prescribed various remedies, and amongst others complete rest. "That," he adds, "and sea air on board the *Clio* soon brought me round."

A week later, Weld—writing to his brother—mentions more gay doings :

"The colony has quite woke up of late, owing to the presence of H.M.S's *Clio* and *Cossack,* which have been sojourning in West Australian waters. We have had two balls at Government House, with a hundred and fifty to two hundred people at each, besides several dinner-parties and picnics which, as the newspapers say, were numerously attended. An effort has to be made on an occasion of this sort, and in a colony which has hitherto been so little known like Western Australia it is doubly a duty. The colonists also showed much hospitality to our visitors. We got up, amongst other things, a hurdle race, and I regret to say Frank de Lisle came to grief riding my mare Camilla. She was the best jumper, and he the best rider on the course, but not having been in regular training, she fell at the second last jump. He broke his collar-bone, but is now fast recovering. The officers of both ships say they were never better treated than they have been here. The Commodore was called away suddenly to Sydney about the South Sea kidnapping affair, so we have now once more subsided into our usual quiet."

This state of quietude did not last long, as in June of the same year the colony was agog on the subject of a charge made against a settler belonging to one of the leading families of Western Australia for the murder of a native. This accusation, moreover, involved another against the head police magistrate of Perth, for neglecting his duty to commit the

delinquent on the capital charge, and allowing him to go on bail. Finally the Attorney-General caused the man to be re-arrested and committed to prison to await his trial. Burges was convicted by the jury of manslaughter, and sentenced to five years' imprisonment. This sentence—admitting that the accusation was proved—would appear to be a sufficiently lenient one, but it was not so regarded in the colony, and great pressure was brought to bear on the Governor to commute it. Weld, however, refused to interfere in the matter. His sympathy with the down-trodden race had been roused more than once since he came out to Australia; this was a test case, both judge and jury had been satisfied by the evidence that the prisoner had fired at the native "with intent to kill." He therefore allowed the law to take its course.

Burges's friends meanwhile left no stone unturned to get the sentence reversed—their plea being that he had shot the native in self-defence; petitions were got up, widely signed, and dispatched to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with whom they so far prevailed that Burges' sentence was commuted from five to one year's imprisonment.

Weld in a letter to his brother comments with much natural indignation on the indifference to human (black) life in the colony which the incident had brought to light. "What," he asks, "were the Aborigines Protection Society about? Had such a case occurred in New Zealand, Exeter Hall would have started indignation meetings and held up the colonial authorities, as well as the author of the deed and its abettors, to everlasting obloquy. Were the aborigines of Western Australia outside the pale of humanity? Had they not likewise souls?"

Exeter Hall maintained a stony silence, but if the question had been put before the settlers of New

Zealand or Australia there is small reason to doubt what their solution of it would have been.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Colonial Office saw reason to upset the judge's verdict, Lord Kimberley in a private letter to Weld expressed his approval of the line taken by him with regard to the native race; and though the question whether Burges was guilty or not was left, from the action of the Home Government, for ever open to doubt, the strong measures taken for the vindication of justice had a marked effect on the public mind, and bore fruit in a growing disposition to treat the claims of an oppressed and inferior race in a more humane and forbearing spirit.

An occasional remark, such as we read in a letter home dated 9th October of this year, of "How I wish I could have a day with the hounds, or after partridges," shows that deep as was Weld's interest in his government his thoughts frequently turned to his own beloved Dorsetshire home. He goes on to observe:

"I have been staying lately at Rottnest, my country or rather island home, and have had Mr. Howard, a Lincolnshire parson—one of the good old school—staying with me. We were up every morning, and out with our guns by 6 a.m., and had some fair sport; a mixed bag of quails, pigeons, and sandpipers. Later in the day we used to go out sea-fishing. In fact we had a very jolly week."

In proroguing the session of 1872 in the autumn of that year, Weld commented at some length on the public spirit of the Legislative Council in voting the sum of £35,000 for the construction of public works. These works were of the utmost importance for the progress of the colony, and consisted of lighthouses, the extension of existing telegraph lines, the improvement of river navigation and preliminary railway

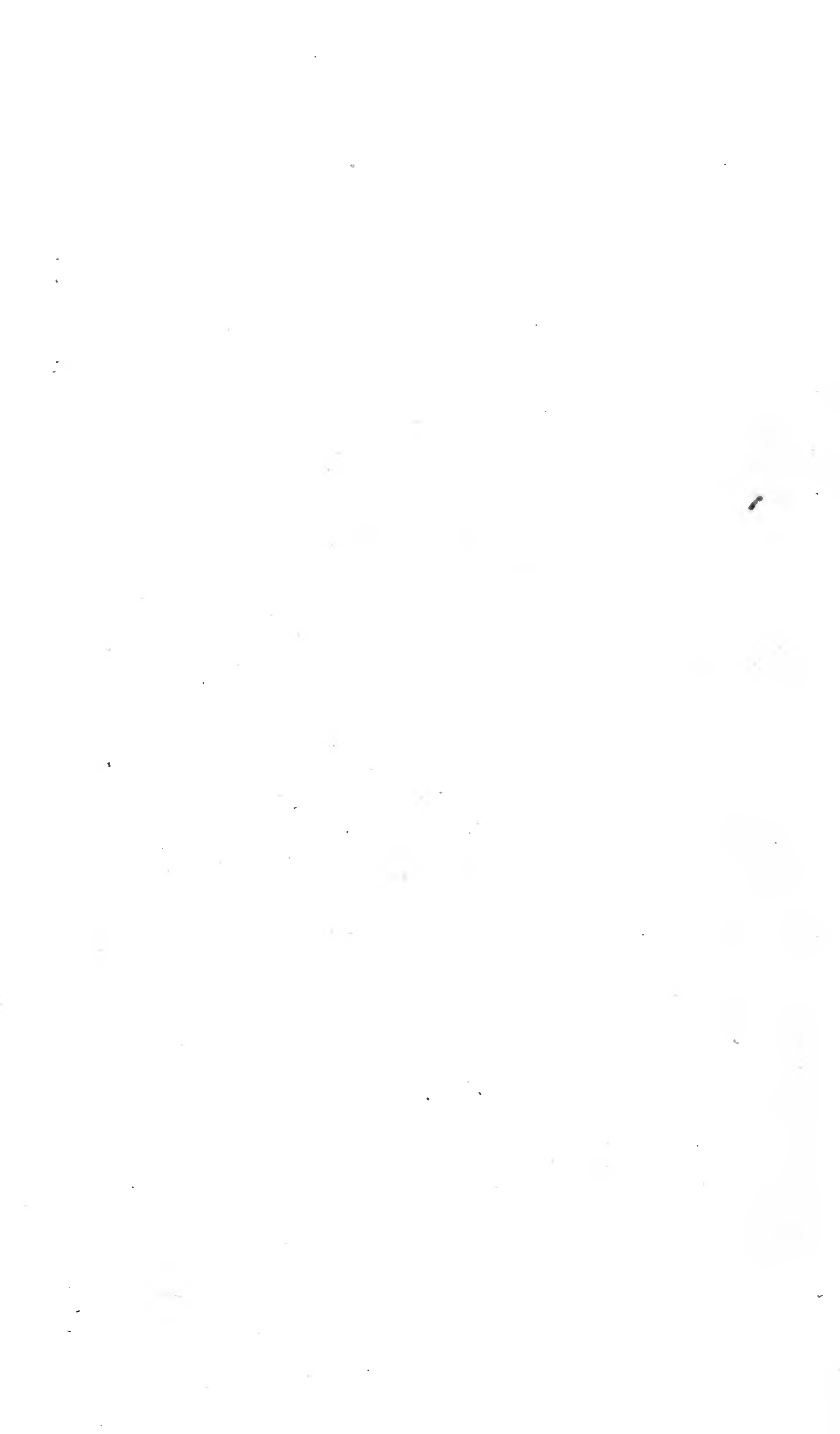
surveys. With regard to coast surveys the Governor was able to announce that the Imperial Government, at his request, had consented to send out an experienced officer to undertake them, and had also undertaken to pay half the expenses of an enterprise which when completed would confer material benefit on their commerce. Weld reminds the members that they were for the first time about to use their credit for a loan, and it was accordingly a fitting occasion to impress upon them that immigration should ever go hand in hand with borrowing. "You will thus," he continues, "at once increase your power for borrowing and for repayment, whilst you will diminish your burden in proportion to the numbers of producers and consumers you may introduce into the country to share it. In placing at my disposal a small sum for immigration purposes you have made a commencement which, insignificant in itself, points the way to future efforts."

A convinced free-trader himself, Weld had exerted himself from the time he assumed the reins of government in Western Australia to loosen the bonds of protection which he was convinced stood in the way of the progress of the colony. A Government measure had been introduced during this session to repeal an Act for imposing duty on imported goods, and of exemption of certain goods from duties, and to make other provisions in lieu thereof, to which he refers as follows:

"You have reduced the list of taxed articles very largely, though not to the extent that I had recommended, and you have thereby conferred a considerable boon upon the producers and consumers of this colony. You have also wisely left an untaxed loaf to the people—merits which, in my opinion, counterbalance some departures from the true principles of political economy."

ROTTNEST ISLAND.
From the Government House.

[*To face p.* 212.



CHAPTER X

"That State must sooner or later perish where the majority triumphs, and unintelligence (*unverstand*) decides."—SCHILLER.

IN the course of the following year (1873) Weld made a tour on horseback of about one thousand miles in the rural districts of the colony, in the neighbourhood of the Victoria Plains and Champion Bay. He describes his journey as follows to Lord Kimberley:

"I left Perth on the 4th of September. Early on the morning of the 6th a violent cyclone, accompanied by lightning and thunder, broke over our camp, and deluged the country. I succeeded, however, in crossing the flooded country and the Moore River on horseback, and reaching New Norcia, where I was received by Bishop Salvado with his wonted hospitality, and remained there till my suite and baggage rejoined me, which they succeeded in doing a few days later, when the waters had subsided. Your Lordship may be interested to hear of the appointment of a black woman, the first of her race who has ever held a government post, to the situation of postmistress at New Norcia. She is a half-caste, and six years ago was running wild—and naked—in the bush. She is now married to a very intelligent and well-conducted half-caste, and a good workman. She gives complete satisfaction in the discharge of her duties as postmistress, and is recommended by the inspector for the additional post of telegraphist as soon as the new line is opened.[1]

[1] Twelve years later (1885) Sir Frederick Broome, who was at that time Governor of Western Australia, mentions "that the cricket eleven from New Norcia visits Perth for an occasional match, and is generally victorious. Year by year, with infinite labour and expense, it turns a number of

Her cottage and that of her next neighbour, a full-blood Australian black and his wife, to both of whom I made a surprise visit, might serve as an example of neatness and cleanliness to many a European labourer's wife. I also saw a native boy, whose character was so bad two years ago that the police applied to me to know what could be done with him, making horse-shoes at the forge, and I learned that he and other two so-called bloodthirsty savages sent down by the police had by kind and firm treatment and good example become useful and reputable members of society. Before leaving New Norcia I inspected a substantial stone cottage which is being put up by the Abbot Bishop for telegraph offices. I then pursued my way northwards along the line of telegraph now in course of erection, which follows the inland route from the central to the northern districts. Near Arino I examined a shaft sunk for copper, where a small vein of rich ore is being followed down in hopes of striking a lode. I was in the saddle soon after daybreak next morning, to examine a coal-seam discovered many years ago by Mr. Gregory, the celebrated explorer. I reached it by noon, and found in the very spot marked by Gregory a large bed of bituminous shale in the bed of the stream. The shale burns with difficulty and emits, when lit, a distinct smell of bitumen. The field seems of considerable extent, the shale cropping out at spots two or three miles apart from one another. I hope ere long to be able to test a field which seems to me, and to the Surveyor-General who accompanied me, to offer a fair prospect of coal or oil. I visited afterwards some ground which had been prospected for gold two years ago. The holes at the time of my visit were filled with water, but the country did not appear to me to be more promising than many other parts of Western Australia which have as yet attracted less notice. I reached the next day Mr. Maitland Brown's station at Glengarry, after a ride of one hundred and nine miles in two days.

the natives into Christian and civilised beings. I have known a full-blooded low-type savage go out from this noble mission into civilised life not only a good Christian but an expert telegraphist."—*Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute*, vol. xvi. p. 200.

Whilst at Glengarry I inspected Mr. Brown's fine stud of horses. He is the largest and most scientific breeder in Western Australia, and his profits in the Indian market are proportionably good; were his example followed, a great gain might be reaped in the colony.

"On leaving Glengarry I went on to the Greenough district and was present at an agricultural show and dinner there, and was afterwards entertained by the municipality and settlers both there and subsequently at Geraldton to a public dinner. Great satisfaction was manifested to me both publicly and in private for the measures which have been taken of late for the advancement of the interests of the colony. The new land and mineral regulations, steam communications on the coast, and telegraphic communication by land, were amongst the matters which seemed to give most satisfaction. The one great desideratum—and that it *is* one is a healthy sign—is labour; wages are high and still rising. In the Champion Bay district alone I was assured on all sides that employment at five or six shillings a day would be found for workmen from the moment they landed on these shores.

"Your Lordship's decision with regard to the railway which it is proposed to make between Northampton and Geraldton is looked forward to with great eagerness—every one seeing in the scheme the inauguration of a fresh era for the prosperity of the country. I inspected the line, and a number of new mines in its vicinity. The old copper mines have not as yet been re-opened, but negotiations respecting them are impending, and large prices have been asked by their owners for mines which have lain idle for years. So far lead mines only have been re-opened, but the whole district seems to be exceedingly rich in minerals. I saw a lump of apparently solid lead or galena, weighing three-quarters of a ton, and saw many lumps not much inferior in size. The only limit to production now is the scarcity of labour and difficulty of cartage. The latter is paid at a rate of a shilling a ton per mile, but hundreds of tons of ore are lying at the mines and cannot be brought to port. I saw the process of smelting

carried on at Kojibinanna at works which have been erected by the Melbourne and Champion Bay Mining Company. The line taken by the proposed railway is undoubtedly the best that could have been selected, combining as it does utility with economy ; also because it will be of great use to the agricultural population on the Brown River and round Northampton, and conduce to the opening out of the mineral riches of the district.

"I may here mention that there has been a remarkable extension of pastoral enterprise in the Victoria Plains and their vicinity. The coffee plantation started there has failed, but the small expenditure involved will not be lost, and I have offered the improved site for an experimental and acclimatisation garden to the inhabitants of the district.

"I was glad to observe when I was at Geraldton that the efforts employed in 'bushing' the sandhills—which were gradually overwhelming the town and shoaling the harbour—have been thoroughly successful. The new lighthouse is approaching completion, and the extension of the jetty is in progress, though it will soon be insufficient to meet the growing requirements of the place. I visited a number of farms on leaving Geraldton, and passed through the centre of the Greenough and Dongarra district ; all looked prosperous, and the struggles and failures due to the late bad seasons—except for the moral to be drawn from them—bid fair to be forgotten in the prosperity of the present one.

"I diverged to the coast, though it was out of my route, on my return south to look at Jurien and Cervantes Bays. The former will prove, I have little doubt, an excellent harbour, and should the latter be available for vessels of light draught, of which there seems fair prospect, it will promote the profitable occupation of some good land at no great distance inland which is at the present moment being occupied by settlers.

"I found time, whilst passing through the eastern districts on my return to Perth, to visit the Darling Range at a point near the northern road, forty miles from the seat of government. There is a great deposit of iron ore there ; in fact it has been described

with some exaggeration as a 'hill of iron," but there seems no doubt that ore exists there in very large quantities, and steel of the finest quality was made from the mine some years ago by the Royal Engineers. It is surrounded by forest, so is provided with an almost inexhaustible supply of fuel in its vicinity for charcoal and smelting purposes. There is reason to hope that a company in Melbourne and in England will be immediately formed to work the mine. Similar deposits have also been found in other parts of the Range, and tin, copper, gold, and coal are also said to exist in this part of the colony. Specimens of the former have been forwarded to Newcastle to be reported upon, and I have also taken measures to get information about the other minerals found in the vicinity."

A letter from Weld to his wife written in the course of this journey shows that his private affairs were occupying a good deal of his attention at this time, and as they were of a nature to affect his conduct and future plans they cannot be passed over in silence.

It will be remembered that Weld at the time he left New Zealand was the owner of considerable property there, and still retained his partnership with Sir Charles Clifford in the sheep runs of Flaxbourne and Stonyhurst. Early in the year 1873, overtures had been made to Weld by Sir Charles Clifford with a view to his eldest son George being taken into partnership. This proposal Weld, in the interests of his family, had thought fit to decline. The letter to which Weld refers was in answer to his refusal :

" I wish very much you had been with me when I got this intelligence. You may remember when you urged me to reject Clifford's wishes about George, I said perhaps if I did so he would dissolve partnership, and claim his right as senior partner to buy me out. Though I thought this possible, I did not think it likely ; however, he *has* done so. It is on account of

you and the children, and because it cuts me away, as it were, from the work of all my early life that I feel this so much. Had he given me time, and let me go on for a few years longer, things are now looking so well that I should (most probably) have been then relieved from all anxiety for your future or for the children's. There is, however, one good side to the matter; my debts will be paid, and there will be a few thousands over and Brackenfield left. It will be almost like beginning life over again; but at least we shall have only ourselves to depend upon. If I have health to work for some years to come I do not fear for the future. We must learn more than ever to trust ourselves utterly to God, Who already had done so much for us. Of course, I shall have to take any appointment that is offered me, and go on till I can retire on a pension. As for my health, I do not see the least ground for uneasiness on that score. You will—I know—keep up a good heart, and, I feel sure, agree with me in looking upon this as an indication that it is God's will that I should go on working."

Weld's first impression on reading Sir Charles Clifford's letter was that the business between them could only be settled in England; second thoughts, however, led him to a different conclusion. Accordingly he writes to his brother in November 1873:

"I am glad to say that on returning to Perth my legal adviser strongly recommends that the questions between me and Clifford should be decided on the spot; namely, in New Zealand. He takes the same view that I do as to the principles on which the property should be valued. I have asked for three months' leave in January to go to New Zealand. I have not answered Clifford by this mail. The whole situation which is opened up by his letter requires much consideration, and there will be a great deal to arrange, especially as regards who is to value my share in the stations, and the basis of the valuation."

Leave having been granted, Weld started for

New Zealand in the last days of January. He writes as follows to his brother on 7th February :

" I started with Henry Weld-Blundell on the 25th and met George Clifford at the Sound, and we came on to Melbourne together. I have had a telegram from Clifford putting off business till the arrival of next mail. In the meantime I have been to Sydney, where Weld-Blundell and I were guests of Sir Hercules [1] and Lady Robinson at Government House. They are very nice people, and besides showing us the attention which it is usual for one Governor in the Colonies to pay to another, I believe they quite reciprocated the feeling we had for them, and were really glad to see us. Lady Robinson reminds me in some ways of my dear aunt Lucy.

" Sydney is unquestionably one of the most beautiful spots in the world. The combination of the fine Government House and grounds, the park and botanical gardens adjoining it, the lake-like bay with its islands, and noble shipping, close under steep banks, or cliffs, clothed in lofty forest trees—all produce an effect which can hardly be rivalled, still less surpassed. Archbishop Vaughan was invited to meet me at dinner the first night I got there ; he is well, and hard at work. He has a great task before him, but he is essentially " the right man in the right place." As to Melbourne, you would be astonished if I were to tell you of the heights to which these young colonies aspire in their public buildings, institutions, their art collections, gardens of acclimatisation, and so forth. Wherever I have been I have met with the kindest reception, and were it not for my natural anxiety about Mena, I should have said I had seldom enjoyed myself more. I have never been better in my life in health—in fact, never so well since my great illness in 1859. To give you an instance : I got up yesterday at 4.30 a.m., rode about ten or twelve miles before breakfast with Sir Hercules to see the race-horses training, returned, had a bath and breakfast, went with Mrs. St. John (his daughter) to visit a hospital, spent some hours in inspecting it, and all its arrangements, minutely,

[1] Created Baron Rosmead in 1891. Died in 1904.

did some shopping and returned to lunch. After lunch rode to Botany Bay, saw Cook's and La Perouse's anchorages and landing-places. Returned after a ride of twenty-five miles or so to dinner ; after dinner went to the opera, and got to bed at about one in the morning. The next morning I was up soon after six o'clock as usual, not a bit tired. I only wish Mena was with me, but she does not care for many of these things in the same way as I do."

Weld's visit to New Zealand was a success from all points of view, as the letter he wrote to his wife within a week of his arrival there, and the postscript, added a month later, attests. It is as follows:

"I reached Lyttelton on the 15th of February. There were many ships in the harbour all 'dressed' in my honour. Harmon, the acting Superintendent, the members of the executive, Maude and Montgomery, Bowen, Tancred, Packe, Ackland, and other old friends came off to receive me, and a special train conveyed us through the tunnel to Christchurch. Lyttelton still looks the same straggling town we remember it, but it has many new buildings. Christchurch is immensely grown, and I noticed the addition of some fine new buildings and shops—a great improvement on what were there before. It is still surrounded with quite a grove of big trees, so does not appear to be much more of a town than it did in our time. I had a serious shock on arriving at Brackenfield to find that a fire had broken out in the left-hand gully and destroyed all the trees up to the bridge, the lodge being saved. No doubt some of the trees will recover, but it will be a terrible eyesore, and is a great loss. The ground was so dry that even the English grass failed to stop the fire, and unfortunately assistance was not at hand, so it was with difficulty that even the buildings were saved.

"I slept at Bowen's the night after landing, and last night in Cathedral Square, at the Watts Russell's, who were as kind and nice as ever. I have also seen many other old friends, the Gregsons, Packes, and Rollestons ; every one inquires after you, and all wish so much you could have come."

The following postscript was added on the s.s. *Alhambra* on Weld's return to Melbourne, and is dated the 20th of March:

"I am so glad to be on my way back to you, and long to hear about you and the baby. Everything has been settled satisfactorily. My partnership with Clifford has been renewed for ten years; at the end of that time he may buy my share at valuation, and he may put in a son, or sons; this, however, would only affect his shares in the concern. I am quite satisfied with these terms, which in fact are what I proposed to Clifford after receiving a very conciliatory letter from him."

Affairs were eminently prosperous at this time in New Zealand. The seven lean years which began in the early 'sixties, and were at their height when Weld left the colony, were over. During that time commercial depression had reached its climax; wool had been lower than it had ever been known to be before, and a heavy debt pressed hard on the colonists, and till the year 1870 the native disturbances pressed harder still. Those days were past, and no shadow from them was perceptible in the joyous tone which pervaded the after-dinner speeches at the entertainments given in Weld's honour by his old friends on his return to New Zealand. The special "note" of these festive gatherings was the present prosperity of the colony as contrasted with the vicissitudes of its chequered past. It must unquestionably have been a source of profound satisfaction to Weld on his return to a country where he had spent the best and most fruitful years of his life, to hear that this growing success and prosperity was associated in the minds of his fellow-colonists with a policy which he had been the first to initiate. Thus at a dinner given to him at Wellington, at which Sir James Ferguson, the Governor of New Zealand, was

present, and his friend and former colleague, Mr. Fitzherbert—then Superintendent of the province of Wellington—was chairman, the latter, after remarking that nothing higher could be said in praise of any one than that he had made his mark in his day, and in his country, said :

" I have already told you that Mr. Weld has made his mark in the history of this colony, and to one or two of his acts I will now briefly revert. First, he claimed for it an entirely new policy. He elaborated and thought out one which, though ridiculed by some, at the time, has become the settled policy which old men, middle-aged men—even our children—have now adopted, the independent policy of self-reliance. And although to-day we find ourselves swimming on the top of the tide, *secundo flumine*, everything favouring us, from the day Mr. Weld successfully inaugurated that policy, that day dated the success the fruits of which we are reaping now. Nor was it any narrow-minded policy dictated by personal vanity or ambition. On the contrary, in spite of the opinion of the sceptics of the time, it was in reality a policy of the very broadest scope. If I were to call it a truly colonial policy I should fall short of what is due to its originator, for it was in the widest sense of the word an Imperial policy. But it is not only in respect of the inauguration of that policy that Mr. Weld's name will be for ever connected with this colony. There is another, a subordinate one, but still one of great importance. I refer to an act which is known in every country—as we learn both in ancient and modern history—as one most difficult of accomplishment, and that is the transfer of the seat of government from one part of the country to another. Without the least personal interest in the matter, and amidst difficulties and opposition, Mr. Weld accomplished that task in New Zealand. That too was conceived in no local spirit, the project was planned upon the broadest colonial views, prompted by the single idea of creating a great future for the colony. It was predicted in regard to that project—as it was to that of his policy of self-reliance

—that it would be certain to break down ; but Time, the great searcher of truth, Time has proved that he was right, and there, notwithstanding local jealousies, and the opposition of parties who endeavoured to catch at any straw to damage the scheme, it still remains, and will do so, because the idea of it was not conceived in any narrow partisan spirit, but for the benefit of the colony as a whole."

Weld in answer (according to the *Daily Tribune*) " spoke modestly and well of his efforts as a pioneer colonist, and touched eloquently upon the duty and privilege of having engaged in what Sir Walter Raleigh called the heroic work of plantation." " Mr. Weld," the newspaper goes on to say, " took part in these early struggles as settler, politician, and Minister, and always with clean hands and generous aspirations. He doubtless rejoices in the prosperity of the colony with which he is so closely identified, and the people of Wellington as representing the colony have done a graceful act in yesterday's recognition of his services."

Soon after Weld's return to Western Australia he was offered the Governorship of Tasmania by Lord Carnarvon—who, with a change of Government, had taken Lord Kimberley's place at the Colonial Office. He writes as follows to his brother on the subject :

" I hear that I am to have Tasmania, but unless it is given out in England do not announce it. I shall have the best climate, the finest house and grounds possible, with very little to do except to amuse myself—perhaps too little to suit my taste for work, for I shall be a ' constitutional ' monarch, with a ministry to advise me ! However, I have played the autocrat here long enough, and worked hard enough to satisfy even my love of work (and power) for some time. The only drawback of Tasmania is the reduced pay. It is a first-class government in rank with second-class pay, or some-

thing like it—thanks to Whig economy. However, I shall hope to save out of my New Zealand income, and I really don't know how I could get on in England with such a family as I have."

In October he writes again to the same correspondent :

" It is not, I can assure you, without sadness that I find myself booked for another term, but with so many children there was nothing else to be done, and I should have had some scruple too in giving up a career in which God has placed me and in which I trust I have been of some use. Also, there is much cause for gratification in the appointment. It was so confidently predicted that the stand I made in behalf of the native race had ruined my prospects ; and the lying insinuations made against me in some of the newspapers on religious matters have likewise proved of no avail. I have had some exceedingly kind letters from the Governors of other Australian colonies congratulating me on the appointment. Sir T. Gore Browne writes that ' it is the best Governorship in Her Majesty's gift (income excepted) ; climate, scenery, and governmental appointments are perfect.' Sir George Bowen writes in the same strain ; he says, ' I am sure you will all like Tasmania—it has everything to recommend it. Every one is delighted you are going there.' He adds a remark which it will please *you* to hear —I should not quote it to any one else. He says, ' It must be very gratifying to you to leave Western Australia in so flourishing and progressive a state. Your energy has created fresh life there under the very ribs of death.' "

In opening the fourth Session of the Legislative Council the Governor drew the attention of its members to the improved state of commerce and agriculture in the colony, and consequently to the great increase of revenue ; an increase which warranted the adoption of schemes required for the development of the resources of the country, many of which

had been previously held up for want of funds. Amongst these schemes he laid special emphasis on the encouragement of immigration, on the greatly needed harbour works at Albany, on the improvement of the port nearest to the seat of government, and the construction of a telegraph line to South Australia. By applying part of their surplus revenue to the last-mentioned enterprise they would be brought into immediate communication with the other colonies, and thus terminate that isolation which had so long retarded the advancement of Western Australia.

The Legislative Council during this Session took an important step in the direction of Responsible Government by affirming without a division "that although the Representatives of the people have confidence in the integrity and ability of the present government, they consider the time has arrived when a change to that form of government known as Responsible Government might be introduced with benefit to the country, and that this honourable House do humbly pray that His Excellency the Governor will be pleased to introduce a Bill for that purpose and recommend Her Majesty to approve the same." Accordingly Weld in closing the Session, in pursuance with the wishes of the popular—or independent—members (the nominees or members of the Executive having taken no active part in supporting or opposing the resolution), informed them that he had at their request caused a Bill to be prepared based upon those provisions which experience had proved to work best in other colonies possessing Constitutional Government."

The second reading of the Bill having been passed by a large majority, the Governor, in order to give the country an opportunity of expressing its deliberate opinion on its merits, dissolved the Council.

Weld had made many friends during his five years'

term of office in Western Australia: with the settlers of the Victoria Plains and Geraldton, we see from his letters, he had been on terms of much cordiality; it is not surprising therefore to find that they rallied round him on the occasion of his last public appearance in that district when he turned the first sod of the railway which was to connect it with the town of Northampton. It was a great day for the inhabitants of Champion Bay, and one of no less importance for the colony, for though the beginning was but a small one (the line measured about thirty-three miles) it meant much in the future, in the same way as the stride of manhood exists potentially in the steps of a little child. Many speeches were made at the dinner, or dinners, which followed, and much incense was burnt at the shrine of the hero of the day. It is from no contempt of hero or worshippers that we omit all record of these. The fittest memorial of the workman is the worth and endurance of his work, not the applause it draws from the crowd; and the Western Australia of to-day with its network of railways, connecting the settled districts at all points in that vast territory, is sufficient tribute to the importance of the work set on foot that day.

In a last dispatch to Lord Carnarvon, dated 10th October, Weld, after summing up under various headings the progress made by the colony during the five years of his administration, has a few words to say on the difficulties under which he had laboured, as well as on the prejudices he had had to overcome. He gives as instances the strong opposition he had met with to his schemes for promoting intercourse, both by steam and telegraph, with the neighbouring colonies.

"There was a strong feeling," he writes, "four or five years ago, that the construction of telegraphic lines was a waste of public money, and recently a

prominent (elected) member of the Legislature objected publicly to the line which is being made to connect this colony with the outer world on the score that it would only benefit a few individuals! Such ideas, however, are rapidly becoming obsolete. Again, after much and persistent opposition, the Legislature has at last been induced to vote a subsidy to the steamboat service on the coast which will connect our ports in the north with Albany on King George's Sound—Albany being the port of call of the Royal Mail Steamers from Europe and the eastern colonies. This has already done much to open up this colony, and render access to it no longer difficult and uncertain. It also greatly facilitates intercommunication. And yet objections have been made to it in this instance also—and by the same enlightened member—on the plea that it would offer facilities to people to *leave the colony*! The steamer we have got at present is quite inadequate, a second and more powerful one is required, and will no doubt come before long; but I hear of no Western Australian capital likely to be forthcoming for that purpose, nor for steam communication with India, though nothing could promote the interests of the colony more than such a service, which would render its magnificent geographical position available, and open a market close at hand for its products. I have frequently stated my willingness to give all possible government support to any such undertaking."

With regard to the construction of a telegraphic system, Weld observes that having found Western Australia with 12 miles of telegraph line he leaves her in possession of a complete telegraph system, consisting of 900 miles of wire, worked at remarkably small cost, in efficient order, and affording the greatest advantages both to the public and to private service. In summing up the financial situation he says:

"It will be observed that when the whole authorised loan is raised the colony will be only in debt to the extent of little over one year's income, or, at the

rate of £5 16s. a head. Whereas Victoria is indebted at the rate of £10 19s. 5d. and Queensland £32 12s., New South Wales £19 7s., and South Australia £10 18s. 5d., a head."

In a financial summary which the Governor put before the Legislative Council a short time before leaving, he says :

"Taking the year ending 30th September 1869, and the same day in 1874, I find that the revenue was then under £109,000 and expenditure over £107,000, as against a revenue exceeding £161,000 and an expenditure of about £131,000 in 1874, an increase therefore of £52,000 in five years, of which only about £12,000 is derived from net increase of taxation. Your imports have increased from £233,300 to over £367,000, showing the increased means and consuming powers of the colony, and your exports from about £179,000 to £400,000 marking its increased producing power."

Many were the valedictory addresses presented to the Governor before he took his departure ; amongst these was one from the Legislative Council, and another from the clergy of all denominations of Western Australia. But perhaps none pleased him more than the heartfelt thanks he received in a parting letter from the Abbot Bishop Salvado, in his own name and in that of the Benedictine community and the aborigines residing at the mission of New Norcia, for his interest in that settlement. After enumerating the reasons which they and the rest of the Catholics of the country had for gratitude towards him, and alluding to the "warm and enlightened interest he had taken in the welfare and advancement of this native institution," he says :

"For this proof of your sympathy towards an unfortunate race as well as for the philanthropic measures adopted by your Government in behalf of

these hapless children of nature, we pray and trust that you will be requited by Him who does not leave without reward even a cup of cold water given in His name."

Weld parted from his wife and children on the 20th of December—the state of Mrs. Weld's health at that time not permitting her to undertake the long and fatiguing journey to Tasmania. He reached Albany, after visiting Channing and Bunbury on his way, in the end of December, and there planted the first post of the line of telegraph which was to connect Western Australia with Adelaide, on which occasion he received a warm ovation from his friends and from the public. On the 6th of January 1875 he embarked on the s.s. *Pera* for Tasmania, taking with him his eldest son, Humphrey.

Sixteen and a half years later, a member of Weld's Legislative Council gave his reminiscences to the public of the work accomplished by his former Chief in Western Australia; it may not be considered out of place here.[1] After remarking that he had seen with pleasure an appreciative notice of the career of one of the truest and most intelligent political friends the colony has possessed, he continues :

"So great have been the changes in the past twenty years, that probably now only a minority of our people have a distinct recollection of the late Sir Frederick Weld, and of his work for Western Australia. Possibly only Mr. Burt, Mr. Marmion, Mr. Maitland Brown, and myself—who all first entered public life as his nominees to seats in the old Legislative Council—retain full knowledge of his aims and endeavours, his views and his hopes for the colony's future. To us he always opened his mind, stirring us with his ambitions for our progress, and animating us with the enthusiasm which had so much to do with his success.

[1] Sir Thomas Cockburn-Campbell, Bart., President of the Legislative Council of Western Australia. This letter appeared in the *Western Australian Record*, August 1891.

"To say that Sir Frederick Weld first woke Western Australia from political slumber, from the state of torpor to which Imperial pap-feeding, isolation, and energy-numbing influence had reduced her, is hardly an exaggeration. He preached to the rising generation here what Smiles has preached to that of the mother land—the virtue of self-help. His great object was to instil into the people a desire of self-government, to rouse them from their easy-going contentment, and make them feel what great things may be achieved by those who try with perseverance and determination. To newcomers, Western Australia even now seems backward to a degree which excites their impatience and occasionally calls forth their expressions of contempt. What would not they have said of the Western Australia of twenty years ago, when, fresh from the vigorous public life of New Zealand, Governor Weld arrived in this country. To lift it from its stagnation seemed a hopeless task, and the first means the new administrator adopted (the establishment of Representative institutions)—like putting the cart before the horse. But Sir Frederick Weld knew what he was about. 'The constitution may be premature,' he used to say, 'and in one sense it is so, but it is only by aid of the people that I can work for the people. It is only by having them at my back that I can get my projects accepted by the Colonial Office.' The accuracy of this view was confirmed when the then Secretary of State declared of the first railway constructed by the colony, that he would never have agreed to the Governor's scheme but for the unanimous support it had secured in the Legislature.

"The tentative commencement of a railway system, the establishment of telegraphic communication, and of a steam-service on the coast, the encouragement of exploration, and of fresh settlement, the opening of the timber industry, the birth of a representative government in the Legislature, in municipalities, in road boards, and in school boards—all these Western Australia owes to the distinguished statesman of whose death we have just been apprised. But the best legacy he left us was a political vitality, and an eagerness for progress which those who have lived

in this country through the last two decades must acknowledge have led to a wonderful transformation of its conditions and of its prospects. . . . Moreover, he had a genuine affection for the colony, and for its people; he believed in its resources, and predicted for it a bright and prosperous future in the full freedom of self-government.

"Mention of the part which, eighteen years ago, Sir Frederick took in a movement to secure this freedom must not be omitted from a sketch of his political connection with Western Australia. That he had any hand in the sudden determination of the Legislature at that time to demand responsible government is a mistaken impression. But when the decision was taken favourably to the proposed change, he did not conceal his satisfaction, nor his hope that the result would be a more rapid advance to the colony. But the Civil List proposals, in part, and still more largely the nominated Upper House, which Sir Frederick Weld's Constitution Bill contemplated, caused dissensions to arise, necessitated a dissolution, and gave a check to the reform motion from which—together with other circumstances—it took many years to recover.

"Upon the subject of the best method of forming an Upper House, Sir Frederick Weld held decided opinions. Essentially an aristocrat by birth and by breeding, in appearance and in temperament, he yet was a true Liberal in the best sense of the word; he had the reverence of a Christian gentleman for the poor, the lowly, and the suffering. He hated class oppression, and while not insensible of the dangers to the State which might arise from the excesses of democracy, he desired to give a fair share of representation to all, and was willing to trust in the ultimate good sense of the people. Sir Frederick Weld's idea of an Upper House was one, not to curb the power of the people, but to protect them against the power of their representatives; to act patriotically and wisely in times of doubt and trouble, rather than merely to champion the interests of a class. But the majority here failed to grasp the Governor's object in proposing a nominated Second Chamber, and, insisting upon the elective principle,

played directly into the hands of the Conservatives. Though the advent of responsible government was delayed, the feelings which inspired the movement in its favour continued to grow and thrive, and, even under the old Constitution, bore useful fruits."

Two years after this letter was written the prosperity—which Sir Frederick Weld had foretold, but did not live to see—came upon Western Australia, literally in "leaps and bounds," in consequence of the gold discoveries at Kalgoorlie and elsewhere. The population, which at the end of last century was only about 45,000, rose in the following twelve years to 270,000. Since then the progress of the colony may be said to have been uninterrupted. Though for so long the least popular of the Australian colonies, it has unquestionably merits for which it has not been sufficiently credited. In the first place, it is essentially a white man's country. The severe droughts which at intervals have devastated the South and South-eastern colonies, have left Western Australia unscathed. A steady rainfall can be depended upon in what is known as the winter season. Also the terms on which land may be leased and purchased in Western Australia since it received the grant of Responsible Government in 1890, are more favourable than those accorded by any other of the Australian colonies.

CHAPTER XI

"Work life's work, reading life's riddle as thou canst, till life
be past,
Thou shalt stand not unrewarded in the clearer life at last."

TASMANIA owes its name to the Dutch navigator Tasman, who was the first European to land on its shores. He discovered the island in the year 1642, and having taken possession of it on behalf of his sovereign, the Stadtholder of Holland, he called it Van Dieman's land[1] after the Governor of Java. A hundred years later (1772) it was visited by a Frenchman, Captain Marion de L'Orne, and in 1777 by Captain Cook, who planted the British flag on the island at Adventure Bay, on the southern coast.

During the last decade of the eighteenth century other celebrated explorers, such as the Admiral D'Entrecasteaux accompanied by the naturalist La Billardière, Captain Haynes, Lieut. Flinders, and Bass, sailed round the island, reconnoitred its bays and inlets, but made no attempt to colonise its shores; finally, in 1803, a handful of Englishmen crossed over from Sydney and established themselves on the Derwent, on the south coast of the island. A year or two later they were followed by another party, who, led by Colonel Paterson, settled first at Port Dalrymple, and afterwards at Launceston in the north.

[1] This name was changed to Tasmania in 1853 at the petition of the colonists, when the island ceased to be made use of as a penal settlement.

The early history of the colony was neither a prosperous nor a brilliant one. Though the climate of Tasmania was favourable to the growth of all the products of a temperate zone, the wild configuration of the ground, the rocky nature of its soil, and the dense forests which covered the whole centre of the island offered, at first, almost insuperable obstacles to agricultural or pastoral enterprise. Like Scotland (only perhaps moreso), it was "the land of the mountain and the flood"; thick scrub clothed its valleys and the sides of its hills, and nowhere could the labourer be said to wrest the fruits of the earth by the sweat of his brow from a more stubborn and unwilling mother-earth than he did in Tasmania.

Nor was this the only difficulty the pioneers of the country had to contend with. In 1803–4 it was made a penal settlement, and thus the population during the first half of the nineteenth century being constantly recruited from, and contaminated by the criminal class, was unquestionably a wild and disorderly one. Trouble with the natives, which began in the earliest days of colonisation, culminated in 1830 in the "Black War"; a name popularly given to an attempt on the part of the settlers which was approved of by the Governor Colonel Arthur and supported by the military force of the colony—amounting to about eight hundred men—to surround the natives and drive them into the Tasman peninsula on the south-east side of the island. The scheme was carried out with praiseworthy diligence and energy. Prodigies of valour were shown in scaling the mountains and tangled scrub in the interior of the country, or—as Fenton the Tasmanian chronicler puts it—in "performing wonderful exploits of locomotion." The expedition cost the Government the sum of £30,000, the dead loss to the community at large was estimated at £30,000 more, and the proceeds—

so to speak—of the campaign were the capture of one man and a boy.

Though the net result of this comedy was nil, unless that of affording food for inextinguishable laughter to the colonists for successive generations may be reckoned under that head, it brought a man to the front who succeeded where three thousand had failed. This individual, George Augustus Robinson by name, was a man of no education, a bricklayer by trade, and a Wesleyan. Being of a kindly disposition, he had seen with regret the ill-treatment to which the aborigines had been subjected, and had learnt their language in order to administer spiritual consolation to them in prison, and thus acquired considerable influence over them. In 1829 he applied to Governor Arthur for the post of keeper or guardian of such of the aborigines who could be induced to go and live in Brunei Island, which it was proposed to make over to them. This application was accepted, and he received the appointment with a salary of £100 a year. Owing to causes for which Robinson was not responsible this scheme fell through. He then submitted a proposal to the Government to undertake, single-handed and unarmed, an enterprise which the combined efforts of Governor, soldiers, and settlers had failed to bring to a successful conclusion. By this time Robinson doubtless had inspired the authorities with confidence in his power over the native race, and the genuineness of his philanthropic efforts in their behalf; accordingly he was invested with full powers as protector of the blacks, and all the necessary means given him to carry out the scheme. Backed up by the Government and accompanied by a small band consisting of eight or ten Europeans and half a dozen natives, whose fidelity he had tested in Brunei Island, he traversed the country from one end to the other, visiting the

native camps at the risk often of his life and of the lives of his faithful followers ; and at the end of three years (in 1833) he had, by exclusively pacific measures, induced the natives to follow him to Flinders Island, the place set aside by Colonel Arthur for their residence. Only two hundred and three aborigines remained of the six or seven thousand who were said to people Tasmania when it was first colonised thirty years earlier. This small remnant lingered on till the year 1856, when what was left of the race were brought back to the mainland ; the last member of it died in 1872.

It is satisfactory to learn that the philanthropist was rewarded not only by the gratitude of his fellow-countrymen but by the sum of £8000 and a large grant of land, on which we may assume he lived happily ever afterwards.

The native question being disposed of, the colony began to make progress, notwithstanding the continued influx of convicts which still clogged the wheels of the politico-economical machine, and interfered with the growth of population by immigration. Thus during Colonel Arthur's twelve years' governorship the population had increased from 13,000 (of whom half were convicts) when he arrived to over 40,000 when he left, and of this number 23,000 were "free." The exports had made a corresponding, or even greater advance, having risen from £14,500 in 1824 to £320,000 in 1836.

Sir John Franklin succeeded Colonel Arthur as Governor, and though his name will ever shed a lustre over the annals of the island and his memory be held in veneration for the high-principled and single-minded tone of his administration, as well as for the encouragement he gave to the pursuit of science—the Royal Society of Tasmania owing its origin to him—his governorship was not signalised by any special event of national importance.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, HOBART, TASMANIA.

[*To face p.* 236.

Two years stand out in the history of Tasmania marking a fresh departure in her political and social life. The year 1850, when, in the words of the Queen's speech, a measure was foreshadowed "for the better government of the Australian Colonies," and the year 1853, when, in response to the repeated entreaties of the inhabitants, the island ceased to be used as a penal settlement.

The first form of Representative government given to the colony was that which was adopted by Western Australia, of which a full account has been given elsewhere. Five years later the Royal assent was given to the Bill presented to Her Majesty by Sir Henry Young (at that time Governor of Tasmania), petitioning for a Responsible Government.

Tasmania was the first of the Australian colonies to receive the boon of free institutions. Unlike New South Wales, which adopted the elective principle for the Lower House only, and South Australia, where both branches of the Legislature were elected by the people—the whole body of electors forming one constituency—in Tasmania, as in Victoria, the Upper House was also elective, but the qualification of voters was higher than that of electors in the Lower House.

The House of Representatives in Tasmania consisted of thirty members, who were elected for a period of five years; it was subject to the power of dissolution possessed by the Governor, who, however, had no power to dissolve the Upper Chamber.

The occasion of the bestowal of Responsible Government was wisely made use of by the mother country to cement friendly relations with her colonies. With this view her concessions were framed on the most liberal scale; the land fund, which had hitherto been administered by the Crown, was

handed over to the disposal of the colonial Legislatures. Large powers were also given to the colonies to make any such alteration to their institutions that might later on be deemed advisable. No claim was made for prudential duties, the colonies being allowed to use their discretion in taxing British manufactures for their own benefit. In short, all that the Crown retained in the way of sovereignty was the appointment of a British representative as Governor, and what was equivalent to an engagement to defend her colonies against foreign aggression.

Great progress was made by Tasmania between the years 1850 and 1855. The trade with Australia, in spite of the protective duties levied by New South Wales to defend her own industries, steadily increased. For, though the gold discoveries in the neighbouring colonies—at Bathurst and afterwards at Ballarat—attracted great numbers of the population to the gold-fields, the prosperous state of the island's finances enabled the Government to do much to open out the country and extend its commerce. Roads were made wherever they were required in order to facilitate intercommunication between the various settlements. A steamboat service was also started with the neighbouring colonies, and the land laws were remodelled on the most liberal principles in order to offer every inducement to immigration.

These years of plenty were succeeded by the same wave of depression whose course we have traced in the neighbouring colonies of New Zealand and Western Australia. But though Tasmania's progress was slow for the following fifteen years it was steady, and the discovery of the mineral riches of the country, especially of Mount Bischoff, known as "the mountain of tin," the credit of which is

due to the well-known mining expert Mr. James Smith, and subsequently of the auriferous district at Brandy Creek, did much to attract capital to the country.

Sir Thomas Gore Browne's governorship (1861–66) was principally signalised by the commencement of railway lines, which were afterwards further extended and completed during the period of office held by his successor, General Du Cane. Whilst Du Cane was in power (1872), direct telegraphic communication was established with England. The latter was Weld's immediate predecessor.

Weld writes to his wife to announce his arrival in Tasmania as follows :

"We sighted the Tasmanian coast on the 15th—a fine bold outline, and steamed up the Tamar, which is a most beautiful tidal river, or estuary, up to Launceston, where we landed at about four o'clock, and were received by the Mayor and a great crowd. An address was to have been presented to me there, but finally it was decided that as I had not been sworn in this ceremony should be deferred till later. Henry [1] met me on board, and as it had been arranged that we should continue our journey the same day, we went on to the station where we found a railway truck gaily decorated (the carriages are not yet built) and a special train waiting to take us to Campbell-town. We travelled through a beautiful undulating country with fine views of distant mountains, and noticed a good deal of cultivation, with hedges, and meadow land, reminding us slightly of Scotland. We spent the night at a comfortable inn at Campbell-town and started the next morning after breakfast in a huge coach-and-four, which belonged formerly to Sir James Ferguson, for Hobart-town. After a pleasant journey through pretty scenery and a stoppage at an inn, the 'Melton Mowbray,' for luncheon, we reached Bridgewater, on the Derwent, at about four

[1] His secretary, H. Weld-Blundell.

in the afternoon. We were met by three members of the Ministry, and they accompanied us, without going into the town, to Government House. There I found a few rooms habitable, but the rest of the house in the hands of painters and decorators. They had got three rooms ready for us, and prepared a little room as a dining-room; also an office, a temporary one, which I shall use till the other is ready for occupation. The next day I was sworn in; a great crowd, and every one showing me much cordiality."

Two days later he writes:

"I think I shall get on very well here. I have made acquaintance with the Chief Justice Sir Francis Smith, Mr. Dobson the Puisne Judge, Bishop Bromby (Anglican Bishop of Tasmania), and Sir E. Wilson, President of the Legislative Council, and found each and all friendly and obliging. The Bishop offered me the use of his carriage and horses whenever I might require them. The house is charming—big, but not much too big for our requirements, and the garden and grounds are delightful, though I fear they will be expensive to keep up on the diminished salary. The views from the house and grounds are very beautiful, and remind me rather of Queen Charlotte's Sound.

"Our Bishop (Murphy) and several priests have called. I have also made acquaintance with the V.G., Fr. Dunn, whose church, St. Joseph's, is nearest to Government House. It is most inconvenient not having a carriage, and the drag, I hear, will not be ready for a month. My new uniform has not arrived, and I believe has been left in Ceylon with all the other English goods sent by P. and O. s.s. *Pekin* for want of room in the *Pera*; a number of passengers also could not be transhipped. The servants I have engaged seem so far quite satisfactory, the French cook, Beaurepaire, whom I told you about in my previous letter, especially so. His meagre dinners are excellent; Henry says he is looking forward to Lent with pious rapture! I am sure you cannot fail to like this place; it would be perfect if only you were here."

Before leaving Western Australia, Weld had contracted with the captain of a sailing vessel to bring his wife and family straight from Fremantle to Hobart-town. This arrangement, though it sounds primitive enough to modern ears, promised the minimum of discomfort if not the maximum of luxury. For, whereas by embarking in the regular steamboat to Tasmania *via* Melbourne, Mrs. Weld and her nine children and large impedimenta would have had to submit to three transhipments, by the other plan she would have got into the vessel at her own door and been landed at the door of Government House. Unfortunately, difficulties supervened, as we learn from Weld's letter to his wife, dated 2nd February :

"I have just received enclosed letter from Captain McEachran which distresses me much, for, as you will see by it, he has sold his ship, so our arrangement with him falls through. Were it not that I trust in God's care of you and the children I should be even more anxious and unhappy than I am. It is quite impossible for me at this distance to advise, or at least *settle* anything for you. If you could find another vessel with a trustworthy captain, that would be best: if not, you will have to go overland, or by the *Georgette* to Albany; she would be very uncomfortable and crowded, but I am satisfied that she is a good sea-boat, and at this time of year you would probably have a calm passage. Whatever you do, spare no expense. Bring Crinoline[1] with you if it is at all possible to do so ; she would be invaluable to you here."

A little later Weld heard of the arrival of his sixth daughter, born on the 1st of February. His letters during the ensuing three months were, naturally, full of allusions to his anxiety about his wife and of plans and preparations for her arrival at

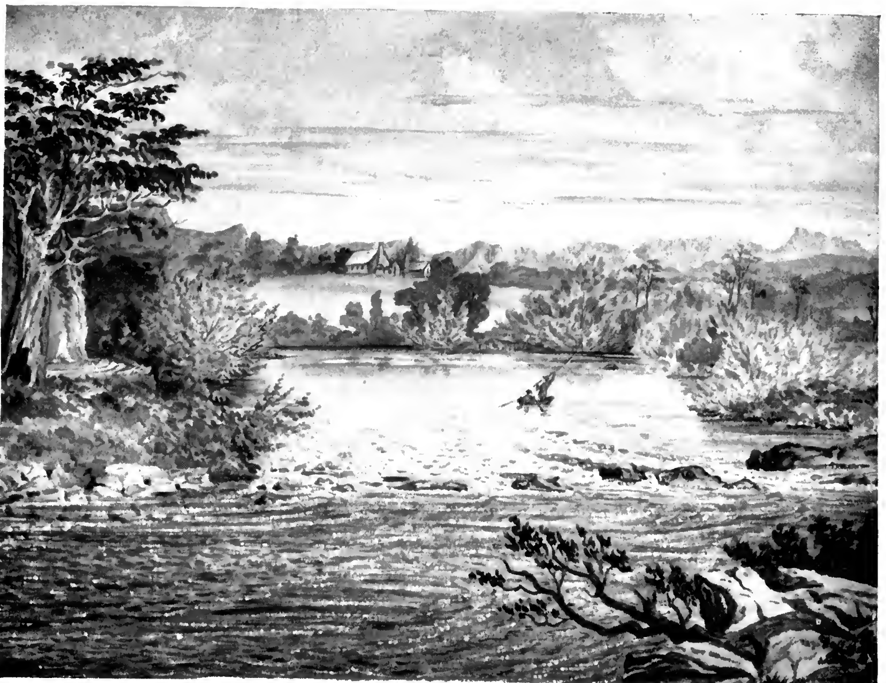
[1] A pet mare belonging to Mrs. Weld.

Hobart-town. He writes to her on the 15th of February :

"The house is still in the hands of the workmen, and they tell me it will be quite two months before they are out of it. We are making a lovely climbing walk in the grounds, round an old quarry which has been converted into a pond. It is to be a fern gully ; you know the tree-ferns of Tasmania are celebrated, and every kind of flower and shrub seems to thrive here. The *Swatara*, an American frigate, is in port at present, and I gave a picnic last week for the officers, as, owing to the unfinished state of the rooms, I can give no dinners yet. We drove in two four-in-hands to New Norfolk—about thirty people, including the Americans. I liked some of them very much, particularly the captain. The picnic was a great success ; the drive a lovely one, and the spot chosen for it on the banks of the Derwent was most picturesque. I have also been to the regatta, and an aquatic procession, which was very gay and pretty. Hobart-town is full of visitors now, as owing to the heat in the other colonies people are flocking here. Besides these gaieties I have been on a round of inspections, visiting hospitals and asylums, and so forth. I have also been down the Derwent to Port Arthur, to visit the convict establishment."

A fortnight later Weld writes as follows to his brother :

"I have just heard from Mena that she is making a good recovery and has engaged a schooner of about 100 tons, and will start early in May. It was the only one she could get, but it is so small that I feel terribly anxious, especially as she and the children will have to live in a deck-house. I should have preferred much if she had decided on the Melbourne route, but she disliked the small steam-boat to King George's Sound, and the various changes. If they get a smooth passage it will be all right, but I dread for them the heavy seas round Cape Leeuwin, and on our southern promontory.



THE DERWENT RIVER, TASMANIA. 1878.

[*To face p.* 242.

They will be at least a fortnight or three weeks at sea. God grant that the boat may come safe, but you can conceive what my anxiety is. If it was not for the prayers that are being said for us and that we have been so often protected and helped by prayer, I don't know what I should do."

A letter, dated the 12th of May, to the same correspondent says:

"I have no good news for you. Mena would now have been well on her way had the vessel sailed to her time, but the last mail brought me the news that four days before they were to have started the baby was taken dangerously ill, and that she was worn out with anxiety about it. Till I get the next mail, or till they arrive, I shall not know whether they were able to sail or whether they lost their passage, or whether the baby is alive or dead. Mena writes like a saint or a heroine—she is both—and tries to make the best of it; but I cannot bear to think what she may be going through in that long voyage of over 2000 miles in a little 100-ton schooner. I will say no more—it hardly bears to be thought of, much less spoken about, except in acts of resignation and conformity to God's will.

"I write this from my bed, having been laid up with gout for nearly a week. I got it at the end of my last journey. I was returning on horseback on a very wet day to town when I met a melancholy and draggled deputation on the high-road, who begged leave to present me with an address, accompanied with an invitation to their settlement of 'Peppermint Bay.' I went with them to the village and inspected a school, etc., whilst my horse was being fed, but refused to breakfast. However, this did not satisfy them, and though I was certain that sitting down to a meal in my wet clothes would bring on an attack of gout, having already felt the preliminary symptoms, I could not persist in my refusal, so I found myself let in for a large 'rural repast,' and had to hear and respond to I don't know how many toasts. And what made it more absurd, I don't know to this day whether I was

the *host* or only the *guest*; time and the bill will show. Two days later, after I had got home I climbed up to the top of Mount Wellington (height 4100 ft.) through woods, tree ferns, and over rocks and boulders, the ground generally very steep, and did it in excellent time. Arthur Stourton (who is staying here) and a Puisne Judge, a famous walker, accompanied me. It was St. George's Day, so we drank the Queen's health and confusion to her enemies on the highest pinnacle in well-earned Chartreuse. I really thought that day's work would have defeated the enemy—such fine mountain air, and splendid exercise. But no, on the eve of the Ascension it became worse; I drove to church on the Feast, hobbled up to my place, and that evening was so bad that I had the greatest difficulty in climbing up the staircase to my bed—where I have remained, more or less, ever since."

Weld's next letter to his brother is dated three weeks later:

"Mena and the children have at last arrived. I had been laid up for a whole month previously, but was beginning to get better when, on the 1st of June, the *Mary Herbert* was signalled twenty miles out with the wind contrary. I hired a steamer and, lame as I was, got on board and went off to meet them, and by nightfall we had tugged the vessel up to the wharf. Though it was getting quite dark a great crowd had assembled, who cheered us most lustily. I cannot describe the sympathy we have met with from all classes. I wish you could hear Mena's description of what she underwent in the voyage. In the first place, the deck-house was so small that they had hardly room to turn round in it. If it had not been for the steward, who behaved splendidly and who, with Mena, took entire charge of the children—the nurses being worse than useless—I don't know what would have happened. Then they had very rough weather, though the wind was fair generally, so that they continually spent the night mopping up the water which flooded the cabin. The captain turned out

to be an ex-convict, and besides drinking like a fish, knew so little about his work that Mena had to give orders to the crew to reef in the sails. The cow gave no milk, and had to be killed on their arrival, and Mena's pet mare, the most beautiful, docile creature in the world, which followed them on board like a dog, and can never be replaced, died on the voyage. Thank God, Mena and the children are quite well, and little Angela began to improve from the time of their going to sea." [1]

Weld's life in Tasmania, though doubtless pleasant enough, must have offered a marked contrast with that led by him in Western Australia. He alludes to it in one of his letters as his "Capua," and says that his official duties were as a rule restricted to presiding at a weekly meeting of his Executive Council.

He received shortly after his arrival in Tasmania the Companionship of the Order of St. Michael and St. George—an honour which his friends thought rather tardily bestowed. His comment on it to his brother is characteristic. "The Cross is very pretty with the motto *Auspicium melioris Ævi*, which is good; St. Michael is on one side of it and St. George on the other. At all events, the Order has one member of the third class who has a devotion to, and daily invoked, its patrons for many years."

Attempts had been made for some time previously to introduce salmon and trout into New Zealand and Tasmanian rivers, and Weld, as a keen angler, took much interest in them; he alludes to the subject in the following letter, dated 20th December 1876:

"A fish was sent to me the other day caught in the brackish water at the head of the tidal estuary of the Derwent. It weighed about 9 lb., the back was dark bluish-grey, sides and belly silver (very

[1] The *Mary Herbert* was wrecked on its return journey and all hands on board drowned.

bright), with black spots on head and gills ; we ate it and thought it unmistakably a salmon, and a very good one, the flesh pink and flaky. The Salmon Commissioners having previously examined the fish pronounced it to be a common brown trout! Another fish of 3½ lb. caught recently, they say is a young salmon. Anyway, we have now got fish that look like salmon, taste like salmon, and, I am told, take the fly like salmon—the latter I hope to prove for myself before long. I forget if I have told you that an undoubted salmon of over 21 lb. was lately caught at Port Chalmers in New Zealand, bred from ova sent from here."

In an undated letter, written probably somewhat later, Weld returns to the same subject :

" I have just been fishing again. The river was alive with salmon and sea-trout, but all gorging themselves—the greedy brutes—on small fry, and consequently very shy. I returned with three grilse —5½ lb., 4½ lb., and 2½ lb.—all beautiful fish, but only one for every day I fished. I saw numbers rising and jumping the last day I was out, but they rose short and would not look at my fly. The river was still much too high for me to fish from the shore, or to do anything at the falls." He adds later : " I wrote the foregoing some days ago. In telling you about my last fishing expedition I forgot to give you an account of the sport I had had just after the last mail went out. The river on that occasion also was much too high, and only fit for boat work. I tried Lord Gormanstown's huge flies, which he sent me for such occasions, in the only likely water I could reach, but without success. Returning, I tried the minnow, and when we got close to the bridge, nearly opposite the spot where I told you when I first came Patrick had lost my fish for me, I hooked another. This time his son Michael was rowing the boat, and when I had played him for about ten minutes, and he was getting a bit less lively, the current carried the boat under the arch, and Michael being undecided, and the fish very decided—he went under another. Imagine my agony ! However, by skill on my part

—and complaisance on the part of the fish—I got him round the pier and under our arch, and into the fine stretch of water below, and there I killed him. He weighed 8 lb., and was a regular beauty. I also killed on the same occasion a fine sea-trout of 4½ lb. Since the last mail, therefore, I have killed five salmon, weighing 21 lb. I have not been fishing for trout, but I am told there are plenty in the smaller streams. A few years hence the colonies will become regular fishing quarters—a triumph of acclimatisation of which I can boast I was one of the earliest promoters in these antipodean regions."

Weld had been about two years in Tasmania when an adverse vote precipitated the fall of the Ministry which had been in power on his arrival. A letter he wrote to his brother on the occasion is interesting, as showing his views of the position held by a Governor in a colony possessing Responsible government :

"This ministerial crisis has afforded me an opportunity of reasserting an unquestionable point of practice affecting the Crown's prerogative, which from disuse was in danger of becoming obsolete. I think I have done something to make the proper and constitutional influence of the Crown a reality, as I hold it ought to be even under Responsible Government, and I find my action is approved by all whose opinion is worth having. I am strongly of opinion that a constitutional ruler need not necessarily be a *roi fainéant,* though he may appear to be so to the outside world, and in this I am quite consistent with the views I held as minister.

"I am getting on very well with my new ministers. The Premier is a colonist with considerable landed property, a University man, and an ex-Archdeacon of the Church of England. He has not had much political experience, but is a man of considerable knowledge of the world and gentlemanly feeling. The Treasurer is the only member of the Cabinet who has been in office before. He is a country gentleman of some ability, and holds strong opinions, being extremely outspoken in his likes and dislikes.

Personally, I have always got on particularly well with him, and he looks a great deal to me for advice. My other minister is a doctor, a Member of the Upper House. He has a good deal of local influence, being very popular with the poor, and he has also a considerable business connection. You will say I have rather a queer ministry, and people thought here at first that they would never stand. I have already saved them from making more than one fatal mistake, but they are gaining ground, and as this is an expiring parliament a general election may give them a fresh lease of life. Of course you must understand that I never obtrude my advice on ministers, or advise at all on purely party tactics, but when they want the benefit of my experience I give it. Had the late ministers, with whom I got on very well, taken a hint or two I gave them, I believe they would have been in office now.

"We have been living very quietly till lately, and not entertaining at all, but Mena being quite strong again, and Parliament about to meet, we have just come out of our shell and given a ball and a few dinners. I am also giving a conversazione to the Royal Society here, of which I am President, and I am going to read a lecture on the volcanoes of the Sandwich Islands to the same learned body at their next meeting. We are to have a concert, too, at Government House. This for quiet people like ourselves is pretty good, and having got that and Parliament over we hope to get down to the country and rusticate for a time."

CHAPTER XII

"La parole vraie porte."—RÉNÉ BAZIN.

IT is not, however, with efforts (doubtless strictly constitutional ones) to influence the action of ministers, or as dispenser of hospitalities at Government House, but with a matter much nearer Weld's heart that his five years' lease of power in Tasmania will be associated: and that is with the infusion of fresh life into the Volunteer movement, and the preparation of the colony for defence in the event of war. To appreciate the cause for such preparations we must give a glance at the world outside the Antipodes.

The year 1877 opened under auspices that threatened seriously the peace of Europe. The treaty of San Stefano had put an end to the Russo-Turkish war, but its tenor seemed likely to produce a greater conflagration. For Russia, in setting aside some of the most important guarantees contained in the Treaty of Paris, by which she secured for herself a paramount influence in the whole of South-eastern Europe, left Europe in no doubt as to her intentions.

The dispatch of the British fleet to the Dardanelles and the resolution taken by Government to call out the reserves, and to summon a contingent of Indian troops to occupy Cyprus, and the resignation of Lord Derby in consequence of these measures, are all matters of history. So also are the wild rumours which were then afloat of Russia's designs for future aggrandisement. With European politics

as such we have no concern. But in the same way as a great stone thrown into the waters produces ripples which spread from the centre to the very shores of a lake, so the disturbances in England caused a corresponding commotion on the distant shores of Australia and the adjacent islands.

A dispatch from the Governor to Lord Carnarvon, dated 12th May 1877, contains the following passage:

"I fear from the latest news that a general war is almost inevitable. It is reported here that a considerable Russian fleet has been sighted in the North Pacific. Presumably it would not be strong enough to risk an encounter with our China or Pacific squadrons. It would be more likely to seek to evade them and try to strike a blow at Australian commerce and English prestige in these waters by endeavouring to capture some of our very few small ships of war, and by laying our towns under contribution. I presume that, in the event of our going to war with Russia, she would make use of privateers. The Americans are not likely to follow our example and pay us damages for any *Alabamas* they might fit out; unless, therefore, our commerce is protected by armed cruisers—now that neutral bottoms make neutral goods—we must expect to see our carrying trade pass out of English hands, and a great part of our seamen follow the trade. I should like therefore to submit to your Lordship's consideration the urgent necessity of strengthening the Australian squadron with some swift cruisers carrying, at least, one heavy gun. The first blow is the one that tells,—and how often has England for want of vigour and foresight lost that advantage, and been forced to recover her lost ground at the cost of great sacrifices! No doubt if the occasion arose such sacrifices would be made, but a comparatively trifling effort and outlay now, would obviate their necessity. I must conclude by apologising for remarks with regard to a subject on which no one could be more conversant than yourself."

This dispatch was followed by a "Memorandum

for Ministers," dated 14th August 1877, from which we take the following extract :

" I have considered it my duty from the time I came into the colony to call the attention of ministers to the question of defence. I have ever held that no country has a right to claim the privileges of self-government and ignore the responsibilities of making such provision for self-defence as may be commensurate with its powers and resources. Tasmania cannot undertake works, or maintain a force sufficient to defend itself against a powerful expedition; this could only be effected by a federation for such purposes with the neighbouring colonies. Were Great Britain involved in a war, nothing is more probable than that armed cruisers would attempt to levy contributions on undefended British Settlements and cripple their commerce. Such an intention has been openly avowed by Russian newspapers in the event of England becoming involved in the present war, and perhaps at no period of history has the system of making the conquered pay the conqueror assumed such proportions as it has of late years.

" Is ' our own poverty our defence,' as I have heard it said ? We have in the banks at Hobarttown £300,000 in bullion, and this, and a similar round sum obtained, no doubt, from Government to avert such disasters as the town being bombarded, the plunder of shops and private dwellings with accompanying outrages, would seem a sufficient inducement to cruisers or privateers to visit these waters ; a similar one would be to levy forced contributions of coal and provisions denied to them in defended ports, but accessible here.

" It is in my opinion quite within the means of this colony, and should be looked upon as an insurance on its growing wealth, that it should protect itself against cruisers and privateers, from whom the real danger is to be apprehended. A very small paid force of Artillery and Engineers, available in time of peace for public works, supplemented by an Artillery Volunteer Corps, a few companies of Volunteer Rifles, some Gatling guns to prevent landings, with

a view of storming batteries, possibly a heavy gun or two in addition to those we have already got, and a small, swift steamer carrying torpedoes, and supplying the place of the present Government schooner: these or some of these comparatively inexpensive means might be taken to avert widespread loss to the public and individuals, and grievous detriment to our commerce, such as might paralyse our revenue, arrest public works, and throw back the progress of Tasmania for years."

Early in the following year, 1878, Weld availed himself of the occasion of handing over a cup, which he had given for the encouragement of rifle-shooting, to a successful competitor, to make a pronouncement which was intended to reach a wider audience than the one he addressed. After remarking on the pleasure it gave him to do honour to a member of the Launceston Artillery, "a little band which had survived the winter of neglect, and kept alive a spark of military feeling in Tasmania," he said:

"My object in promising this prize was to encourage the revival of the manly exercise of rifle-shooting, in the hope that it might lead to something more—to the promotion of defence organisation, and to the rise of that martial spirit which should ever go hand in hand, even in the smallest communities, with political rights; and I have not been disappointed.

"At a moment such as this, when the question of defence is occupying all men's thoughts, when your statesmen are consulting, and your citizens coming forward to offer their services, when every telegram from Europe comes throbbing with hopes or fears for the peace of the world and the honour and welfare of our common country—at such a time it would be wrong for me to be silent. It is but seldom, and only on a few subjects, that a Governor can wisely or even constitutionally speak out his whole mind, and unless I can speak plainly I prefer a golden silence even to that silver speech to which I lay no

claim. But this is a subject which alike involves imperial and colonial interests, and is in no sense a party question. I will therefore propose some thoughts for your consideration upon the relations between England and her colonies in reference to defence, and upon your position, interests, and duties with regard to them.

"All through my life I have held strong and decided opinions on these subjects, and have urged them both in a private and in a public capacity. They are, briefly, that it is the duty of every loyal subject of the Queen, and indeed of every citizen of a free country, to take his share, by head, or by arms or by purse, in whatever way his abilities, his avocations, his bodily powers or his circumstances may admit, in the defence of his country. It is very well to talk of loyalty—lip loyalty is cheap; these are the tests we want of loyalty, and by these tests, if I mistake not, we are prepared to stand.

"Few in numbers are we, and poor when compared to some great and powerful communities such as we know of, but we are not so few or so poor as to be indifferent to 'all that doth become a man,' or unequal to the call our country makes upon us. Part of my youth was spent in Switzerland amongst a kindred race whose institutions to this day (as the historian Freeman points out) are closely analogous to those of our Saxon ancestors. It happened sometimes in those days that one heard sneers at their citizen soldiery, but it was due to these that a country with a population scarcely larger than Tasmania, and girt by no silver sea, protected by no mother country, maintained, shoulder to shoulder, their independence against a foreign enemy. Boy as I was my heart warmed to them, and now, as a man, my measure of respect for a country is largely dependent upon the readiness shown by its people to come to the front and fulfil their duties whether by peace or by war.

"Duties, observe, I call them. Nations have duties, Provinces and Colonies have duties, and men have duties.

"It is the duty of the mighty Empire to which we belong to uphold her position amongst the nations

of the earth, not from the mere lust of glory or of power, but because a great nation in the full strength and vigour of life cannot stand still: it must either advance or decay. This great Empire, whose offshoots gird the world, has a mission and a destiny to which she must be faithful, or she will fall like Rome or Carthage; and her ruin would be one such as hitherto the world has had no example, for even of the Roman power it might be said that it was chiefly military, not essentially, as Great Britain is, a commercial, naval, and manufacturing power. Colonies also have their duties to perform in co-operating with the mother country to an extent proportionate to their numbers and their resources. It is their advantage to do so, as well as their duty, as I hope to show later.

"Men also, as individuals, owe protection to the State and to their families.

"It may be objected that I am appealing chiefly to sentiment. Men who theoretically despise sentiment are unconsciously very often moved by it. But I am not going to appeal to sentiment only. I will return to the three headings of imperial, provincial, and personal duties I have already laid down, and will inquire how far our interests coincide with them. And in the first place, with regard to our relations with the mother country as an integral part of it. We may be drawn into war by this connection; England also may be drawn into war to protect us. It has been held by some that we lose by the connection, and by others, as frequently, that England loses by it. England will never seek war nor will she ever go to war—of this we may be very sure—unless she is forced to do so by public opinion which judges that such a war is necessary and just. Englishmen in the colonies think much the same as Englishmen at home on these questions. War does not suit them, but they are ready to go to war rather than submit to national humiliation, or sacrifice national interests. I will go further, and maintain that even the native-born colonists take more interest in the success of the British arms in a war waged at what, to him, is the other end of the world than he would in any merely local question.

I was in New Zealand during part of the Crimean War, and part of it in England, and I can testify that news of our successes was received as enthusiastically at Wellington or Otago, as the fall of Sebastopol was in London or Edinburgh. And though this is not the time or place for me to discuss questions which are not at present ripe for solution, I repudiate the idea that colonists are ready to make up their minds that their children will be members of petty states without a past, instead of citizens of a mighty Empire rich in deeds, with a glorious past and, I fondly trust, a still more glorious future. What do we gain by the connection? We gain in addition to a breadth and elevation of view which comes, or should come, of such connection, the very substantial benefit of immunity from insult, plunder, or annexation, or the alternative of a military and naval expenditure disproportioned to the means of a young country.

"Tasmania is exposed to attack on account of her geographical position, which I have heard pronounced on good authority to be one of the eight or ten most important ones in the foreign possessions of Great Britain. I have not failed to bring this circumstance under the consideration of the imperial authorities, as also, when Governor of Western Australia, I brought the strategical importance of King George's Sound under their notice. I hold these two positions to be the most important strategetical ones in Australia, and the occupation of Hobart-town, or of King George's Sound, which could be made almost impregnable, would entail great efforts and a large expenditure for their recovery. I hope that our delegates will, at the approaching Australian Conference, bring the subject of defensive federation before it, for the hostile occupation of Hobart-town or of King George's Sound would affect in the very highest degree the interests of all Australia. Such occupation or attempt at occupation is not at all probable at present; nevertheless it would be wise to provide against it.

"Can we defend ourselves? In the opinion of competent authorities we can—against such a foe as is likely to molest us, for such vessels would not run serious risks at a distance from any friendly harbour

affording means to refit. Our batteries would soon destroy any vessels they had once crippled; and if the enemy escaped to sea, she would probably fall an easy prey to an English man-of-war, and her case then, if requiring to be docked, would be desperate. These are great risks to run, few men would unnecessarily incur them; moreover, we may confidently rely upon England being ready to assist these colonies especially which help themselves, as she has done in the case of Victoria.

"And now I come to my third point. No man works for the public good but at the cost of some personal sacrifice. Some may say—as I have heard it said—'Oh, in the event of war we should turn out to a man.' But, unfortunately, a custom prevails of hanging or shooting any persons not in the uniform of a regular enrolled corps who may be taken in arms. In the Franco-Prussian War the Prussians, who were by no means an uncivilised enemy, in such cases shot hostages selected by lot from among the unarmed inhabitants of the districts where this happened, when they could not or would not deliver up those who had thus fired on them, besides levying extra contributions there. Putting aside this little inconvenience, the fact remains that undisciplined men acting on their own devices might often be as much—or more—in the way of their friends as their foes. No Government would be justified in entrusting them with arms unless put under strict control, in purely defensive positions, and even then it would be a great risk, and a doubtful gain, if any. I doubt no man's bravery, but I would most strongly impress on Volunteers that though our race is a fighting one and comes of a fighting stock it is one singularly impatient of control, perhaps even more so in the colonies than at home, and therefore I say that obedience and respect to officers are the first and most essential requisites. You may march well, but unless you bring to your work strict discipline and unquestioning and implicit obedience, you are a powerful piece of machinery under no control, out of gear, with wheels working wildly in different directions, and consequently utterly useless. You may be sure that there is no man who does not better

himself by gaining that self-control which is necessary for discipline in a soldier, more especially if he yields obedience because it is a self-imposed duty, possibly to one in some respects his inferior. And if this is a lesson to men, morally as well as physically, it is still more a valuable training for boys, and I wish all our schools would have cadet corps; I should be very willing to give every encouragement in my power to them. I want you to make the thing a reality. If it is not to be a reality, better to have nothing to do with it at all, and I tell you you cannot make it a reality without earnest work; discipline and diligence for the men, and painstaking exertions for the officers. Difficulties may, and will, arise, but patience, forbearance, and public spirit smooth away obstacles, and pave the way to success, a solid and permanent success such as I trust is destined to influence the future character and destiny of those who come after you in Tasmania, who I trust will grow up self-reliant, and consequently self-respecting, and who will look upon their defensive organisation not as the outcome of a sudden panic, but with a just pride as the fulfilment of a duty co-relative with the possession of political freedom."

This lecture did much to evoke the patriotic sentiment in Tasmania, to which Weld so confidently appealed, and which, though it may sometimes slumber, can never be wholly extinct in any community, whatever their race or nation. Its practical result was to infuse fresh life into the Volunteer movement, which up to this time had been in a somewhat dead-alive condition. Weld, the year after his arrival in the colony, had started a Rifle Association, which now counted forty members, and was already doing good service in encouraging what he rightly called the manly exercise of rifle-shooting. This movement was followed up in 1877 by the formation of a Volunteer Corps in Hobart-town. Hitherto, Launceston, in the north of the island, alone enjoyed the distinction, with three corps—a Light Cavalry,

a Rifle, and an Artillery Corps—of having made sacrifices in defence of the country. Thus, before Weld left the colony, he had the satisfaction of knowing that by the encouragement he had given both by word and act to the Volunteer movement it had not only gained in efficiency, but had more than trebled its numbers.

The interest evinced by Weld for local defence as well as for the defence of the Empire, was recognised outside the narrow limits of the island. A letter, dated 16th July of the same year, from Mr. (afterwards Sir Frederick) Young of the Royal Colonial Institute, shows the strong approval given to his views in England. Young writes as follows :

" I forwarded a copy of your lecture to the Duke of Manchester, who, in acknowledging it, observed that he greatly admired its tone. I quite endorse your opinion about teaching the Colonies not to rely upon the, comparatively speaking, over-taxed English ratepayer for defence, while they look on without attempting themselves to contribute anything towards it. What I want to see established throughout the Empire is a *real* Imperial Army and Imperial Navy to which all parts of it in due and just proportion may contribute, and then whenever redcoats or bluejackets make their appearance in Australian or Canadian waters the people there may be able to say with pride, ' This is *our* Army and *our* Navy, for we pay our share towards it equally with the English people at home.' This is what I am labouring here so earnestly to inculcate. It is this which would be the first inevitable, practical step towards Imperial Federation by Parliamentary Representation."

A "Memorandum for Ministers," written by the Governor in July 1878, shows that he had no intention of allowing the matter to drop. After one or two preliminary remarks, he writes as follows :

" A few years may elapse before the outbreak of a great war, but no one can look at the present state

of Europe without feeling that nothing but a spark is needed at any moment to light a widespread conflagration.

"What are the probabilities of the next few years? England, we may anticipate, will maintain her present naval supremacy, but it is quite possible that the advance of science may once more revolutionise the art of naval construction, and that once more she may have to build a new fleet and elaborate new naval tactics. Party considerations, too, may influence her policy, and peace may again lull her energies, and it is not impossible that she may once more be found unprepared at the outset for war. Other nations are certain to make great efforts to counterbalance the preponderance which England has assumed in the counsels of Europe. Possibly these may in a few years have a more assured base of operations, and far greater power so placed that it may readily be brought to bear on the Pacific Ocean. Also, it is not unlikely that the Australasian Colonies will be far richer, possess a far more extensive commerce and commercial marine, and be in every way far more worth plundering.

"One thing we may count on, and that is, that in a few years British Australasia will be strong enough, *if united,* to keep her shores perfectly safe in the event of any temporary failure of imperial assistance; and again, that she will be able, and I believe will be proud, to show that she can hold the first rank among young countries in war as in peace. Other countries may have strong military and naval settlements in this part of the world in the North and South Pacific, but they will be merely military or naval Government settlements. No mere bureaucratic settlement of that kind can hold its own against a people, young, it may be, but rich, progressive, full of life, free, self-supporting, and deeply attached to the mother country, so long as that people is true to itself, and does not take up defence questions on an emergency, and in a spirit of panic, but as a part of its everyday life.

"I have already spoken publicly on the subject of Federal action; and the representative of Tasmania at the late International Congress has since

received an affirmation of that principle. Nor was this premature, for the material progress of these colonies is apt, in my opinion, to outstrip the foresight of statesmen—colonial as well as imperial ones; and though a practical statesman should not look too far ahead, to be blind to the signs of the time would be an even more fatal error. One most valuable suggestion in the report is that with regard to Reserves. We do not want a large permanent force, but we want on emergency to be able, suddenly, to increase it. We want to have a considerable body of reliable trained men available when required. I would even go beyond its recommendations, and allow a certain number of Volunteers also, who would take pay to pass into the Reserve. I have myself made similar suggestions to those contained in the report regarding the Police, and the consideration of military service as a first step to certain civil appointments. I have also pointed out how small steamers might be employed in time of peace for survey work, and police and lighthouse work, which might be utilised as torpedo boats and lookout boats in times of war.

"I further hold that military exercises and military spirit should be encouraged throughout the colony. The basis and support of military organisation is a widespread patriotic spirit."

That Weld's efforts in the cause of Imperial Federation were not very warmly taken up by his Responsible advisers, we learn from a letter to his brother, dated August 1878, in which he complains that what he had done in the cause of defence has been hampered by the inertness or opposition of ministers.

"In spite of these," he writes, "I anticipate a satisfactory conclusion to my schemes. But it is rather trying at times to have to sit and wait, and to know that it is only by dint of patience and tact and temper that one can hope to carry the day. I sometimes feel like water dropping on a stone, and *such a stone*—flint would be a better word."

No such limitations to the Governor's pent-up energies existed with regard to his efforts to make himself acquainted with the country and people under his rule. His love of fine scenery, and for pioneering in a wild and uncultivated country, such as the greater part of Tasmania still was in the 'seventies, took him to many of the most out-of-the-way districts of the island. On these occasions, always on horseback and accompanied generally by a single member of his suite, he enjoyed the hospitality gladly afforded by the settlers, and in return for a night's shelter he gave them the benefit of his large experience in pastoral or agricultural matters. In this way, we learn from his journal, he travelled more than four thousand miles over the island.

It was in the course of the summer of 1878 that he performed a feat the memory of which still lingers in the island. On one occasion the news reached him when he was up country of the departure of the mail on the following day. He had letters of importance which he wished to dispatch; accordingly he started off, and, giving himself only time for a change of horses and hurried meals, accomplished the distance of a hundred miles which separated him from Hobart-town between sunrise and sunset—after having being thirteen and a half hours in the saddle.

The presentation of colours to the Tasmanian Rifles, which had been embroidered by Mrs. Weld and her daughters and by them presented to the regiment, was made the occasion of a gala day at Hobart-town. The Launceston Volunteers were brought from the north of the island, and took part in what the local paper called "the finest parade which has ever been witnessed in connection with the present Volunteer movement." From the same authority we learn that the Launceston Artillery

headed the column, and that six companies of Rifles and three of Artillery took part in the proceedings. After the colours had been consecrated by the Ven. Archdeacon Davies, Mrs. Weld presented them to Lieutenants Reid and Scott (who received them kneeling) with the following words :

"I present you with these colours in the hope you will guard them as the type and emblem of your loyalty to the imperial throne, of your devotion to the defence of those dear to you, of your homes, and of your honour. I doubt not but that should occasion unhappily arise, you will emulate the example of the Volunteers who, in other parts of the Queen's Dominions, have proved the value of their services in actual war. And when the Governor and I have left your shores, let me hope that these colours will not be less cherished by you because they were my handwork, and will remain a memorial of our love for Tasmania and our devotion to her interests."

The Mayor, Sir James Wilson, replied briefly in suitable terms.

One of the last public occasions at which the Governor appeared before leaving the colony was when inspecting in the autumn of 1879, with the Colonial Secretary, Hon. T. Reibey, and the Minister of Land and Works, the newly discovered gold mine, Brandy Creek, at which he received a large deputation of the leading mine managers and other officials belonging to the new township. After the usual loyal sentiments of devotion to the Throne had been expressed, and acknowledgments of the interests shown in the mining community by the Governor, he was invited to re-christen the mine.

In his answer, Weld told them that the name he would give them was one which at that moment was on the lips of all Englishmen; that his choice of it emanated from no party spirit, and that he hoped the day would never come when Englishmen

either at home or abroad would refuse to recognise merit even in those who might happen to differ from them in politics. It was that of the Prime Minister, Beaconsfield—a man who would go down to posterity as one of the greatest statesmen England had ever had. By the force of his genius he had raised himself to the first place in the Councils of his nation, and he might at this moment be looked upon justly as one of the leading minds in Europe. He thought that the course of events had fully justified Lord Beaconsfield in saying, after his return from the Berlin Conference, that he brought back "Peace with honour" to the British nation.

Six months later Weld received an intimation from the Secretary of State for the Colonies that he had been appointed, when his term of service in Tasmania expired, to the Governorship of the Straits Settlements.

Tasmania was not behind Western Australia in its appreciation of the merits and services of Governor Weld ; thus the last days of his stay there were filled up with engagements of the usual kind, including addresses and complimentary dinners. A very handsome presentation was also made to Mrs. Weld by the ladies of Tasmania.

The Welds embarked on the 5th of April 1880, crossed to Sydney, where they were the guests of Lord and Lady Augustus Loftus at Government House, and started on the 17th for Singapore.

Weld gave the following description of his new residence in a letter to a friend a month after his arrival at Singapore :

"What has struck us most on arriving here was the extraordinarily vivid green of the vegetation. The Emerald Isle is nothing to the Straits Settlements ; our eyes are hardly used to it yet. We are very much pleased with our surroundings ; the grounds are

beautiful, with a terraced flower-garden, and a croquet and lawn-tennis ground, with an army of natives to keep them in order. The park is also kept as smooth as a lawn. The house is perfect for a tropical country ; the rooms of great size, and all opening on to a huge colonnade, so as to give a free current of air, but divided by numberless screens. The house is considerably bigger than our Tasmanian one, the colonnade in front being 354 feet long ; the latter is paved with cream-coloured marble.

" We have seen a good deal of the Maharajah of Johore, who has always been on most friendly terms with my predecessors here. He is a Mohammedan, of course, like all the Malays, but very civilised—quiet, with exceedingly pleasant manners ; in fact, a superior man. I shall go and pay him a visit as soon as I have time, and his new palace at Johore is finished. It is on the mainland, at about fifteen miles distance from Singapore. I have given up all idea of asking for leave now, as there is much to be done here, and the work is most interesting. I trust my family will be able to stand the climate ; so far we have not felt the heat much, though this is said to be the hottest month in the year. It does not approach what I have felt in Western Australia, or even occasionally in Tasmania, or in a New Zealand nor'wester. Here 82° in the shade is considered hot, but there are frequent showers (a shower for every day in the year, one is told) and constant thunderstorms. The nights, too, are never oppressive. What is trying to the European constitution is the absence of all cold weather ; and that this is a trial is proved by the fact that many, even the strongest, after a time break down under it."

CHAPTER XIII

"Revolutions arise from great causes but out of small incidents."
ARISTOTLE.

THE Malay Peninsula in these days of ubiquitous globe-trotters is almost too well known to need description. Of its history perhaps less is known, though it is one of great interest to the Imperialist as demonstrating the astounding growth of British influence in the Far East in the course of last century.

Milton's sonorous line: "Down in the golden Chersonese"[1] in *Paradise Lost* is one of the few early references to it in English poetry or prose.[2] More than a century sooner, however, it had become at least nominally the appanage of a European power. For in 1511, Albuquerque, the great Captain-General of the Portuguese possessions in the East, after a successful campaign in India passed on to Malacca, to avenge the treatment which had been meted out to Diego Lopez de Siquiera by its Sultan. Malacca was at that time the great emporium of South-eastern Asia, and Albuquerque, having after some fighting established the Portuguese power in this important town, thereafter contented himself with sending peaceful embassies to Siam and China and to the Moluccas. By this means he secured for over a hundred years the monopoly of the spice trade and

[1] The Aurea Chersonesus of Ptolemy and Pliny.

[2] Three expeditions undertaken successively by Thomas Stephens in 1579, by Ralph in 1583, and another in 1591, prove that the commercial possibilities of the East Indies were not unknown to British traders and navigators.

commerce of those countries to the Crown of Portugal. The seventeenth century witnessed the decay of Portuguese influence in the Straits and Malayan Archipelago, and the growth of the power of the Netherlands. In 1641, Malacca was seized by the Dutch, in whose possession it remained till we took it from them in 1795. After the Treaty of Vienna we ceded it to them, but resumed possession in 1824 in exchange for Benkulen, and have held it ever since.

The East India Company, which had been for some time stretching out feelers in the direction of the China seas, purchased in 1786 the island of of Penang[1] (at the suggestion of Captain Light) from the Rajah of Kedah. This was followed in 1798 by the acquisition by the same Company of the province of Wellesley, and in 1819 by that of Singapore, the latter being the capital of what was afterwards known as the Straits Settlements.

Singapore will be associated in men's minds as long as the British rule lasts in the Far East with the name of Sir Stamford Raffles, and as long as that name is remembered it will stand for a line of conduct which we are proud to think marks British officialdom in her oversea possessions—with good faith, and clean hands, and an earnest desire to extend the benefits of law and justice to the races who have invoked her assistance or submitted to her rule. His life has another claim on our interest, it coincides with the growth and extension of British influence and dominion in the East Indies.

Stamford Raffles was born in 1781, and having passed into the civil service was sent by the East India Company to Penang in 1805. He was a good linguist, and before long had acquired a proficiency in the Malay language which brought him under notice

[1] In Malay: Pulau Pinang, Betel-nut Island.

of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, and through that Society, of Lord Minto, who was at that time Governor-General. After he had been five or six years in Penang his health broke down from over-work, and he went to Malacca to recruit. Whilst he was there he was so much struck with the capabilities of the country that in consequence of his representations Lord Minto resolved on retaining it to the Crown, though its surrender had been previously decided upon. When the Governor-General embarked shortly afterwards on an expedition against the island of Java, relying on Raffles' knowledge of the native States, he sent him as agent to Malacca. After the expedition had come to a successful conclusion Raffles was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Java, where he was confronted with a task of colossal difficulty, as his rule extended over six million natives, led by turbulent chiefs, the greater number of whom had never submitted to European rule, the Dutch authority whom we had superseded having extended over little more than a third of the island. One of his first acts was to abolish forced native labour, and re-model on British lines the administration of justice, and ways of levying the revenue. Crawfurd (his successor in the government of the Malay States) speaks of him as an "intrepid innovator," and his career from first to last shows that he was never wanting in the courage of his opinions. In 1812 he organised and dispatched an expedition to the island of Bantam, which from the information he had received of its wealth in minerals he judged would be a valuable addition to British possessions in the East Indies. Three years later the British Government, in spite of vehement protests and remonstrances from its Governor, resolved to cede Java to the Dutch. Lord Minto, in view of this catastrophe, had, before leaving India, appointed

him to the Residency of Fort Marlborough in Benkulen, but Raffles had by this time broken down in health, and instead of taking possession of the post he returned to England to rest and recruit. In 1817 he returned to the East and took up his new job, the Board of Directors having confirmed the appointment. Here again he devoted himself to administration and philanthropic work. He began by emancipating the negro slaves owned by the East India Company, reorganised the police, started native schools, and established friendly relations with the neighbouring chiefs. He also found time to explore the little-known interior of the country, and by his scientific discoveries and collections he made great additions to the knowledge of the savants of Europe of the flora and fauna of those remote regions.

The report having reached Benkulen that the Dutch had designs on the Malay States, Raffles started at once for Calcutta, and succeeded in impressing on the Governor-General, Lord Hastings, their paramount importance to the British Crown. He especially singled out Singapore, as holding the key of the situation in the Far East. The East India Company, acting under his advice, bought Singapore from the Sultan of Johore, and Sir Stamford Raffles [1] raised the British flag there on 29th February 1819. He had now reached the apex of his fortunes. His further plans for extending the Empire brought only failure and disappointment. In 1821, on his own initiative, he bought the island of Pulau Nias, principally with the object of putting an end to the slave trade, of which it was the headquarters. For this he was censured by the Directors of the East India Company. His health, which had always been delicate, broke down. In 1823 he threw up his appointment,

[1] He was made K.C.M.G. in 1817.

and embarked for England. On his return journey the ship he sailed in was wrecked and an absolutely unique collection, which he had spent a lifetime in acquiring, of birds, beasts, insects and flowers, of the value of twenty or thirty thousand pounds, also memoirs, and notes for a History of Borneo and Sumatra which he had intended to write, were all lost. He survived this last blow of fortune only two years, and died at the comparatively early age of forty-five in 1826.

For the fifty years which followed the death of its first Governor the history of Singapore was uneventful. With the province of Wellesley, Penang, and Malacca it formed one of the Indian Presidencies, till, in the year 1867, it was made a separate Crown colony under the name of the Straits Settlement, and was handed over to the Colonial Office. Prosperity was slow in coming to it, the obvious cause being the disturbed state of the native states in its vicinity. In 1873 the guerilla fights between the people of Perak and the Chinese engaged in the mines, and the constant acts of piracy inflicted on our trade by both Chinese and Malays, brought matters to a crisis. Sir Andrew Clarke, R.E., was appointed Governor of Singapore with orders to protect our interests in the peninsula, and to use his influence with his unruly neighbours with the object of ensuring peace and better government. Sir Andrew began by summoning the Perak chiefs to a meeting at Pulau Pangkor, and after examining into the rival claims of the two pretenders, Sultans Ismail and Abdullah, he decided in favour of the latter. Then acting on the instructions he had received, and following out the same policy that had been pursued in India, the Governor imposed a Resident on Abdullah, who was to advise him on matters of state and instruct him in the arts of civilised government. Whether the

Sultan underrated the power behind Sir Andrew Clarke, or whether Mr. Birch (who had no personal knowledge of Malays) did not use sufficient tact in his difficult and dangerous office, is a moot point, but before long he incurred the jealousy and hatred of Abdullah, and in 1876 was foully murdered by his followers. The Perak war followed: a short campaign in which two thousand British troops were employed, several native villages suspected of complicity with the crime were burnt down, and a good many officers and men lost their lives. In the end the murderers were given up, and either hanged or deported to the Seychelles. Abdullah was of the latter number, and Jusuf was installed in his place. British influence maintained by Residents, begun in Sir Andrew Clarke's time, was during his successor Sir W. Jervois's governorship extended to Selangor and the state of Sungei Ujong. Thus at the time of Weld's appointment the Straits Settlements comprised the island of Singapore with its chief town of the same name, in which Government House was situated, Penang, and Province Wellesley and Malacca. Also the protected states of Perak, Selangor, and Sungei Ujong. The latter included a kind of suzerainty over a cluster of small states which now form with it the Negri Zembilan, or Nine Counties.

To sum up the situation from the political and social point of view: to the outward eye all seemed peace and harmony amidst these heterogeneous races when Weld was called upon to assume the reins of office in the Straits Settlements. True, a "little war" was simmering in the region of the Negri Sembilan, but in those days a native dispute was synonymous with a recourse to arms, and this was a mere ripple on the waters. The country was steadily growing in riches and prosperity. The Residents, each at their posts, were, according to their instructions, "advising,"

and yet doing their utmost to make their up-to-date and painfully enlightened advice as little unpalatable as possible to, the rulers, who were no longer trusted to rule. The system was in full operation. Still much, it would be scarce an exaggeration to say everything, remained to be done. The foundations were laid, but the edifice had to be built up. The tradition of hundreds of years of corrupt dealings and foul living had to be broken through and lived down. The new way had to be demonstrated not only as the better and higher way, but as the one which would be, if necessary, enforced by British gun-boats,—which could not be infringed upon with impunity, but which, if embraced with zeal and loyalty, might mean—and here " comes the rub "—a new heaven and a new earth: for the Sultan, chief or Penghulu,[1] prosperity and immunity from civil war, and an increasing revenue; to the baser sort, release from the horrors of debt bondage, the security of equality before the law, and a hundred privileges hitherto denied to them.

To see this thing through was the problem, or rather undertaking, put before the Governor of the Straits Settlements. To assist him in his task, though they took nothing from his responsibility, the Governor had an Executive Council consisting of ten members and a Legislative Council, also composed of the same number of members, holding ex-officio seats; this included the Chief Justice, the officer in command of the troops, and six other members who were nominated by the Governor subject to Her Majesty's approval. This Council was presided over by the Governor.

The first question of importance which claimed Weld's attention on his arrival was the dispute in the protected state of Sungei Ujong.

[1] Head-man.

Accordingly we find the following entry in his journal :

"*May 11th.* Mr. Cecil Smith[1] (Colonial Secretary) here this morning as usual. Went into question of native affairs in the Peninsula. The Datoh of Rembau has a dispute with Seyd Hamed on our Malacca frontier. Directed that a letter should be written to the belligerents to lay down their arms and submit their case to my decision.

"*May 12th.* Received H.E. Chow Phya, Plenipotentiary and Ambassador Extraordinary from the King of Siam to the Court of St. James' and his suite. A stout ugly man, ill-dressed in European clothes, but with pleasant smile and manner. He is also Minister for Foreign Affairs of Siam, and is going to arrange a treaty and present the Order of the White Elephant to Her Majesty.

"*May 18th.* Meeting of the Executive Council, stated my view on the Sungei Ujong succession, with which members concurred.

"*May 19th.* Interview with the Datoh Perba of Rembau. I asked him what induced him to resort to arms, and why he had not consulted the British Government. He replied that he had consulted it. On being further questioned he said that General Anson (who was then administering) had told him to send his demands to Seyd Hamed. He (the Datoh) then inquired what he was to do if they were refused. Anson's reply was, 'You must take your own course, but mind I don't authorise you to use force.' This he repeated to me a second time before the Colonial Secretary.

"*May 29th.* Received telegram from Lord Kimberley, Secretary of State for the Colonies, announcing that the Queen, on his recommendation, had given me the K.C.M.G. and Mr. C. C. Smith the C.M.G.

"*June 1st.* In accordance with my orders, Rembau men have evacuated Tampan.

"*June 18th.* Legislative Council. In the afternoon German man-of-war *Prinz Adalbert* arrived, with Prince Henry of Prussia, second son of the Crown Prince and our Princess Royal.

[1] Afterwards Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, K.C.M.G.

"*June 21st.* Sent carriage, 1 p.m., to meet Prince Henry and suite at landing-place. We had a big official luncheon to meet him, about forty-five people. I received him at the steps of the grand entrance and took him up to the drawing-room where I presented the naval, military, and civil authorities to him. He wore the gold collar, ribbon, and badge of the Grand Cross of some Prussian order, and full naval uniform. After the dinner he proposed the Queen's health and I the Emperor's, and in doing so I said a few words of welcome to our guest. (I had been asked previously not to propose his health). Everything went off well. I took the Prince afterwards for a drive in the four-in-hand, and drove him past Tanglin and back *via* River Valley Road to the Esplanade, where we alighted, and walked to see the view from the water-works. In the evening we had a sort of informal repast, at which Lady Sidgreaves (the Chief Justice was absent), Mr.[1] and Mrs. Swettenham, Major Gray, Lieut. Cosmo Huntly Gordon, A.D.C., Lieut.-Colonel Parnell, Captain Cumming, R.N., and the Prince's suite, Baron von Seckendorff, and two other Prussian officers were present. The Prince and Baron von Seckendorff remained for some time after the others left, chatting and smoking, and seemed quite sorry to go.

"*June 22nd.* Went with the Prince and Baron von Seckendorff early to Johnston's pier to see him off in the *Pluto*. The yacht took him to Johore to lunch with the Maharajah; and in the afternoon I drove my team to Bukit Timah to meet them on their return. They arrived about up to time in the Maharajah's carriage, with four horses and postilions—quite a good turnout. I took the Prince on the box of my drag and drove him to Johnston's pier, where they embarked. We parted with cordial expressions of regard on both sides, and regret on theirs (which seemed sincere) that they could not make a longer stay. Prince Henry is a very nice young fellow, straight-forward and unaffected, and with a decided sense of humour."

On the following day (23rd June) the Governor started on the steam-yacht *Pluto* for a tour of in-

[1] Now Sir Frank Swettenham, K.C.M.G.

spection of the provinces under his charge, beginning with Malacca. His letters to Lady Weld give a detailed history of his experiences:

"Mr. Irving, the Resident Councillor of Malacca," he writes, "came off to meet me on board the *Pluto* and took me ashore, in a boat with awnings towed by a steam-launch. Malacca is exceedingly pretty, with wooded islands, and an open roadstead which, however, must have silted up and shoaled a good deal since the Portuguese used it as a trysting-place for fleets and armies, and the basis of their operations in the East. As I passed rapidly ashore over a sea as smooth as glass I could not help thinking of the saints and of the sinners, of the apostolic missionaries, and the wild adventurers, soldiers of fortune, and men greedy for gold (as the others were of souls) who had stepped ashore on that white beach fringed with palms and shady trees. The town is crowded down to the water's edge, and is very picturesque with its quaint red-tiled houses; some curious looking sheds being built on piles right into the sea. A grassy hill rises in the centre of the town, on which stands the still massive ruins of the first Catholic Cathedral in the Far East, in which the body of St. Francis Xavier reposed for several years before it was finally translated to Goa. We landed at stone steps under spreading trees which led to a broad grass esplanade. A guard of honour, of the 3rd Buffs, was drawn up, and presented arms; some presentations were then made of principal residents, some officials, a Rajah or two, and one or two leading Chinese, and we then drove about a hundred yards to the Stadthaus, the former residence of the Dutch Governors who conquered the place from the Portuguese. It is an interesting old house, built at the foot of the hill, and close to a canal-like river which no doubt attracted the Dutch, as reminiscent of home. It contains some good rooms, which are mostly used as offices; some are kept for the use of the Governors, and are just now occupied by the Chief Justice, who is here on circuit. There is also a fine carved wood staircase, and a picture (a bad one) of Lord Minto, who took the town in person and

burnt certain Dutch instruments of torture in public: said instruments are portrayed in the background.

"I walked up the hill afterwards with Mr. Irving to his bungalow, which is a very good house in a fine situation with a glorious view from it. I must now go to breakfast. I have been writing this in the balcony of the police station at Machap with a Malay policeman standing 'at attention' over me. I suggested to Mr. Swettenham that it was unnecessary, but was informed that the man was enjoying himself thoroughly, and felt he was performing duty as body-guard, so I allowed him to remain."

The letter is resumed the following day on Sir Frederick's return to Malacca:

"I have just returned from Machap, and am more struck than ever by the beauty of the view from this bungalow. The hill it stands on is about a hundred and fifty feet above the sea, so one looks on to the roadstead with its gay shipping of Chinese junks and curious Malay sampans (a fine Russian frigate has, I see, just come in!). Above us are the ruins of the old Cathedral with a lighthouse built on to it; and on either side stretches out the picturesque old town of Malacca. Here and there, nestling amongst palm-trees, one sees detached bungalows, the minarets of some mosques, and the kiosk-like roofs of the joss-houses, and beyond a perfect sea of verdure. The town is surrounded by low hills, but Mount Ophir and the Rembau mountains rise in the distance to a considerable height; the former is about four thousand feet high. There is no view at Singapore to compare with it. I have charming rooms here, and Mrs. Irving is exceedingly kind; they have asked me to stay with them as long as I am in the town.

"*June 26th.* I have been going over the Cathedral with Irving. There are several fine tombs on the grass-grown floor of the nave. One of a Bishop Paul, S.J., 'the second Bishop of Japan,' dated 15 A.D. (the rest of the date effaced). The greater number of tombs, however, are Dutch, and belong to the seventeenth century. The building is roofless; and I am told it was much disfigured by the Dutch. There is a large

chancel at the east end, which was walled up. I noticed the introduction of some Renaissance pillars and decorations; the church was supposed to have been built about the year 1555. A lighthouse tower —quite modern—has been built into the wall on the west end. I got the key and penetrated into the chancel, hoping to find the aisle of the High Altar, and the spot where St. Francis Xavier's shrine, or coffin, was kept. There was a division in the place, and stone supports on which I thought at first the coffin might have stood, but after a careful inspection I am inclined to think that the Dutch had pulled down the former chancel, and the place where the altar and shrine stood, and built a guard-room or something of the kind on the site. It has been used as a powder magazine quite within recent times. The hill on which the Cathedral stands is surrounded by a high wall, so no doubt in its day it was considered a strong place; one gate alone remains, a very picturesque one, and a fortified well—a precaution against the Malays poisoning the springs.

"In the evening I went to the Chinese burial-ground to meet a deputation from the municipality, and from the Chinese, who had come to me to have a knotty point settled in which there were so many interests and rights involved, and sanatory considerations to be taken into account—not to mention ancient concessions, and Government proclamations—that I thought we should never get at the bottom of the story. However, I studied it on the ground and heard all the arguments and then delivered my verdict, which I think will meet the case, and they all professed to be satisfied—though whether they were so, is a different thing. In the evening the Irvings gave a reception at which a good number of people were present; amongst others there were two little boys,[1] sons of Sultan Abdullah, who is our prisoner at the Seychelles for complicity in Birch's murder. Also some Chinese in full fig, some descendants of old Portuguese and Dutch families, and various officials. There was some singing too, in parts; altogether we had quite a pleasant evening.

"*June 25th.* Drove to our boundary, by Alor

[1] Rajah Ngah Mansur and Chulan of Perak.

Gajah, and crossed into Tampan. Met Seyd Mahomed on his way to see me; he turned back and took us to his house. I examined the stockade recently built by the Datoh Perba of Rembau's people when they took it. The Datoh had carried off all Seyd Mahomed's furniture, in fact wrecked the place. The latter appeared to have about thirty followers. He drew up a guard of honour (men all armed with rifles), and would have fired a salute with some small cannon he had got, but I told him my visit was unofficial! He seemed very grateful for what I had done for him, and as I had sent back the Datoh Perba, and restored to him what was left of his house, he had every right to be.

"*June 27th.* I was up early this morning, and went to Mass at the Cathedral, which is modern and larger than the one at Singapore, but not so clean or well-kept. Mass was said by a Chinese priest, so reverently and quietly; he had a light thin moustache and, I think, a pigtail under his chasuble. He is a confessor, having been imprisoned and condemned to death, and finally banished for the faith. After Mass was over I went into the sacristy and asked him for his blessing. I had a talk also with Fr. Delonette, who told me several things about St. Francis Xavier which I had not known before.

"In the afternoon I went to see the athletic sports—a great concourse of people of all shades of skin, and every kind of colour and costume. The 3rd Buffs did most of the racing. Captain Howarth won the foot race (Ladies' Prize), to the great delight of his wife. I gave three prizes—first, second, and third—for a 300 yards foot race, and it was the closest and best race of the day. I stayed till dusk and gave away the prizes. There was immense excitement over a tug-of-war, when the Malay police pulled against a team of Klings,[1] and equal excitement when the soldiers pulled over the Malay police, who had defeated the Klings. I believe, however, that Malays could beat an ordinary man-of-war's crew in a long pull on the water. They have been known to row forty-five miles in one night. . . . By the way, do you know that our friend (and your friend's husband)

[1] The name given by the Malays for the Tamils of Southern India.

Rajah Mahdi was, in his time, a famous pirate, and—quiet as he looks—has killed his dozen or so men?

"With regard to my journeys, they have been very interesting but not specially eventful. The roads are tolerable, in some parts excellent. Most of the flat ground is taken up with the cultivation of rice. The Malays use a very primitive plough, and it is dragged by that most antediluvian-looking animal, the water buffalo—man and buffalo generally working up to their knees in mud and water. All the flats are dotted over with clumps of coco-nuts, palms, and bananas, and each clump contains a dwelling, and yet, in spite of living in a marsh, fever and malaria are unknown here.[1] The richness of vegetation on the higher ground is indescribable; one sees every kind of palm-tree, and orchids and wonderful flowering creepers, many of which were quite new to me. In the clearings one comes on to the plantations of tapioca and pineapples growing wild. I saw some of the latter growing out of the tiles of an old roof. The houses are very picturesque, with deep caves like Swiss châlets, but even quainter. They are generally raised high off the ground on posts.

"*June 28th.* Yesterday, after the mail had left, I went to visit the convent, which is a nice bungalow house with large grounds planted with coco-nut trees stretching down to the sea. There were about one hundred and twenty children, but a good many were absent on account of its being Sunday; of these about thirty were paying scholars. The Rev. Mother pointed out *les sauvages* to me—Jakun girls. There were about a dozen of them; one of whom Fr. Delonette described as being *une très bonne fille,* and said she was going to be a lay-sister; but as they have a way of running off to the woods when they are grown up, I should think they could hardly count on her vocation. I asked if there were any descendants of the Portuguese amongst them, and about fifty were made to stand forward—all quite dark. Swettenham tells me that they seldom intermarry with the natives, though their appearance would

[1] Sir Frederick must have been misinformed on this point, as they are very prevalent.

lead one to think so. It is sad, however, to see these children who bear some of the noblest historical names in the world, such as D'Albuquerque, De Castro, De Souza, Gonzales, and Pereira—the latter being probably of the same family as St. Francis Xavier's great friend, merchant princes in their day—so poor that they can hardly pay a few cents for their schooling, and are often clothed out of charity. The nuns asked if I could give them increased Government assistance, and I hope to be able to do so. They have a number of Chinese orphans, but hardly any Malays. I drove afterwards with Fr. Delonette to the priest's house to call on Fr. De Souza, who welcomed me warmly, and told me I was the first Catholic Governor to enter the church (which is hideously renovated outside) since the Portuguese lost Malacca two hundred and fifty years ago. I called afterwards on the officers' quarters, and later on drove with Swettenham into the old town and saw some exceedingly curious old houses, and the interior of a Chinese temple or joss-house. We also called on two rich Chinese, and had tea with them, and saw all kinds of beautiful and rare curios. These houses were charming, with open courts, and gardens. Whampoa's house is quite European by comparison, and not half so interesting.

"*June 28th.* Up at 5 a.m., and off at 6 to drive to Kessang, Swettenham and I in one carriage, Gordon and Superintendent of Police in another. We visited hot springs and Government forest reserves; also a French naturalist, who insisted on making me accept a magnificent collection of bird-skins, for which I shall have to make him a magnificent present! He also pressed a most fascinating little monkey on me, but this I refused. She was long-haired, and her affection for her master was so great as to be almost ludicrous. She put her arm round his neck, and *cried* when he made her leave him, though she obeyed him all the same.

"On my way back I climbed up a hill to see a fine old fort called St. John's. It was quite perfect and very interesting; I could trace the side from which the attack was made, the bullets and shot marks being still visible; it was taken from the

Portuguese by the Dutch. I also visited the hospital and gaol.

"*29th*. Very tired last night, and slept till 8 a.m. Mass was at 9 at the Cathedral. Then inspected military hospital, and chose a new site. Settled also question of new site for a school, and went on to see a curious Armenian tomb in the Protestant Church. A good many Government matters came before me, and had to be decided upon. I also pardoned two men ; the wife and children of one of them came to implore me to let him off, and I found on investigating the case that the husband and his fellow-culprit had been punished enough already (it was not a very serious offence), so I cut short the punishment, which will save the family from destitution. One has so often to refuse, that it is pleasant to be able sometimes to act according to the dictates of mercy, and one's own inclinations.

"I start this afternoon for Pangkalan Balak. It is possible that I may go to Purang first, as there has been an outbreak of the beri-beri sickness in that district, and if Dr. Mackinnon thinks my presence there would be of any use I should visit it first.

"*July 1st*. Before leaving Malacca a great number of Chinese merchants came to visit me in order to wish me good-bye. I suggested to them that as the new school will be much used by their compatriots, they might subscribe and pay for the site, and I would have a tablet put up with the names of the donors. They seemed to approve of the idea. That night, Swettenham and I embarked from a little native village twenty miles north of Malacca after a delightful drive, much of it through jungle and high trees; a good road, and very shady and pleasant. We walked about a mile from the police station to the beach. The boat was waiting for us on a smooth sandy shore, and a number of strange-shaped boats and vessels were pulled up on the beach, and equally strange natives in quaint costumes were assembled to see us go on board. We pulled off for a mile or two past fishing stakes stretching far into the sea, and reached the *Pluto*. The sunset was a beautiful one—the sea a dead calm, and of a purplish-leaden hue, the promontory and island to

our north, a low streak of dark neutral tint, and, where the sun had set, crimson light against a deep blue sky. We dined on deck under an awning; I had one cigar afterwards, and slept comfortably—a cool night—till morning. We had anchored at the mouth of the Linggi River, and at an early hour we left the *Pluto* to come in at high tide, and got into a boat with awnings, and were towed up the stream past Sampang, till we got to Permatang Passir. The latter is quite a town on a small scale, and they had made great preparations for our arrival; the houses were all decorated with red stuffs, and a canopy stretched for me to sit under, and a great firing off of crackers, and salute of small cannons greeted us on landing. Here we were met by Captain Murray, the Resident, who took us part of the way on horseback, and afterwards in his wagonette, for about twenty miles till we reached the Residency, which is a good-sized bungalow on the top of a hill. About two miles before we got there, we passed through a town called Kassa, inhabited by Chinese and Malays, and were met outside it by the principal Malay chiefs, the Datoh Klana and Datoh Bandar, dressed up in gala costumes. When we got inside the town we were received by Malays with banners and standards of feathers, and a procession of Chinese with tom-toms. The prettiest part of the show was a procession of eight little Chinese girls, dressed in gorgeous silks and brocades—the children themselves being beautifully painted like little china figures; one was perfectly lovely with almond-shaped eyes and long eye-lashes. I had no idea a Chinese could be so exquisitely pretty. She looked about ten or twelve years of age. The firing off of cannon and crackers was perfectly deafening, and they threw handfuls of crackers under the very feet of the horses, who, strange to say, did not seem to mind it the least. The journey, to-day, lay through a richly wooded country with plantations and villages at considerable intervals from each other. Six years ago no white man had ever penetrated so far into the interior, and there were only a few Malays living in the jungle and scarcely any of the ground was cultivated. When we reached the Presidency,

the police force—which numbers about thirty strong, and whose parade-ground is overlooked by it—fired a salute from seventeen field-guns. There are a good many tin 'washings' in this neighbourhood. The country rises into high wooded hills behind the Residency, and nutmeg trees, coffee and many other curious plants, including ipecacuanha, grow in the gardens which surround it.

"*July 2nd.* This morning, after first breakfast, we started to ride to a hilltop about eleven miles from here; when we had nearly reached the summit we dismounted and walked up about three hundred steps, which brought us to a little bungalow built of palm leaves and bamboos. The hill is about 1500 feet above the sea, and there is a magnificent view from it. The Pahang Peak in the Bendahara's country on the east side of the Peninsula is visible from here, and southwards one can see almost as far as Malacca, and northwards towards Selangor. The blues, and lilacs, and pearly tints were softened in the distance with a delicate haze, and here and there a curl of white smoke, or patch of yellowish-greenish cultivated ground, relieved the brilliant green of the jungle in the middle distance. At our feet was a deep precipice overgrown with wild plantain (banana) and fern. We have just been watching a huge centipede hunted by hundreds of black ants. It lasted over half an hour, and was a most curious sight. The ants would have killed him, but the middle and tail of the pack came across another party of ants, and a desperate fight ensued. Ultimately the centipede, after many doubles—in which he contrived to throw most of his pursuers off the scent—was only followed by a few of the leading hounds, finally only by one, and he, after running back for assistance, and not getting any, gave up the chase. The centipede was thick and scaly, and nearly four inches long. He made a good fight for life, and deserved to get off, though he did so by a narrow squeak. At one time he had hundreds of ants after him, and twenty or thirty on his body, biting his eyes and ears; if the ants had had a good whipper-in they must have killed him. We have seen three flying lizards since we came here, and some horn-

bills. This house is built on high posts; it only contains one bedroom, a bathroom, dining-room, and a balcony. We (Swettenham and I) are going to sleep here to-night, and return to the Residency to-morrow afternoon. I wanted a day's complete rest in order to work up my correspondence, which is in arrears. I have also been colouring some sketches in the Malacca country. There is to be a bonfire on the peak which will be seen for miles round, in honour of my visit. As the hut is so small, Gordon remained at the Residency with Mr. Lister (Lord Ribblesdale's son) who is staying with Captain Murray.

"*July 3rd.* The bonfire last night was a beautiful sight. This morning the noise of the monkeys and birds, bull-frogs, and some kind of cicala at daybreak, was indescribable. I took a long rest and did not get up till 8 a.m. A great fog came rolling up from the sea whilst I was dressing—the effect of it was rather fine; it looked almost like the smoke of a bush-fire. I had just got out of my bath and the temperature went down so much that I was glad to put on my warmest clothes.

"*July 4th.* We came down from the hill yesterday, leaving the temperature at 73° in the shade, and returned to the Residency at Seremban. I went in the afternoon to look at the 'experimental garden,' which was very interesting, and to see the police shooting at a target. In the evening, after dinner, we went to see a play at the Chinese theatre—a very funny performance. Some of the actors' dresses were most gorgeous, brocades covered with gold and silver embroidery. Tom-toms and gongs were strummed upon all the time, marking the inflection of the voice like an accompaniment. The stage voices especially in the ladies' parts were raised to a sort of squeak, which had the funniest effect. We stayed there nearly two hours, and left the wicked Rajah engaged in making love to an Empress——or she to him—*she* sitting on a chair of state behind a table with a red cloth on it, whilst *he* was perched up on something which looked like a baby's chair at the other end of the stage. People went in and out all the time and did not seem to take much interest in the performance. The story was the old,

old one of the wicked Baron (or Rajah) making love to the virtuous peasant's wife, with an Emperor and Empress thrown in—the former dressed like an absolute nightmare. There was a good deal of pantomime introduced, acrobatic feats, etc. One Chinaman pulled himself up to a beam by his own pigtail, passing afterwards over it. I thought his scalp would have come off, and I noticed he held on to his head when the performance was over, as if he had found it rather uncomfortable. On our return through the village to the Residency we saw numbers of Chinese gambling in the market-place. I should have liked to have stopped to have seen a little more of it, but of course could not do so.

"This morning—5th July—we started, on horseback, to shoot sambur (red deer), Captain Murray having organised a great hunt; but there was only one seen, and nobody got a shot at it. There are elephants in the neighbouring jungles—one was seen here not very long ago, but they can only be got at by studying their haunts, and giving more time to it then I have to spare. This evening some chiefs from the State of Sri Menanti, which is not very far from here, came to me to complain of their ruler, and of the interference of the Maharajah of Johore. I told them that if they wished, and the ruler agreed, the British Government would advise them on matters of policy, also on their internal economy, and that such advice would probably lead to peace, and a more stable government.

"*July 7th.* Steam-yacht *Pluto*. Off mouth of Klang River. I have just heard that a mail is waiting at Klang for our letters. We left the Seremban Residency yesterday; I inspected the hospital and gaol at Rasak and wished the Datoh Klana and Datoh Banda good-bye. Captain Murray drove us four or five miles, as far as the Datoh Banda's place; then we mounted and rode by a jungle path through thick forests to Lukut. We hardly saw a living creature all the way, and had to go slowly as the ground in places was very boggy, almost under water. Mr. Douglas, Resident of Selangor, came in a beautiful steam-yacht of about 40 or 50 tons to meet me at the mouth of the river at Lukut, and to take me

to the *Pluto*. In the night we steamed up the coast to Jugra in order to pay our respects to the old Sultan of Selangor. The river at that part is still and deep with forests of mangrove on either side. There is a curious hill at Jugra like a pyramid with a flattened apex; all the surrounding country is covered with dense jungle. The Sultan, who is a very queer old fellow, sent his ghari to meet us, and we partly drove and partly walked to his house, through a rather pretty scattered village. We were saluted here by some small guns, and his son, Rajah Musa, met us, and led me into the enclosure, and up to a reception-house, on the steps of which I was met by the Sultan, Abdul Samat. He was splendidly got up, with a magnificent sword which had been presented to him by the Queen, and wore a kind of hussar jacket, a rich sarong, slippers, and some fine diamond rings. The reception-house was a handsome building, carpeted inside, and with a table in the centre covered with fruit, flowers, and silver. We sat around it on a raised platform. The room was surrounded by a verandah, but separated from it by screens, so that the people could see all that was going on without pressing too closely. The Sultan appeared to be exceedingly pleased at my visit, and at my congratulations on the improved state of the country of late years, etc. etc. He struck me as being in his dotage, but the Resident told me he thought he was only very nervous. However, he seemed much delighted, and after some talking he subsided, and sat chattering in a low voice to himself.

"After taking leave of the Sultan we got on board the boat again and were towed by the steam-launch over a very shallow bar to the *Pluto*, where I was glad to get a bath and second breakfast. We saw some bright blue crabs, a small crocodile, and walking fish, on the banks of the river. Poor Rajah Mahdi is here; he is very ill indeed; we are going to land him this afternoon in his own country—I believe to die. We are now steaming into the Klang River, and shall soon arrive at the village of Klang, where we sleep to-night at Captain Douglas's house. To-morrow we go on to Kuala Lumpur, and shall

stay there and make excursions in the neighbourhood till the 12th, when we return to Klang. So far the expedition has been a most successful one, and I have enjoyed it immensely. Mr. Swettenham is a very pleasant companion; he is fond of this kind of life, and knows all about the country and the people, besides talking the language perfectly.

"*July 9th.* I have just heard that a vessel is leaving, and this letter, if sent off within an hour, may catch it. When I last wrote we were in the straits of Klang; we steamed up the river between green wooded banks till we reached the town, where we were received with a salute from an old fort erected on a hill commanding the river. This fort was formerly held by our friend the old Rajah Mahdi, and is supposed to be the scene of many wild exploits in the old piratical days. The jetty was decorated with every kind of gay hangings, and I drove up from there to the Residency, where I was received by Mrs. Douglas and her daughters, and I afterwards made a circuit of the town with Captain Douglas. It is a pretty little town, but is being deserted for Kuala Lumpur, which is farther inland.

"10*th.* We left early, and were towed by a steam-launch up the river. We saw a kingfisher with a brilliant orange head and red and blue wings, some pigeons, but no alligators; the banks were thickly wooded, and the river got very muddy and narrow as we advanced, till, reaching Demarsarah, we left the boats and took to the saddle. From thence we rode to Kuala Lumpur, where a grand reception awaited us. Some thousands of people turned out, and the streets were decorated with strips of coloured cloth and bunting and triumphal arches.

"This morning (11th) we were up early, and Mr. Swettenham, Captain Douglas, Daly, and I went out shooting—after deer—but, alas, we saw none. I missed a little pig and got three jungle fowl. The latter are said to be the ancestors of our barn-door fowls, and certainly resemble them very much, but they fly like pheasants. We saw lots of tracks of elephants, mostly about ten days old. The jungle is extraordinarily interesting—such a

variety of bird- and insect-life. I saw a man who had been attacked by a tiger on the road, and been badly clawed by him, and would undoubtedly have been killed had not his little boy (of six or seven years of age) thrown his basket at the tiger, whereupon the tiger retreated! The man's wounds are now healed, but he was ill for a long time from the shock. Tigers seldom attack men, never a man on horseback; they have, however, a special fancy for Chinamen.

"*July 12th.* We were in the saddle yesterday at 5.30, on our way to Batu. The country we passed through was thinly populated, undulating, with occasional views of distant hills, the foreground mostly jungle. We stopped for a short time at Batu, where a Malay chief, a native of Pahang, had made great preparations for our arrival, decorated the village (the people of which are mostly Sakais[1]), and got a chair of state ready for me in his house, which was also prettily decorated. After leaving Batu we got into thick jungle with fine forest trees, a path had been cut for us through it, so it was rideable. There was an endless variety of beautiful flowers—I longed for you to see them. After proceeding for some miles, we suddenly came on to a huge rock, about four or five hundred feet high, absolutely perpendicular and rising like a great fort or castle out of the forest, with trees and twisted roots growing out of it and clasping and crowning it. I have never seen anything resembling it. It seemed like an island in the vast forest, and its upheaval was probably due to volcanic action. There is another rock very similar to this one in Perak, they tell me, called Gunong Pondok. A river was running at its feet and partly surrounded it. We had now come to our hunting ground; so we separated, Mr. Douglas, Swettenham and I forming one party, under the guidance of the village chief and two Sakais. We tracked a herd of buffalo (*Bos sondaiacus*) for fully an hour, but never saw them. They had been on the ground that morning, as the blades of grass they had bitten and trodden down had not yet withered. We saw nothing to shoot except a bird

[1] One of the original tribes of the Peninsula.

about as big as a guinea-fowl, and very like one in shape, but of a most gorgeous colour, peacock green, gold, and orange; it ran along the ground close to me. The hen-bird seemed dark; if I had had my shot-gun with me I could have killed them both. After walking for three hours in the forest, we returned to the big rock where we had left Dr. Mackinnon and Miss Douglas. The other party, consisting of Captain Rhodes, Dr. Barrington of the Buffs, and Mr. Taylor, an officer of the Ordnance Department, had not been more successful than we were. We then climbed up a steep path, and at the height of about a hundred feet above the level ground we found ourselves at the mouth of a huge cave, in which luncheon had been got ready.

"I must describe it: picture to yourself a huge banqueting-hall, with a dome-shaped roof about 300 feet high, and at least 150 feet long, with great apertures in the roof through which the light streamed, softened into green and gold by the overhanging trees. The Malays have a legend that a fairy princess lives in the summit of this great crag—into which no human foot has penetrated—and that when she shows herself to a man she brings him good fortune. I can imagine no more appropriate spot for a fairy dwelling-place. Standing within the cave, and looking out of its dark framework of stalactite pillars and buttresses into the sunlight, and wealth of tropical vegetation stretching away for miles below me, I really felt that it was worth while making the tour of the globe if only to see that sight.

"Having got very wet and hot in our tramp in the forest, I was very glad to be able to change my wet clothes in a recess of the cave. I was attended by two Malays, who watched the operation with much earnestness and reverence, as if they were witnessing a religious ceremonial; probably they thought it was one! Luncheon followed, which was a most picturesque affair, groups of Malays and Sakais in every kind of dress, and undress, in marvellous variety of colour, some armed with parangs,[1] and other curiously shaped weapons, stood or squatted around us. It was like a scene in a play—stage

[1] Cutlass.

brigands and all complete. After luncheon we explored the caves by torchlight; thousands of bats, disturbed by the light, flew over our heads. I shot one or two for Dr. Barrington, and the noise of the reverberations through the caves was very grand. When we came to the last one they gave three cheers for 'the Governor'—the first one who had ever penetrated into these wilds. We afterwards went down to the river, and I tried to catch a fish, with both fly and minnow. It was no good; so the Malays (who are not particular how they get their fish) threw the root of a plant called 'tuba' into the water, which has the effect of stupefying them, and before long they come to the top. Such a scene followed; the Malays shouted and yelled, throwing themselves into the water and hitting the fish with sticks, and laughing just like a heap of schoolboys. They killed about a hundred or two small fish, like our roach. There was one rather larger, of about 4 or 5 lb. weight, and a few that looked like barbel, of from 1 to 3 lb. weight. Though it was poaching, it was great fun, and reminded me of fishing the brooks at Stonyhurst on 'good days.' We got home in time for me to have a short nap after my bath before dinner. We dined at the Capitân China's,[1] and it was a great function. The reception-hall I described in my last letter was, I find, built expressly for this occasion. As I entered, with Mrs. Daly, the military police, who numbered about forty, presented arms, and the bugles sounded. This was the signal for the explosion of Chinese crackers—a performance which lasted fully a quarter of an hour. The Capitân's expenditure in crackers must have been portentous. The dinner began with birds' nest soup, the rest of the dinner was European. When it was over the Capitân proposed the health of the Queen Empress, then mine; after which I proposed that of the Sultan of Selangor, and Douglas the Capitân's; all short speeches.

"After this I should not have been sorry to have been allowed to go to bed, but the Chinese had got up an entertainment in my honour at their theatre, so I had to go. It was allegorical, and

[1] The head Chinese of a State goes by that name.

represented all the rival Rajahs, headed by the Sultan, giving up their quarrels and putting themselves under the Governor's protection, and doing him homage. The absurd part of it was that in spite of there being an actor on the stage who represented the Governor they, perpetually, one after the other, bowed down before *me*. Afterwards they sang an ode of welcome in which they wished me every kind of prosperity, a long reign as Governor, and so forth. I can't describe the gorgeousness of the principal personages, Rajahs, Sultan, Governor, etc., with their banners and dresses of the most brilliant colours, and rich materials, stiff with embroideries in gold and silver. Also women who were supposed to be riding on hobby-horses of which the heads only were visible, the rest being hidden by masses of rich drapery. Then there were tumblers executing wonderful antics in scarlet trousers and blue jackets. One was constantly reminded of the medieval pageants which one reads of in history. I was glad to leave as soon as the part addressed to me was over, and got to bed about 12 p.m. after a very hard day's work.

"*July 13th.* In the morning I went over a tapioca factory. I also received a Malay deputation and inspected the government offices. The Malay spokesman was eloquent about the good my coming would do in this country, and said that it was clear that I took an interest in the people and wished them well, and that they all hoped I should long be Governor, and should return shortly to see them again; and after I had replied, and said that the Queen took much interest in the welfare of all the countries under her protection, they answered that they knew she must be good, and anxious to help them, for, whereas formerly they had suffered much from wars and rapine and oppression, now they lived in happiness and security. I also received a Chinese deputation about mining and other business.

"*July 14th.* On board s.s. *Pluto* at anchor, mouth of Klang River. We started this morning on horseback at 5.30. As we rode through the town (Kuala Lumpur), we stopped to visit the gaol—

a temporary one—and found the sentry, musket in hand, fast asleep in an easy-chair! I had to settle the site of a new fort and Residency there; after this was done we rode on to Damansara through the usual forest scenes, hearing but not seeing a number of hornbills who made a great noise in the trees over our heads. We got on board steam-launch at Damansara, and on to the *Pluto* at Klang, but did not land to take leave of Mrs. Douglas as I had a slight touch of gout. The Ranee Mahdi came off to see me, with presents for you and Minnie and a petition for me. The old man is very ill. We have dropped down the river, and shall lie at the mouth of the straits to-night, as we expect a steamer with Singapore letters.

"*July 15th*. Gout better this morning, having been doctored by Mackinnon. Proceeded northwards along the coast to Sungei Buloh, a little archipelago of rocky islands which have been lately populated by fishing people who say that they are safe from pirates now that they are under the Queen's protection; formerly their wives and daughters and they themselves ran the risk of being carried off into slavery. We anchored, and went up a river to shoot crocodiles—a very narrow and muddy creek with slimy banks overhung by mangroves which sometimes almost met over our heads. It was full of crocodiles, and before long we caught a glimpse of the 'wake' of one in the water, but did not get a shot till we passed the village; then as we rounded a point two big brutes rushed, or rather tumbled, out of the jungle over the slimy banks into the water, but the point of land prevented my getting a shot. The next minute two more came down off the mud on the other side, and I managed to shoot them both, right and left. I had two more shots, and I believe both were hit, but they got down into the water and were lost. Captain Rhodes hit one, Gordon did not get a shot, and Mr. Swettenham gave me his chance. We are now about to land at an ancient Dutch fort at Selangor, which is in ruins. We were to have made an expedition to shoot water buffaloes to-morrow, but it is very tame work, almost like shooting cows, and as I have still some

gout about me it is not worth while to risk a wetting in the marshes, so I have given it up.

" *July* 16*th*. Selangor River.

" I have just been ashore at Kuala Selangor, which was once an important place but now is only a collection of huts. The police quarters are in the Dutch fort, a very interesting old place on a hill overlooking a wide stretch of sea-straits, and miles of forest and jungle tenanted by elephants, and tigers, and all kinds of wild animals. The earth-works were planted with senna trees by the Dutch and they have now attained a great size. Some guns are still there, and the remains of the gate, and some of the outworks. The Dutch built the fort about two hundred years ago, and used to levy blackmail on the traders on the river ; the Malays stormed it, and took it from them. Rajah Mahdi held it for some time against our troops in the late war, and put many shot-holes into H.M.S. *Rinaldo* from his guns ; but the *Rinaldo* was pluckily handled by Captain Robinson (a brother of our friend Sir Hercules), and he shelled the outer fort from the sea, and stormed it, and then boldly ran up the river and attacked the position at close quarters, and the old Rajah had to give in.

" *July* 17*th*. Steam-yacht *Pluto*, Dindings.

" In my last letter I told you about the old Dutch fort. I forgot to mention that in front of the gateway stands a large flat stone upon which the Sultans of Selangor are installed on their accession—just like the famous stone of Scone which was afterwards brought to Westminster Abbey. Captain Douglas, the Resident, left us to-day after dinner. I gave him permission to keep the old Residency at Kuala Lumpur as a guest-house, and for the use of the Sultan when he was there. It seems singular to present the Sultan with a house in his own country, but without this permission he would not think of taking it. There are reasons of policy which make it advisable that he should have a suitable house at Selangor, and Douglas says that the permission to make use of it will please him very much, and he will look upon it as a great mark of friendship. We entered the Bernam River this morning—a very

wild country covered with jungle, and with hardly any inhabitants visible on its banks. We steamed for sixteen miles to Sabah, a small village where I was received on landing by Rajah Hitam, who has the reputation of being a troublesome man, and by his brother Rajah Indor, who has that of being a very good fellow. The manner and appearance of the latter were very prepossessing, and Mr. Swettenham speaks highly of his services to us in the late war. We went afterwards to the court-house (police-station) and then to Rajah Indor's house. When I asked Rajah Hitam if they had any grievances to complain of, he expressed himself as quite satisfied; I found, however, that it was possible to make one or two changes in the revenue, especially in abolishing a tax on salt fish, which presses heavily on the poor; its abolition will be of considerable service to the lower classes in the district. I spent most of the afternoon finishing and colouring some sketches. I have got one of Malacca, another of a sunset after leaving Malacca territory, two of Sungei Ujong, and one, a large sized one, taken from Mr. Kaye's plantation. I also took one this morning at Sabah. When we got out of the river we steered northwards to the Dindings. There was rather a heavy sea and a fine dark red and yellow sunset behind the islands, so we put off dinner till we got into smooth water between the largest island, Pulau Pangkor, and the mainland. Properly speaking, it is the mainland which is called Dinding, the word meaning *wall*, because the coast at that spot is high and precipitous. The entrance to the river is a very fine one, with a good harbour; here we anchored for the night. Mr. Bruce, the Superintendent and the Penghulu, Hadji Hakim, a very nice old man, came off to us.

"*July* 18*th*. I got up at daybreak this morning, and painted, and wrote a dispatch before breakfast. We went on shore afterwards, and were received by a military police guard of Sikhs. A lovely spot, such fine wooded hills and bold rocks, and a smooth beach with coco-nut trees, and a mosque, and clear brook with a bridge over it—all embosomed in foliage. The population is very small, mostly fishermen, and, when we saw it, looked peaceful enough; two years

ago, however, it was the scene of a tragedy. Some Chinese pirates came over to the island, killed Captain Lloyd the superintendent, wounded his wife—who luckily escaped—and left another woman, a Mrs. Innes, to all appearance dead, though she afterwards recovered. We looked at sites for a new Residency, and then went to another bay to examine the ruins of an old Dutch fort which had been visited by Dampier the great navigator early in the seventeenth century. On returning to the *Pluto* we steamed up the Dinding River—or, rather, arm of the sea—a most beautiful view, with hills in the background like a Scottish sea-loch. I made a sketch of it, and must now go on deck to see the last of this lovely scenery before it gets dark. After dinner we shall land Hadji Hakim and Mr. Bruce, and then steam on to Larut. The Hadji considers himself badly used by the Regent of Kedah, and I have had to make peace between them.

" *July 19th.* Thaiping, Perak.

" This morning I woke at 4 a.m., went on deck, had coffee and biscuits and a smoke, and enjoyed the nice cool breeze in an easy-chair and seeing the sun rise. We arrived at Lukut before breakfast—shoal banks—no vessel drawing more water than the *Pluto* could get in. About 10 p.m. she missed the channel, and got stuck in the mud. We took a boat and soon after met Mr. Low,[1] the Resident, steaming out in his launch to meet us. We were towed by the launch to Teluk Kertang, and after passing through various villages arrived at Thaiping. We visited a hospital, custom-house, the old Mantri's house which it is proposed to turn into a prison, and a police-station on the way. The village and roads we passed were decorated with flags and arches, and flowery wreaths, and complimentary mottoes in English and Malay. At Thaiping a great crowd had assembled, and a salute of artillery was fired, and the military police, all Sikhs (in dark turbans, red tunics, and white trousers), formed a guard of honour. Few regiments could equal them in appearance—with their handsome bronze faces, soldierly bearing, and fine physique. Thaiping is quite a little town, being

[1] The late Sir Hugh Low, K.C.M.G.

sorrounded with tin mines; part of it was burnt down very recently, and I authorised a loan to help to rebuild it, much to the satisfaction of the people. The Residency is on a round knoll above the town; the tin diggings and washings are close by, beyond that come small cultivations, and, farther still, high wooded hills.

" *July 22nd.* Residency, Kuala Kangsa.

" In the evening of the day I dispatched my letter to you (19th) we walked round some villages and mines, and inspected a hospital which had been extemporised for the beri-beri cases. The patients are ordered spirits, and had an extra glass given to them to commemorate my visit. We visited several places with a view to investigating the origin of this mysterious disease. So far no theory can account for it. The mines are exceedingly interesting. They are nearly all worked by water; the mineral riches in tin of this country are practically inexhaustible. The local Capitân China owns several mines; in one alone he employs over 1000 coolies. Mr. Caulfield, an engineer, took me over the mines, and Mr. Low drove me afterwards to see the principal Chinese village here called Kamunting. The next day (20th) I drove in the morning before breakfast to see some more mines, and a cottage hospital for coolie miners, and chose a site for a new one. Also went to see the market-place. Received a deputation of Chinese, with a few Malays, on the subject of tenure of lands; also on rebuilding houses, and some other questions. Late in the afternoon I drove to the parade ground, and saw the military police, infantry and artillery parade under Major Swinbourne, and Mr. Walker [1] of the 28th, the latter was A.D.C. at one time to Sir William Robinson. I never saw anything better than the appearance of the troops. The Sikhs are many of them six foot high, well-made, and very good-looking. Their uniform is all blue with white belts (when on guard of honour, red with white trousers) and black turbans with a scarlet tag. The native officers also wear black and gold pugarees hanging down their backs

[1] Colonel R. S. Walker, C.M.G., for many years Commandant of the Malay Sikh Guides.

from their turbans, and sashes. The artillerymen were a smaller lot; they had two brass howitzers and one Krupp 6-pounder. They were very smart indeed; the evolutions, especially skirmishing and bayonet practice, was excellent. Though only about 130 men were on the ground, it was really a fine sight. I sat most of the time in an arm-chair with a Sikh orderly holding an umbrella over my head. Then we returned to the barracks and saw the Sikhs wrestle. It was quite a scientific performance in its way. The bronze-like figures of the men, their graceful postures, and lithe, wiry, and yet often muscular limbs, would have made a splendid study for a sculptor or painter. Their activity is really wonderful; some couples were more than half an hour before one threw the other, or before one laid the other on his back—a feat which is necessary for victory.

"*July 23rd* (*Sunday*). I went to early Mass, 7 a.m. It was lucky my gout was gone, for I had to walk a little way—there being no road, only a path to the mission-house and church. The Chinese sang hymns and litanies nearly all the time Mass was being said, and three or four Eurasians sang the Ave Maris Stella. The church was poor but neat, the congregation consisting of about four or five hundred Chinese, but the church could hardly hold them. After Mass I had a cup of chocolate with Fr. Allard, and was met on my way back to the Residency by Mr. Low who took me to see the gaol. It was beautifully clean, and very well arranged, dry, and in a good situation. I cannot understand why beri-beri should have broken out here. They gave the men extra rations of meat in hopes of stopping it, but nothing had any effect. The sick are now being removed to the temporary hospital at Kamunting.

"On Friday night a tiger which has often been seen prowling about the village, and which had killed a deer in the garden, at about 7 p.m. jumped out of the bush into the road on to some Chinese who were returning from the mines and 'played with them like a kitten' I was informed. The Chinese were terribly alarmed, and shrieked and made such a row that the tiger left them and ran away. One ran

into the dhobi's house which was close by, so we asked the man to show us the tiger's footprints. They were quite distinct on the roadside, and the impression of his claws in the clay where he had jumped, across a little brook, was as strong as if it had been taken in plaster of Paris. His foot was about as broad as a cheese plate, I could not quite span it with my outstretched hand.

"After breakfast we went to look at the military police hospital: a fort is to be built here, the site was chosen by Captain Rhodes; it commands the town and barracks, and the road from Kamunting. Later on we started inland for Kuala Kangsa—a beautiful drive, by a good, but unfinished road. Mr. Low has had broad drains made by the side of the road, a plan I much approve of. After a short time we got amongst the hills into lovely wooded country. We saw several ponds covered with the broad leaves and exquisite flowers of the pink lotus, or water-lily, the flower which in India is sacred to Buddha. The villages (two or three) which we passed through were prettily decorated. The distance to Kuala Kangsa was about twenty-two miles, and after we had come about seventeen in a pony carriage, we were met by elephants which had been sent to take us the rest of the way. One, a huge fellow with grand tusks, was destined for me and Mr. Low to ride. We climbed slowly over the narrow pass, still traversing beautiful hill and forest country, a clear stream flowing over rocks at one side, when we saw suddenly in front of us a huge, isolated rock about 400 feet high resembling the hill containing the caves which I described to you in Selangor. I took a rough sketch of it from the elephant's back. A little later on we met another elephant with a load of coco-nuts on his back, whose tusks had been cut off. He seemed rather alarmed at our elephant (who took no notice of him) and still more so at a pony that followed in the ghari. It is a singular thing that a huge animal like an elephant should be frightened at ponies, and still more so at the smallest dog. A few miles farther on we came to a coffee plantation owned by a Mr. Wrey, where we stopped for a short time and went to see his

nursery-garden with some fine tea plants; three or four miles more brought us to Kuala Kangsa. Kuala signifying river mouth, for here the little Kangsa River flows into the Perak River. We found great preparations there for my reception. The village street and the path leading up to the Residency, which stands on a slight eminence, was decorated with arches, crimson hangings, and inscriptions. The military police were drawn up at regular intervals, presenting arms as we passed, and all the people turned out and much salaaming and bowing ensued, whilst the cannon fired a salute of seventeen guns. The Rajah Jusup, the acting Sultan of Perak, Rajah Idris, Chief Justice, and about twenty Rajahs and Penghulus—chiefs of districts—received me in the centre of the town, where we dismounted, and walked up all together to the Residency. You can imagine what a striking picture it made—the gay show and brilliant uniform and dresses, with the background of quaint Malay houses, buried in palms and coco-nut trees, the broad river, 300 yards wide, and, in the distance, a beautiful view of mountains. All the native ladies had congregated in a kind of open pavilion close to the Residency, in order to see the procession up to it. I was told afterwards that they would have been highly pleased if I had gone in and spoken to them. The 'Robber Datoh,' Toh Sri Lela, told me he would have made no objection; however, on such a complicated subject as the Eastern code of etiquette it was better to keep on the safe side!

"I held a durbar on my arrival with the Regent and other chiefs which went off very well, and I am told gave great satisfaction.

"This is such a comfortable house, a charming view from it, and everything so well done. I hear they are trying to arrange an elephant-shoot for me. The difficulty is that their haunts are at a considerable distance from here (three or four days' journey), so they have been trying to attract them to this neighbourhood by turning out some lovely young she-elephants; however, so far the stratagem does not seem to have succeeded.

"*July 24th.* Mr. Low and I took a walk round

the town very early this morning. I saw the nursery gardens, police quarters, and lock-up, and had a talk with two Malay youths who were imprisoned there. One was very good-looking, with such a pleasant face. He said 'good-morning, Tuan,'[1] with a smile, when I entered his cell. These two, and two more who are at large, have been convicted of the murder of a Chinese pedlar, and there can be no question about it, as they have confessed the crime. The fact is, Malays think no more of killing a Chinese than a tiger does, and yet we—thanks to Mr. Low's admirable tact, courage, and good management, and the great affection they bear him—are beginning to inaugurate an entirely new era in which crimes such as this, though they have not ceased, are very infrequent. When I congratulated Jusup on the law and order that prevailed, he said it was entirely due to the good counsels of the English (*i.e.* Mr. Low's). The two murderers—who have not yet been arrested—are brothers of chiefs belonging to this district, so there was a meeting of Rajahs to-day at the Residency to consider the case. The 'Robber chief' told Mr. Low that he had killed so many men himself that he understood all about it, and that he did not intend to authorise such proceedings again, and agreed to have the murderers given up. He said to me, 'I am a man of few words, but what I say I do.' It is only four years ago (1876) since this man and his people made General Ross and his staff and a handful of sailors and soldiers run for their lives, close to this spot, and four or five soldiers, an officer, and a sailor were shot down before they reached their boats. The 'Robber chief' said to me, 'You must not think, Tuan Besar,[2] that my village is as bad as men make out; things have been said of us that we don't deserve.' It is said—in the case I speak of—that the village was plundered by the soldiers and sailors, and a man unjustly hanged, which was the cause of the natives' attack. There is no doubt General Ross was reprimanded for hanging the man, and the inhabitants of the village (which belongs to Toh Sri Lela) even now fear treachery, and all wore their krisses when

[1] Master.

[2] Great Master.

they came to see me. I rather like the chief, and would have gone to see him and his village, but Mr. Low thinks it would be unadvisable to do so till the murderers have been given up.

"*July 25th.* I broke this off yesterday, as Rajah Muda came to take me out fishing. He had a boat with a roof ready for me, and boatmen got up in black and yellow; he went in another boat, Mr. Low in another, and Mackinnon in a third. We rowed about a mile down the river and I killed a sebarau, a kind of roach, with a minnow. The Rajah fished with a casting net, so did the other Rajahs. They had men beating the water and throwing in bait to attract the fish. They only got some very small fish; mine was the biggest, and it was only about half a pound weight at most. The scenery just below the Rajah's house is very beautiful; we saw a huge tame elephant fanning away the flies from her young one which was lying down, and every now and then sprinkling sand over it—the said baby being about the size of a bullock. At night after dinner we went by invitation to see a theatrical performance, given by Rajah Muda, of dancing girls, though they could hardly be said to dance. The principal actors were a girl and her husband, who kept up a kind of dialogue—he being a clown and rather funny. It was eminently decorous but rather slow, and we all got very sleepy, and were glad when we were allowed to go to bed.

"*26th.* I have just been holding a durbar. It took place in a court with a kind of open hall. We were met by the Capitân China, and quite a thousand people were present; a guard of military police presented arms, and kept the space clear round a raised chair which I occupied, with carpeted steps; the Resident and the rest had lesser seats round me. First, compliments were exchanged; then we proceeded to business, which was mostly concerning mining disputes; petitions were presented, and so on. To-morrow we go and see some caves, Sunday will be a quiet day, and then we embark for the Dinding Islands on our way to Penang. The Malays have just turned up in large numbers

with a band of native instruments; two curious drums, played on one end with a stick and on the other with the hand, a kind of gong, and a board with round pieces of metal (rather pleasant in tone), struck with a stick. We had speeches and compliments, a present of fowls and bananas, and then dancing; a sword dance, a wrestling dance, an umbrella dance, and a kris dance. The performers moved slowly round each other twisting their wrists and hands, and moving their bodies and limbs into curious slow attitudes in very good time with the music. The performers, who danced two at a time, were all men. Now I am going to choose a site for a new fort, so must conclude.

"*July 28th.* The day after I last wrote was very wet, so I remained at home and transacted business all day. Some Sakais (aborigines) came to see me, and shot at a mark with their sumpitans, *i.e.* blow-pipes with arrows, which are poisoned when they are in pursuit of game or their enemies. The following day (21st), we started at about 8.30 in seven fine boats, the decks protected from the sun by palm-leaves, and my crew dressed in yellow and black—the latter came from the village which belongs to my friend the Robber chief, and seemed very good fellows. The *Dragon* (my boat) was formerly owned by Birch, the Resident whose murder was the cause of the Perak War. I have just finished a sketch of the river and of some Malay boats. The river is most beautiful; it narrows a little when one gets below Kuala Kangsa, and hills rise to either side. In the evening we went ashore and I held an audience in a hut on piles at a place called Blanja. We slept on board the boats, and with a mattress and a mosquito-net we were very comfortable.

"Early this morning (29th) I went out shooting on a marsh, or pond, covered with pink lotus, and azure blue water-lilies, or bog-beans. I shot a magnificent crane or heron, and had some long shots at teal and ducks. I was in a canoe; Mr. Swettenham, who walked, got three teal. They were 'shepherding' a tiger for me to shoot at Blanja, but after it had killed two Chinese they thought it was time to put an end to it, so they destroyed it

with a spring gun. We have been going down the river all the morning, and I have been finishing a sketch I began yesterday. I fear I shall have to defer my return for another week in order to go on from Perak to Penang. It is necessary I should see the Regent of Kedah; he is a feudatory half-vassal of the King of Siam, and I have several matters to arrange with him, such as a boundary question, and a treaty for the extradition of murderers; also about some land in dispute between him and the Penghulu of Pulau Pangkor. The Regent is a pensioner of ours, so I have a good hold over him. I have promised to send the Bendahara of Pahang some kangaroo dogs which he wants, by a messenger who takes him an elephant from the Perak authorities. Government will pay for the dogs in return for the elephant tusks he sent to Singapore.

"*July 30th.* I wrote the last page on board the *Dragon*: we did not reach Durian Sabatang till after dark last night. We passed to-day the spot where Birch was murdered. He was bathing in one of the little native bathing tanks, which are walled round with palm-leaves, and was stabbed whilst in the water, so he had no means of defending himself. When the punitive expedition was sent out, the Sultan's fort and the village were destroyed, and trees cut down, and in reprobation of the crime no one now is allowed to plant or build there. A little lower down the river we were shown the place where Captain Innes, R.E., was killed, and two officers who were with him were wounded in an attempt to storm a fort, which was afterwards taken and destroyed, like Abdullah's. Mr. Swettenham was in that affair. We slept at the Residency, which was occupied by Mr. Paul, who is superintendent of Lower Perak. It was late when we arrived, and we were up before daylight and walked round the town, which is a horrible hole almost under water. I was glad to get away to the steam-launch, and after re-ascending the river about three miles we entered the mouth of the Kinta River. We reached Kuala Teja that night and slept at the Residency, which is a charming house with walls made of rough attap woven into a pattern. Though the house only cost

one thousand dollars to build it is quite a fair size, the woodwork very good and solid, with six or seven rooms on the top storey, and a large verandah and balcony. A tiger was walking about the night we were there; with any luck we should have seen him, as we were sitting out in the verandah smoking in bright moonlight. Now comes the strange part of the story; the tiger—who often prowls about the village—on this occasion went into a small cottage, not above ten paces from the guard-house, and slept there in company with an old woman. She only woke up to find out who had been her visitor when he had gone, but there were unmistakable marks where he had curled himself up to sleep.

"*July 31st.* We descended the river early in the morning in the same way we came up it, after fraternising with a rather nice old fellow who is known to have committed a particularly villainous murder in the 'good old' bad days when nobody took account of such trifles. The Kinta is narrow but deep enough to be the highway for tin and passengers. We are improving it, and I am authorising money to be raised for a road from Kota Baru, to lead in an opposite direction to Bhota on the Perak River half-way between Kuala Kangsa and Durian Sabatang. Ultimately we shall connect Bhota with the Dinding River at a spot a little above Kota Siam. The Kinta runs through a jungle which formerly was so dense that a high-roofed boat could with difficulty get through. The vegetation is the richest I have yet come across. We have seen gangs of monkeys both here and on the Perak River. They look very pretty—throwing themselves from tree to tree with an almost incredible agility. We also saw hornbills, some beautiful kingfishers, eagles, kites, and buzzards. We reached Durian Sabatong that evening at 4 p.m. and got on board the launch again, and steamed about six miles down till we found the *Pluto* at a spot where we are going to make a canal, about three-quarters of a mile long, to Durian Sabatong. By so doing six miles of navigation will be cut off, and it will afford a good situation for a dock which is much required, and a better site for a town than the one at present occupied by Durian Sabatong, which accordingly

will be moved there. After settling these matters we walked a little way along a new road which is being made, then went on board, and had a bath and dinner whilst we steamed down the fine broad river, and made for our old anchorage at Palau Pangkor.

" I am much pleased with all that I have seen at Perak. It is a grand country with plenty of rich fertile land, and immense mineral resources. As to Mr. Low the Resident, he is a man after my own heart—a noble fellow with a true sense of duty, an Englishman of the best type.

"*August 1st.* Steam-yacht *Pluto*, off Palau Pangkor (Sunday).

" We are having a quiet morning at anchor here. The Penghulu and his wife and daughters came off, by invitation, to see the ship. We have settled upon a site for the house and residency here for the superintendent, Mr. Bruce. In the evening we went ashore and had a hunt. I had one shot at a wild boar in the bushes, but did not stop him ; he looked rather like a tame pig. The wild boars here do not seem half as big or savage as the New Zealand ones, of which I have killed dozens with only a couple of dogs and my hunting-knife. The Punghulu also had a shot, but was unsuccessful. After dinner Mr. Low left. I was sorry to part with him ; he told me that my knowledge of Maori ways made me understand the native questions here, which I think is true.

" *August 2nd.* We put off last night, and this morning were steaming up to Penang, and on our way we landed at Pulau Jerajah to inspect the leper hospital. It was not a pleasant duty, as some of the poor people were terrible to look at, mere wrecks of humanity, but it was a duty, and I was very glad afterwards that I had been there, and that I had had Dr. Mackinnon with whom to consult. The hospital was built by the Chinese by subscription. It stands on a flat with wooded hills in the background, and the white sandy beach in front. The building is a fine one with a central hall, and long tiled corridors and wards stretching out on either side. It is very cool and well arranged. Rows of coco-nut trees line the beach, and the view from it is most beautiful. We went through the wards and all over the premises.

The patients made no complaints, but after making inquiries I was able to order various improvements in their diet and so forth. After consulting with Mackinnon, and at their request, I trebled their very small allowance of tea, and we arranged, in some special cases, that the dose of opium should be increased. They seemed very grateful. The doctor in charge appeared an intelligent man, and Mackinnon thought well of his treatment of the patients. The view was quite lovely as we neared Penang, fine hills rising above the red-tiled roofs of the town, and quantities of boats and shipping all ' dressed,' and crowds of people in gay native costumes lining the shores. In the far distance, thirty miles off, one could just perceive the outline of the grand peak of Kedah. General Anson came off to meet me, the Buffs furnished a guard of honour, and we landed in the midst of a great clatter of guns and drove to the General's house, where I found a number of letters from you awaiting me.

" *August 6th.* Hill Bungalow, Penang.

" I have had two very busy days at Penang while staying with the Ansons at Suffolk House, and was very glad to come off here to rest, and tackle my correspondence. The day after we landed I opened the town-hall, and held an informal levee at the government offices, inspected gaol, and looked at sites for one or two new buildings. The next day we had races, which were very good. I also spent a long morning at the Missionary College. It was most interesting: there were Siamese, Chinese, Tamils, Indians and Japanese, some of them sons of martyrs, and, no doubt, some of them will be martyrs themselves. They presented me with an address, and verses in Latin. I had a very pleasant breakfast with the Fathers, who were all most kind and friendly. I went afterwards to visit the convent where there is an orphanage for girls, principally Chinese. They looked so nice in their red dresses, and had charming manners. I also saw the boys' school, where they read me an address. An addition is much required to both institutions, as though very clean and well-kept they are much too small; I hope to be able to do something to help them.

"Yesterday morning I again went to the races, and in the afternoon had business to transact at the government offices. This morning we drove off here, in order to see whether the house will be suitable (and large enough) for us to use as summer quarters. We drove to the foot of the hill, and then rode four miles up a steep though good road to the bungalow. It stands in a glorious situation with exquisite views on every side. The house consists of two cottages joined together by a very long open corridor roofed in with attap—the whole containing, I should think, quite enough accommodation, of the cottage kind, for our family. There are capital places for children to play in, under cover. The rooms are not large, of course, but quite as big as ordinary English bedrooms. The house stands on a peak, with paths and terraces extending in every direction and masses of palms and tree-ferns, and lovely flowers of every description; orchids, and poinciana,[1] and even some roses and geraniums. I send you a tiny rose-bud and some poor little violets to remind you of England or Brackenfield. The view from the verandah is very fine—sea, straits, river, islands, and mainland with distant hills, all stretched out at one's feet. You could not fail to be enchanted with the place. The air, too, is delightful, and feels quite fresh and invigorating after the stifling heat of the plains.

"*August 7th.* Kota Star, Kedah.

"I sent off an unfinished letter by the harbour-master at Penang the day before yesterday, as I heard a mail was just starting. We arrived at Kedah on the 3rd, and anchored at a roadstead some way off from the shore. Kedah, though the population is Malay, is under the protection of Siam. It was conquered by the Siamese early this century, and they have never quite loosened their hold over it. We bought Penang and Province Wellesley from a former Sultan of Kedah, and still pay a yearly sum of two thousand pounds for Penang. We also give a pension to the Regent Tunku Udin. The Rajah Yacub came off in a steam-launch to receive me. There were three boats, the launch, a very

[1] Poinciana Regia: in English, "the flame of the forest."

long Siamese boat or canoe—painted black and made out of a single tree, with a deck-house in the centre with silk curtains—and a European boat with an awning. Rajah Yacub asked me which boat I preferred, and I chose the Siamese one. There was rather a heavy ground swell, but no break on the bar, which was very shallow,—their tug touched the mud slightly. We then entered the mouth of a fine river with low flat banks, swarming with crocodiles ; a curious hill, shaped exactly like an elephant lying down, in which there are caves visible in the distance. The town is situated some way up the river, at the junction of two streams. It has a good court-house and offices, and other rather fine buildings. Some Chinese junks and Malay proas lay alongside the wharves, and I also noticed a government schooner built on English lines, a smart-looking craft, amongst the shipping. We landed at a platform, which was carpeted and decorated, amidst much noise of guns firing, and a considerable crowd of spectators. The Regent received me on the steps and we drove off to a house which had been got ready for us, which is extremely comfortable and well furnished. Here the Sultan, a youth of about eighteen, received me. We sat and conversed for a short time, and then they left, and we sat down to an excellent breakfast. Rajah Yacub and his brother the Regent and the young Sultan—who was a nice-looking and pleasant mannered youth—wore London-made clothes with a sarong, and were very civilised in appearance. In the afternoon the Regent and Rajah Yacub came, and drove us to see the town, and later on took us to shoot alligators up the river in a boat with an awning. I missed my first shot at a small one, about five or six feet long, the shot just going over his head, but he came up again, and this time I hit him in the brain, and he never moved again. My next shot was at a very big one lying on a steep bank. I knocked him right over and he rolled down into the river. My next chance was lost, as the cartridge missed fire. After returning to Kota Star (which we did in the steam-launch) we drove with the Regent about four miles out of the town to see a charming country residence

with an orange grove, belonging to the Sultan, called Anak Bukit. The house, which was a fine one, was built on a little eminence and surrounded with terraces. To one side of it there was a large pond or tank full of Ikan Kaluai, a kind of carp, the Gouremier of the Mauritius. They came to be fed with bits of orange, and seemed quite tame; then some fish spears were produced and we (very treacherously) proceeded to open an attack upon them. At my request the Regent took the first shot, and missed. I tried twice; my second throw was a good one, just shaving his head. Mr. Swettenham's second went right through the fish's head, and he pulled him in, spear and all, by the string which is fastened to the spear and looped round the wrist. After this the fish either lost confidence in us or went to bed, the sun having set, so we gave it up and drove home. On our way to the carriages we passed through the gardens and admired the trees laden with oranges and limes, and—peeping out of a round hole in a dead branch—we saw a lovely woodpecker, with a black and white and crimson head. We also found a chameleon on the same tree. Our drive home was through padi fields, and we passed some elephants on the road. The people all squat down in these native states, as a mark of respect, when the Sultan or other 'big man' passes. The road was an excellent one; it runs for about sixty or eighty miles to the first town on the Siamese frontier. It is strange to think of being so near that almost unknown country—Siam—that one could drive a four-in-hand into it. The Regent, who is not a strict Mahommedan, dined with us. We sat for a long time afterwards and talked business. The conversation was a friendly one and will, I think, lead to satisfactory results. I have reason to think that the Regent was pleased with the tone of my remarks, and manner of dealing with him, and that I have done some good by coming here.

"*August 8th*. Drove early this morning to Anak Bukit, where we met Yacub, and got into a charming canoe with small painted cabin and paddled up a tiny stream under trees and arched

roots—a kind of by-lane embedded in delicate ferns, orchids, and palms, in short of vegetation such as one never sees out of the tropics. Fancy paddling up the orchid- or palm-house at Kew, with monkeys gambolling about, apparently quite tame, and gorgeous kingfishers and butterflies darting through the trees like animated jewels! Here and there we came upon cottages nestling amongst the trees, and passed bridges made of bamboos for the people to cross the stream, or canoes, where sometimes there was only just room for two to pass each other. On one occasion we met a boat full of women; who all turned their faces to the jungle, as was right and proper, in passing us. But (wondering to myself whether Eve was not curious here) I looked suddenly around, and found Eve was looking, and was very much abashed indeed, so I turned away quickly. We saw some lovely little otters playing on the banks. The climb up the hill to the caves was a very steep one, over all kinds of creepers and gnarled and twisted trunks of trees. My long legs and Swettenham's gave us a great advantage in climbing, and I think we rather astonished the natives. The caves were magnificent, and being lit by torchlight, which exaggerated the wild effects produced by the swarthy natives in every costume, and want of costume, the scene was very striking; I have seldom seen a more picturesque one, exceeding anything ever painted by Doré. The caves were not unlike those at Selangor, so having described those I will say no more. Then back again in boat and carriage to the house. —8 p.m. We have just dined and are going to start down the river and join the *Pluto* as soon as the Regent is ready. I am going to give him a passage to Penang. Our people are giving a ball there, and a Siamese grandee is to be present whom he is anxious to meet. It must be very galling to the reigning family here to be under subjection to Siam. They have fallen in the world, but unquestionably they are of royal descent, and have reigned over this country for many hundred years; they claim to be descended from Alexander the Great! To-morrow morning we touch at Penang, and go on to Province Wellesley; drive in a southerly direction as far as the

Krian River, and sleep at Parit Buntar, a magistrate's station on the Perak border. The following day (10th) I am going to inspect hospitals and police-stations, and see over a sugar plantation, and sleep on board the *Pluto* off Butterworth pier. On the 11th we go to look at the Malakoff tapioca estate, then to Penang where we have a mess dinner followed by a ball—sleep on board that night, and get back to Singapore either that day or the following one. At latest I shall be with you on the 13th.

CHAPTER XIV

"Life with all it yields of joy and woe,
And hope and fear,
Is just our chance o' the prize of learning love,
How love might be, hath been indeed, and is."
BROWNING.

THE tour made by Sir Frederick Weld in the provinces under his rule, and recorded in the last chapter, was useful to him from more than one point of view. Its first and most obvious advantage was that it enabled him to study at first hand the characteristics both in the upper and lower strata of society of the people whom he was called upon to govern. Also, by a happy chance he was enabled to do this under most favourable auspices. For in Mr. Low, the Resident of Perak, and Mr. Frank Swettenham he found helpers and advisers who, by their familiar knowledge of the Malay language and their intimate acquaintance with all the complications and intrigues entailed by the mixture of races—Chinese, Malay, Kling, and Tamil—of which these provinces were composed, were able on many occasions to supply him with the key to difficult situations. In addition to these advantages (of which the wise administrator is always ready to avail himself) Weld brought certain merits to the discharge of his task which were wholly his own. One of these was a manner distinguished by mingled dignity, sauvity and firmness which was peculiarly adapted to impressing the people with whom he had to deal, who, like all the Eastern races, are very susceptible to such influences. The

Malay in particular deeply resent an uncourteous and offhand manner, and one of their familiar sayings is: "The Rajah may take my life, but he has no right to speak loudly (*i.e.* rudely) to me." The elaborate courtesy of past generations does not find much favour in these—though it would not be difficult to find advocates even now to defend it—but a courteous manner born of a kindly disposition can never be out of date, and will be a mark of good breeding as long as the world lasts. Such Sir Frederick Weld possessed in an eminent degree. He had also the faculty of inspiring affection in those who served under him. It has been said that to be popular you must be loved, and the easiest way of inspiring love is by loving. In these words we have the secret of Weld's influence over the native races.

Several subjects of importance claimed the Governor's attention on his return to Singapore. One of these was the adoption of a settled policy with regard to the "protected" and native States, and another the re-settlement of the land-tenure question in the colony. Besides these there were other subjects of minor, but still of considerable importance; foremost amongst these was the remodelling of the police force, the encouragement of Indian immigration, and the consideration of measures to be taken for the defence of Singapore.

In a dispatch dated 21st October 1880, Weld asks for instructions from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and formulates his own opinions on the question of the future treatment of the native States. He writes as follows:

"My recent tour in the Malayan Peninsula, whilst viewing the present, led me to consider the future of the native 'Protected States,' and I will now lay before your Lordship some considerations on the subject.

"It seems self-evident that interests affecting not only the welfare and position of large populations but of a country which is the key to the Far East should not be left to chance dealing. I may therefore presume that the Home Government has considered — or is considering — its future policy with regard to the native States of the Peninsula. Nevertheless, no indication of that policy has (as far as I am aware) reached my predecessors even confidentially. Yet a Governor would gain immeasurably when determining on a course of action, which he frequently has to do suddenly on an emergency, if he knew what was to be the future conduct of the Crown with regard to these States. Consequently it appears to me that your Lordship cannot be kept too exactly informed on the views held by Her Majesty's representative in this colony and the grounds on which he holds them, if only as affording materials for a policy which would enable cases to be dealt with as they arise, and so lead to a consistent line of action.

"My diffidence in addressing your Lordship so soon after my appointment to the Governorship of the Straits Settlements would have been even greater had I not found that my opinions were in complete agreement with those of Mr. Low, the Resident of Perak, of whose judgment I have formed a high estimate, and who has had exceptional opportunities of getting reliable information on native matters. Moreover, Sir William Robinson, my predecessor, having addressed an able confidential memorandum to the Colonial Office, was informed that he was at liberty to show it to me; from this it appears probable that you might expect at an early period to be put in possession of my views on the same subject. The native protected States are now unquestionably in a satisfactory position, and every year of peace and progress renders it less likely that the *status quo* should be disturbed; still, years must elapse before good government can be said to be established on a firm basis. A slight matter, the indiscretion of a Resident or even of a subordinate, might lead to complications, and it is impossible with the men and means at our command to be sure that no such

accident may occur. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that advantageous as the present régime is for the people who are rescued from oppression, good government, though it means security for the oppressed, is a restriction, not a relief, to the oppressor. Consequently, though gratified, I was not surprised to see the loyalty of the people to our rule, when making my tour in the native State, but I was pleased and astonished to find Rajahs, such as the Rajah Idris [1] of Perak, not only working with us, but taking a real interest in the work, apart from mere motives of self-interest. Yet it must be remembered that when the memory of past oppression has somewhat died out amongst the people, it is not unlikely that the native princes, who will still doubtless cherish the recollection of past power and dignity, and resent the forced obedience to foreign rulers, may make an effort to regain what they have lost, and that a quarrel between native chiefs, or a Chinese faction fight, might serve as a spark to light a widespread fire.

"The present theory of the native States government is that we advise, and do not assume the possibility of our advice not being taken; but no hard and fast rule can be given for such advice. The Administrator, just before my arrival, acting on instructions from England, declined to allow the Resident of Sunjei Ujong to give any advice in regard to the election of the Datoh Klana. In that case there were reasons for leaving the election free, but some guarded indications of the views of the Government might often be given with advantage, and cases might arise in which decided action would be absolutely necessary. On this occasion the question arose: If the Resident will not advise on the election of the ruler, on what ground does he advise on the levy of the taxes, or prevent us—the chiefs of Sunjei Ujong—from exacting imposts from the people? The only answer is, that in one case it was not thought advisable at headquarters to do so, and in the other it was.

"Our advice, as a matter of fact, in criminal cases, and financial questions, in the prevention of oppression of debtors and slaves, is often taken

[1] Now H.H. Sultan Idris of Perak, G.C.M.G.

merely because it is supposed that what we advise will have to be done, and it is recognised that we are powerful enough to enforce our decisions.

"Again, a very large and increasing Chinese population, containing a large proportion of the lowest classes, is an element of considerable danger in the country, and will require firm and careful handling. Looking hopefully, as I do, on the excellent work which is being accomplished in the Peninsula, and never doubting its success, still it is impossible to ignore the fact that we are, and have been, relying on something more than mere advice, and unless we are prepared to evacuate, the country must continue working on the same lines in the future. Three courses are open to us:—

"1. To prepare gradually for retiring from the native States.

"2. To annex them.

"3. Gradually to increase our influence, as occasions arise, over the States south of Siam, though not necessarily with a view of any immediate extension of the Residential system. And with regard to the protected States, to show no signs of relaxing our hold upon them, and to continue working through the native rulers by advice discreetly given but firmly administered.

"With regard to the first course: I concur with Sir William Robinson in thinking that did we abandon them now their plight would probably be worse than it was when we first interfered. I do not think anything would justify us in leaving them to anarchy, and our own interests as well as theirs forbid it. Nothing that we have done so far has taught them to govern themselves, we are merely teaching them to co-operate with us and govern under our guidance. To teach men to govern themselves you must throw them on their own resources. We are necessarily doing the very reverse. Moreover, I doubt if Asiatics can ever be taught to govern themselves; it is contrary to the genius of their race, to what we know of their past history, and to tendencies created by their religious systems. What suits them is a mild and equitable despotism; that *we* can give them, but in the present circumstances,

having regard to all the discordant elements existing in the Malay Peninsula, they would be unable to give *themselves*. Johore might be quoted against this view, but the position of that State is quite exceptional. Nine-tenths of the population of Johore are Chinese or European. Capital has been invested in the State because of its close proximity to Singapore, and also because the Maharajah is always advised by the Governor, and by his own European agents and lawyers. He himself has spent all his life amongst Europeans, has been on intimate terms with successive Governors, and been much influenced by them. But even in this case no one can count on what line might be taken by his successor. Good rulers may arise in all countries, but, judging from the past, good native government seems not to be a plant congenial to the soil, and every year native rulers are confronted with greater difficulties owing to the growth of a foreign, and especially a huge Chinese population. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that not only has European capital been encouraged to flow into the native States—owing to the order we have established there—but a large field has been opened to European and Chinese settlements for agricultural and other purposes; this capital is being invested in the confidence that we shall not retire from the 'protected' States. Both Malays and other races accept our rule in these States, and the majority, I doubt not, do so gratefully; and further, the British government is both by chiefs and people looked upon as the supreme arbiter in disputes in the purely native States, and thus accepted as guardian of the peace in the Peninsula.

"If this be conceded, the next point to be considered is the advisability of annexation: not, of course, a sudden one, but proximate, should circumstances lead up to it; also the framing of our policy so as to lead to that end.

"Setting aside any unforeseen and exceptional case, I am not prepared to advocate such policy. I think to continue as we are doing now is more to our advantage and that of the people we govern. Complications may arise, but I fail to see why they

may not be as effectually dealt with under the present system as any other; whilst the development of the resources of the States, and the influx of European capital, is not likely to be arrested as long as it is known that we have no intention of receding from our present position. Countries in the position of the Malay States require a somewhat elastic form of government; justice and firmness should be tempered by tact and discretion, and great care be given to the selection of Residents and even of subordinate agents. The native States are not, in my opinion, ready for a system which approaches more nearly the purely British one which prevails in our Colonies. The Residential one is more fitted for them, and should their rulers learn wisdom in time they have the opportunity of imitating the example of their Residents and working out their own good. It is more likely, however, that the contrast between their rulers and our representatives will lead to the spread of a desire among the people—which has already shown itself at Sri Menanti—to throw themselves on us for protection.

"It may not be irrelevant to add that the Bendahara of Pahang—a State which is situated on the east coast and marches with Selangor and Perak—has just intimated to me his desire to visit me at Singapore should it be my pleasure to receive him. I had a short time ago expressed to envoys sent to me by him my desire to maintain friendly relations with him, and I accordingly welcome this overture on his part. Though invited several times to Singapore by my predecessors, the Bendahara has never yet visited Government House since he obtained supreme power in Pahang. I heard (confidentially) during my recent tour in the native States that the Bendahara had a great wish to come to Singapore to seek my advice, and looking to the important position of Pahang with regard to the Western States,[1] improved relations between him and the British Government would lead to good results on both sides. I am inclined to think that he has been led to take this step by comparing the

[1] Pahang is situated on the east coast and marches with Johol, the Negri Zembilan, Selangor, and Perak.

increased prosperity of the neighbouring States with the stagnation which—in spite of great natural resources—he cannot fail to perceive in his own. Owing to its geographical position an alliance with the ruler of Pahang would do much to consolidate our position and influence in the Malay Peninsula."

The entries in Sir Frederick Weld's journal show that this projected visit was carried out within a fortnight of its announcement. He mentions it as follows :

" *October 20th.* The Bendahara of Pahang arrived this morning. I sent a message to him to say that the Maharajah was expecting him at Johore, also that I should be pleased to receive him here—leaving him free to make his choice. He settled to go first to Johore, as had been previously arranged. He came in the Maharajah's steam-yacht, accompanied by about three hundred followers in small crafts.

" *October 26th.* Maharajah of Johore called to-day. I had a long and satisfactory conversation with him. One of his remarks struck me. He said : ' If I saw a thing as clearly as the sun in the heavens, and you saw differently, I would yield (my opinion) to you. You are my Father, and I wish always to take advice from you.' Very oriental, but I think he meant it.

" *October 27th.* Much preparation made for the Bendahara's visit. Sent four-in-hand to Reservoir to meet him. He arrived with the Maharajah and a large retinue. His kris-bearer and another official followed him everywhere ; he also had a large train of attendants. He is a slight, elderly man with a pleasant expression of countenance and smile ; very shabbily dressed for a man of his power and riches, but I am told that is not unusual amongst the great Malay chiefs. We had an official dinner, followed by an ' at home ' and music, at which Carlotta Patti sang."

The Bendahara, after spending a day or two at Government House, followed up these friendly proceedings by electing to take up his residence in the

city of Singapore. While the house was being prepared for his reception, he returned to Johore.

A week later we read in Sir Frederick's journal:

"*November 1st.* Bendahara of Pahang landed in state from the *Pluto*, which I had sent to Johore to convey him here. He received a salute of fifteen guns; and as it was a wet evening I sent a carriage to meet him. On his arrival at Government House he was met at the entrance by a guard of honour in red coats, with a band playing, and by me—in full uniform—on the staircase. He was dressed in black velvet coat and cap, with a sarong, and splendid diamond rings. He brought his little boy (aged about five years I should say) who behaved admirably, salaaming and squatting down in front of us as we sat on a sofa in the big saloon. The Maharajah's brother was also there. After exchanging compliments, I took him back to the entrance hall, and he proceeded, in my carriage, to the house which has been prepared for him and his very numerous followers."

Three days later the following entry occurs in Weld's journal:

"*November 4th.* Drove the Bendahara in four-in-hand to the Reservoir. He told me he should like to visit Singapore every two or three years. Also that he thought he could, by acting on my advice, do much to improve the state of his country—to which I replied that though I obtruded my advice on no one I was glad to give it when asked."

The Rajah Mahdi, of whom we last heard as being in a moribund condition, and taken to his native land to die, apparently on reaching it made a rapid recovery and returned to his previous tricks—as we find mentioned in the diary.

"*November 5th.* Rajah Mahdi was to have come here to-day, but did not do so, as he had been told that I had heard of his intrigues in Selangor. He

has behaved very badly, and will have to be kept in Singapore in future.

"*November 6th.* Rajah Mahdi came this morning. He denied that he had been agitating at Klang, or elsewhere; though his version of the story was plausible, there is strong evidence against him. I do not believe, however, that it was more than an attempt to lead me to recognise him as Rajah of Klang, by proving the support he would receive from the people there. But this in itself would create trouble and might lead to much more. I cannot let him return to Klang, as it would be at the risk of unsettling everything.

"*November 12th.* The Bendahara called, and asked to see all the children. He made Mena and them presents; to Mena he gave a necklace and bangles, and to the rest (including Gordon [1] and de Lisle [2]) packets of gold dust. Of course the presents go to the Treasury, but I shall buy back the necklace as a souvenir. The gold was afterwards valued at £120."

Though Sir Frederick Weld had more than once visited the Maharajah of Johore (Johore being only separated by narrow straits from the island of Singapore) the latter had excused himself from asking Lady Weld till the palace—which was in course of erection on the Welds' arrival at Singapore—was ready for the reception of guests. We find an account in the diary of their first official visit, which may be of interest to those who are curious in country-house visiting, and would like to know how these things are managed in the East.

"*November 15th.* We started this morning in two parties for our visit to Johore; Mena and Edwin de Lisle and all the children left in the Maharajah's steam-yacht *Panti* at 8.30. We started an hour later and got on board H.M.S. *Curaçoa* at 9.30. They went round by the West passage and arrived

[1] A.D.C.

[2] Private Secretary; afterwards M.P. for Loughborough.

some time before we did. The *Curaçoa* on arriving saluted the Malay flag. I landed at 4.30 with the Datoh Bandar and the Maharajah's brother, who came off to meet me. Captains Grey and McCallum,[1] extra A.D.C.'s, and Lieut. Cosmo Gordon and a number of officers accompanied me, all in full uniform. An address in Malay was presented to me on landing, the quays being decorated with flags and a triumphal arch. A flag-pole fell on my head as I was replying, but did no harm as my cocked hat broke the fall. Drove through the town to the foot of the hill where the Maharajah and Bendahara met me, and led me up some steps till we reached the entrance of the palace, where I received more addresses from Planters and the Chinese colony. The palace is a large and fine one ; we have a whole wing to ourselves. A number of guests here, including the Sidgreaves, Shelfords, etc. We sat down forty-five at dinner.

"*November 16th.* Ladies went out driving. We had a shooting expedition, and de Lisle bagged a deer ; it was not found till following day, no one else got a shot. We went in the afternoon to look at the Maharajah's tea and coffee plantation, which appears very promising. A large dinner-party.

"*November 17th.* Boys went out fishing. Most of the party went to Mr. Watson's bungalow for tea. Full dress official dinner—about seventy people. Maharajah made a speech to which I responded. It was followed by theatricals, the trial scene in *The Merchant of Venice* and a farce called *The Rough Diamond.*

"*November 18th.* I was up early and crossed over to Singapore with Mr. C. Clementi Smith and Captain McCallum. Meeting of the Legislative Council ; passed the Estimates, and then returned to Johore—reaching the palace at 6 p.m. Dinner at 7.30, at which sixty people were present ; it was followed by a concert and a ball.

"*November 19th.* Very tired, but had to get up to see naval brigade paraded ashore, and making sham attack on Istana. Rinking the rest of the morning. The children went out fishing. In the afternoon we went up the river with the Maharajah

[1] Afterwards Sir Henry McCallum, G.C.M.G., Governor of Ceylon.

in a steam-launch. Dinner party as usual, succeeded by conjuring tricks. The evening concluded with a ball which lasted till a very late hour.

"*November 20th.* Mena and the children left this morning in the *Pluto* amidst much cheering and waving of handkerchiefs. The Maharajah went to see them off and on board. I stayed till after dinner, for the regatta, and left at about 11 p.m. by torchlight—the bearers (wearing yellow and red) lit up the grounds, and there were Chinese fireworks ; a very fine scenic effect. We got home at 1.30 after a very enjoyable but fatiguing week."

This somewhat exhausting holiday over, Weld set himself to work to tackle a job which had confronted all his predecessors in turn, but which so far had never been successfully dealt with. This was to reduce to order the chaos which prevailed in the land courts owing to the diversity of land tenure in the Straits Settlements. Writing privately to the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir Frederick says : "Everybody told me on my arrival here, If you can only put the land affairs in order you will be the greatest benefactor the colony has ever had." To this difficult and intricate task Weld brought a great power of work, and the very useful qualifications of a considerable knowledge of the working of Land Acts in three different colonies.

A few points gathered from a "Paper to be laid before the Legislative Council" by the Governor may be of interest to the general reader, though it does not pretend to be exhaustive :

"The question divides itself into two branches—the administrative and the legislative. I will take the former first, because bad administration, or rather the want of it, is at the source of a state of affairs which I think is without a parallel in our Colonies. We have, as I shall hereafter show, fairly workable laws based on defined principles,

but what we have wanted is a Land Department strong enough to work them. . . . I will commence by taking Penang and Province Wellesley. The arrears due in those settlements for rent amounted to over one hundred and thirty-eight million dollars. Many lands held by leases or permits have been sold in fee-simple by Government, others have been abandoned, and are now undistinguishable from the surrounding jungle, others again have been surrendered. No account has been kept of such transactions, so that it is impossible to ascertain from any record what proportion of that sum is recoverable, or indeed due, and not a mere debt on paper. Over sixty-eight millions of dollars are due on permits alone for unsurveyed land, and I am told by Mr. Penney that it is impossible to identify most of the lots. . . . In Malacca the energy of Major Squirl has mended matters, as he was a man physically able, and willing, to use personal exertion in visiting allotments and settling claims on the spot; still, much remains to be done. There are in Malacca about 10,000 acres of revenue survey still awaiting completion; 14,227 allotments already surveyed, containing nearly 37,500 acres of which no leases have been issued owing to the want of draughtsmen to plot the surveys. Books have long been allowed to fall into confusion owing to the staff being so much below strength, and great loss to revenue, besides much confusion, have resulted. On Singapore island, owing to the presence of the head of the Department, matters have been somewhat better, but here also the staff has been unable to keep pace with the work; lands lie waste and abandoned, and public interests have suffered. . . . The effects of the starvation of the Department are summed up in the words of Mr. Swettenham thus: 'No one who has not been some time at work in one of the three land offices can have any conception of the terrible confusion into which matters have got; I believe it is so bad that no legislation can put matters to rights except by making an entirely new start.' He then instances the unreliability of the rent-rolls, of the want of landmarks, of discrepancies between the areas occupied and those named in leases, of sub-

divisions unknown to the land offices, of confusion of titles, and great losses consequently to the Government. In Penang the land question was at first almost entirely neglected, and devoid of system. In Malacca it appears to have been dealt with in a less arbitrary way, owing to its being a populous country with land customs and prescriptive rights under ancient royal families. The Malay customs, which appear to have been recognised as the basis of our own procedure, admitted the right of the cultivator to occupy the soil permanently as long as he paid Government a tenth of its produce and continued to cultivate it. Tenant-right, in fact, exists there in its fullest form.

"After the Portuguese and Dutch conquests much land was allowed to lie waste, owing to the decrease of the population, which led to certain seignoral rights being given to individuals by the Dutch Government. These, when the country first fell into our hands, were looked upon by the East Indian Government as being of greater value than they really were, and have since been compromised for annuities.

"The first attempt to deal effectively with the land question was in 1839, when Mr. Young was sent as special commissioner from India to study and report upon it. An Act was then passed which would have given the country all that it required, if men and money had been given to work it, though it does not perhaps carry the system of registration far enough. In 1861 an Indian Act vested the Malacca lands in the Crown in fee-simple, saving the rights of cultivators or occupants 'as long as they pay one-tenth of its produce in rent.' Provisions were also made for commutation of title, for issue of perpetual leases, for survey, and examination of titles and other necessary matters. The Land Office was too weak to carry out the Act, so nothing was done. In 1876 an Act was passed against unauthorised squatting, and to carry out the objects of the Act of 1861 and facilitate its working. This Act remained inoperative from the same cause. . . . I now come to remedial measures. The first and most obvious is to increase the surveying staff and to

push forward surveys. The immediate completion of the revenue service is essential, and would be self-paying at once ; but before a revenue survey can be made the areas must be fixed. In India the Collectors of Revenue are high officials who decide matters on the spot—which is the only way they can be decided. Also, they must be done by officials whose position places them above suspicion, and whose physical powers enable them to travel and to walk in jungles, and in the mud and water of the padi fields ; but it is not always that such men (to whom these offices are given as rewards for long services) are capable of such exertions in a tropical climate, or—if they are—remain so long. Thus we are met with a great practical difficulty, as, owing to the puacity of European officers not on leave, many Departments are being extra worked at an expenditure of energy which must in the course of nature lead to further applications for leave. . . . A good knowledge of Malay is of great importance in a Land Commissioner, as interpreters might easily be bribed into giving a colour to one side or other ; it is even more important that he should be a man of high character, possessed of good sense, a judicial mind, and physical endurance in jungle-work.

" I now come to the second part of my subject : the changes in laws and regulations that are required.

" There can be little doubt, if we take Malay customs, the acceptance of those customs by our Government in a long series of years, Eastern modes of thought, and the peculiarities of the country into consideration, that we must assume as a starting-point that the Crown remains—in ordinary cases at least—the landlord, whilst the tenants as long as they pay rent and cultivate the ground are to have fixity of tenure.

" The question then arises, what length of lease should be given ? on what terms should renewals be granted ? Should leaseholds be put up to auction, or sold by fixed premium ? And are periodical assessments advisable ? Ultimately the question resolves itself into this : Is it the Government's object to make the most it can out of its land, or to get the land settled and worked in the best possible way, avoiding many difficulties, and trusting to find

a sufficient—if not a larger—revenue accruing from the progress of the country, and fixed and moderate land payments?

"I incline to the latter course, and think that the more legitimate function of a government is fulfilled by it. The Government is not a dealer seeking to make a fortune by getting the highest prices for his wares; it seeks to raise sufficient revenue for certain requirements only, and to raise that revenue in the manner least vexatious to the people, and least likely to raise friction between itself and the races it governs.

"I consequently propose to grant leases of 999 years under strict conditions as to payment of quit-rent and beneficial occupation of the land,—non-fulfilment of these conditions to entail forfeiture. A scale of premiums to be fixed for ten years for town, village, and country lands by districts. Town lands to be put up to auction, the fixed premium being the upset price. The scale of premiums may from time to time be revised by a board to be appointed by the Governor, and a new rate may be fixed by him in Executive Council. This revision of the scale will only affect land yet unsold, or falling into hand, and will be a reasonable advantage to give to the revenue if the progress of the colony warrants it. Very different would be the effect of periodical assessment of land as advocated by the Attorney-General in an able report which I append, and with which I concur on all points excepting this one. I think a sense of security is much weakened where there is a prospect of reassessment. Not only would a man abstain from permanent improvements, but many would take successive crops of an exhausting character out of the soil when awaiting the assessor; also a number of assessors must be paid by Government who would certainly be offered bribes by the lease-holders, of which much corruption would result and small gain to the land revenue.

"My reasons for preferring a fixed price to auction in disposing of country lands are as follows: Auction gives an undue advantage to the capitalist and speculator or the peasant cultivator, and Government in many cases does not get the real value because the poorer man will not bid against a known

capitalist. Moreover, a man is deterred from applying for Government land because of the fear of delays and being outbidden, and so gives a higher price to a speculator with whom he at least runs no risk. Another objection is that when there are few competitors private bargains are made to the detriment of the Government. The land being sold, registration should follow and be the title. A complete system of compulsory registration on the Torrens principle seems to me the most obvious remedy of all our difficulties. As titles are presented for registration, back rents and dues would be recovered, simplification, easy transfers and mortgage would be an equal boon to the tenant and to Government, which, once their system was established, would work on oiled wheels.

"To establish this principle it would be necessary to have a Land Titles Registration Commissioners, who should have a complete knowledge of the working of the Torrens Act. . . . Little difficulty will be found in fixing the premium for town or village lands yet in the hands of Government, but a very serious question has arisen in respect to be taken regarding town lands which have been leased, and some of which are now of great value, and will ere long fall into the hands of Government. In regard to this question, I consider that while Government is entitled to a substantial premium and increase of quit-rent on giving a 999 years' lease, it should deal liberally with men who are representatives of those who have made the colony, or who may themselves have helped to make it. I propose—subject to modifications—that a Commission be appointed to divide the towns into districts, to take the municipal roll as their basis, and to assess the letable value of the holdings upon them."

After discussing some other points in connection with the assessment, Sir Frederick Weld draws attention to Major McNair's report in which the Surveyor-General anticipates with the assistance of staff (surveyor and draughtsmen), which the Government of Ceylon had put at their disposal, that he will be able to bring up

arrears of surveys, and place the revenue surveys of this colony on a satisfactory footing at a cost (as set forth in his Memo.) of $23,264 for the first year, $21,764 for the second year, and $10,932 for the third. The Governor concludes with some suggestions with regard to the staff which would be required to carry out the proposed changes in the working of the Land Departments.

Lord Kimberley, acknowledging the dispatch on on the 20th of January 1882, remarks that the arguments for and against a permanent settlement of the lands held for the State "are set forth in it with great ability." He enters into a detailed commentary upon all the points set down in the document, and dwells especially on the question of reassessment, comparing the Governor's views and recommendations with the practice in India, in the following words :—

"Rents are reassessed in the greater part of British India at intervals of thirty years. This appears to me a sufficient term, coinciding as it very nearly does with a generation, but I shall not object to its extension within narrow limits if, in your opinion, the particular circumstances of the Straits Settlements make a somewhat longer term desirable. In fixing the new assessment no account should be taken of the improvements affected by the occupier : the increase, if any, must be made dependent upon the rise in the value of land, which is due to the making of roads and consequent accessibility of markets and to the general development of an industrial community or to other causes." He concludes as follows : "In thus explaining to you the views I entertain on the subject of the Government lands in the Straits Settlements, I would add it is in my opinion of paramount importance that the regulations that may be laid down should be, as far as possible, in harmony with the practice, habits, and ideas of the inhabitants, and I desire that you will report to me at your early convenience any facts that have a bearing on this aspect of the subject."

A glance over the Governor's correspondence at this time shows that his remarks on the short-sightedness of over-working officials were not misplaced. He writes as follows to Mr. Meade[1]: "X. has applied for leave. I am told his head is affected. Mr. Edward Irving must go instantly—he is in a dangerous state of health. I shall give him short leave before his resignation, and Mr. Knight, his second in command, can keep things going in the Audit Office till the reply comes to my present dispatch. . . . The extension of leave to Mr. Kinnersley is unfortunate, as Mr. Isemonger's case is urgent; we really are killing off our men too fast." A letter to Mr. Hugh Low, written a month later (27th April), shows that the health of that hard-working (and hard-worked) official was suffering from the usual cause: "I must write to beg, entreat, or use whatever pressure is required to prevent your going to Kinta before you have perfectly recovered. The royal family have quarrelled for years, they may be requested to proclaim a truce till you are well again. If they decline they will only remain in their normal state for a little longer, and I will take all the blame—but I will *not* take the blame of letting you injure your health."

One of the difficulties under which the pioneer settlers in the Malay States struggled was scarcity of labour. The Malays may be said to be the aristocrats of our Eastern colonies. They have a civilisation of their own;[2] their manners would have been no disgrace to them in any circle, however distinguished,

[1] Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies.

[2] The Malays have undoubted claims to be numbered among civilised races. They live in houses showing a considerable amount of taste. They are a settled and agricultural people; they are skilful in some of the arts, especially in gold- and metal-working. The upper classes are educated, and their laws and systems of government show a knowledge of the principles of equity such as prevail in civilised communities.

and their dislike of manual labour was probably as great as that of any member of such circles. The rich soil yielded its fruit to them with hardly an effort, and their requirements were few; it need not cause surprise, therefore, that, living in a very enervating climate, they enjoyed their idle life and refused to be moved from it. The "hewers of wood and drawers of water" of the Peninsula were almost exclusively Chinese. Finding the Malay States a profitable field for their energies the Chinese had practically captured its trade and labour market, especially in the mining districts. The Chinese population [1] at the time of Weld's appointment outnumbered the Malayan at the rate of four to one, and the stream of immigration was still setting steadily towards the States; but in spite of this influx, labour in the country districts was scarce and dear. To supplement the coolie element, which for this and other reasons was deemed advisable, the Governor turned his attention to the teeming population of the provinces of Bengal, and tried to attract them to the Malay States. In a private letter to Lord Kimberley (28th April) he writes:

"Pray allow me to beg of you to consider very carefully my dispatch of this mail upon Indian immigration to native States. I can assure your Lordship that with the large powers the Executive has in the native States it will be more easy for me to guarantee that the coolies from India will be well treated there than it could be even in our own settlements. The question is of very great importance, no less than opening out a most magnificent field of industry and commerce, securing a future revenue to the States, and a comfortable home to thousands of poor people in a country which exactly suits their tastes

[1] In the returns of the census for the island of Singapore in 1881 the population is given as 139,208, the Chinese numbered 86,766 and the Malay 22,114, the remainder being made up of European and other nationalities.

and requirements—a people, too, who are exposed to misery and starvation in the homes they are seeking to leave."

Early in this same spring Weld joined Mr. Low at Perak and made a shooting expedition with him to the confines of the Siamese territory. His journal contains the following account of it :

"*February 4th.* (Residency). Started up the river in a fleet of boats—Low and I in the *Dragon,* Regent Jusup in another boat. Elephants and guards of honour went by jungle track. Stopped at mid-day to sketch the tomb of the ancestor of the Perak royal family, who is said to have sprung from the foam of the mouth of a cow. Arrived that night at Chigar Gala ; Rajah Muda went to track a wild rogue elephant. The head-man Seyed showed me his pedigree, with his descent (35th) from Mahomet.

"*5th.* Tracked elephant without success. Edwin de Lisle killed some beautiful pigeons on an island at the mouth of the Plus.

"*6th.* Started early and paddled up the Perak River till we came to the junction with the Plus. The river is about a hundred yards wide here, though at a distance of 140 miles from the sea. We continued our journey up the Plus River, the way lying through rich jungle with some cultivated land here and there. We passed some not very formidable rapids, the crew working well and cheerfully. Reached Lasak at sunset.

"*7th.* Low and I went about eleven miles up Plus River, passing the junction of the Korbu. We were now in the Sakei country. Great number of tracks of wild animals visible on the banks. The jungle is very beautiful here with coloured foliage plants, and much rich land. Returned to Lasak, and went about three miles up the river bank on elephants to some sulphur springs called Sira Char, and watched all night in a hut built in a tree over a pool for Rajah Muda, but no big game came.

"*8th.* We saw a lot of fish rising in the pool at sunrise, probably carp or roach. When we got back to Lasak we saw the tracks of a wild elephant which

had crossed in the night. Low and I went afterwards to the salt-licks and waited in a boat all night at a ford where big game were supposed to cross. I slept in the dark hours just before sunrise, and got a chill which brought on an attack of gout. We saw nothing.

" *9th.* Gout in left foot from sleeping barefoot in heavy dew. Saw a number of Sakei at Kuala Kerbau who were on their way to see me. Got one to make some throws with his casting net, but he caught nothing. We were told that a tiger and rhinoceros had been walking about at night—tracks of the latter were visible on a small island in the river, but neither were to be found. Low and I went on elephants to Bangdang, the Siam salt-springs. Gordon and de Lisle had got there the night before. The noises of wild animals and birds at night are most curious and interesting. At sunrise the monkeys made sounds like a pack of hounds in full cry.

" 10*th.* Before starting down the river I distributed presents amongst about sixty Sakeis who had come to see me. They are the aboriginal tribe of the Peninsula, and live in the mountains. They do not resemble the Malays at all ; the latter are supposed to have come from Sumatra and to have conquered the country in the eleventh or twelfth century. The Sakeis are small—about 4 feet 4 or 6 inches high, and active, and have light-coloured complexions, with low foreheads, and curly hair, and pleasant expressions. They seem cheerful and good-tempered. They said since we came the Malays no longer steal their children and carry their wives off to captivity. Managed to get back to the Residency, though with considerable difficulty, owing to gout and a great thunder-storm.

" 11*th.* Started late in the afternoon for Matang. Met young Wrey at the top of the pass, who asked about Indian immigration. I told him I had been doing my utmost to encourage it, and would continue to do so. Mr. Low and the others walked over pass. Changed horse on the other side ; a jolt threw Low right out of the ghari, and the pony started off at a gallop—the reins hanging on the ground. I leant over the pony and got one rein

with one hand, then fished the other up with a stick, and managed to pull up the pony. No one hurt, luckily. We were given a fresh pony at the next change, which first refused to start, and then bolted off at full gallop. Reached Malang all right after dark—supported into the s.s. *Kinta*, and dined on board, Major Swinburne and Mr. Wynn (collector) joining us.

"*12th.* Steamed along the Trong inlet, passed Chinese settlement amidst endless mangroves. Some lovely views of distant mountains. This network of creeks and mangrove swamps was once a nest of pirates and bad characters; it is now as safe as any part of the country. Passed Pasir Itam. Took bearings over the westernmost point of Bruas River, which bounds our territory, to find inland boundary, which from information received to-day from the Penghulu of Pangkor I believe to be established beyond dispute. Steamed to Pulau Pangkor, where we were met by Mr. Douglas and the Penghulu and anchored for the night."

Sir Frederick's attack of gout having become considerably worse, he was forced to give up the rest of his expedition and return to Singapore, where he was laid up for over a month. Six weeks after his return from Perak he started for Sungei Ujong, where his presence was required to settle disputes between the native chiefs of that district. The day after his arrival at Malacca he writes:

"*March 27th.* Steamed up Linggi River to Permatang Passir. Lunched at Mr. Lister's [1] plantation and went on to Residency (Captain Murray). The Datoh Klana and Datoh Bandor came to see me in the afternoon, and later on the Capitân China.

"*28th.* Started at 9.30 for Bukit Putus Pass to meet the chiefs. Captain Murray drove me a mile or two; I was then carried in a chair by Chinamen past the scene of the repulse of the 10th Regiment. At the foot of the Pass I got on to one of Murray's horses and rode about three miles. A police station

[1] Mr. Lister did not join the Public Service till 1884.

on the summit of the Pass, and stockade which was stormed by Captain Channer—who won the V.C. at this action. I was received here by the Yam Tuan,[1] Ungku Bongsu, the Datoh Moui, and other chiefs, and about six hundred people, all armed with the kris, and a guard of honour numbering one hundred and twenty men. I had a long, and I think satisfactory, talk with the chiefs. I spoke my mind very plainly to the Yam Tuan—told him that the advice of the British Government was that he should govern his people in accordance with the old Malay customs as long as those customs were good and just. I advised him to reinstate Ungku Bongsu, and went into the question of the quarrel between the chiefs, and (as far as I could see) convinced him I was speaking for his good. I then caused two buffaloes to be distributed among the crowd of followers. Old Ungku Bongsu came to me afterwards and actually wept over his treatment by the Yam Tuan, and expressed his gratitude and affection for Captain Douglas and me.

"*April 1st.* I had a long talk with some Waris[2] and others about 'Waris' rights,' with regard to taking grants of land and taxes, and reminded them that formerly any Rajah could do what he liked with the people. What would their rights have been worth under the rule of Mahmoud or Mahdi? Now that the British Government protected them, and saw that justice was done to high and low, they should be willing to pay something towards its maintenance. Still I did not insist on their taking grants of land, but told them if they did not choose to do so they must not expect the same security as others enjoyed who had taken them.

"*2nd.* Started early from Residency, and spent an hour with Lister at his plantation. After leaving him visited large tapioca farm belonging to Sie Bong Tiong. Out of 5000 acres he has got about 2500 in cultivation; he is said to have spent £15,000 on it and to have got the principal back in five or six years. There is a manufactory here on a large

[1] Paramount Chief.

[2] Literally "heirs"; the title given in the Negri Sembilan to the representatives of certain leading clans.

scale; after lunch they paraded about four hundred coolies, who as I left formed in a double line and 'presented' chunkals (hoes). I stopped again at another plantation, belonging to Tang Tek Cham, of 2000 acres. Got back that night to steam-launch at Permatang Passir.

"*3rd.* Rajah Daud of Sungei Ujong came off. News had reached me that the officials who farm the revenue had been guilty of a good deal of 'squeezing' of late; this I have put a stop to. Things have been going wrong for some time in the newly 'protected' territory, and I think my visit here will be of considerable benefit to the poor people. Later on in the day the Datoh Bandar of Sungei Ujong and the Datoh Muda of Linggi with one or two other chiefs came on board, followed by the Datoh Perba of Rembau, and some boat-loads of retinue. We had a long conference, and after thoroughly sifting the case I decided the boundary question between the two States. The case seemed clear enough, and I was satisfied myself with the decision, and both parties accepted it without observation."

The following day Sir Frederick returned to Singapore. A few days later (19th April) we find an entry in his diary to the effect that he "heard with deepest regret the news by telegram of Lord Beaconsfield's death, the greatest statesman of our day."

The Straits Settlements during this summer seem to have been the meeting-place of many royalties and semi-royalties, all of whom were received with much hospitality by the Governor and Lady Weld at Government House. The first to arrive was H.R.H. the Duke of Genoa, brother to the Queen of Italy, who called, spent some hours there, visited the "lions" of the town and continued his voyage the following day.

On the 9th of May, King David Kalakana of the Sandwich Islands arrived from Bangkok and spent two or three days at Singapore. A dinner and

reception was given in his honour, after which he departed on a visit to the Maharajah of Johore. A visit also is mentioned from the Regent of Siam—the Siamese royal family being on terms of much friendliness with the representative of Great Britain at this time.

In June the Welds moved in force to the Hill Bungalow in Penang, and remained there three months. These months were for all the family the holiday of the year, and consequently deeply enjoyed by them. Though Sir Frederick's letters and official work followed him there, he still found time for much congenial occupation ; chief amongst these was sketching. Gardening also was the source of the greatest enjoyment to him, and reading. Here he found time to interest himself in his daughters' education ; the two eldest had inherited his taste for drawing, and accordingly we find frequent mention in his journal of sketching expeditions, and of the lessons he was giving them in that gentle art.

On 29th October, Sir Frederick started on a journey up country, east of Malacca. He writes about it as follows :

"*October 24th.* Malacca. Set off at 7 a.m. with McCallum in gharies to see some boundaries in dispute inland. Arrived at Pular Sebang, and interviewed the Penghulu. Great loss of cattle by disease in this district. No ploughing-bullocks available for padi land, and much lying uncultivated in consequence.

"*25th.* Rode on by Dusun Kasar to Kuala Sungor. A nice old Penghulu met me with spearman, carrying his 'spear of office.' He wishes to retire but could not suggest a successor. No loss of buffaloes in this secluded spot, where they have hardly any communication with the outer world. This (Ulu [1]) is a beautiful country, fine, grassy glades, and sago palms ; it is hilly, but with some

[1] Interior.

cultivated (padi) fields. Rode on to police station at Nyalas; arrived there very hot and tired, stopped to eat, then continued our journey to Chabau at the foot of Mount Ophir. Here we found Mr. Skinner and Dudley Harvey,[1] with huts and food prepared for our arrival.

"*26th.* Some delay in starting owing to trouble with coolies as to distribution of loads. Got off at 8 a.m. on foot, first crossing padi fields, then a path through a wood, then cultivation and a few houses, where we met one of our surveyors. We stopped at a cottage about five or six miles from Chabau, where we had water poured on our heads and backs—the heat of the sun now being intense, the hills which we were nearing shutting out all the air. Saw ruined cottages, and orchards which had been abandoned and destroyed by the Maharajah's people during the Muar disturbances. We now got to a river, with fine timber on its banks, at the foot of Mount Ophir. We bathed and rested, and at about 2.30 started up the mountain, reaching a hut which had been prepared for us at Batu Padang (two-thirds of the way up) at sunset, drenched to the skin.

"*27th.* We made an early start. McCallum and I reached Gunong Tundok, a lower but twin peak to the west of Sîdang (Ophir), in about forty minutes (height 3550 feet). We had a good view of Ophir from here; then came a dip of 150 feet, and an ascent of 650,—very steep, but not difficult, as there were plenty of tough bushes to pull oneself up by, and reached the summit, which we made out by one aneroid to be 4050 feet, and by another 3960 feet above the sea. About a hundred feet from the top of the mountain is a huge overhanging mass of rocks, under which travellers sometimes camp, and where we found a spring. We spent some time there and made tea. The view from the top of the mountain is very fine—forests spreading in all directions,—towards Malacca we could see some open land. The sea and the islands, and even the old cathedral, were distinctly visible. I noticed some pitcher-plants, Melaleucas and Dachrydiums on our way up. We were told we were in luck to have had

[1] Resident Councillor of Malacca.

such a fine view, as, owing to the moisture of the climate, the summit is generally wreathed in mist. McCallum and I made a rapid descent, halted for a bathe at Lobok Kedongdong, and reached Chabau about 3.30."

The year 1882 opened with a visit from two Siamese princes, one a half-brother of the King and the other a brother of the Queen of Siam, who were bearers of letters and presents for Queen Victoria. The visit of the royal envoys was so timed as to coincide with that of Prince Edward (the Duke of Clarence) and Prince George of Wales, who were making the " grand tour " in a squadron under the command of Admiral Lord Clanwilliam and who arrived a few days later. Sir Frederick's diary records it as follows:

" Captain Tunnard went off to the Siamese yacht to arrange about landing of the princes. They are bearers of autograph letters to Lord Clanwilliam, as Commander of the detached squadron to the Duke of Clarence and Prince George—to whom the Queen of Siam is presenting gold caskets of Siamese workmanship. In the afternoon the princes landed; they received a royal salute and a guard of honour of a hundred men (Buffs). I sent down three carriages to bring them and their suite up to Government House, and received them at the foot of the staircase in full uniform. H.R.H. presented me with an autograph letter from the King of Siam, and then civil speeches and compliments followed. Their uniforms were of some kind of gold brocade—very handsome.

" In the evening at 5 p.m. I went on board the Siamese yacht *Vesatri* to return their call—wore by arrangement only frock coat, so that I might drive Prince Devawongsa in my four-in-hand. Salute was fired when we landed, and I drove the two princes to the Botanical Gardens, etc., getting them back to the yacht at dusk. The King's brother talks English admirably, and is very intelligent and agreeable. He is much pleased with Singapore, and

anxious to examine all our institutions. I have placed Mr. Talbot at his service to act as cicerone. He told me he admired our success in governing the natives."

The following day Lord Clanwilliam arrived by the Messageries,[1] and called at Government House to arrange about the reception of the Duke of Clarence and Prince George, who were to arrive two days later. Sir Frederick describes the visit in a letter to his brother in these terms :

" We had the flag-staff ' dressed ' for the Duke of Clarence's birthday on the 8th, when the ships were due, but they did not arrive till the next evening, about 4 p.m., as I was starting for the first day's races. It is not etiquette for the Governor to make the first call, so I sent my A.D.C. and the Colonial Secretary with letters to Lord Charles Scott, Captain of the *Bacchante*, and Captain Durrant of the *Cleopatra*, and the Reverend J. Dalton, the Princes' governor, welcoming them, and giving them a sketch of my proposed arrangements, with copy of address to various nationalities, and so forth. No one came ashore that night. The next morning (10th) Lord Charles Scott, Captain Durrant and Mr. Dalton came and took up their quarters here, and I arranged everything with the latter, who is a first-rate fellow. He agreed to the Princes receiving an address on landing on condition there should be no salute nor guard of honour. At 4 p.m. I drove down to the jetty ; the town and bridge were beautifully decorated, arches and flags and awnings of every colour under the sun. As I arrived, with my two extra A.D.C.'s, a man-of-war's boat pulled up with the two Princes in plain midshipman's uniform and Mr. Dalton. He introduced and delivered them over to me, and I conducted them to a raised dais, and introduced the deputation. The address was duly read, and Prince Edward read the reply ; he was shy but dignified, and did it very well. The immense crowd of every nationality (and dress), the

[1] Lord Clanwilliam had been obliged on account of his health to give up command of the Squadron, and was on his way home on sick leave.

decorations, and strange boats and shipping on the river seemed to please them very much. Prince George particularly was highly amused. This was their first visit to the East, so that they had never seen anything of the sort before. They were soon quite at their ease with me, and long before we reached Government House they talked as if they had known me for years. Mena, with Chrissy and Cecily and the private secretary, were waiting to receive them on our arrival, and we took them into the drawing-room, where they amused themselves looking through a big telescope and talking to Sir Harry Parkes and his daughters. Sir Harry is, as you know, our Japanese ambassador, and a very nice fellow. Soon afterwards the King of Siam's brother arrived with another Siamese prince attended by a magnificent suite. The ladies then had to take up a less advanced position, and Prince George having been dragged away with difficulty from the telescope, I ushered up the Siamese royalties and presented them to the Princes, and a great exchange of civil speeches and presentation of gifts followed. After that some Malay grandees came to pay their respects, with an interpreter, and there was again an exchange of pretty speeches. When the levee was over the royal middies rushed off to change their uniforms for plain clothes and play lawn-tennis. Before it was time to dress for dinner they had been all over the place, playing with the tame pets (a delightful monkey and a puppy who romp together all day), and in fact seemed perfectly at home. We had a big dinner that evening of about forty-five people. I took our two Princes, and Mena followed with the King of Siam's brother. All went off very well; Prince George got a little bored before the end, but he managed to smuggle a plate full of crackers on to his lap, and after that he was quite happy pulling them with Cecily, who sat next to him. In the evening we drove round to the principal Chinese streets, a procession of five or six carriages. The two Princes went with me in the first carriage, and we drove slowly so that the people could all see them. The streets were canopied over with coloured stuffs and hanging lanterns, and all the sides of the houses

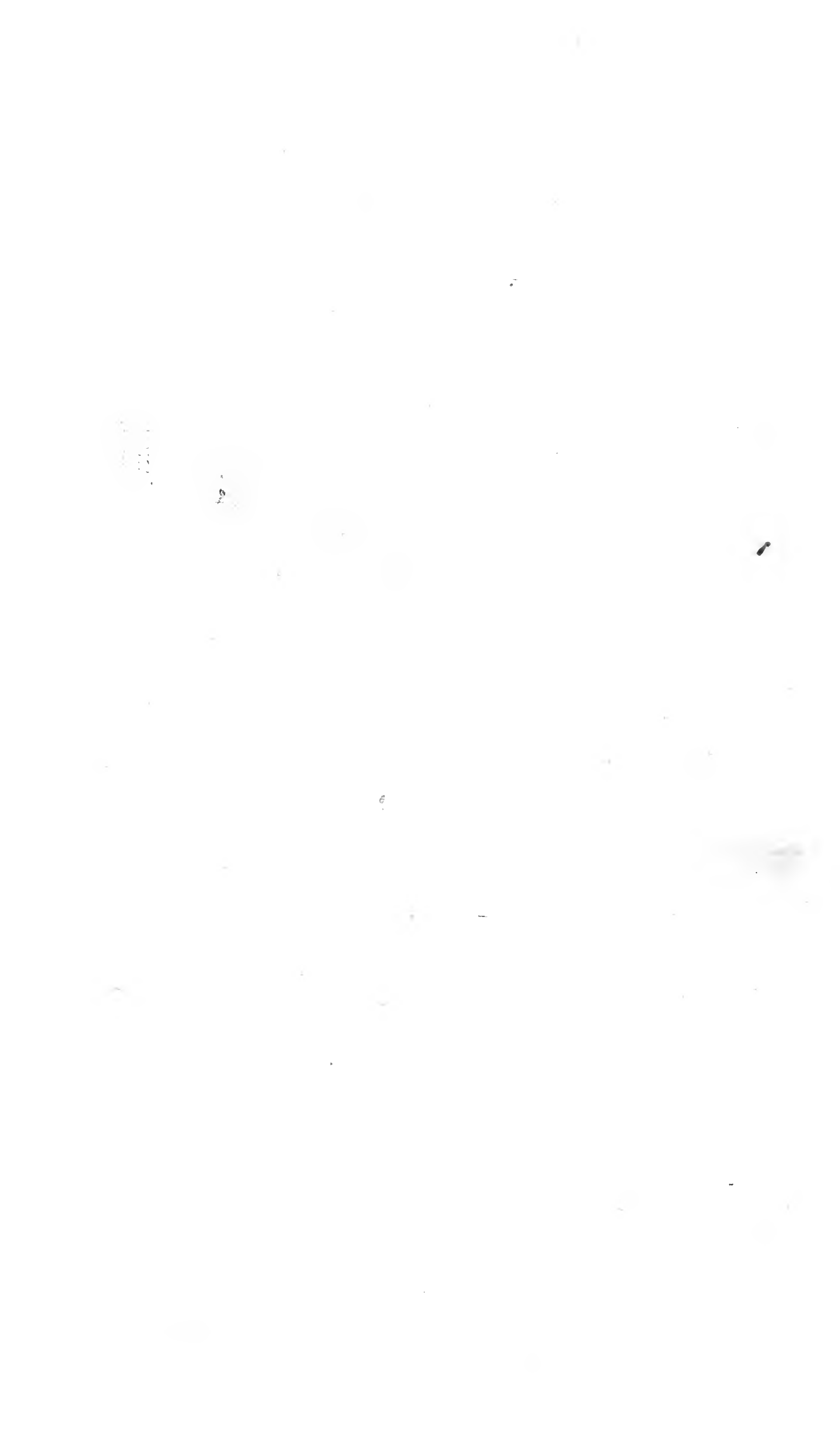
GROUP AT GOVERNMENT HOUSE, SINGAPORE. 14TH JANUARY 1882.

Top Row—Capt. Lord C. Scott, R.N.; W. E. Maxwell, Esq.; Capt. H. S. Tunnard, A.D.C.; Sir F. Weld; H.R.H. Prince Edward of Wales; H.H. the Maharajah of Johore; H.R.H. Prince George of Wales; Geo. Brown, Esq.

Second Row (seated)—Col. H. Parnell, C.B.; Minnie Weld; Miss Weld; Lady Weld; Cecily Weld; Edie Weld; Rev. J. Dalton (on ground); Capt. Maclear, R.N.

Lying—Capt. Durrant, R.N.

[*To face p.* 340.



lighted and decorated—some in very quaint fashion. It was a very striking sight, a great crowd of natives, mostly Chinese, lining the thoroughfares, and though a very animated one it was exceedingly orderly ; a very few policemen being all that was necessary to keep order in the streets. The next morning (11th) we had a shooting expedition. I drove the Princes in my four-in-hand to Bukit Timah police station, the rest of the party, which consisted of Lord Charles Scott, Captain Durrant, Captain Stopford, and a young middy, George Hardinge (a son of Lord Hardinge's), and A.D.C.'s, following in the break. Here we were met by Mr. Thompson, who had got beaters, trackers, and so forth ready for the fray, and we proceeded to beat the jungle for deer or pig. Prince Edward came with me, and Prince George with Durrant, and Captain Tunnard was told off to look after little Hardinge, and see he did not shoot anybody. Two deer broke cover near our stand, but I could not get Prince Edward to see one when it would have been an easy chance, and by the time he got on to it the deer was off into the bushes ; the other was out of shot. Captain Durrant killed a boar. In the next beat Prince Edward had a shot at a deer and hit it, but not in a fatal place—so it got away. We had to omit the last beat to give time for the Princes to return, get a bath, change into uniforms, get something to eat, and go off to receive the Siamese envoys on board the *Bacchante*. They were to have returned for the races at 4 p.m., but the Siamese were an hour behind their time, so, to the great disappointment of the people, they did not get back till the races were over. We had another large dinner-party in the evening to finish off all the notabilities. Before dinner Prince George asked me if I would not have the number of dishes cut down, so that dancing might begin sooner ; I answered I would give orders that they should be served as quickly as possible, which pleased him greatly. We had a little dance afterwards. On the morning of the 12th the Princes each planted a tree in front of the house. I was doing office-work all the morning, trying to make up for lost time, and they played billiards and lawn-tennis. In the after-

noon we visited the 'lions'; the Botanical Gardens, and Fort Channing, in order to see the view. In the evening we had a fancy-dress ball, which was a huge success. The Siamese envoys came, as usual, a mass of gold embroidery, the Maharajah of Johore in black velvet with diamonds, and many of the Malay chiefs in their national dress. Besides this we had Chinese in gorgeous array, some Arabs, officers in naval and military uniforms, and the rest in every character under the sun. Mena and I alone did not dress up. Chrissy wore a Watteau frock, and Cecily appeared as Lady Rowena—a very pretty and becoming fancy-dress. There were about four hundred people present, no crowding, and lots of room for everybody to see everybody else. The Rajah Dris, the Mahomedan Chief Justice of Perak, who came as representative of that State and had never seen a ball before, was immensely struck by the performance. He told some one afterwards that he supposed half the ladies were the Governor's wives! The illuminations of the house and grounds were a very pretty sight. There were about five thousand Chinese lanterns hung in festoons among the trees, and the effect of the lines of lights standing out against the heavy foliaged trees was quite fairylike, and in keeping with the scene within.

"On the 13th the whole house-party started to spend a day and night at Johore. The ladies in the Maharajah's yacht, and I driving the four-in-hand, with two other carriages for the rest of the party went to Bukit Timah, crossed the straits (about a mile and a half wide there) in long Malay boats, manned by about eleven sailors. The Maharajah met us at the jetty; addresses were read, to which, as they were unexpected, I had to reply on behalf of the Princes. There was a regatta and boat-races, and some lawn-tennis, followed by a dinner at which seventy-four guests were present. The evening concluded with juggling tricks. The Maharajah is a charming host, and I think the Princes were pleased with their reception. On the 14th we had a Malay sailing regatta, a very pretty sight, and after a late breakfast—or early luncheon—we recrossed the straits, and I drove Prince Edward to the races,

Prince George following in the Maharajah's four-in-hand. I had a long and serious talk with the Prince on this occasion, and was very much struck by the good sense he showed in our discussion of various subjects. He asked me many questions about my career and future plans, and so forth. I never met any youth of his age who showed more thought for the feelings and convenience of other people. He has charming manners, and although rather shy has a good deal of dignity. In appearance he resembles the Princess of Wales ; Prince George is very like the pictures of George the Third, and is full of life and good-humour. I believe they were quite sorry when the time came for their departure. The Duke of Clarence repeated more than once that he would have enjoyed so much spending another week quietly with us. In the evening there were fireworks, and the town was illuminated. The squadron left at an early hour the next morning."

CHAPTER XV

"The camel-driver has his thoughts: and the camel—he has his."
ARAB SAYING.

BOUNDARY disputes seem to have taken up a great deal of the Governor's time and been the subject of much correspondence during the course of the year 1882; for in spite of the chiefs of Rembau having in the previous year accepted his award, they returned once more to the charge. Sir Frederick Weld's diary records that on 14th February:

"The Datoh Perba of Rembau came with Swettenham about the Malacca boundary at the giant's grave, but made out no case. Indu Ismail, one of the Maharajah's people, came with him, and admitted that the view I took was the reasonable one. I told him that the decision must stand, but that if he had got hold of any real evidence I should be ready to listen to it. I also pointed out that the maintenance intact of the treaty was for his benefit as well as ours; and that when in the Johol Treaty we found that we had by mistake claimed more than we had a right to, I had acquainted the Datoh of Johol with the fact, and given up some land, in the interest of justice."

In May, the Governor and his family having moved up to their summer quarters at the Hill Bungalow, Penang, Sir Frederick made it a basis for expeditions to different parts of the Peninsula. On the 8th of June he left Penang with Mr. Low in the s.s. *Kinta* after dinner, and arrived at an early hour the next day at the mouth of the Krian River.

"We reached," he writes in his journal, "Parit Buntar just after sunrise, Mr. Pemberton, the surveyor, and Mr. Landes, a cadet, met us here. I inspected police quarters and hospital, and at about 2.30 p.m. we entered the steam-launch, and started up the river. We landed at the spot where a canal is being made which will connect the road by water with the sea, and inspected a new sugar plantation. Then ascended Sungei Semagoja to Senambu; all the country is a rich flat about here, an immense deal having been done lately in sugar clearing. The river very deep and about thirty yards wide at Semaba.

"*June 10th.* Started at 6 a.m., and continued our journey up the river. I was much pleased to see the rapid progress this part of the country is making. The survey department is doing good work. Passed Kuala Semagoja, and continued up the Krian River; dense vegetation here; I noticed a very handsome tree with mauve-coloured flowers, called by natives Bunya Bunas.[1] Also the Alpinea, a plant belonging to the ginger tribe—white and orange, with chocolate spotted flowers, as nearly as I could see in passing, something like an orchid. The river was so full of snags at this point that we decided on sending the launch back to await us, and going on in small canoes. The stream was now pretty strong, the country flat and wooded, but only a few fine forest trees here and there. Our boat with luggage being left a good way behind, we decided to camp at Dusun Timan, a deserted clearing on the Kedah side. Made a fire, and dined by its light; a fine Rembrandt-like effect, which would have made a very effective sketch. I noticed a large caladian standing alone and growing out of the mud bank.

"*11th.* Up early, and reached Salama at about 9 a.m., where Mr. Brewster (the officer in charge) and Che Karrim, with about 1800 Malays and Chinese miners, received us with a tom-tom band, flags flying, arches, and so forth; a singular sight in such a remote spot, and one in which Europeans have so lately set foot. In the afternoon I visited the mines; some of the tin is found in disintegrated

[1] *Lagerstroemia regia.*

granite, and some in pipe-clay. The mines are of different character, I should say, to those at Larut, and not so rich in ore.

"12*th*. Up at daybreak, and went off to get a shot at pigs. Saw none, but bagged seven large brown and yellow pigeons. Low got a hornbill. More discussions *re* boundary; the Kedah people making absurd claims, and in order to support them falsified names of rivers; but resulted in failure, as the witnesses, after being coached, broke down in conversation and unguardedly used the right names.

"13*th*. Started early, and shot pigeons on the way down, one very fine one lost. We heard a wild elephant in the jungle, but could not find him; rejoined steam-launch and reached Parit Buntor at 3 p.m., about 30 miles by river, 14 as the crow flies. *Memo.*: there should be more police in this district, and Mr. Brewster (who seems the right sort of young fellow, very hard working) ought to have a pony, and Mr. Leech one too.

"14*th*. Up at 4.30, a good many letters to write before starting at six. Low, Tunnard, Leech, and I leaving the 'boundary ditch' by a fairly good road on ponies. The country nearly all cultivated. Crossed the canal three miles farther, and got to F. Hab's colony (rich land), then into forests where elephants and rhinoceros are still plentiful; a she rhinoceros killed a man on the road a short time ago, and elephants do much damage to crops. The rapid development of this country is quite astonishing. In the last three years about 6000 acres have been taken into cultivation: sugar-cane 1300 acres, padi about 4000 acres, and the rest fruit and garden produce. Reached village of Bagan Serai on Kurau River about 9 p.m. Steamed about fourteen miles up the river, and landed at a place where Mr. Dew had a camp. The forest here exceedingly dense, but no very heavy timber; returned to B. Serai, and continued journey down-stream, passing a large sugar clearing (2000 acres concession, Jim Hwee) and fishing village of Kuda Kurau; very dirty and evil-smelling. The Kurau is a very fine river, deep and rather sluggish. Rich and fertile district from B. Serai to Kuala—about fourteen miles by river,

eight by road. The proposed road from F. Hab's colony is also a coast road from K. Krian—through large padi-fields chiefly. Got on board *Kinta* at 7 p.m., and slept there. Boat went on to Port Weld, and anchored there.

"15*th*. Got under way early from anchorage. Port Weld is a lake-like expanse of water with inlets stretching in every direction. There is water—and plenty of room—for vessels drawing 15 feet, at high tide. A Penghulu who owns some houses close to the future town has got a tame crocodile; *i.e.* the brute comes to be fed with fish when he is called! Steamed up to crossing of new Krian and Thaipeng road—all this mangrove flat country will grow sugar, etc., magnificently when cleared. Steamed to Teluk Kiotang, and landed there. After luncheon inspected the police-station and two hospitals. Beri-beri raging amongst the coolie miners; 500 cases in hospitals.

"16*th*. Captain McCallum, R.E., arrived from Penang to look over the works at the Fort with me. He entirely agrees with the objections I have made to what had been done under the direction of Lieut. Rhodes, R.E., and in the principle of the remedies I wish to see applied. With his usual quickness he at once grasped the situation and the lines to work upon. We then went to the prison, saw the carpenters', stone-cutters' sheds, and so forth. The prisoners looked well and contented; afterwards to the gaol, which was in excellent order, no beri-beri here, or any sickness; this is attributed to plenty of nitrogenous food being given. From the prison we went part of the way in gharies, and part on foot to the cascade and new waterworks. Left Thaipeng and got back later to the *Kinta*, and steamed back to Penang, where we arrived early next day."

Sir Frederick's sojourn at the Hill Bungalow (it could hardly be called a holiday, as he worked nearly as hard there as in Singapore) was interrupted this summer by a disturbance in the Chinese camps. Though both European and Malay welcomed the presence of the Chinese in the colony, it was not

unattended with drawbacks. One of these was the constant state of internecine bickering in which they lived. So continual were these disputes—owing to almost every Chinaman being a member of a secret society, or belonging in his own country to a tribe which was at enmity with another—that it was frequently only the presence of the armed representative of British law and order which prevented their flying at each other's throats. On this occasion a deep-laid plot had been concocted by one faction to get its opponent into disgrace by giving information about a supposed conspiracy to murder and plunder the European rulers. The plotters were fortunately outwitted, and the accused liberated owing to information given by a Government officer of the name of Pickering, who filled the post of protector to the Chinese in the Peninsula. Weld's reference to this embroglio in his diary is as follows :—

"*July 7th.* A deputation of Chinese arrived this morning, introduced by Mr. Pickering. One of the men spoke who had been accused, and afterwards acquitted, in the late got-up conspiracy affair. I answered, and gave them my opinion very frankly, and did not mince matters. I told them that by placing a single gunboat off the port I could starve them all out of the country in a week. That they were indebted to the British Government for all they had, the protection they enjoyed, and the money they were making. And that as the Chinese had always lived happily under our rule, neither I nor the Resident took them for such fools as to believe they would get up conspiracies against us. But ignorant Sinkheys[1] might easily be led away by designing people, and men on the look-out for plunder—also false accusations were often caused by jealousy. It was the duty of government to punish the guilty and protect the innocent, even when the guilty occupied high places. But as we were strong we did nothing in haste, or through fear ; accordingly those who had

[1] Coolies who are still in their indentures.

been accused were acquitted, and now the informers were going to be tried, and this would be a good occasion for all who knew the truth to come out with it. Pickering told me this interview would do good."

A fortnight later Sir Frederick Weld started with two of his daughters on an expedition up the Perak River. He gives the following account of it in his diary :—

"*July* 11*th*. We got off early this morning in nine boats, and poled up the river to the kampong near Toh Sri Lela, which is a pretty place. The road, or track, which I shall take next week in going to Selak and Kinta starts from here.

"12*th*. Breakfasted at our old camp on the island above Chiga Gala. An Axis deer was tracked to a cover, and we beat for it, but it broke back. We found it again in a small clump, from whence it bolted for the river about forty yards from where Minnie and I were placed. She had a shot at it, with a pea-rifle, but missed, this being her first running shot, so I fired and put a bullet through its shoulder, which dropped it dead instantly.

"13*th*. Left Passir Sudu early in a thick fog. As we got higher up the river we came on to some slight rapids, which, however, presented little difficulty, the banks always thickly wooded with secondary jungle, and kampongs and cottages here and there. Stopped at an island, where we shot two plovers, and I noticed some very flourishing tobacco of the kind we used to call 'Virginian' in New Zealand—about half an acre of it. Hills on either side, about 2000 feet in height.

"14*th*. Started early, and arrived at Kota Tempan at 8 a.m. River here is 150 yards wide, and about 3 feet deep—being very low. After breakfast Low and I went half a mile up it to rapids, which we ascended and descended in a small canoe. They are more than a mile long ; the river is very rocky here, and when it is higher must appear a sheet of foam. They cannot compare in difficulty to the Wanganui rapids or many other New Zealand ones,

which I used to navigate in my canoe. On our way back I rode with Minnie on Sri Kaga, the little elephant we caught last year; then embarked back to K. Tampan.

"15*th*. Up at early dawn, and off to the island, but did not see anything. I took Cicely and Edie to shoot larks along the open space by the shore; Edie got two larks and a beautiful bee-eater."

After returning to Kuala Kangsa, and spending three or four days there in transacting business, and writing for the English mail, Sir Frederick started again eastward to visit the Kinta district.

"23*rd*. Started early from Kepayang; very slow at getting off, owing to our having 23 elephants. Track through a forest; some very fine trees. Passed a deserted Malay smelting shed; an offering to the spirits was hanging up; *i.e.* a neat kind of little cradle, with wooden models of all the tools used by miners attached to it. The forest we passed through is supposed to be haunted by a peculiarly malignant race of demons. Entered the plain of Chemar before dusk; a very pretty view of distant hills seen from this spot. Datoh Panglina Kinta came to meet us here—a nice old fellow, very lively and intelligent.

"24*th*. Left early on elephants; passing through forest a great game was started—everybody pelting each other with wild fruit. I confined myself to collecting ammunition from off my elephant which led the procession, and giving it to the Alang Lampa, who with her companion was on the second elephant. She had quite lost her shyness, and was in high spirits, having reached her own country and people. Passed a tin mine at Kinding, and not long afterwards got to the Kinta (a stream like the Hodder, only smaller). We followed some way down its banks through open jungle and woods—very pretty country—then stopped, and all hands set to work to fish. I got six or eight large 'klah,' which are like carp only reddish, of from 8 to 12 lb. weight. Passed Gunong Timrank, one of the remarkable limestone hills common in the Peninsula, and arrived at Tanjong

Kinkong. Here we put up at the Datoh's house, a large Malay hut, raised high on posts amongst fruit trees and close to the river.

"25*th*. We went fishing, some on elephants, some in boats, I in a canoe. All the village turned out, and it was great fun. I speared six great klah, and a roach. Twenty big fish were caught weighing from 10 to 15 lb.; one of them was a sebarah. I was surprised to find that this fish, which takes a minnow, is leather-mouthed and barbed. It is darker and bluer than the klah, and like it has very large scales, and is toothless. Another fish called the tapa[1] was caught, but unluckily I did not see it; according to the Datoh, it grows to a great size, and is excellent eating. I went head over heels into the water—over-balancing myself in the canoe in a moment of excitement—and loud were the shouts when the Tuan Governor Besar disappeared under the water, and great the rush to the rescue. However, I was not out of my depth, so I soon came to the surface amidst sympathetic yells from the spectators.

"26*th*. Heavy rain in the night and flood on the river, which carried away bathing-house and the canoe in which I was to have descended it. Started down river, and frequently crossed it, on elephants; the country fertile, and open with isolated limestone hills on each side of the valley; reached Ipoh, which is a large straggling village, at about noon. The two head-men, Datoh Muda and Datoh Husin, met me a short way from the village; and the people were assembled outside the joss-house with bands of music, flags, and the usual demonstrations. The Datoh's head wife received me at the foot of the staircase, and took me up to the room which had been prepared for me—a very pretty one hung in silk, carpeted, and with lovely embroidered cushions. I gave a buffalo to be killed for the people to feast upon, and a goat for the Sikhs. Went to see the new road we are making to Kuala Kangsa; it is eight feet and a half wide, and eleven miles of it are already finished. Also saw the Sungei Raja road on the opposite side of the village, which has just been commenced. This road will cost 250 dollars a

[1] A kind of fresh-water shark.

mile, owing to heavy stumps ; over the open padi-land it will only cost 160—more, of course, in swamp.

"*27th.* Took leave of the Che Utih, who was very pleased when I told her she must come and see my wife and daughters when she goes to Singapore. Maxwell[1] and I rode on elephants, following the course of the new road, which is finished almost up to S. Raja. The country is flat and very fertile, and in places the scenery pretty, particularly on approaching S. Raja. We were met there by Toh Dombu and Mr. Crawford. The former took me to his house, which was prettily decorated, his wife and every one most friendly. I hear he is considered a first-rate man. I had a good deal of talk with Hewitt yesterday, and with Maxwell to-day, about forced labour, pensions to the lesser officers in native states, and other matters. Continued our journey eastward through a more hilly country till we reached Gopeng, in the centre of a large mining district. About fifteen hundred Chinese here; we were met by a great crowd, and the usual accompaniment of crackers. Received deputation, and inspected tin mines, which extend to a great distance in all directions.

"*28th.* Made an early start on elephants, and travelled through undulating country, chiefly secondary jungle, and some clearings. Reached the banks of the Kinta about 7 a.m., and embarked in canoes. Arrived at Batu Gaja at noon, landed, and went to Mr. Hewitt's bungalow, where we lunched with his wife and sister-in-law. Inspected his new line of road which is to go to K. Kangsa, and then mounted our elephants again, and after a rather hot ride on a good road reached Papan, where we were met by a crowd of miners, and volcanoes of crackers. Slept in a balek[2]; a little boy, son of Rajah Bilah, insisted on giving me a tame black monkey.

"*29th.* Six hours through dense forest (fine trees) took us to Blanja on the Perak. Rajah Hadgi, Penghulu of Blanja, who had accompanied us during the journey, took me to his house, and intro-

[1] Afterwards Sir William Maxwell, K.C.M.G. At that time Assistant Resident of Perak. He became Governor of the Gold Coast Colony, and died in 1908.

[2] Court-house.

duced his wife to me. We went afterwards to the balek, where all the chiefs assembled, at my invitation. I spoke to them and wished them good-bye. (*N.B.*—My parting with the Datoh Panglina Kinta was quite affectionate.) Embarked on the river, slept on board, reaching K. Kangsa next morning.

"30*th*. Rajah Muda came to call upon me. We had a long talk about debt-slavery; he wishes to have it settled at once, to which I willingly assented. Started in the afternoon for Penang, which I reached the following day."

Debt-bondage was the crying sin of the Malays as a nation; and as it was bound up with all their habits and tastes, and had existed for untold generations, and, moreover, was one of the "customs" which the Government in taking over the protection of the native States had agreed to tolerate, no forcible measures could be used for its extirpation. The traveller's tales told of the horrors inflicted not only on debtors, but on their wives and children, and their descendants (for till the debt was repaid these also were forfeit), almost exceed belief. No doubt in some cases they were exaggerated—the Malays, unless roused to fury by wrongs, real or imaginary, being a kindly and peaceable race. Unfortunately for both the slave and the owner, this custom appealed to all the worst and weakest points of the Datoh or Rajah. It enabled him to live at ease, whilst his slave laboured in the padi-field, or rowed his barge of state, or performed the menial tasks of his house. Even more important, slaves swelled the number of his followers when he went to war, added to his importance, and ministered to his vanity or his lust. Forbearance and the greatest tact had to be exercised to persuade the rulers that so valuable a national institution must in time give way before what probably *they* called European prejudice, and we, enlightenment. No greater testimony to the

efficiency of the Residential system can be given than that before it had been ten years at work the native chiefs should not only have agreed to the abolition of this custom but have petitioned for it.

An entry in Sir Frederick's diary on his return to Singapore shows that the women of the East are not quite such puppets and sinecures as they are ranked in the estimation of their sisters of the Western hemisphere.

"*October 5th.* Ranee Mahdi called about her house and allowance, and pressed to see me. I was very busy with the Colonial Secretary (the following being mail-day), but I consented to let her have a five minutes' interview. She began by throwing herself at my feet, and as she is very fat and no light weight I had considerable difficulty in dragging her up and getting her into a chair. She then talked volubly—rolling her big black eyes the while. She is the cleverest woman I believe in the Malay peninsula, and a great political plotter. I fancy she must have given the old warrior enough to do to manage her. Her object this morning was to complain about her house, which was letting in water, roof gone, and so on. I said I would have it put right. She argued with vivacity and many gestures, but with a pleasing modulated voice, like a lady."

The end of this year brought a great sorrow to Sir Frederick—the prospect of the approaching death of his cousin and the friend of his youth, Sir Henry Clifford.[1] He mentions it thus in his diary:

"Got up early and wrote to Henry Clifford. I fear this closes my lifelong friendship with dear Henry, and will be my last communication with him till we meet in the next world. Though we have passed most of our lives, since manhood, apart, his life has always seemed a part of mine, and now he has gone to die of a painful disease at dear old Ugbrooke, where we used to play as boys together. God's will be done."

[1] Major-General the Hon. Sir Henry Clifford, V.C., K.C.B.

In a letter from Weld to his brother and sister-in-law—to whom he wishes a happy New Year—he reviews his work in pacifying the native States, a subject which, apart from private joys and sorrows, seems to have been the principal object of his thoughts and interests at this time :

" I am glad to say that my interview with the chiefs at Bukit Putus a year and a half ago has borne fruit ; all goes on there as quietly as possible. I was up in that country just before Christmas, and an old fellow called Bongsu came to see me who is a kind of ' squire ' of his village, or parish. He is hideously ugly, decidedly violent and cantankerous with his neighbours, but very popular with his own people. He loves me and the late Resident of our Protected State with enthusiasm, and expresses it with ' effusion ' ! His heart's desire is that we should assume the protectorate over the group of States to which he belongs. About eight years ago they attacked us and were beaten at B. Putus, and we occupied all their country, and the old man was wounded whilst fighting against us, and delights in showing his wound. ' I didn't know you then,' he told me, ' I didn't know the kind of people you were, or I would never have fought against you. Why did you go away? it would have been much better for us if you had stayed.' The fact is, after we had beaten them, an officer, Captain Murray, was sent there as Resident, who was much loved by the Malays. Then after a year we gave up the country, and a chief or overlord of the Heptarchy was elected, and acknowledged by us. He has not been a success, and there had been much disputing till I went up and lectured them at B. Putus last year—the Yam Tuan on administering with justice and clemency, and keeping good order in his States, and his subjects on the duties of submission to him. I don't know how long it will last, but it shows what can be done with these people by tact and kindness. Old Bongsu brought me some rice, and said he could not possibly swallow a grain of his new crop till I had eaten some. He said the Yam Tuan had never troubled him since I had spoken,

but when I asked him if they were friends he opened a mouth like a cavern, and made a face of disgust which was quite inimitable, and said that he and the Yam Tuan had met in the street and that he—the Rajah—had cut him!"

Though Sir Frederick Weld constantly testifies how his efforts to ameliorate the lives of the people under his sway were backed up by his subordinates, how loyal they were to him, and anxious to carry out his views, it would be foolish to deny that he did not encounter now and then disillusionment. Thus on one occasion he met with nothing but annoyance on a visit to Kuala Lumpor. The hospital was in a "disgraceful state, dirty, the patients neglected, and—for want of a little care and attention—the water was pouring in through the roof on to one of the wards." Inquiries elicited the fact that the doctor was continually drunk. He was got rid of. The Resident also had been slack. Weld remarks in his diary:

"Half the orders I gave on my last visit here have not been carried out, and those that have been carried out, not properly, or to my satisfaction. It is a singular fact that I have had to dismiss two-thirds of the staff of officials here, since I came, for inefficiency."

The Chinese population also gave much trouble during the early months of the year 1883. A smuggling conspiracy was discovered which had, through a system of terrorism peculiar to that nation, defied even the knowledge and experience of the "Protector of the Chinese," Mr. Pickering, to run to ground. When it was finally brought home to the delinquents, a great effort was made to get them off, some of them holding high positions in the colony. A petition was addressed to Lord Derby (Secretary of State for the Colonies) to have their sentence of banishment from

the country commuted. The Governor also sent his views on the case, and received the message in reply that Lord Derby left the decision with him. Weld's comment in his diary is as follows :

" *February 28th.* Meeting of Legislative Council. I made a very outspoken statement *re* my policy and action on the opium conspiracy. I hit straight from the shoulder, and quite carried the House. Ex. Council decided to send both banished men back to China."

The affairs of Rembau, which had long been in an unsatisfactory state owing to the deserved unpopularity of the Datoh Penghulu, reached a crisis in the March of this year owing to a murder which was unmistakably traced to that chieftain. It was time to take strong measures ; accordingly the Governor summoned the peccant ruler with the other members of his family and heads of tribes to meet him at a grand durbar at Malacca to hear his fate. Sir Frederick left Singapore on the 26th of March, accompanied by Lord Clifford, who was on a visit to him at Government House, his secretary, Mr. Browne, and his A.D.C's., Capt. Tunnard and Lieut. Hugh Cholmondeley.

The Governor on landing at Malacca was received by a salute of seventeen guns. He was met by the Hon. Dudley Hervey, Resident Councillor ; Mr. Paul, H.M.'s Resident at Sungei Ujong ; Mr. Swettenham, H.M.'s Resident at Selangor ; His Highness Rajah Dris, Chief Judge of Perak ; Tungku Antar, the Yam Tuan of Sri Menanti ; Kahar, son of the Sultan of Selangor ; Dolah, son of the late Sultan of Selangor ; Lela Stia, the Datoh Klana of Sungei Ujong ; Ahmed, the Datoh Bandar of Sungei Ujong ; the Datoh Muda of Linggi ; and all the principal Government officials. A large number of the Rembau people was also present, a guard of honour of Sikh Police being drawn up on the quay.

The object of the Governor's visit to Malacca was to endeavour to finally settle the differences which have existed in the State of Rembau for a lengthened period, and with that object in view His Excellency appointed the Hon. Dudley Hervey, Mr. Swettenham, and His Highness Rajah Dris, Commissioners to collect information, take evidence of witnesses, and report to him on arrival. Accordingly, in the afternoon of Friday, the 30th of March, the Commissioners having concluded their labours, and carried out the various points of inquiry directed by the Governor, His Excellency summoned Hadji Sahil, Syed Hamed, and their respective followers, to meet him at the Stadt Haus that evening. At the appointed hour, the Governor, who was accompanied by Lord Clifford and the officers of His Excellency's personal staff, the Resident Councillor of Malacca the Residents of Sungei Ujong and Selangor, and His Highness Rajah Dris, entered the Audience Chamber at 8.30 p.m. A large number of the Rembau men was assembled, and Hadji Sahil and Syed Hamed were both present. After the Governor and suit had taken their places on the dais, His Excellency proceeded to explain to those assembled the object of calling them together, and then ascertained who amongst those present had a right to vote on the election or deposition of a Datoh Penghulu of Rembau; the voters being almost without exception in the Hall. Mr. Swettenham, who acted as interpreter, then read over to Datoh Hadji Sahil the charges which had been laid against him by the people of Rembau —of misgovernment exemplified by fourteen cases of murder, in which justice had not been done, and which were inquired into *seriatim*. The evidence of Karim, the assassin of Laksamana Budin, was next read; it was most precise and full of detail, and directly implicated the Datoh Penghulu. To some of the

charges he pleaded forgetfulness, and to others he gave a flat denial. The voters, namely, the four Orang Besar, the eight Suku Datohs, and the twelve Sukus, then remained to deliberate, and the rest of the assembly were requested to withdraw.

A large part of those present, chiefly those who had been supporters of Hadji Sahil, the Datoh Penghulu, stated that they had by letter offered the country to the Governor, and had asked for the Residential system, and that they left the decision to His Excellency. The Governor replied that he had good reason to believe that the letter in question had been signed with very imperfect knowledge of its real import and consequences ; the prosperity of the native States under the Residential system could only be attained by the introduction of taxation, and of other institutions with which they were unfamiliar ; that later, after knowing us better, and profiting by our advice, if they should really wish for the Residential system and ask for it, then it might be considered, but that at present they were not ripe for it. Many chiefs, most friendly to our Government, were opposed to the introduction of the Residential system at present, and it was not the real wish of the country that it should be introduced now. He also informed them that the question of appointing a Rajah Muda or Yam Tuan Besar [1] could not then be considered, as clearly a very large part of the voters and country were opposed to it ; the question therefore was the appointment of a Datoh Penghulu.

The Governor was strongly pressed to decide whether Hadji Sahil should be deposed, and either a new Datoh Penghulu elected or the rival Penghulu, Hadji Mustapha, recognised, receiving the assurance that the electors would unanimously assent to His Excellency's decision. The Governor told them that

[1] Rajah Muda, *i.e.* heir to the Yam Tuan, or paramount chief.

from what they had heard and seen that evening, it was perfectly certain that Hadji Sahil had grossly misgoverned the country, even if any doubted his complicity in grave crimes; that Hadji Mustapha was strongly opposed by large numbers, and had never been recognised by the British Government, and that therefore they must elect a new Datoh Penghulu whom all must support, and who, if accepted, would be assisted and supported, and on occasions of difficulty advised, by the Governor, and who could at any time communicate with the Resident Councillor at Malacca. They all willingly bound themselves to this, and shook hands as a token that former enmities were ended. They then urgently begged the Governor to suggest a name, and, in answer to repeated requests, His Excellency indicated Mahomed Hasan, the Maharajah Mantri Lela Perkasa, as an apparently sensible and moderate man, who appeared to be on good terms with both parties. The voters were then left alone to consult together. After a long interval, His Excellency re-entered the Hall, when it appeared that a constitutional point had been raised as to whether the Maharajah Mantri was eligible for election, as he was of the Jakun tribe, that of the deposed Datoh Penghulu; it was admitted that if a Datoh Penghulu is deposed, one of his own tribe succeeds; but if two depositions take place, it was argued that they were equivalent to a death, and that consequently according to law the succession would pass to the other tribe, the "Jawa." This point was put to the vote, and held to be good by a large majority. The Datoh Mangkabuni Abdul Samat, a young chief, was then presented to the Governor to be elected, but he modestly declined the honour. Finally, Serun Bin Syed, the Shahbandar, was elected by a large majority, and all signed their names to an undertaking to support him.

Hadji Sahil, the ex-Penghulu, having been called into the room and informed by the Governor that he had been deposed, and that he could not be permitted, for the present, to return to Rembau, the proceedings closed shortly after 4 a.m.

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon of Saturday, the 31st March, His Excellency held a General Meeting in the courtyard of the Stadt Haus, which was decorated with flags and flowers on the occasion, for the purpose of announcing the decision at which he had arrived. Punctually at the hour named, the Governor, who appeared in full uniform, and was accompanied by the Officers of the Staff, ascended the dais, on which seats were reserved for the Rajahs and others of high rank, and made the following address :—

"'Rajahs, Datohs, and all here assembled—

"'I meet you now to announce my decision upon the subjects which have been brought before me in regard to the troubles in Rembau.

"'I have been asked to take over Rembau and to place a Resident there, but that is not the wish of the whole people, and it is not my desire to come here to arrange difficulties at the request of many of the people of Rembau, and then to take over the government of the country to myself. Later, when the minds of the people of Rembau are calmer, it will be time enough for them to express such wishes, and for the Governor to consider them.

"'I have been asked to give to Rembau a Rajah, but this is not at present the desire of the whole people of Rembau, nor is it necessary, for they have the Governor to appeal to if they wish ; I have not thought that it is desirable to give them a Rajah now.

"'But with regard to a Datoh Penghulu, it was necessary that action should be taken, to prevent discord and to secure better government. It was impossible that Rembau should be allowed to remain without right or justice or observance of good rule, and it is an evil thing to see a country divided in

itself, and a trouble to its neighbours, and its ruler gravely accused, and incapable of uniting his people and governing wisely.

"'For these reasons, I have agreed that Haji Sahil be deposed; nor should Haji Mustapha, his rival, succeed him, for trouble will ensue, and the people will be divided in either case.

"'But I willingly elect Serun Bin Saidin, who has been elected by the free votes of the proper electors —the four Orang Besar, the eight Datohs Sukus, and the twelve Sukus of Rembau.

"'I warn him to respect the good customs of Rembau, and to consult his proper advisers and Datohs, and to do justice, and to remember that the head-men of Rembau are now united and have shaken hands. He is not to favour one party above another, but to show equal justice and friendship to all, and if he has difficulties he will ask advice from the Governor, and thus he will be helped and supported, and establish peace and prosperity in his country.

"'And now I thank the Rajah and chiefs, who from Perak, Selangor, Sungei Ujong, Sri Menanti, and elsewhere, have come to meet me—and who will witness the arrangement that we now make in testimony of the desire of Malay States to help one another and repress evil under the shield of the Government of Her Majesty the Queen and Empress."

"The following treaty was then signed.

"'1. Whereas difficulties have arisen in Rembau, and the people of Rembau have repeatedly complained to the Government of the Straits Settlements that their old customs were not being followed, that injustice was done, crimes committed without due punishment of the guilty, and generally that they were not satisfied with present arrangements—and all the chiefs concerned having now assembled at Malacca on this date, and it having been made evident that the Penghulu of Rembau, Haji Sahil, disregards the established customs and laws of Rembau, and has committed many unjustifiable acts, and that many of his head-men and chiefs are determined no longer to follow his rule,—they do now, with the consent

of the Government, depose Haji Sahil, and he is no longer the Penghulu of Rembau.

"'2. The elective chiefs and people of Rembau do now unanimously select Serun bin Saidin to be the Penghulu of Rembau, and His Excellency the Governor, on behalf of the British Government, hereby acknowledges Serun bin Saidin to be the Penghulu of Rembau.

"'3. In all cases of difficulty or difference, the Signatories to this engagement agree to refer to the Governor of the Straits Settlements, and to abide by his decision.

"'4. It is hereby agreed by all whose seals or signatures are affixed to this document, that they will abide by the terms of this engagement, and will mutually assist in maintaining its provisions and in punishing any one who contravenes any of the aforesaid articles.

"'I approve.

(Signed) "'FRED. A. WELD,

"Governor and Commander-in-Chief, S.S.'

"To this document were appended the signatures or marks of the ten principal Datohs of Rembau and of the Rajahs representing Sri Menanti, Perak, Selangor, and Sungei Ujong."[1]

An immediate result of this treaty was that the new Datoh Penghulu and his chiefs invited the Resident Councillor to make arrangements with the opium farmers with regard to the Rembau dues, a measure which served at once to check the smuggling in that and the surrounding districts. The people of Rembau gave further proof of goodwill by volunteering to show the Government officials the landmarks of our possessions on the Naning frontier, about which there had been much dispute, and by which we now—by their own admission—gained an accession of territory.

The Malay States at this time seem to have been attacked with what might almost be termed an

[1] Taken from the *Straits Times*, April 1883.

epidemic of attachment to the British Crown. A fortnight later the following entry occurs in Weld's diary:—

"*April 12th.* I had a long interview this morning with the Datoh Penghulu of Jelabu and his waris. They earnestly invited me to undertake the government of that little State, and settle their difficulties. I explained to them that as the representative of the British Government I could not accept their offer to take over their country, but that I would do what I could to help them and get them out of their difficulties."

Later on in the month the Governor made an expedition to Perak to see how certain works that he had set in hand were progressing.

He writes on 29th April. "Arrived at 5 a.m. at Teluk Anson, and found the place immensely improved; walked round and inspected barracks, police-station, and hospital. Walked across the isthmus to the site of the old D. Sabatang, and back by the side of the canal (flood-gates not up yet). Very much pleased with the progress of the new town—wide streets and some good buildings.

"*April 30th.* Low arrived early in the *Kinta*; after a talk with him went to breakfast with Denison, who has a charming house and collection of swords, krisses and other curios, also some interesting old books. A great number of Rajahs and Penghulus came to be presented to me. Rajah Dris was prevented by illness. The emancipation of slaves is going on splendidly. I have been struck by the apparent good feeling which exists between the headmen and their slaves. What is very remarkable is that many have set them free 'for the love of God,' and have refused all payment from Government, saying, 'Can we sell those we love for money like buffaloes?' The slaves also almost universally refuse to leave their masters; it is quite common, I am told, for the slave-children to call their mistress mother when they have lost their own, and to look

upon them in all respects as such. Still the system was unquestionably a bad one, and in many cases it led to gross abuses."

This summer was in many respects a sad one for Sir Frederick Weld. In the spring he heard of the dangerous illness of his youngest sister, to whom he was tenderly attached, and shortly afterwards the news of her death. His greatest and earliest friend, Sir Henry Clifford, died in April. His own health was also bad. There are constant references in his diary to severe attacks of gout and neuralgia. More than once—a very new thing for him—he complains of overwork; and remarks that the doctor has threatened him with a complete breakdown unless he curtails his six or seven daily hours of office work. After repeated warnings of this kind he wrote to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and having represented to him that he had been fifteen years Governor without a break he requested a year's leave to return to England and recruit. He received a very kind and complimentary letter from Lord Derby in reply, coupled with the permission to take a year's leave from the spring of 1884.

The prospects of the Colony and of the protected States were never brighter than this year, and at the July meeting of the Legislative Council, when the Governor summed up the proceedings of the past year and produced his estimates for the coming one, there was nothing to be noted but progress in every department. After the usual preamble he remarks:

"I can look forward with increased confidence to the future—a confidence based on the sustained improvement of all branches of revenue; the general increase of trade and means of communication; the influx of foreign capital and machinery, and also by more intimate and friendly relations with the smaller Malay States and closer co-operation for

peace and good order in the Peninsula of the 'protected' ones.

"I next propose with your assistance and the sanction of Her Majesty's Secretary of State to take steps towards bringing the native races in our country districts into closer contact with the Government by means of local officers, acting where possible in co-operation with native head-men—Malay or Chinese. At present they know us (amongst the mass of the people at least) chiefly as tax-gatherers and as police; it is my policy to let them also know us as taking an interest in their general welfare, as arbiters in their petty disputes, as their friends and advisers. This has been done to a considerable extent in protected States. In the Straits Settlements we have not had resident Government Agents, and the Penghulu system has been neglected. The process will be necessarily slow and tentative, but with the races with which we have to deal (who, properly treated, are very amenable) it can be accomplished; thus our—in some respects—over-centralised administration may be to a certain extent at least rendered more local and more congenial to the habits and feelings of the native races. I shall also ask you to vote a moderate sum of money to enable me to assist independent native States to make roads, to open mineral and agricultural country, and afford communication with our territories and between territories under our influence; for the promotion, in short, of commerce and order. Since the settlement of the Rembau difficulty, and the election of a Datoh willing to take our advice and that of his chiefs in accordance with the customs of his country, and who appears desirous of keeping order and improving the condition of his people, a great change for the better has taken place in the adjoining territories. Many small States have applied to me for advice, more especially in regard to raising a settled revenue, to suppressing robberies and murder, to opening mines and making roads, and I have lately held conversations on the subject with Tunku Antar the Yam Tuan of Sri Menanti, with the Yam Tuan of Jelabu, with Syed Hamed of Tampin, with the Datohs of Inas and Gemincheh, the Datoh Jenang of Johol; and

many others. I propose meeting the Datoh Serun of Rembau and his chiefs in Rembau very shortly, and to walk across his territory to Linggi by the line of a road which is intended to unite Lubok China in Malacca with Linggi in Sungei Ujong. Besides this, Tunku Antar and Syed Hamed are also not only willing but anxious that a road should be made from our Malacca boundary through Tampin Teratchi and Sri Menanti to the Bukit Putus pass. From that pass a road now leads to the Residency in Sungei Ujong. I need not dilate on the great advantage these roads would be to the Colony. In the same way Jelabu wants assistance, and as it is exceedingly rich in minerals it would soon be able, and is perfectly willing, to repay advances. But the increased trade to Sungei Ujong and thence would in itself repay any small help that might be given to these people.

"4. The condition of the protected States is good. The progress of Perak is unprecedented ; a slight difficulty lately arose in one district (owing perhaps to its containing many of the relations and former dependents of the murderers of Mr. Birch, the first Resident, and to want of intercourse with European officers) when armed resistance was threatened to a tax imposed by the State Council. I mention this incident that I may bear testimony to the judicious firmness and moderation of Sir Hugh Low, backed by his officers and his military police, which resulted not only in the submission of the tribe, but in the establishment of friendly relations.

"5. I have, with the sanction of the Home Government, entered, through Her Majesty's Agency at Bangkok, into negotiations with the King of Siam regarding the upper portion of Perak valley, which has, for some time, been encroached upon by Siamese authorities, to the great detriment of order, and of the State of Perak, to which it properly belongs. Her Majesty's Acting Agent's representations have been received in the best spirit, and I have every hope that the friendly disposition and sense of justice of His Majesty the King of Siam will enable the Commission which has been appointed, to make arrangements which will be not only satisfactory

to Perak, but to the inhabitants of the district themselves.

"6. The first short section of railway connecting Port Weld with Thaipeng will soon be opened, and will be the first line running in the Malay Peninsula. The Perak railway will thence be gradually extended in northerly and south-easterly directions, opening extremely valuable tracts of agricultural and mineral country.

"7. Selangor is making a very marked advance, and preliminary surveys for a railway, which is most essentially necessary to the proper development of its resources, are in progress.

"8. Sungei Ujong has less mineral resources, but its roads now reach within a few miles of Jelabu, and if the Jelabu mines are opened, both States will make an immediate advance in revenue and in population.

"I have already had occasion to congratulate you and the Colony on the decision regarding Indian immigration arrived at by H.E. the Governor-General. I am glad to be able to inform you that Mr. Buck, on the part of the Government of India, and Major Fischer, on the part of that of Madras, have been deputed to visit this Colony and confer with me on the question. I have directed that every facility should be given them to acquire full information; and I entertain no doubt but that the interests of the Indians themselves no less than those of our planters will best be consulted by an increased and free immigration under proper safeguards. It does not affect our planting interests only, much as it affects them. It goes beyond that; it is the question whether we shall facilitate or impede the exodus of a race—which, overcrowded and starved in their own country, is seeking a natural outlet—by establishing them in a country where they would be enabled by the fruits of their industry to live in comfort and prosperity under favourable conditions, and in a congenial climate. I doubt not that a satisfactory solution of the question will shortly be arrived at."

The Governor then proceeded to lay before the Council the estimates for the following year. He

sums up his message by recapitulating the various works which were to be begun or completed during the course of the year. Amongst these the most important were the new general hospital at Singapore at the Sepoy lines; landing-place and boat accommodation, and extension at Fort Fullerton; extension of the Raffles' girls' school; new European and native hospitals in Penang and Province Wellesley; telephone communication throughout the Province and Penang, including Muka Head Lighthouse and Pula Jerajah; the leper asylum; and a duplicate cable laid across the Straits between the island and the Province; and the construction of Muka Head Lighthouse. The Governor also gave a list of works which were approaching completion.

In the month of August, Sir Frederick carried out his intention of visiting the interior of the peninsula. An account of this journey was given by an eye-witness, and appeared in *The Times* of 28th August 1884, from which the following extracts are taken:

"The chief credit of the astonishing progress made by the protected States must be given to the Governor, Sir Frederick Weld. Unlike the majority of our colonial rulers, he is not satisfied with the mere perusal of reports, or even with the cheap labour of occasional visits paid to the headquarters of district officers. During the summer of 1883 he made a three months' journey up the interior of the peninsula from Malacca to Perak, keeping the central range of mountains on his right, and crossing the rivers at their upper waters. This tract had never been previously traversed in its entirety by one man, and the results likely to follow from such a rapid general view cannot fail to afford valuable material for the future connecting together of the various States. The Governor's journey, though it was not marked by any very startling incidents, and though the density of the jungle prevented him at times from obtaining a

good view of the country, has yet demonstrated that no difficulty exists to making a good inland road. This would run along the base of the mountain chain which divides the east from the west of the peninsula. There is no serious obstacle existing even to the construction of a railway from the southern Malacca boundary on the Kessang to the northern frontier of Perak on the Muda River. Thus would be constructed a very considerable section of the railway which the Singapore people hope will some day connect them with Burmah, possibly with India, and not at all improbably with Siam and China. As a matter of fact another year will see a bridle path running the entire length of Sir Frederick's route. Tin districts lie all along the line, and these will be thus connected with one another, while millions of acres of excellent agricultural low-lying land, as well as plantation country on the uplands, will be made accessible. At present the population is very thin, and, as is invariably the custom in Eastern countries, is established only on the rivers, many of which only require a little clearing and straightening to make them easily navigable by native boats. Not a few are even now open to craft of ten tons to distances of from 50 to 80 miles. The Perak and Bernam rivers will float sea-going ships to a very considerable way into the interior. Natural routes for trade, therefore, already exist, and the riding paths and roads being pushed forward everywhere will rapidly open up new districts to commercial enterprise. One railway—that from Port Weld to the great Chinese tin mines at Thaipeng in Larut, the northern annexe of Perak—is already all but finished, and within the last six months another from Selangor to the tin centre at Kuala Lumpor has been commenced. But the riches of these native States do not exist only in tin. Almost every kind of tropical produce does well—coffee, cinchona, sago, tapioca, tea, cacao, sugar, indigo, rice, only require to be cultivated to grow luxuriantly. The tobacco which thrives so well on the other side of the Straits at Deli and other places in Sumatra, is found to do equally well in Perak. Not far from Kuala Lumpor, the proposed terminus of the railway just begun, Sir Frederick Weld passed through an ex-

tensive forest of camphor trees, many of which were over 200 feet high. As this forest must become of enormous value, the Governor gave directions that it should be reserved to the State and that only single trees should be sold as they were required. Cinchona and Arabian coffee are found to do particularly well on the inland and other mountains, while Siberian coffee thrives more especially in the lowlands. No better idea of the future of the native States can be given than by pointing out what has happened in our possessions on the mainland. Province Wellesley has been in our hands so long that the contrast is almost too strong. Well-made roads, far better than most country roads in England, extend from end to end. Almost the entire area is under cultivation. It seems almost beyond belief that at the beginning of the century this wealthy and prosperous province was part mangrove swamp, part impenetrable jungle. But in the strip of land immediately to the south of it we can see this transformation actually going on under our eyes. Ten years ago the Krian district, ceded to us by the Treaty of Pangkor, was a dismal marsh, where the Nipah palm sprang out of the salt swamp, and molluscs grew on the slimy roots of the mangrove, and little clumps of them occasionally broke hold and went drifting up and down with the tide. Not a living thing was to be seen except alligators and sea-snakes, with sometimes a troop of monkeys who came down to feed on the sea shells left behind at low water. A little farther inland, where the ground was firmer, came the casuarina, the wild cotton-tree, palms of all kinds, feathery bamboo clumps, wait-a-bit thorns—the whole bound into an impenetrable mass by the wealth of creepers, so that nothing but the elephant or the rhinoceros could force a way through. This dense jungle has within five years been suddenly transformed into a highly cultivated and populous plain, traversed by broad drains, and embankments, which themselves are in process of conversion into canals and roads.

"There is no reason why what is possible in our territory should not be equally possible in the native States. The only difficulty is that capitalists are not

so ready to embark their money in a country where there is not the stability of British rule. Just now everything is going well, but it is possible that at some future time things might not go on so pleasantly. Fortunately the Malay is very easy to rule. The popular opinion of him as an individual addicted to piracy and 'running amok' is even more wrong than is usually the case with popular notions. He is a grave and dignified personage who cannot understand a joke; he requires to be dealt with very patiently, and must not on any account be hurried when he has a story to tell you. Probably a personal knowledge of their ruler has more influence with the Malays than with any other nation, and Sir Frederick Weld's excursions through the native States have therefore a particular value. Nevertheless everything seems to indicate that the whole of the western half of the peninsula will in time become our territory. The possible conflict between the native ruler and his adviser is the great danger of the Straits system, and it is one that can never be finally got rid of. Another circumstance which points inevitably to annexation is the sparse population of the Malay States. This has been brought about by debt slavery, and by the poverty of the people, caused by the grinding rule of the Rajahs and subordinate chiefs. If we had to trust to the Malays themselves it would be many a year before the country was cultivated. But there is no lack of immigrants. The Chinaman, of course, as everywhere else in the East, flocks there in ship-loads and makes himself thoroughly at home. Sir Frederick Weld is very anxious for Indian immigration, and has encouraged settlement in the native States as much as possible. In the Straits the Indians find everything congenial to them. The character of the country does not differ greatly from that of their own, and they get on very well with the Malays. It is also particularly to be desired that the country should not become exclusively Chinese, as it undoubtedly would in time if we were to withdraw. It would be bad enough if the Chinamen were all from one province of the Celestial empire. But as a matter of fact they belong to a great variety of clans, and the enmity between the Cantonese and the Amoy

men, the Macaos and the Fuhkinese, is quite incredible to those who have not witnessed it. . . . It is therefore obvious that it is not by any means desirable to let the Chinamen obtain too exclusive a possession of the peninsula."

CHAPTER XVI

"Thou who of Thy free grace didst build up this Brittanick Empire to a glorious and enviable Height, with all her Daughter Islands about Her, stay us in this Felicitie."—MILTON.

THE last three months before Sir Frederick Weld's departure were busily occupied by him in gathering together the strings of the many works in which he was engaged before handing them over to Mr. C. Clementi Smith, upon whom, as Colonial Secretary, devolved the post of Acting Governor in his absence. His health at this time made him physically unfit for these, or any, exertions, and the result was that he more than once broke down under them. Early in January 1884, when he was slowly recovering from a severe attack of gout, his doctor having advised him to try change of air, he started for Pangkor with his daughter Maud and Mr. Hugh Clifford [1]—a young cadet who had lately joined the service, and the eldest son of his old friend, Sir Henry Clifford. He was met there by Sir Hugh Low, who came by appointment to discuss Siamese affairs with him, Dutch intrigues in that country having given cause for grave anxiety. Weld notes in his diary:

" Low persuaded me that it was best both for my health and for the public service that I should take a few days of rest and fresh air on his hill. I agreed, and accordingly we steamed on the same day to Teluk Kertang, and after landing there drove on with Mr. Wynne to the Residency at Thaipeng. Felt very weak and tired after the journey.

[1] Now Sir Hugh Clifford, K.C.M.G., Governor of the Gold Coast Colony.

"*January 4th.* Still weak but better, but did not go out. Maud went for two and a half miles down the new railway line on a truck with Mr. Creagh.

"*5th.* Better. We left Thaipeng and drove to 'Lady Weld's' rest-house. Met Hugh Clifford there, and Mr. Bozzolo. Maud [1] rode with Hugh on an elephant to see the men get some fish, with dynamite, for specimens for the museum. They secured a considerable number of various kinds—some curious and interesting ones. Maud's elephant took fright at the noise of the explosion and bolted, and could not be stopped till he had crossed the stream a good bit farther down. Maud was very brave, and lay quite still on his back, and did what she was told. Luckily he ran away down the same jungle track that they had passed in coming up, which the driver had already cleared of overhanging branches, so she was none the worse."

The next four or five days were spent at Sir Hugh's hill Residency, with great benefit to the Governor's health. He notes as follows:

"*January 9th.* Much better. At work all day at dispatches and other business.

"*10th.* Started early to go down the hill and reached K. Kangsa at noon. Went to the opening of the State Council, at which H.H. the Regent of Perak made a really excellent impromptu speech, very kind and cordial; it was well delivered, and with dignity. I wished every one good-bye, and received many friendly wishes for voyage and safe return.

"*11th.* Left early after long talk with Low. Arrived at Thaipeng at midday; inspected Sikh recruits, the horses, cavalry, and men, afterwards had lance-drill at the barracks. Drove to Teluk Kertang; wished good-bye to Creagh, Mr. Wynne, Mr. Welman Caulfield, etc., and embarked with Maud and little Rajah Chulan, ex-Sultan Abdullah's son, and started for Malacca and Singapore."

On Weld's return he found Captain Jekyll, R.E., awaiting him, who had been sent by the Home Government to inspect and report on the fortifications of

[1] *Ætat.* ten or eleven.

Singapore. This was a subject in which he was keenly interested, accordingly we find more than one allusion to it in his diary. The time for the Governor's departure was now drawing near, and we find mention of many farewell dinners, a last ball given at Government House at which he was unable to be present through ill-health, and a leave-taking of the Johore family of which he writes as follows :

" *March 13th.* In the evening drove with Mena and Edie to Tyersall, found the Maharajah out, but were invited to go upstairs to look at the curios which he had brought back from his recent visit to Japan, and which are very fine and valuable. To my great surprise the Maharanee appeared and showed us over her rooms, which are filled with all sorts of beautiful objects. I had never seen her before; she is half-Chinese and half-Malay, coarse-featured and square-built ; in fact, very homely in appearance, but pleasing in manner and quite unaffected. She had bare feet, and was dressed in a loose cape, which was secured under the chin with a single diamond."

Dutch intrigues and conspiracies occupied his attention up to the moment before he sailed ; thus he notes in his diary :

" *March 28th.* My last act was to telegraph as well as write to the Dutch Governor-General protesting in the name of the British Government (having been authorised to do so) against the proposed murder of Rajah Imam Muda by Nja Hadgi. I had already taken every possible means to prevent it, and Mr. Maxwell, my envoy, had protested in my name. The Dutch Governor of Acheen had said that he disapproved, but I have since heard that it was a very lame disapproval. I have now done all I can.

" We embarked this afternoon at Tanjong Pagar, a guard of honour of the Inniskilling Fusiliers, and a great crowd of natives, all the officials and principal people, the Maharajah, Mr. and Mrs. C. C. Smith, and A.D.C.'s coming to see us off, and wish us a good

journey and safe return. We sailed in the s.s. *Laertes* at 5.30."

The sea voyage, which was not signalised by any event of special interest, lasted a little less than five weeks, and on the 1st of May, Sir Frederick notes that when daylight came they found themselves off the Start.

"We reached Portland about 10 a.m. Humphrey, Everard, and Freddy, with their uncle Edwin de Lisle, came off in a steamer to us—a very happy meeting. At the pier we found Mary, who had just arrived by train from Chideock; Charles, I am sorry to say, was not well enough to accompany her. Mrs. de Lisle arrived at 4, another happy meeting; also Charlie and Henry Weld-Blundell from Lulworth. We sat down a party of eighteen at lunch.

"*May 2nd.* Went to Lulworth. A large party. Charlie Weld-Blundell came to meet us at the station with his four-in-hand and drove us up to the Castle. In the afternoon we walked to the lake and back, and then drove to Wool and reached Weymouth that night, where we slept. A most delightful day.

"*May 3rd.* The next day we went to Bridport, and drove from there to Chideock. A large crowd met us on the top of Chideock hill, where an arch had been put up. When we got to the village the men took the horses out of the carriage and dragged us up to the house. The village was decorated with evergreens, and flags flying in all directions. Everybody most cordial, and I think pleased to see us back."

The summer and autumn that ensued were very happy ones for Sir Frederick Weld, and not less so for his wife and children. There was, in the first place, the great gap of fifteen years' absence to be bridged over, and *to all* that meant much. To the younger members of the family, England, home, had existed hitherto only in the imagination. To the elder ones these names were but as the "figments of

a dream." How much, therefore, was there for each one to see, to do, and to experience ! Old haunts to revisit, old friends to renew acquaintance with, fresh ones to make—and all seen through the glamour of those magical words : Home and England.

On the 10th of June, Weld went up to London to dine with the Committee of the Royal Institute. The dinner was followed by a meeting, in which the Rt. Hon. W. E. Forster was in the chair, when, at the request of the secretary, Mr. Frederick Young, Weld read a paper on British Malaya.

This paper—an exceedingly interesting one—concluded, a discussion followed in which Sir Hugh Low, Mr. Bulkeley Johnson, and Captain Colomb, R.E., took part. The point of most general interest taken up by the speakers was the defences of Singapore. Sir Frederick had remarked in his paper that they were receiving the attention of Government, to which Mr. Johnson answered : " That, sir, is a very convenient phrase for Her Majesty's Government. The question has been nominally receiving attention for years and no result has come, and no result will come until the constituencies bring pressure to bear on the proper quarter. The late Lord Beaconsfield some years ago called attention to the chain of fortresses which unites the British Empire in the East with these islands. . . . But Aden is not capable of resisting modern artillery. Trincomalee and Colombo and Penang are open roadsteads. On the so-called batteries of Singapore and Hong Kong there is not mounted a single armour-piercing gun ! I hope public attention will be called to this question. I trust we shall never be involved in war, especially with a first-class naval power ; but if unhappily we are, I believe we should be found unprepared, and that on that eve of some calamitous disaster the nation will wake up with an exceeding bitter cry and

say that it has been betrayed by its politicians and deceived by its press."

Captain Colomb, R.E., having been invited to speak on a subject in which he had expert knowledge, continued the discussion. He said: "I would draw attention to the figures Governor Weld has given as to the entrances and clearances at the single port of Singapore, which exceed 4,000,000 tons, being about equal to the Clyde. He also reminds us that Singapore is the centre of a sea area over which passes some 250 millions sterling in British goods in one year, being nearly equivalent to a quarter of the British annual sea trade, which is over 1000 million. He has also told us that there are some 300,000 tons of coal there. I could name many other places where we store British coal; and unless that coal is secured, not merely for men-of-war but for the merchant fleet, by means of local defence, we must acquiesce at its being lost if not damaged in war. . . . I say without fear of contradiction, that if we continue to neglect and to leave defenceless these keys of the Empire, we must expect to lose suddenly our empire of the sea. We happen for good or for evil to be possessed of the greatest centres of the trade of the world. When we are involved in war those ports will be ports of a belligerent,—not of a neutral power,—and our merchant vessels will find no place of safety in unprotected Singapore, but will merely be rushing together to meet one common destruction unless that place is defended." Captain Colomb concluded by an earnest entreaty to the party in power to establish Imperial defence on a surer basis.

The autumn following on Sir Frederick Weld's return to England was spent either at his Dorsetshire home or in its neighbourhood, or at shooting parties with various friends and relations.

The beginning of the year 1885 brought Weld a

great sorrow in the death, on the 28th of January, of Charles, his only surviving brother. As he died childless the property of Chideock devolved upon Sir Frederick. Shortly afterwards he was officially informed by the Colonial Office that he had been given two years' extension of his term of Governorship of the Straits Settlements, coupled with the intimation that he would be expected to return to Singapore in the October of the same year. The manor-house having been left to the widow for her life, he and his family remained on in the Warren, a small house in the village of Chideock which they had made their headquarters during their stay in England.[1]

The following summer, Sir Frederick and Lady Weld rented a house in Bryanston Square, and they and their daughters took part in various gay doings during the London season. In June we find mention in his diary of an official announcement that the Queen had promoted him to the dignity of a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, and on the 4th of July he went down to Windsor to receive the insignia from the hands of Her Majesty.

Perhaps few of the acquaintances made by Sir Frederick Weld during his stay in England on this occasion must have given him greater pleasure than that of the poet Tennyson. He mentions in his diary that he was asked by Dean Stanley, with whom Tennyson was staying, to meet him at the Westminster Deanery.

"After luncheon, Lord Tennyson read me his ode on the death of the Duke of Wellington very impressively. He considers it, as I do, one of his finest works. I afterwards read it to him, and he said I read

[1] Two years later, on Sir Frederick's retirement from active service, Mrs. Charles Weld made over the manor-house to him.

it better than ninety-nine men out of a hundred; he pointed out one or two defects on minor points in the way I rendered it. He said of himself that he read it more "ponderously."

The early part of the autumn was passed in leave-takings, one a very sad one, for they were leaving a much-loved daughter, Minnie, at the Convent of Newton Abbot where she had become a nun. His six sons also were left in England to continue their education, the four eldest at Stonyhurst, and the two younger ones at the Benedictine College of Fort Augustus. Other changes in the family circle were imminent, as Sir Frederick's second daughter, Cicely, was engaged to be married to Jasper Mayne of the Inniskillings.

The last days of their stay in England were spent in Lancashire at Ince Blundell, and on 10th October they embarked on the *Titan*, at Liverpool, for Singapore.

The first few months of the Governor's return to Singapore were taken up with the usual routine work, varied by journeys to the native States. In a letter to an old friend,[1] dated the 22nd of February, after mentioning with pardonable pride that the result of the policy he had adopted with regard to the protected States was beginning to tell in the friendly attitude taken up by the rulers of the Independent provinces, showing itself in their desire to refer their disputes to him and ask his advice in their difficulties, he remarks:

"I was staying with a chief some weeks ago in the interior, where Europeans had hardly ever penetrated before, and at night I said to him, 'My Sikhs are tired,' —I had only half a dozen and one European with me, —'they have done a hard day's work, I will not keep

[1] Mr. Scrope of Danby.

a sentry at my door. If you like you may put one of your own men on guard.' Of course he was much flattered. A day or two later I was sleeping in a native hut, and it had been prepared with hangings, embroidered cushions, and so forth for the occasion; and when I went to bed they displayed the insignia of office, state umbrella, sword, and krisses against my door in token of homage. This was done in the centre of the Rembau district, which has been renowned for its turbulence ever since the days of the Portuguese, and till quite recently was not supposed to be safe for travellers unless armed and with a large escort. I found also the greatest appreciation on the part of the people for what had been done for them. Lately, I was coming down from the mountain ranges through the woods on to the cultivated rice-lands—walking at the head of my party—and the natives in the first village I reached had drawn up in two lines to salute and salaam me as I passed down the street; when I had done so I shook hands with the man who appeared to be the village chief, whereupon the whole mob rushed to shake hands, quite pleased, apparently, to give expression to their friendly feelings. It was the same wherever we went; the people coming to make us little presents of fruit, or curry prepared by their wives, and the chiefs offering goats, and on one or two occasions killing a buffalo to make a feast to celebrate the occasion.

"Since I got back to Singapore we have had a visit from my old New Zealand friend, Admiral Vesey Hamilton, who commands the squadron. He had the *Audacious* as his flagship, that will neither steam nor sail, and with both combined can hardly do 7 knots an hour, and the *Agamemnon*, which won't steer; and it is to these we have to trust to defend this part of the world. We have, however, just got a good cruiser, the *Leander*."

A little later he writes to the same correspondent:

"We have two Japanese ironclads of a very superior type, built at Newcastle, stopping here. They are boats of about 3000 tons, and can

steam 18 or 19 knots, carry a great quantity of coal, and can keep up 10 knots with one engine (they have, I think, 4 engines) at a very small consumption of coal. They carry two 26-ton guns, and 8 or 10 other powerful broadside guns, very superior torpedo apparatus, an improved torpedo netting that can be lowered in a remarkably short time, iron tortoise-back decks, electric lights, and have officers trained in the British navy. Nothing in these parts could look at them. One of our naval men who went over them said either was worth all our fleet in these seas—which is made up of the greatest rubbish—put together, if it came to a fight. However we are not likely to have a row with Japan. We are getting on very fast with our fortifications; and two officers, an engineer and an artillery man, sent out specially to report say that we are well ahead of any others both in quality of work and speed of execution, only they are slow in England about sending out the guns. The work has been carried out by our colonial engineer, an R.E., at the cost of the Colony, England supplying the guns only. The town itself is but ill-defended, and the Admiralty is very slow in making a move with regard to the big dock."

Sir Frederick Weld's diary and letter-book are full of allusion in the spring and summer of the year 1886 to unrest on the Siamese frontier. The disturbances arising there were due to several causes; one was the Siamese encroachments on the frontier of Upper Perak, another their interference with the trade and internal affairs of the native States of Raman and Trengganu, over which the kingdom of Siam claimed suzerainty. Weld in a dispatch to the Secretary of State for the Colonies explains his views on the question as follows:

" The territory in question belongs to Perak, and we have engaged by treaty to prevent the occupation of Perak territory by the Siamese. Hitherto, as the land encroached upon was in the possession of

the Rajah of Raman and Malay, we have treated it as a domestic quarrel between Malays and not interfered; but Perak through her Regent and State Council is now appealing to us to maintain and uphold her rights.

"It has been objected that if we do our duty to our friends and fulfil our obligations to our protected State of Perak we may lose, or fail to regain, influence at the Court of Siam, and thus throw that country into the hands of the French. This would be to repeat what was done in the days of the East India Company, when they weakly—I might almost say treacherously—delivered our friend and ally the Sultan of Kedah into the hands of his enemy the King of Siam, allowing the Siamese to take the whole of his territory, except that which he had given us as the price of our friendship: a policy which has never been forgotten, and tells against us even to this day. I ask that we may not repeat that error with consequences which I fear might be even more far-reaching. It is quite possible that we may at some future time be pressed by Russia on one frontier and France on the other. We should then be in the position of the continental Powers, forced to be armed to the teeth in order to repel possible aggression. We are within measurable distance of such a condition of affairs now, and every weak step taken by us whereby we alienate or discourage our friends, and lead neutrals to undervalue our alliance, brings that step nearer. Three years ago I unofficially drew attention to the fact that frequent visits of French and Russian squadrons to Siam, and certain mysterious movements of Russian ships between Russia and British Burmah, pointed to a desire on the part of those nations to impress the Siamese with their power; and I know that those demonstrations had a considerable effect on the public mind, coupled as they were with the absence of any considerable British force. Recent events have strengthened the conclusions I then came to, and I believe our true policy is to extend our influence over all the Malay States of the Peninsula up to British Burmah, so that in the event of Siam falling under French influence, we should be in

the position of demonstrating that interference with the Malay States would be equivalent to a breach with us.

"It may be said: admitting all this, would it not be safer to back up Siam? To do so would be to bolster up the weakest, and, in its outlying Malay provinces at any rate, one of the most corrupt, tyrannical, and profligate governments in the world, —a government which, in spite of some superficial varnish of civilisation at Bangkok and a well-meaning king, contains every element of disintegration, and which would crumble at the touch of a strong hand, unless supported by a foreign Power. Again, by yielding to the Siamese on a point in which we have right on our side, and weakly deserting our friends in order to curry favour with their oppressors, we should not only lose prestige with the Malays, but with the Siamese government as well. Nothing is more futile than to expect to gain the goodwill of a semi-civilised race by yielding to them in such a way as to forfeit their respect, and their confidence in your word and determination to uphold treaty engagements. The Malay States are looking on this boundary question as a test of our willingness and our power to protect them against Siamese aggression. The Siamese will view it in much the same light, and they will unquestionably contrast any sign of surrender on our part with the forward and aggressive policy of other nations."

A correspondence with Mr. Satow,[1] British Minister at the Court of Siam, shows that Sir Frederick was pushing his views with our representative there as well as with the authorities at home. He writes on the 19th of May 1886 as follows:

"I have this moment received your official letter of 13th May. Reading between the lines, I see in the answer of H.R.H. the Siamese Minister strong confirmation of my suspicion that he is trying to hoodwink us, and that Siamese troops are going to occupy the country whilst we are being amused

[1] Afterwards Sir Ernest Satow, K.C.M.G.

with negotiations. I have not hitherto moved a man or a gun, even into our acknowledged territory, but he may easily render it necessary for us to do both. I do not object to his moving his men into Petani, and he cannot object to me moving mine up to our acknowledged boundary; but if his men advance into the territory under dispute by one foot it will be at his own risk, and I shall then hold myself at liberty to move men and guns forward also into disputed territory. Do not think there is any intention on my part to do this unless I am ordered to do so by the Home Government, or unless sudden action on the part of the Siamese renders sudden action on my part imperative. You may give any assurances you like in accordance with what I have written; I have no intention of moving my force even to our acknowledged frontier, unless Siamese action obliges me to do so, and I shall defer it as long as I can. The remark made by His Royal Highness that 'if any signs of encroachment were observed, he could not guarantee that the people of Raman would not protect their frontier' is dishonest and absurd. I have no complaint to make against the action of the people of Raman. They would welcome us with open arms, and if we advance H.R.H. would soon see whose side they would take. All that these poor people desire is to be relieved from Siamese tyranny. What I alluded to was the preparations being made for a body of troops, foreign to the district, who, it is said, are to be moved in to Upper Perak by the Siamese Governor of Senggora, to occupy our old forts in order to coerce the people, and oblige them to submit to Siamese oppression."

Sir Frederick's next letter to Mr. Satow displays a much less belligerent spirit—the Siamese having apparently climbed down. He writes on the 30th of May in the following terms:

"Yours of the 25th May reached me yesterday. The intention, whatever it was, regarding movement of troops by the Siamese has, I believe, now been abandoned. A good number came with the Chokoon

of Senggora, and I hear they have been making inquiries about the Perak force, and are much impressed by what they have learnt. They must also have quite satisfied themselves that we are not contemplating any use of force unless they provoke it. The men who came with the Chokoon (who also brought a hundred elephants) returned with him after a friendly conference which was held by the Bangkok Commissioner, the Rajah of Raman, the Chokoon, and Mr. Bozzolo, our Perak officer, who knows the people and country well and who went to meet them. The latter travelled quietly with only a few men and elephants, so this must have conveyed the impression to the Chokoon that he had no desire to bully ; it also implied confidence. The cases I complained of were gone into, and all concurred in admitting that they were perfectly clear. Apart from the Perak question, it is *we* who to a great extent keep the native States quiet ; for if a Malay wants to rise against his ruler he sends to me and asks if he may do so, and I say : *No*. I may tell you in strict confidence that the Rajah of Raman has asked our officer to take over his revenue farms ; moreover, the Siamese ambassador in London asked us if we would administer some of the King of Siam's outlying Malay States and advance money to develop them. Now, if we did this by degrees, and on terms that would not affect the king's claims, or his suzerainty, would it not reconcile our rival interests, give peace to the country, put money into the pockets of both rajahs and king, in short, settle all difficulties, and *keep out our rivals*—which last is my main object."

In the June of 1886, Sir Frederick Weld, accompanied by Sir Hugh Low, Mr. Rodger,[1] Acting Resident of Selangor, Mr. Martin Lister, Mr. Hugh Clifford, the latter acting as the Governor's interpreter, paid a visit in the *Seabelle* to the independent native States of Pahang, Trengganu, and Kelantan on the east coast of the Peninsula. This was the first journey of

[1] Afterwards Sir John Rodger, K.C.M.G., Governor of the Gold Coast. He died in 1910.

the kind undertaken by the Governor of the Straits for many years.

On the 2nd of August of this year Sir Frederick Weld's second daughter, Cicely, was married in the Catholic Cathedral, Singapore, to Lieut. Jasper Mayne of the Inniskilling Fusiliers. In his journal, after recording the event, he notes :

" We had early Mass at Government House, and all went to Communion. The whole affair went off splendidly. The Cathedral was crowded, but all so orderly and devotional. The Bishop gave the Pope's special blessing afterwards most impressively. There were about 250 guests at the wedding breakfast."

The Maynes, after a week's honeymoon at a bungalow which had been lent to them in the country, started for a journey to Japan. They returned six weeks later to Singapore, when Mayne took up the duties of A.D.C. to Sir Frederick Weld. There were many changes in the Governor's staff about this time. Mr. Dickson[1] took Sir Cecil C. Smith's place as colonial secretary, the latter having been sent to Ceylon, and the Hon. Gerard Wallop became private secretary.

The end of the month of August found the Welds on a visit to Sir Hugh and Lady Low at Thaipeng. We read in the diary :

" *August 26th.* Landed in the *Mena* (Sir Hugh's steam launch) at 9 a.m. Went by rail to Thaipeng. Mena and Edie went on to Thaipeng with Lady Low, Chrissy and I stayed at the Creaghs. Inspected the fort and magazine and hospital. The Sikhs did some very fine brigade drill.

" *27th.* Up before daylight and had a sham fight near the rifle range. Chrissy and I went with the troops over very rough ground, swamps, and brooks, Sir Hugh with us. It was a very pretty

[1] Afterwards Sir Frederick Dickson, K.C.M.G.

sight and exceedingly well done. I addressed the troops afterwards on the parade ground when it was over."

A few days later Sir Frederick rode up the country to inspect some new roads that had been made up the valley, between Blanja and Batu Gajah in Perak territory. He also inspected mines in the same neighbourhood—one belonging to a French Company, 'de Morgan'—on the road to Gopeng. On 7th September he writes in his diary :

"Left Ipoh, crossed the Kinta and Perak rivers and rode up the dividing range between the valleys (of the same name) by a capital bridle road to a stopping place where Mr. Rathbone had put up a nice temporary shelter ; beautiful mountain scenery, and fine forests : height about 1500 feet above sea-level.

"*8th.* Rode on this morning to the top of the pass ; fine forest and rock scenery. About 1800 feet at the summit. Rode down into the Perak valley through steep dells, a clear mountain torrent breaking into numerous waterfalls by the side of the road. Rained heavily when we reached the valley ; we arrived at the Residency drenched to the skin."

A few days later the Welds left Thaipeng in the steam launch and reached the Government yacht *Seabelle*, which was at anchor outside the bar, and steamed to the Dindings. On the 14th they started for Selangor, where a great event—no less than the opening of the new railway—was impending. Weld notes :

"Got under way at about 6 a.m., arrived at Klang Straits, and anchored at 5 in the afternoon. Mr. Rodger, acting Resident of Selangor, with Lister, Magistrate of Ulu Selangor, anchored by us in the State steamer *Abdul Samat*, and came on board and dined.

"*15th.* We left the *Seabelle* at 6 a.m., went up the river in the *Abdul Samat*, and landed at Klang. I found the town much improved. We took the Sultan

on board here with his suite—all in great state. He was splendidly got up in Malay fashion, and was accompanied by chiefs carrying the Royal insignia. We landed at Bukit Kuda and got into the railway, reaching K. Lumpor in an hour and a half. We had to go rather slowly in places, the line being new, and not all metalled yet. The distance is 20 miles. Great preparations had been made at K. Lumpor, and addresses were read from Malay and Chinese.

"*16th.* Business all the morning. In the evening I invested the Sultan, by Her Majesty's command, with the K.C.M.G., a rather elaborate ceremonial. The troops were drawn up, and a salute fired; a great crowd of spectators filling the hall which was very handsomely decorated. H.H. was evidently much gratified by the honours paid to him. When the ceremony was over, the Malay chiefs of Royal blood were brought up and presented to me. The Sultan and I sat on two chairs of state; Mena and Chrissy and Edie sat near us."

A letter written by the Governor soon after his return to Singapore gives proof of the care he exercised in choosing his instruments for the peaceful subjugation of the Peninsula. It is addressed to Mr. Rodger, the Acting Resident of Selangor, and after expressing his regrets at asking a sacrifice of him, he says:

"I want you to let me have Lister.[1] If I had a man in the Straits service who would undertake this job I would not ask for him, but I find that it is too much to expect from young officers of the Cadet S.S. class to manage affairs such as those of Sri Menanti and Johol. They have neither the experience nor do they carry weight enough, and no amount of cramming, or success at competitive examinations, will teach a man how to manage natives and win their confidence. Matters

[1] These letters have a special interest, referring as they do to a young man of singular promise, Hon. Martin Lister, who died at an early age at Aden on his way home, invalided; a victim of tropical climates and devotion to the service of his country.

in those States require firm and gentle handling. Action has been taken there without my sanction, in fact, in a manner opposed to my policy ; some chiefs that I wished to conciliate have been alienated, and an impression has gone abroad that we are backing, right or wrong, the Yam Tuan. As to the people, when I was there they appeared friendly and well-disposed, like all the Malays in the inland States. I think Datoh Beginda Tona Mas, the Johol Prime Minister, a capital man to work with, and he is by far the most influential man in the country. The Yam Tuan is full of good professions and possibly intentions, but he is flighty and unreliable. He has no following to speak of. I fear Lister would not be so comfortable as he is at Ulu Selangor, but I might possibly be able to let him go back before the end of the year. He would go to Sri Menanti as a Commissioner, to advise and organise, as well as to act as Magistrate and Collector. I have no time to write to Lister, so I have put everything into this letter, which I will ask you to forward to him."

A month later this letter was followed up by one to Mr. Lister, in which the Governor writes :

" I have read your letter carefully, and with very great interest. Your estimate of Tungku Antar is correct—*add flighty*. I approve of your going to Rembau, and have made a minute to that effect. . . . As to Johol's relations with the Yam Tuan, that is very delicate ground, and you will have to get the confidence of both the Yam Tuan and Datoh Beginda Mas first. I think Johol is perhaps the stronger ; it is premature to judge, and events must develop themselves. The Yam Tuan was given his present position by the Home Government after the war. When he opposed us and was driven out, I think the proper course would have been to have relied on the Penghulus, and not to have re-established any Yam Tuan, and to have placed an officer in the district ; now we are bound to him ; but we are also bound to respect and preserve the liberties of the States, of which Johol is first in rank. You will remark one thing in Rembau, and in all these States,

and that is their extreme sensitiveness about "Constitutional" questions and rights. That feeling, based though it may be on self-interest, is worthy of respect, and should be turned to good and not discouraged. I see you are taking the right line and grasping the situation. I like a full journal giving information on all points, if you have time to write it. I read every journal of every Resident or District Officer in the Peninsula that reaches me, so don't be afraid of boring me by long letters."

In December, Sir Frederick Weld returned to Thaipeng and spent three weeks at "Wilderness Cottage," a bungalow on the top of one of the high hills in that neighbourhood. This spot, which was about 4400 feet above the sea, must have been an ideal one for what in these days would be called a rest-cure. The Governor's time, when not taken up with the correspondence and business which followed him there, was spent in laying out the grounds and gardening. He mentions the following as his occupation of one day :

"*December 9th.* Up before breakfast, reading and working in the garden. Sowed some yellow primrose seeds. After lunch I planted the first oats that I imagine have ever been sown in the Peninsula. At this height they ought to do well."

On the last day of his stay there he writes :

"18*th.* We leave the hill this afternoon. My stay here has done me a wonderful amount of good. Most of the time we have been here it has been like English April weather, without the harsh winds. We had fires every evening, and I have had one to go to bed with, not that the cold made it necessary, but because it looked bright and cheery. I took a last look at my oats and wheat, which appear very promising."

A severe attack of ophthalmia interfered with Sir Frederick Weld's plans for some weeks in the early spring of the year 1887, and condemned him to a dark

room and an invalid's life. He was beginning to recover in the month of April, when Mr. Hugh Clifford, whom he had dispatched overland to Pahang in the middle of January, returned by sea to Singapore, bearing a letter from the Sultan asking that a treaty might be concluded with him whereby a European officer would be permanently stationed at his court to assist him in the administration of his country. He announces the fact to the Finance Committee in the following memo.:

" The successful issue of Mr. Clifford's mission to Pahang opens up a State richer and larger than Perak, possessing great mineral and agricultural wealth, and offering a great field for commercial enterprise. At present there is no settled administration in Pahang; and as European and other miners are flocking into the country troubles have arisen, and, in at least one case, a collision has been narrowly averted. The Rajah, with whom I have been long in communication, has at last become alive to the gravity of the situation, and has applied to me for assistance, asking for a treaty like that with Johor, and a British Agent. This, with the recent arrangements made in regard to Sri Menanti, Rembau, and Jelebu, has consolidated British influence over the whole Peninsula east and west, south of the States in which Siam claims a right of interference."

Sir Frederick follows up this announcement with suggestions in considerable detail of roads which might be made to open up the rich mining districts of Ulu (or upper) Pahang so as to connect them with Perak and Selangor. He continues:

" It is of great importance to have good overland communication with Pahang, as the east coast is closed by the monsoon for six months in the year ; moreover, all our experience in the native States goes to prove that population is attracted, and agricultural and mining enterprise encouraged, directly roads are made, and security given for life and property. To do this a

large expenditure will be required; more will be needed should H.H. the Rajah of Pahang ask the Agent's advice with regard to police, collection of revenue, its distribution, land and mining administration, and other branches of the service. Mr. Clifford, pending the appointment of a permanent Agent, will be sent back to Pahang. Two Malay chiefs belonging to the native States will be attached to Mr. Clifford."

Sir Frederick Weld then enters into the question of the sums required for carrying out these projects, and submits them to the consideration of the Finance Committee. In a letter to a friend he enlarges on the satisfaction which this event has caused him:

"I have lately scored a great success as a result of my policy in this country; the rich and powerful State of Pahang on the east coast has asked for a treaty and a government agent. This is the seventh State that has voluntarily put itself under British protection, and asked me to undertake its affairs. All the southern part of the Peninsula is now under British influence, and—one may add—open to commerce, peace, and civilisation. The task of introducing these elements into Pahang, which is utterly disorganised, is one that will require much tact, prudence, and firmness. Young Clifford was the instrument of bringing this about, and he has shown all these qualities, and great physical powers of endurance in arduous and even to some extent dangerous journeys, often living on native food for weeks together. He is now stationed as my emissary in the palace of the Rajah of Pahang, a mild-mannered and amiable old gentleman, who having got into serious trouble with his own people, who are in a state of anarchy, and with the Europeans to whom he foolishly gave concessions of tin and gold mines, is asking our help to get him out of his difficulties. His only idea of government is to order some one to be fined or assassinated, and of pleasure to smoke opium, shoot a little, and amuse himself with his numerous wives. The people are terribly oppressed, and look to us to save them; they are being plundered, and

their wives and daughters are at the mercy of their chiefs. And yet the position of the chiefs is so precarious that even they welcome our coming. I cannot help regretting that I shall have left the country before my plans for its reorganisation can be fully carried out. It will take time, as we shall have to gain the confidence of the Rajah and of his chiefs, and make them see where their interest lies. I am going shortly to Borneo on a mission from the F.O., to settle some disputes in that quarter. I expect my instructions next week. It is in reference to difficulties which have risen between the Sultan of Brunei and Rajah Brooke of Sarawak, and the N. Borneo Company. Also the little colony of Labuan is mixed up in it. I shall probably offend all these parties but one, and the chances are that I shall satisfy none of them."

The expedition foreshadowed in Sir Frederick Weld's letter started on the 13th of May for Borneo. The Governor took with him Mr. Paul, Resident of Sungei Ujong, to interpret and conduct negotiations, Mr. Kynnersley, first magistrate of Penang, and his private secretary, Hon. Gerard Wallop. He sailed in the Government yacht *Seabelle*, and on his arrival at Labuan on the 17th was joined by H.M. s.s. the *Wanderer* and *Espoir*. The following two days were taken up with "parleys" with Governor Leys and Rajah Brooke—the former being Governor of Labuan.

On the 20th of May, Sir Frederick started for Brunei. He gives the following account of his journey there in his diary :

"Under way at 4 or 5 a.m. The *Espoir* being slower, the *Seabelle* preceded us, and we found her at anchor off the Maura under the lee of Sapo Point. We led over the bar and up the intricate channel, having barely water, though we were in light trim, as it was not high tide by nearly an hour. The channel is winding and narrow. The Brunei River, or inlet, is easier navigation. It is about half a mile

wide; green hills rise on either side, partly wooded and partly cultivated."

Sir Frederick describes the town of Brunei in a letter to Lady Weld, dated 25th May:

"The river opens out into a kind of lake as one approaches Brunei. The houses are all raised high on piles, so that when the tide is up the town looks as if it was sitting on the water. There are said to be about 15,000 inhabitants. We are anchored in what would be called the 'Grand Canal' if we were at Venice, or if we were on land the High Street; the *Espoir* near us, and the Sultan's Istana,[1] which is a very poor affair, opposite. The town is very interesting, the streets all water-ways; the market is held on boats on the water. All the land visible are two or three small islets a few yards square, in which there are half a dozen palms or coco-nut trees. The children seem extraordinarily numerous, and almost live in the water, swimming and paddling about in little canoes; a baby of about two came up to the ship sitting gravely in a tiny canoe, and paddled by a small brother very little bigger than himself. They come in dozens to examine the figure-head, which seems to amuse them very much, as they go into fits of laughter over it. They appear to be a very cheerful people; they sing a good deal in their boats. I like to hear it, as it reminds me of the Maori songs, which these resemble somewhat. It is certainly a very picturesque town—like a Venice on stilts. The first morning after our arrival I visited the Sultan in state, self and suite in full uniform. The Sultan though very unwell came to the door to meet me, accompanied by sword and kris bearers, also the betel-nut gold box bearer. He gave us tea and monster cigarettes, the tobacco enclosed in a reed or palm leaf—rather neat and clean it looked, and wasn't half bad to smoke. The interview went off very well, and he seemed pleased to hear that I was going to take time, and do nothing in a hurry. Next day the Sultan returned my visit, and two of the principal magnates at the court called also. Paul's time has been fully

[1] Palace.

employed since we arrived in interviewing people and taking down evidence ; my occupation will come later. After two days spent in this way I started with Paul at 5.30 a.m. to meet the 'rebels' up the Limbang river at a place called Donan. We passed what the Sultan called a fort, the said fort consisting of a shed stuck up on poles in the middle of the river, surrounded with a weak fence, like stakes for fishing nets. The river banks are covered with rich vegetation and thickets of bamboo. We passed the Sultan's fleet of boats, or prahus, all of which are thatched over, and protected, with their crews, by bamboo shielding which is pierced to enable the men to fire at the enemy without exposing themselves. The ships carried about fifty guns, and were moored under a bank. I would have undertaken, had I commanded the rebels, to have set fire to and routed the whole lot ; there was not even a proper look-out kept. We were on board a large steam launch lent us by the N. Borneo Co., as the *Seabelle* and *Espoir* could not go up the river, and when we got opposite the rebel outpost we took some of them on with us. At 1 p.m. we arrived at Donan, where the rebels had been summoned to meet us. It was the queerest sight imaginable. The men, about a hundred and fifty in number, were all armed to the teeth, with muskets, rifles, spears, shields, and krises of every imaginable shape—some of the latter very beautiful. No two were dressed alike ; the only recognised national distinction being an absence of trousers. One man wore a flat square tail made of deer's skin, others had long feathers, and wonderful head-gears ; skins and tags were very much the fashion, and some of the costumes were very warlike and impressive. They did not exhibit any of the 108 human heads that they are said to have taken from the Sultan's people. On being invited to come on board (there being no proper shelter from the scorching midday sun ashore), they responded so heartily to the invitation that there was hardly standing room left. We managed just to keep a small space clear where I reclined in a (deck) chair of state. They seemed hugely pleased at being allowed to air their grievances, and asked at once for a white man to govern them—

any white man. If the Queen would send one, all would be well; and if the Governor of Singapore would come and see how things were getting on now and then, he might bring all the ships and men-of-war he liked, but they would never allow the smallest boat belonging to the Sultan to come up the river. Rajah Brooke would do just as well, *he* might govern them; he was a white man, and had nothing to do with the Sultan. As for the Sultan, never would they submit to him again; he had oppressed them beyond endurance, and if his men left their boats and went into the jungle they would kill them all.

"This was the substance of their talk. They were quite amused when I said the Sultan wanted compensation for the lives and property of his subjects which they had made away with; in fact they laughed pleasantly, as if quite tickled with the idea, and evidently expected me to see it, too, in the light of a joke. They then said that the Sultan had (figuratively speaking) made the water in the river shallow by his exactions—choking it with their goods and their dead bodies. After this they consulted me about a murder, which they said had been committed by a party of 'wild men' in the interior of the island. This was getting on to very delicate ground.

"When the conference was over we started once more down the river, and after some delay, owing to the intricate nature of the channel, reached the *Seabelle* at 1 a.m. On the 25th (yesterday) we did business, and this morning came to Muara on Brunei Bay. We go next to Labuan, then on the 28th to Padas, where there are some land claims to be decided, after that we return to Brunei.

"*May 27th, Muara Bay.* I shall finish my letter now, as I shall have no time at Labuan. We are taking in coal here. We reached this place yesterday, but as it was a very wet evening I did not go ashore. I was up at 4.30 a.m. and spent the morning examining the coal mines. I walked through a tunnel 2000 feet long of solid coal; there must have been millions of tons of coal in that one seam. We went afterwards about three miles into the country to examine another coal mine which is of equal extent. It was very hot when we got back to the ship, but as

I wore a helmet and goggles my eyes are none the worse.

"*May* 30*th*. At sea amongst the islands in the passage north of Borneo.

"I wrote to you last from Labuan. We left it at 3.30 and made the fastest passage on record to Kudat in Maruda Bay, passing the north cape of Borneo about sunrise and anchoring at Kudat about 8 a.m. Kudat is a pretty spot, with a Residency bungalow on a promontory in a beautiful situation. The rest of the houses consist of a collector's and doctor's bungalow, a hospital and police quarters, and a row of attap and tiled houses. The bay is a very fine one. The Resident, or what we should call district officer, is away; a Dutch Java planter and his wife, who are establishing a tobacco factory here, were staying at the Residency. They came on board, and seemed rather pleasant people. After lunch we went up the river on a shooting expedition in boats towed by one small steam launch; we saw a number of long-nosed monkeys. The ground where we were supposed to shoot was hilly, and covered with long grass and scrub. I got a long quick shot at a deer running away from me over the brow of a hill, distant about 200 yards. I thought I hit him, and he stopped galloping; but it is hard to kill a beast dead when he is going away from you, so he managed to get on through the bushes; and though we were twice quite close to him he crawled away, and having, of course, no dog we never got him. I was very sorry for the poor beast. He was nearly black, and so big when we first saw him we took him for one of the native cattle. We got back to the *Seabelle* at 8 p.m. and were under way early this morning. At sunrise we had a grand view of Kina Balu, which is 13,700 feet high.

"*June* 10*th*. *Seabelle* off Labuan.

"We arrived here from Padas (and Brunei) this morning and anchored at sunrise. I went ashore and up to Government House, and asked the Governor and Mrs. Leys to lunch on board. Then I took Lt. Dudgeon, who is a very nice lad, with me, and we had a good walk round by Sir Hugh Low's old place, which is exceedingly pretty, with some fine flower-

ing bushes and trees. I last wrote from Sandakan, and I think you will get that letter at the same time as this one. We had a very pleasant voyage back, landing at the northernmost cape of Borneo, and looking in at the settlement at Gaza Bay. The scenery there is very grand ; it is only about twenty-five miles distant from the great mountain Kina Balu. On 3rd June we looked in at Labuan for a few hours, and I got your letter and a telegram from Lord Salisbury. The latter a satisfactory one—for it told me to carry out a policy that I had already taken on myself to decide upon with regard to a somewhat doubtful point. On the 8th we anchored once more on our old ground in the 'High Street' of Brunei. The Court here has been a hotbed of intrigues, and I have had difficulties of all sorts to contend with. On my arrival I got a letter from the Sultan which boded ill for the success of my mission. I wrote a very stiff answer, insisting on a definite reply to my demands, and threatening to leave next day if I did not get it. This produced a satisfactory letter from the Sultan, promising an answer on the following day. The day came, but no answer (I heard afterwards the delay was from no fault of his), so I dropped down the river and anchored a mile below the town, partly on account of the horrible stench from the low tides, and partly to show him that I was prepared to carry out my threat. The next day the letter I was waiting for arrived, so we steamed back again at high tide to the town, and I went to wish the Sultan good-bye. He was very gracious, and I presented him at parting with a diamond ring. I also gave another, a smaller one, to his Prime Minister. The upshot of our negotiations is that he refuses to cede land, as was proposed by the Home Government, either to Rajah Brooke or anybody else. This point I did not press, as I saw no pressure short of using actual force would have availed ; also I think he was quite within his rights. He asks for a treaty, and the protection of the British Government. He has consented to hand over the management of Limbang to the Resident, and he has at once recalled his fleet from Limbang. I have settled also the Padas claim to everybody's satisfaction. The

only person who I fear will not be pleased is the Rajah of Sarawak, but he was quite prepared for a decision adverse to his claims. I am going to Sarawak on leaving this and shall be back at Singapore on the 20th or 21st of the month."

An entry in Sir Frederick Weld's diary a few days before (30th May) notes the following :

"I had a long talk last night with Rajah Brooke, and showed him my letters to the Sultan. He wants Limbang and Labuan; but he saw the force of my arguments, and is quite reasonable about the whole question, which time, possibly, will solve in a direction favourable to his wishes." [1]

On leaving Brunei the *Seabelle* put in at Muara to coal, then after calling at Padas and Labuan, where Sir Frederick Weld landed and took leave of Governor Leys and Mrs. Leys, steered her course to Sarawak. The diary mentions the arrival as follows :

"*June 12th.* Made the Sarawak light about 4 p.m., or rather the headland on which it stands. Anchored inside the heads about 6 p.m. A beautiful sunset; very fine effects of light and shade on the distant mountains; the river is broad, with nipah palms, like many Malay rivers.

"*June 13th.* Got under way about 9 a.m. and steamed up the river to Kuching, the capital. Much struck with our first view of the town. Was met on landing by the Rajah and by the Ranee on the doorstep of their house, which is a very nice roomy one.

"*14th.* Made a tour of inspection with R. Brooke of dispensary, prison, government offices, court-house (with a fine collection of Lelas [2]), and museum. I visited the convent school with Paul in the afternoon, and on our return painted scenes for theatricals. Called on the Bishop with R. Brooke, and saw his school and hospital.

"*15th.* Went to Mission very early for Mass.

[1] The annexation of Limbang by the Rajah of Sarawak took place in 1890.

[2] Malayan swivel-guns.

Painted scenes all the morning. In the afternoon the Rajah took me to the Fort, where there was a review of his troops, and gun practice in the battery. Very smart and well done. Men principally Dyaks. In the evening we had a play, *Box and Cox*, admirably acted by the Rajah's three sons, followed by Tableaux Vivants and supper. Got to bed very late.

" 15*th*. Visited Malay school with the Ranee; the schoolmaster had composed a song, set to music, in my honour. A long drive afterwards with the Rajah and Ranee.

" 16*th*. A delightful walk in the grounds, which are exceedingly pretty and well laid out, with the Rajah and Ranee. After dinner I took my leave and embarked for Singapore. My visit here was a very pleasant one, nothing could have been kinder than the Brookes."

Queen Victoria's jubilee was kept at Singapore in a manner worthy of the occasion and of the loyalty of the Colony and its Governor. The event was celebrated on the 27th of June, and is recorded thus in Weld's diary.

" *June 27th*. Jubilee Day. Parade of Royal Navy, Marines, Artillery, and Lancashire Regiment; total of 717 officers and men. The statue of Sir Stamford Raffles was unveiled; a very fine one by Woolner. Assisted afterwards at High Mass at the Cathedral, and walked in procession with the Bishop, after laying foundation-stone of Cathedral extension. The Bishop preached a very loyal and impressive sermon (or address) afterwards. Loyal addresses of every kind from the planters, the Chinese, and from various races and peoples poured in during the afternoon, and 2800 children were entertained at a tea and cake feast. In the evening, Government House and grounds were illuminated, and the day ended with a great display of fireworks."

In July, Sir Frederick Weld made an expedition in the Government yacht to Pahang with a view of concluding the treaty which had been asked for by its Sultan some months previously. After many dis-

cussions between the Sultan and the Governor (with Mr. Hugh Clifford acting as intermediary), in which the former stood out for impossible conditions, negotiations were broken off, and Sir Frederick Weld continued his journey to Trengganu. The impasse was only a temporary one, and on October 8th, 1887, a fortnight before Sir Frederick Weld left the Malay States, a treaty entirely favourable both to British interests and to those of civilisation and commerce was concluded with Pahang. A similar treaty, negotiated by Mr. Martin Lister, with the rulers of the little States of Negri Sembilan was secured to his great satisfaction, before he relinquished the Governorship of the Straits Settlements. In a last journey to Kuala Lumpor he records in his journal the improvement visible everywhere in roads and buildings, as well as in the aspect of the people. From K. Lumpor he drove to Seramban, Sunjei Ujong, and on the 12th of September he cut the first sod of the railway—" an epoch," he remarks in his diary, " in the history of the State."

Many of his old friends amongst the chiefs of the various States came to visit him here, to bid him farewell; and on his return to Singapore again we read of more visits and of more farewells.

The keynote of all the regrets at the Governor's approaching departure could not have been better struck than it was in a speech by Sir Frederick Dickson, at the entertainment given by the Council and Judges to him a few days before he sailed for England. " There was not one there present," he said, " who did not feel that in losing His Excellency he was losing a friend. There was not one there who did not feel that he was losing a bright example of English honour, that he was losing a high-minded English gentleman ; one who never shrank from responsibility, and never

deserted his subordinates; who never took to himself credit for anything any one else had done; who was unmoved by obloquy, and fearless in the performance of his duty."

On 17th October, amidst a great concourse of people, salutes, and cheering, Sir Frederick and Lady Weld and their family embarked in the s.s. *Orestes* for England. Sir Frederick was succeeded in the Governorship of Singapore by his former colonial secretary, Sir Cecil Clementi Smith.

The work of breaking in the native States of the Malay Peninsula to civilisation, and to a higher position in the scale of humanity and of civic life, which was begun by Sir Andrew Clark in 1873, carried on by Sir Frederick Weld from the year 1880 to 1887, was perfected on the lines laid down by him by his successors. It culminated in 1896. In July of that year a Federation of all the Malay States was effected; this was placed under the supreme charge of a Resident General who was responsible to the High Commissioner, an office which was invested in the Governor of the Straits Settlements.

CHAPTER XVII

"Catholicism and patriotism complete each other; both present the individual with an absolutely certain foundation for action; both command imperatively action in the name of intangible, irrational principles, laid down *à priori* and independently of all individual verification."—CHATTERTON-HILL, *The Nineteenth Century and After*, July 1913.

THE public life of Sir Frederick Weld ended with the last chapter; another life now began for him. It was, as far as we can glean from the somewhat meagre record left of it, a peaceful and a happy one. He had earned his rest, and there is no reason to suppose that he did not enjoy it, for it was shared with a charming and devoted wife, and a singularly united family.

To assume that he did not at times miss the more stirring incidents, the large interests and keenly-enjoyed adventures which had hitherto marked every stage of his career, would be to say that he was more than human. No doubt he did miss them, but like a wise man he bowed to the inevitable, and fell back on the consolations which were still his to be thankful for and to enjoy. His journal, though it was now kept very irregularly, with long pauses between the entries, shows that he and his wife and family settled down to a quiet country life at Chideock, which was not without a charm for all.

The present manor-house of Chideock has no pretensions of any kind. It was built, like so many semi-modern English country-houses, on a site not far removed from that of an older fortified building, of

which, in this case, some grass-grown remains are preserved, giving a faint touch of antiquity to the modern house, such as the smell of lavender gives to the empty chest to one of an imaginative temperament. The Chidioc of old days is set down in Domesday Book as a King's manor, and was owned for several centuries by the descendants of Gervase de Brideport. From them it passed into the possession of the De Mandevilles, and later on, in the time of Henry III., into that of a family who took their name of de Chideocke from their heritage. The last of the race was Sir John de Chideocke. He left two daughters co-heiresses, Margaret and Katherine: the elder married William, second Lord Stourton; the younger, Katherine,[1] Sir John Arundell of Wardour. The property of Chideock fell to the share of the latter, and it was in the possession of her descendant Henry, Lord Arundell, when Thomas Weld of Lulworth bought it for his third son in the beginning of the nineteenth century. By a singular coincidence, Sir Frederick Weld was directly descended through his mother from both the co-heiresses of Sir John de Chideocke.

The sense of past times—the smell of lavender—clings even more strongly to the quiet little village of Chideock, set in hawthorns and apple orchards, than it does to the modern manor-house. For, three centuries ago, it was the scene of the hurried flight of Charles II., who, accompanied by his faithful followers Lord Wilmot and Colonel Wyndham, after narrowly escaping capture at Charnworth, dashed through it on his flight northwards.

There are other legendary spots in this old-time village and country-side; a path hemmed in by laurels and rhododendrons, by which, in the days of the penal laws, the score or two who were still faithful

[1] Her settlement was drawn up on 5th March 1451.

to the "old religion" found their way from the village to the priest's house, where Mass (at great risk to life and liberty) was still occasionally celebrated.

Besides these memories of the past, Sir Frederick Weld was surrounded at Chideock, both inside the house and out of it, by souvenirs, relics, gathered from all parts of the world. Amongst these were skins of the apteryx, and arms of all kinds from New Zealand, garments made of mulberry bark from the Pitcairn Island, the "execution" kris from New Guinea, and other murderous weapons presented to him by the Sultan of Brunei; ancient match-locks, guns from Java, a stuffed "tree-tiger" from the Dinding Islands, and various trophies of the chase, amongst others the horns of the Bos Gaurus. The mild Dorsetshire climate enabled him to experiment with success at growing the New Zealand Tarata, and the Cryptomeria Japonica, and the Cupressus Macrocarpa; and many subtropical plants flourished there as if native to the soil. Magnolias and myrtles were as much at home at Chideock as on the Riviera.

Interests and occupations of many kinds grew up around Sir Frederick Weld. He became a member of the County Council, a magistrate, and the president of the Bridport Conservative Club. His eldest son had decided on the Bar as a profession, and we read, in the diary, of his having gone up to London to "eat his dinners" at the Temple. Frederick, his second son, had passed into the Civil Service, and returned, with Mr. Lister, to Singapore in the spring of 1888. His eldest daughter was engaged to be married in the same year to Captain Edward Druitt, R.E.; the event was celebrated in the private chapel of Chideock in February 1889.

Almost the last public occasion at which Weld took a prominent part, was one which he must have hailed as full of promise for the future, as it was in

furtherance of an object for which he had never ceased working in the past.

The occasion was an important meeting of some of the most influential supporters of Imperial Federation, with the President, Lord Rosebery, in the chair, to consider what steps could be taken with a view of promoting closer relations between the Colonies and the Mother Country.

The year 1889 was marked by a very considerable advance in public opinion on the subject of Imperial Federation, both abroad and at home. A speech of Principal Grant's at Kingston, in Canada (as reported in the Toronto *Daily Mail*), had made a great impression in the Dominion. His theme was the attainment of "political manhood" by Canadians, and the question was how it was to be attained. Another question was: "What is the cure for our political ailments?" The answer in both cases was the same—"Full citizenship; partnership with the Old Land; a share in its responsibilities, risks, and dangers." He ended by saying that it would take time to develop the Federation of the Empire, and with that end in view he advised the cultivation of friendship and trade with Australia, New Zealand, West Indies and England. The great object of all Canadians should be the preservation and strengthening of the bonds of unity now existing between Great Britain and her Colonies.

Equally striking was a speech made by Mr. James Bull, a delegate from the N. Staffordshire Chamber, at the London Chamber of Commerce, which was given as follows in the *Journal* of the Imperial Federation League. Mr. Bull began by observing that there were dangerous separatist tendencies observable in colonial politics.

"This direction of events," Mr. Bull continued, "could be changed by drawing together the bonds

of union which united the Mother Country to the Colonies, by enlisting them in the ranks of defence, by giving them a voice in Imperial deliberations, and conceding them advantages over the rest of the universe in their commercial dealings with this country."

In these words we read the substance—or at least foreshadowing—of Mr. Chamberlain's celebrated pronouncement delivered fifteen years later.

Imperialism was undoubtedly in the air, and Lord Rosebery, when addressing the meeting which was held at his house in Charles Street on May 29th, 1889, to which we have alluded, chimed in with the views and aspirations of all present when he said that he looked "to the absolute predominance of the Anglo-Saxon race throughout the world, which could only be secured on the lines which this League had always followed."

He was succeeded by Lord Carnarvon, who remarked that three principal notes had been touched upon: first, the question of joint military defence; secondly, that of trade influence; and, thirdly, of "how far it is possible to draw our relations closer with our kinsmen across the sea." With regard to the first point he observed:

"If there are any shortcomings in this matter it is rather, I am afraid, in England that those shortcomings will be found than it is in many of our Colonies. Further, I said there was trade influence. There are many modes, and many degrees and proportions, in which Federation may be accomplished, but perhaps trade is the most potent; for, after all, trade means this —it is that by which men live, and therefore is associated with their nearest and dearest interests. I do not hesitate—for myself—to say that I regret that in this vast self-contained Empire, where all things abound, we have never yet been able to agree upon any common fiscal system of trade. . . . Practically, the different parts of this Empire, for trade purposes, are nearly as much divided from each other as if they

were strangers and aliens. What is the result? It is that the foreigner steps in and takes what he can, to the loss of the English manufacturer and workman."

Lord Carnarvon was followed by Sir John Colomb, who explained the objects of the League "as not being so much to formulate a scheme for solving the difficulties that are ahead of us, as to spread that wide knowledge which is essential to their ultimate and true solution. We are all one, here, in our object and aim. We know of no party politics and no factions, and therefore we can go through the length and breadth of the land, and ask those who now believe in the abstract doctrine of Imperial Federation to do something more—to join the League, and to increase its power and influence as an educating process in this country, and so we shall be doing that work which we have set ourselves to do, and some of us may live to see it carried out."

The President then called upon Sir Frederick Weld to move the next resolution.

Sir Frederick Weld then moved:

"That this meeting regards with great satisfaction the practical advance which has been made during the past year towards the Federation of the Empire, by (1) the prompt action of the Legislatures of the majority of the Australian Colonies giving effect to the agreement arrived at by the Conference of 1887 to provide for the joint defence of the Empire's sea-borne commerce in the South Pacific; (2) the important proposals made by the Dominion of Canada to the Australasian Colonies for a Conference upon the development of their trade relations and the advancement of their mutual interests; and it congratulates the League at large upon the remarkable growth of interest in the future relations of the countries of the Empire which has resulted from its exertions."

He began by saying that he could have wished that it had fallen to some one to speak on this resolution

who, by having taken an active part in the proceedings of the League at home, would have been more capable of doing so than one whose life had been chiefly spent abroad ; at the same time, he felt there was a certain fitness that a colonist like himself should speak on this question, whose life—he could certainly say in his case—had been not only an aspiration, but a working aspiration, for the unity of the Empire.

Like many others who had gone out almost as boys to the Colonies, he had always felt he was helping in a humble way to build up countries which would be inseparably united to England, and whose union with her would serve to increase her influence, her power, and her commerce. As regards this League, of which he had been a member from its very commencement, he expressed himself as perfectly satisfied with the success it had attained. It could not be expected to attain to success at once. Many difficulties, obstacles of all kinds, ignorance on both sides, especially, stood in the way. But now there was the noble example of Australia sending troops to the Soudan, " a great, practical step, emphasising a desire for union with this country, and proving that ' blood is thicker than water.' "

Another great step forward had been made in the direction of defence and commerce. The great Canadian lines of railway have joined, and steamboats connect Australia with Canada ; the hand of friendship has been held out, and all that each wants to know is to know each other better." He ended by saying :

" I entirely agree with what has been said, that we are not going to effect Federation by a system, one springing, like Minerva, fully armed out of the brain of an Abbé Sièyes or some other student. . . . The British Constitution is not built up on paper, but by this want and that measure being brought

forward until all is blended into a harmonious whole. I remember an anecdote that was told of Charles James Fox. After the peace of Amiens he went to Paris, where Napoleon made much of him, and on one occasion when they were conversing in his study Napoleon, pointing to a map which hung on the wall, said jeeringly: 'There is your little Island.' Fox answered: 'Yes, that is our little Island, and in that little Island we were born, and in it all Englishmen would like to die, but our life embraces the world.' That is the feeling I should like to see in all—that we are working for England. I hope the lives of Englishmen, wherever the flag floats, will still continue to cover the world, and that we shall by the unity of the Empire build up a power such as will ensure its welfare and peace. Providence offers it to us, and the question for us to answer is: Shall we be worthy of the grace that is offered us, or shall we refuse it to our ruin, and, as I believe, to the great injury of the world?"

The resolution was seconded by Mr. H. Arnold-Forster. His speech was followed by one from Lord Charles Beresford and Mr. H. Lawson, M.P., after which the proceedings terminated.

In April 1890, Sir Frederick Weld and his two sons, Humphrey and Joseph, left England on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. This pilgrimage, which was both a Catholic and a National one, was interesting from more than one point of view—being the first British pilgrimage on a large scale which had left these shores for Palestine since the Reformation. It was headed by Bishops Clifford and Mostyn and other distinguished prelates, and organised by the Duke of Norfolk, and numbered over two hundred souls. The pilgrims reached Jaffa on the 18th of April, and traversed the distance which separates the seaport from Jerusalem the following day. When they came in sight of the holy city they dismounted and, kneeling on the ground, recited (as how many of

their predecessors have done before them) the 122nd Psalm: *Lætatus sum in his quæ dicta sunt mihi, in domum Domini ibimus.* Then passing down the " Sorrowful Way " they visited in turn the spots which tradition has associated with the Passion and death of Christ, and as they lay down to rest at night (to quote Sir Frederick's subsequent account of it), " under the hospitable roof of the Casa Nuova, we must all have felt that a great grace had been vouchsafed to us, to fructify to the end—we may hope—of our lives. An interesting function signalised our stay at Jerusalem, which was the pontifical High Mass sung on St. George's Day, when we sang the *Domine salvam fac Reginam nostram Victoriam* with great enthusiasm. No Latin pilgrimage had ever before enjoyed this privilege, and we owed it to the almost unhoped-for courtesy of the Greeks, who have a great devotion to St. George, and whose consent was necessary for the celebration."

As the Duke of Norfolk wrote to Sir Henry Ponsonby:

" It is the first time that such an event has taken place in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and as I am sure that it will be pleasing to the Queen to hear of such heartfelt prayers being offered up for her in this most Holy Sanctuary by her subjects, I write to tell you of the fact, and beg you to lay this letter before Her Majesty, with my humble duty."

The Queen sent a gracious message in return, saying that she was much gratified by the account given her of the British pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and desiring Sir Henry Ponsonby to ask the Duke to thank the members of the pilgrimage for their kind and loyal wishes in her behalf.

After spending a week in Jerusalem the pilgrims visited Mount Carmel, Nazareth, and Thabor, and the shores of Tiberias, and embarked on their return journey on the 8th of May.

Sir Frederick Weld's thoughts and interests were a good deal occupied during the summer and autumn after his return from Palestine with schemes for the development of the protected native States of the Malay Peninsula. He had ever been a sanguine believer in the great possibilities of that country, and now that his hands were no longer tied by his official position he found leisure which he was free to use to attend to those and kindred subjects.

Early in the year 1891 a proposal was made to him to go out to the Malay States in the interests of the Pahang Exploration and Development Company, of which he was a Director, to examine the means that could be taken to open out the vast mineral and lumber wealth in the interior of the country. Nothing could have been more congenial to his tastes than such an expedition. Accordingly, in spite of his health having given for some little time previously cause for anxiety, he started off in the middle of February for Singapore. He arrived there on the 5th of March. He had benefited by the sea journey, and was apparently in the best of health, and delighted to see so many familiar faces. To more than one old friend he said he felt he was like a schoolboy coming back to his old haunts. Unfortunately this happy state of things did not last. He started off for Pahang, and before he had been exposed long to the heat and the unhealthy air of the jungle he was taken ill with a very severe attack of gastric fever, followed by jaundice. He was brought back in an extremely critical state of health to Singapore, where under the hospitable roof of his old friends, Justice Goldney and his wife, he rallied sufficiently to undertake (under medical advice) the journey home. His son Frederick, who was in the Perak Civil Service, accompanied him as far as Aden, and some kind friends, Mr. and Mrs. Neaves, nursed him with

unremitting attention in his passage through the Red Sea, and never left him till he reached London, where he was anxiously awaited by Lady Weld.

He rallied slightly on his return to England; but from the beginning of his illness there was no doubt on the part of those who had attended him of the gravity of the disease from which he suffered, or its speedy termination.

After spending some weeks in London in order to consult his own doctor and specialists called in by him, he was taken down to Chideock. It was the month of June. For six weeks more he lingered on; everything that was possible was done to alleviate his sufferings and bring consolation to his heart by his devoted wife, who never left his side, and shared with no one the privilege of nursing him to the end.

Those who have followed him so far through this narrative will not require to be told that the faith and confidence in God which marked every action of his life stood him in good stead in these its concluding trials. The consolation the Stoic is said to find in suppression of outward demonstration of woe —and perhaps inward self-pity—whilst bowing to the decrees of Fate, Sir Frederick Weld found from a deeper source: from a loving obedience to the Divine Will. The means of grace which the Catholic Church places at the disposal of her children were his during every stage of his last illness; and the Blessed Sacrament reserved in the private chapel, the frequent Communion, and, finally, the Sacrament of Extreme Unction and the Viaticum, soothed his last moments. His children surrounded him; to each he had a special message of loving counsel and farewell, and when the moment for the supreme parting came it found him ready to depart. He died on the 20th of July 1891, and was buried on the 25th in the family graveyard of Chideock, amidst a great concourse of

sorrowing relations and neighbours. His widow survived him twelve years. She continued for some time to live at Chideock; eventually, her daughters having found homes of their own — three were married,[1] and three had become nuns—she dedicated the last years of her life to God and became an Oblate of the Order of St. Benedict at Fort Augustus, where her fourth daughter was Prioress. She died a saintly death, profoundly mourned by her children, on April 9th, 1903.

It has been chiefly as a public man—a man of action—that we have endeavoured to make Frederick Aloysius Weld known to our readers; but there was also another side to his life, one known to the inner circle of his friends only, of which something must be said before we conclude. It needs but a few words, for his was no complex character. Its beauty lay in its simplicity, and its leading feature might be condensed into one word: Loyalty, to his God and his religion, to all he loved, to his country and his sovereign.

So strong was this innate instinct that, when death was approaching, and—his voice and memory almost failing him—he told his wife to take a pencil and write his last thoughts to his children, his message for his eldest son was:

> "'Let all the ends thou aim'st at be thy country's,
> Thy God's, and'—*you know the rest.*"

This deep-seated loyalty made him proof against temptation to swerve from principles which he held on good and sufficient grounds, even when such adherence clashed with his personal interest and ambitions. Thus he twice threatened to resign when the Ministry to which he belonged in New Zealand

[1] Maud was married on 1st February 1893 to Philip Radcliffe, R.E., third son of Sir Joseph and Lady Radcliffe of Rudding Park, Yorkshire.

proposed bringing forward a Divorce Bill similar to the one passed in the Mother Country, and on both occasions his influence caused it to be temporarily shelved. His religion may be said to have been the paramount motive-power of his life; but so far from being bitter or prejudiced in its exercise, he had the happy faculty of making it attractive, even in the sight of those who were ignorant of, or indifferent to, its dogmas. On one occasion only, on his first appointment as Governor of Western Australia, he ran counter to the views of his parish priest by asking the Anglican Bishop of Perth to say grace at Government House. Both took their story to Rome, the too-zealous priest to denounce, and the Governor to justify his action. The answer was entirely favourable to Weld, and Pope Pius IX. shortly afterwards conferred upon him the dignity of knighthood to the Order of St. Pius in acknowledgment of his services to religion.

A dispute of this, or of any kind, was not only exceptional in Sir Frederick Weld's life, but utterly foreign to his nature. His house was ever open to all servants of his Divine Master; and as in his early days there were none who shared his confidence more than Father Freudenfeldt, so in his later days, in Tasmania and afterwards in the Straits Settlements, he found an intimate friend in the learned and holy Father Julian Tennyson Wood. The practices of religion with him were no empty observances. Mass, the Sacraments, and the offices of the Church were the great realities of his existence, to be duly prepared for, devoutly assisted at, and used, as they are intended to be, for the building up of the spiritual life. His innate loyalty showed itself amongst other ways in the touching remembrance which he preserved all though his busy and chequered career of those he had lost in death. As year by year the

same dates recurred, they are noted thus in his diary: "My dear Father's anniversary," or, "My dear Mother's"—or that of some other friend or relation, followed by the remark (when circumstances made it possible): "Mass was said for him (or her), and Mena and I went to Holy Communion." The anniversary of the little girl whom the Welds had lost in New Zealand, and who, though she had only lived six months, had been deeply mourned by them, was never passed without this loving commemoration. His dependence on prayer has been already noticed in the course of this Life; it was unfailing, and no occasion but served to bring it out. He had a particular devotion to the Holy Ghost, and he was accustomed to say that he never sat down to write upon any subject of importance without invoking the "Spirit of Truth."

Equally striking was his love for the poor, and it might be said of him without exaggeration that his purse was ever open to those in distress. Touching testimony was borne after his death to his great and manifold charities. Priests from Western Australia and Tasmania wrote to his widow giving her her truest consolation by telling of the memory he had left behind in some of the remotest spots of those Colonies by the example of his piety and his generosity to the poor.

It was a source of no surprise to Sir Frederick Weld's friends that he died a comparatively poor man. Neither he nor his wife were of a saving disposition. Not only was he open-handed by instinct, but he held very decided views on a Governor's duty of spending the emoluments of office in doing good and dispensing hospitality; and, in the case of his Tasmanian Governorship, the pay being quite insufficient for the position he had to keep up, he had to supplement it largely from the somewhat pre-

carious returns made to him from his New Zealand property.

His affection for his children, profound and tender as it was, never made him deviate from this course of action; and on one occasion when a near relation remonstrated with him for not exerting himself more to provide for his younger children, his answer was that he considered his first duty was to God and his country, and that being the case he had perfect confidence in his heavenly Father's care of them. Before he died, Weld had the consolation of seeing his elder sons embarked on honourable professions, with every prospect of carving out careers for themselves in the same way as their father had done before them. His four eldest daughters were also happily settled in life. If Sir Frederick Weld left his children small store of worldly possessions, on the other hand they inherited from him an untarnished name and an example such as few could boast of. In the chorus of love and praise paid to his memory after death, both of a public and private nature, there was not one jarring note. A very touching letter from Lady Gore Browne to Lady Weld mentions that when she and her husband went to New Zealand she had heard so much in praise of Sir Frederick that she was prepared for disappointment, but that before she had known him long she found he was in truth the *chevalier sans peur et sans reproche* he had been made out to be. It would be tedious to go through the many tributes to his personal charm and worth which were addressed to his widow and family after his death, though doubtless each carried its message of sympathy and comfort to the house of mourning. The public expression of respect for his memory in all the Colonies with which he was connected was equally striking. In Perth and in the Straits Settlements as well as in New Zealand, the flags were hoisted half-mast high, and the minutes

of the Councils recorded the high estimation in which his services were held in those countries.

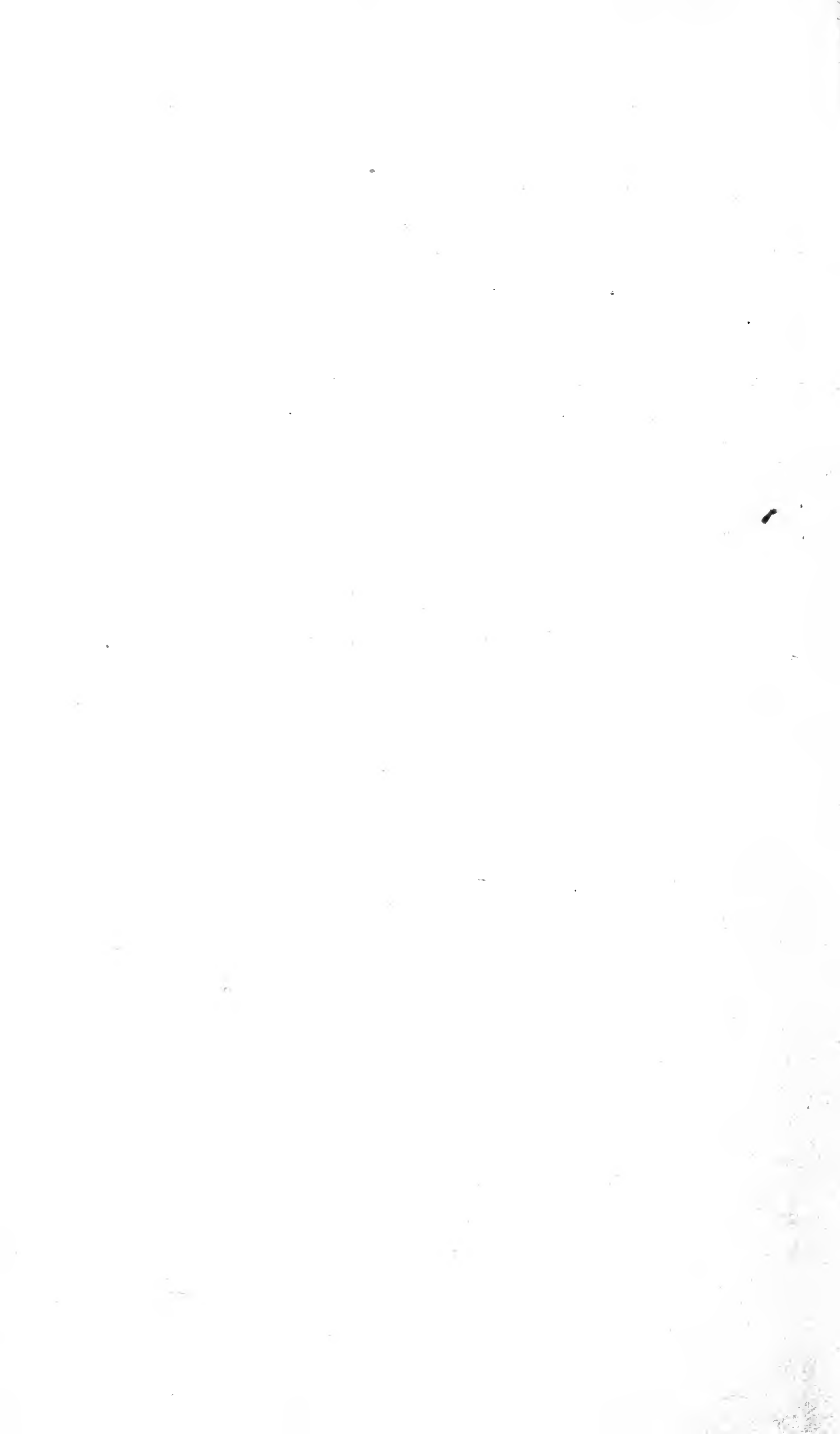
One of the most touching tributes to his memory was that given in the General Assembly in New Zealand by Sir George Grey, who said of him that, "having lived on terms of great friendship with him, I could truly say that he was not only able, but also noble in action, wise in counsel, a true friend, the best of husbands and fathers, in fact, distinguished in every relation in life. I have known him in many capacities, and have never seen him fail to distinguish himself in whatever position of life he was placed, though he was often placed in positions of extreme difficulty."

Similar remarks of no less weight were made by his friends in the Legislative Council. The Hon. Mr. Bowen said that "Sir Frederick Weld's public life is very well known to all of us, and most of us remember the sympathy which his chivalrous conduct of public affairs elicited even from his opponents. I will not add to what others have said on the subject except that though he was separated for many years, and by his various duties, from the land of his early efforts and affections, he never lost touch with New Zealand. The affection between Sir Frederick Weld and this colony has been shown, I think, in this last day or two to be reciprocal, and it is gratifying to see that both branches of the Legislature have thought it right to pay a tribute to the memory of a man of whom New Zealand is justly proud. Especially is it gratifying in these days, when success and ability irrespective of character are too much worshipped, that a man like Sir Frederick Weld is remembered with so much honour. And, sir, his character was, as my honourable friend said just now, such that no one ever could have suspected him of being connected with any unworthy cause. He was a man

of whom it might truly be said, 'He reverenced his conscience as his king.' I do not believe it was possible for him to be swayed by an ignoble motive, far less to be capable of any ignoble action. And from his youth—from his high-minded, chivalrous youth—and throughout his active and public-spirited manhood, down to his too early death, he was honoured and trusted by every one who came into relation with him, and he was loved by all who knew him well."

It is of such, of men like Frederick Weld, who have devoted their lives to the service of their country, and served her in a spirit of purest patriotism, that a great poet, Francis Thompson, wrote :

"They passed, they passed, but cannot pass away,
For England feels them in her blood like wine."



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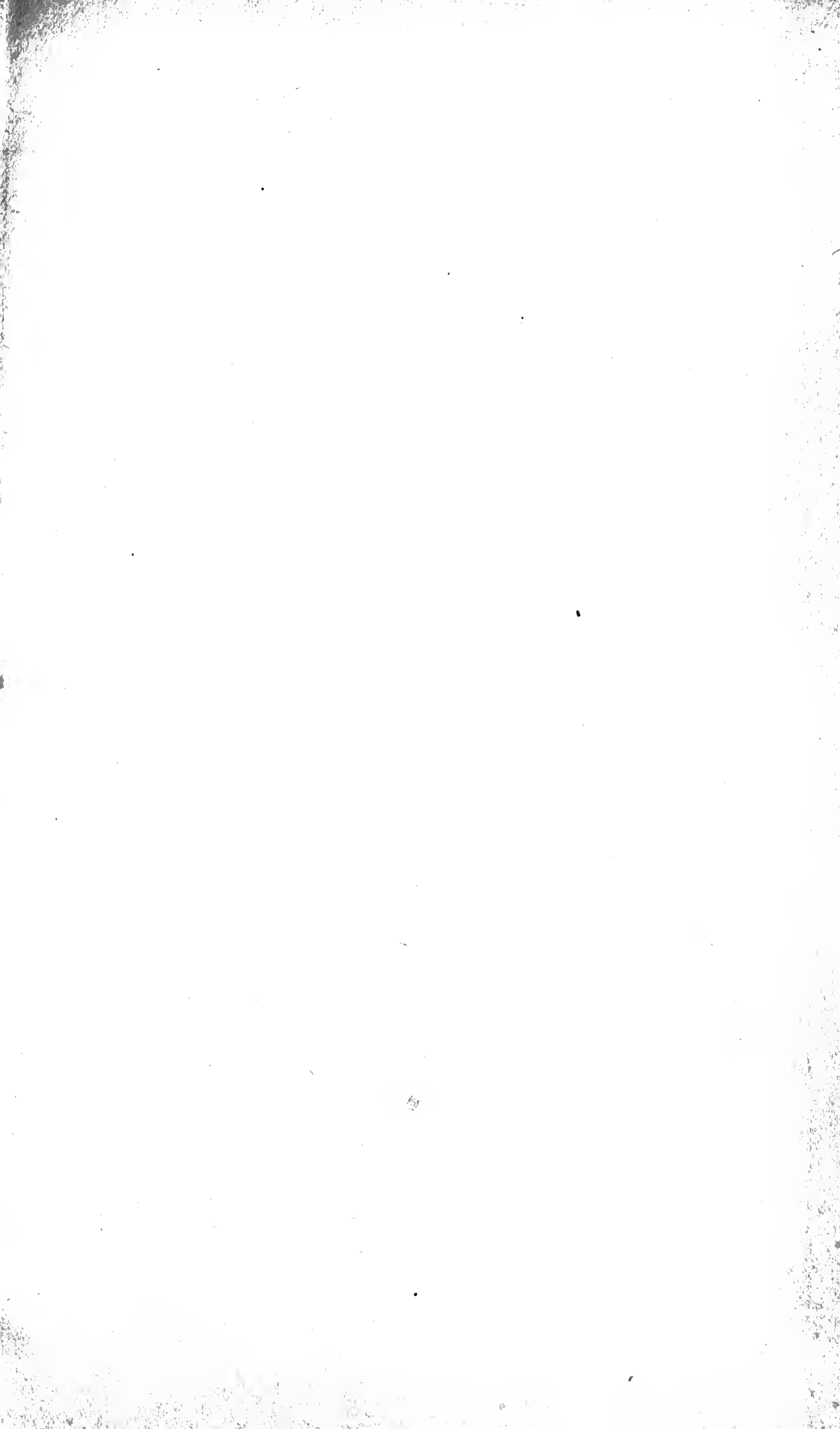

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