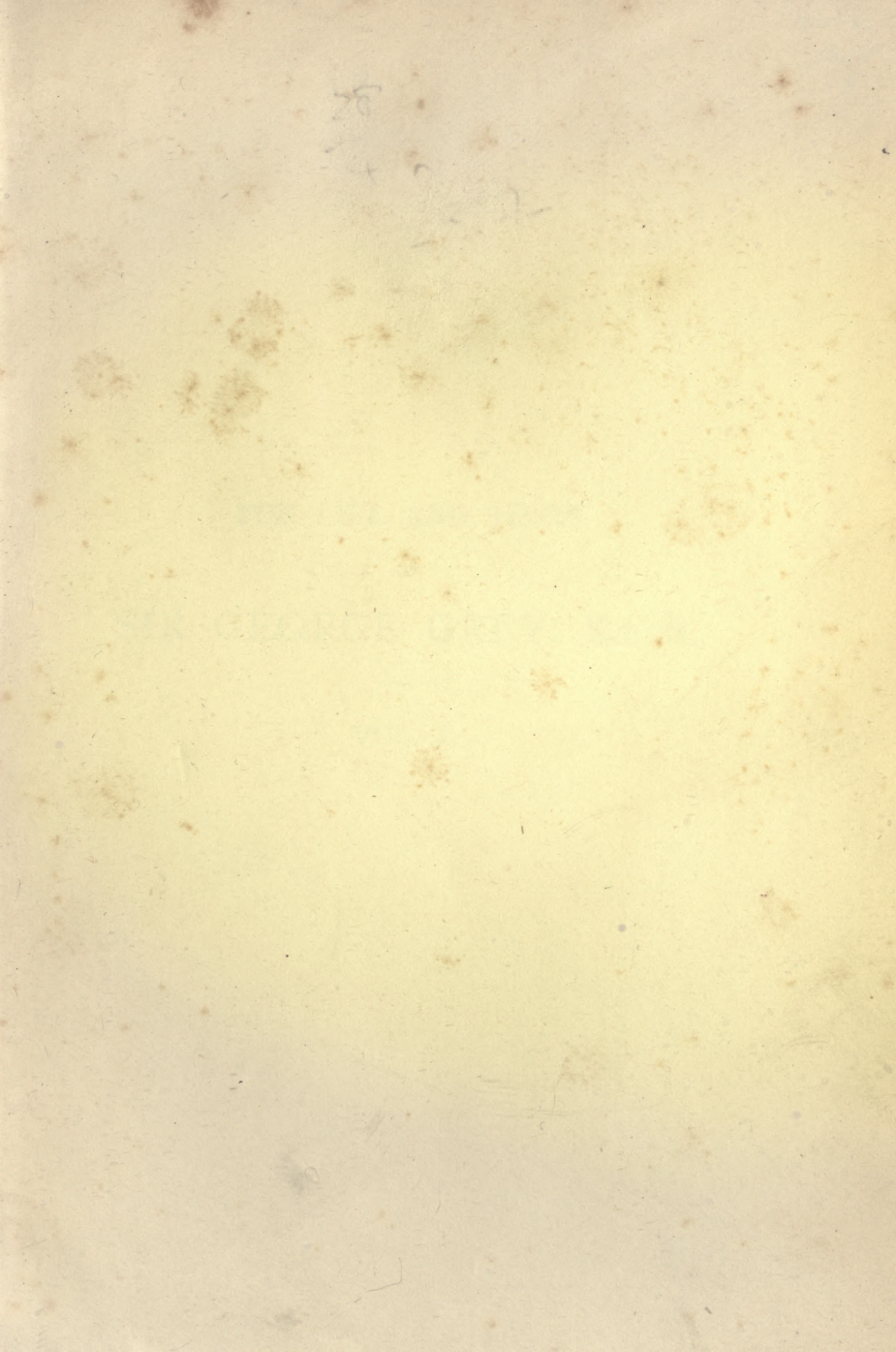






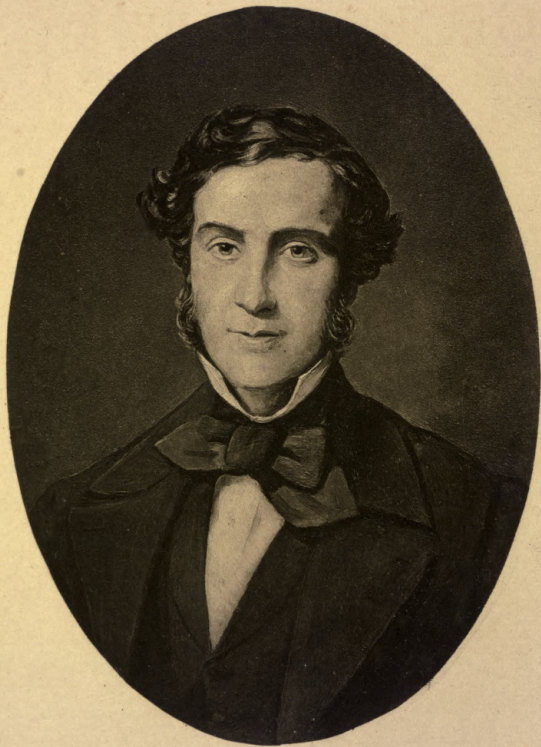
5a 9109
2 vols

5/26/8-



*igren
cag*

THE LIFE AND TIMES
OF
SIR GEORGE GREY, K.C.B.
—
VOL. I.



*Sir George Grey. K. C. B.
From a painting by Richmond.*

Lavan Electric Engraving Co.

THE
LIFE AND TIMES
OF
SIR GEORGE GREY, K.C.B.

BY

WILLIAM LEE REES

(Member of the House of Representatives, New Zealand)

AUTHOR OF

"SIR GILBERT LEIGH," "FROM POVERTY TO PLENTY," ETC., ETC.

AND

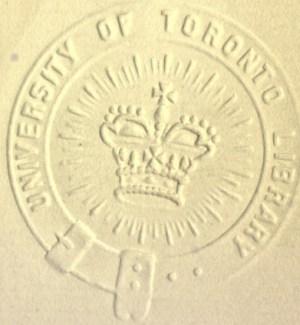
L. REES

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.

LONDON:
HUTCHINSON & CO.,
25, PATERNOSTER SQUARE.

1892



LONDON
PRINTED BY J. S. VIRTUE AND CO., LIMITED,
CITY ROAD.

DA
17
G8R3
v. 1.

707637



TO

ISHBEL,

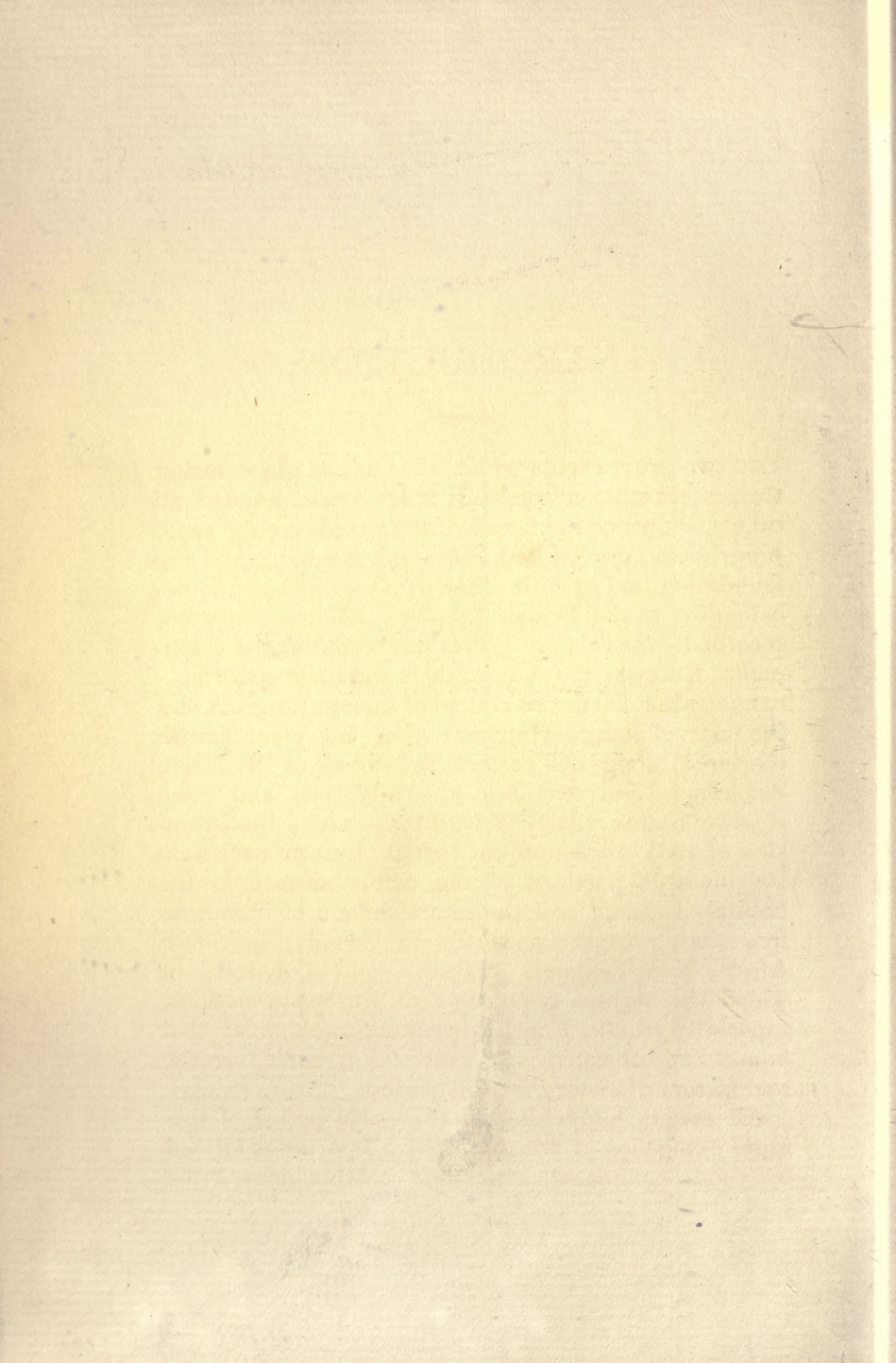
COUNTESS OF ABERDEEN,

WHO ADDS THE FORTITUDE OF CORNELIA

TO THE CHARITY OF DORCAS,

THIS BOOK IS INSCRIBED AS A TOKEN

OF RESPECT.



INTRODUCTION.

THE two great events which have taken place during the nineteenth century, and which must, beyond all others, influence the future of the world, are the rapid progress of the United States of America, and the foundation and growth of the great system of colonies belonging to the British Empire. All other matters recorded—the relative power of the nations of Continental Europe; the story of their wars and rivalries—cannot alter the future course of human progress, but the marvellous development of a few communities scattered along the eastern sea-board of the North American Continent into the mightiest and most wealthy nation that the world has seen; the extension of the colonies of the British Empire over such considerable portions of the whole surface of the habitable globe; and the establishment of numerous free and prosperous states in Canada, in South Africa, New Zealand, Australia, and Polynesia, in which the surplus population of European nations, especially of the English-speaking races, may find homes and subsistence for centuries to come, are the real factors of history for this period.

All events happening in the early period of this rapid expansion of free nations; all purposes formed by those connected with their establishment, the

hopes which animated the leaders of this great movement, their actions, their triumphs or defeats, the methods by which they met and overcame all difficulties, and the destiny towards which they worked, should all be of surpassing interest to the student, to the politician, to the philosopher, to the Christian, and to the patriot.

The childhood of history beheld the sceptre of dominion swayed by the Eastern nations. Civilization, progress, and knowledge were confined to Asia. For more than two thousand years Europe has led and ruled the world. The nineteenth century of the Christian era has seen the nations of the future spring into existence. The one portion of Europe destined to exercise influence upon succeeding generations is comprised in the British Islands, and that only as a member of a great federation of the English-speaking peoples. As the Western immigrations of many tribes laid the foundations of those new states which distanced the Asiatics in knowledge and power, so the world-wide colonies of Britain have, within the memory of living men, reached a magnitude of commerce and attained a fulness of liberty before unparalleled.

Boastful though such a statement may appear, it is, humanly speaking, certain that in the lifetime of multitudes now born into the world, the English-speaking race will dominate and control the earth.

Regarding the development of the United States, the writers of these pages do not propose to speak, and comparatively but little notice will be directed to the great group of colonies forming the Dominion of Canada.

The life and times of Sir George Grey are more particularly identified with those vast colonial possessions which loom below the Southern horizon, and

are spread out in their boundless plenitude beneath the Southern skies.

The reign of Victoria, auspicious beyond precedent in history, has witnessed and encouraged the growth of the family of nations now resting beneath the shadow of the English flag. As will be seen, the connection between Sir George Grey and this immense Colonial Empire is absolutely contemporaneous with the period of the reign of Victoria. There are in the world two human beings, and two only, who from the month of June, 1837, till the present day, have been ceaselessly and intimately connected with the progress and development, the happiness and welfare of the colonial portion of that Empire upon which the sun never sets; whose interest in the colonies has never ceased, and who have occupied, without intermission, positions of trust and responsibility in relation to them. The first is Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen—the second is her servant, Sir George Grey.

To the student of colonial history, and to all those who desire to acquire knowledge as to the destination and probable happiness of future generations, the records of a life spent in the service of humanity, and intimately associated with the foundation and establishment of many colonies, must necessarily be full of interest as well as instruction. It is impossible fully to portray the vast series of circumstances, to reproduce the volumes of correspondence, or to particularize the innumerable incidents, which have gone to make up the busy history of over fifty years of life identified with exploration, with politics, with wars, and social life in the colonial world. A task so gigantic would require time and means of access to innumerable sources of information, so wide and extensive as to preclude the possibility of a successful result. But

to sketch the main features of early colonial life, to give the outline of wars between different races, of the establishment of settled government and social institutions, of religion, of commerce, of learning, and of other leading and more prominent events which have transpired in a varied and wonderful career, is an end which may be attained, although, perhaps, not so successfully, or with such precision of outline or truth of colouring, as might be desired.

But even though imperfectly attempted, yet the record of such a life and of the great principles which have been its motive power in laying wide and deep the foundations of future civilization, must possess intrinsic value and substantial worth.

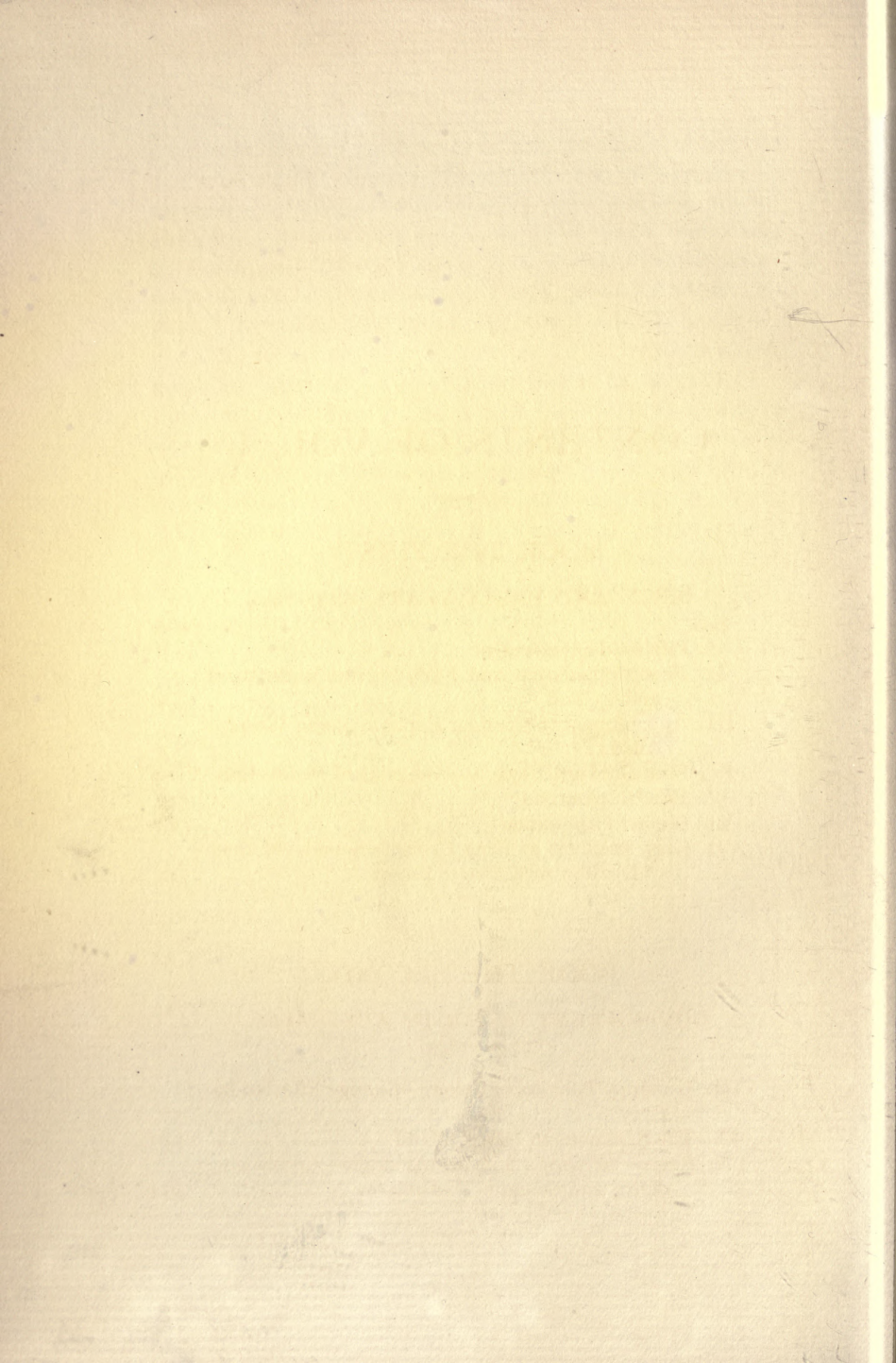
In that portion of this volume which deals with Sir G. Grey's administration in South Australia, we have been hampered by want of information. Many interesting papers relating to that period were either lost in the fire at Government House, in Auckland, in 1846, or presented by the Governor, together with his private library, to the people of Cape Colony.

Much that would have been deeply interesting in the records of social life, of explorations, of public works and political events, is thus beyond our reach, and our sketch of the main features of Sir G. Grey's Government of that Colony will doubtless appear to many who lived there at the time, in many respects bare, meagre, and devoid of colour. In one case—that of Mr. Angas—we have unwittingly given a false impression by appearing to endorse the harsh opinion which he expressed of his colonial agent. As a matter of fact, time has fully vindicated the judgment and actions of that gentleman, which resulted in an immense increase in the value of the estate he managed for Mr. Angas.

Throughout his life Sir George Grey has felt a

peculiar affection for the colony which he first governed—for its climate, its scenery, but above all, for its people, who presented a marked contrast to the usual type of settlers in a new country. To his mind there has ever appeared great similarity in character between the Puritan founders of the New England States and the early colonists of South Australia.

Conscious of many imperfections, of the omission of much that should find a place, and the admission of some things which, perchance, critics may say should have been relegated to obscurity, the writers of these pages acknowledge only two considerations:—One, to give in a connected form the incidents, the adventures, and the achievements of a life at once noble and beneficent; the other, to preserve the record of principles, of actions, and of aspirations which are likely to influence for good the youth of this and of succeeding generations. To every heart which hopes for the reign of peace and happiness upon the earth, to every mind which looks forward to the ultimate dominion of the English races in the world, and the peaceful solution of those great questions which now agitate humanity, Sir George Grey's biography will be welcome.



CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

BOOK THE FIRST.

BIRTH AND EARLY YEARS, 1812—1840.

CHAP.	PAGE
I. Life's Commencement	1
II. First Commission and Early Service in Scotland and Ireland	4
III. Appointment to Conduct Explorations in Western Australia	9
IV. First Outward Voyage—Forecasts of Future Life	12
V. First Exploration	16
VI. Second Exploration	28
VII. Grey Resident at King George's Sound—Method of Dealing with Native Races	46

BOOK THE SECOND.

GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA, 1841—1845.

VIII. Unhappy Position of Colony—Change Effected by Grey	53
IX. The Summons to New Zealand	73
X. Review of Grey's Life in Australia—Correspon- dence and Scientific Pursuits	79

BOOK THE THIRD.

FIRST GOVERNMENT OF NEW ZEALAND,
1845—1854.

CHAP.	PAGE
XI. Grey's Arrival at Auckland—Sketch of Previous History of the Colony	88
XII. Speedy and Triumphant Conclusion of the Maori War	96
XIII. Short History of the New Zealand Company	104
XIV. Maori Policy—Proposed Federation of the Pacific Islands	118
XV. New Zealand Constitution of 1846	133
XVI. The Despatch of July, 1849	147
XVII. Land Regulations and Constitution of 1852	152
XXVIII. Constitution for the Church of England	173
XIX. Karaitiana and Hapuku	178
XX. Gray's Departure from New Zealand—Feelings of both Races	182
XXI. Sir George Grey's Vindication — Honours at Oxford	194

BOOK THE FOURTH.

FIRST GOVERNORSHIP OF CAPE COLONY,
1854—1859.

XXII. Sketch of Previous South African History	203
XXIII. The Governor and Mr. Shepstone's Proposed Kingdom	211
XXIV. Subjugation of Kafir Chiefs and Witch Doctors	224
XXV. The Grey Hospital	232
XXVI. The Kafir Prophetess and the "Wonderful Prophecy"	239
XXVII. The Indian Mutiny and the China Army	246
XXVIII. The German Legion	257
XXIX. The Governor Recalled	271
XXX. Dismay of South Africa	290

Book the First.

BIRTH AND EARLY YEARS, 1812-1840.

CHAPTER I.

LIFE'S COMMENCEMENT.

“ Like leaves on trees the race of man is found,
Now green in youth, now withering on the ground,
Another race the following spring supplies;
They fall successive, and successive rise.”

Pope.

EARLY in the second week of April, 1812, several English ladies, wives of officers on active service with Lord Wellington, were sitting together in a balcony at Lisbon. They were talking of the last news from headquarters, when they became aware, from conversations in the street beneath, that the town of Badajoz had been, for the third time, assaulted by the English forces. One of these English women was Mrs. Grey, whose husband, the Colonel of the 30th Regiment of Foot, was at the scene of active operations. Anxiety and eager interest were at once aroused, and each one listened with intense expectation to any sounds which arose from the street beneath.

A group of officers rode slowly by. “We have suffered terrible loss,” said one, “in the storming of Badajoz. Poor Grey is gone at last!”

No sooner were these words heard than Mrs. Grey sank fainting from her seat. The statement was all

too true. Colonel Grey, who, at Alexandria, had led his regiment in the first bayonet charge against the revolutionary troops of France, had volunteered to lead the storming party at Badajoz, and, at the head of his column, had fallen in that terrible breach.

A few days afterwards, on the 14th of April, his son was born.

While it was natural that the lad should be trained to the profession of arms, several circumstances during childhood and early manhood served to give a decided tendency to the character and life of George Grey.

When staying, as a child, with a relative of his father, a banker in London, whose place of business was in 'Change Alley, his attention was often attracted to the tropical fruits exposed for sale by an aged woman, who, from long usage, had acquired a species of prescriptive right to keep her stall at the entrance of the alley. The child's imagination wandered away to the lands from whence the pineapples, the bananas, the oranges, and the cocoanuts had come, and he silently resolved that when he became a man he would travel to those distant regions which produced such treasures.

In early boyhood he was brought much under the notice and care of Dr. Whately, afterwards the celebrated Archbishop of Dublin, and from constant intercourse with that distinguished scholar he most probably received that logical and exact method of thought, as well as the ardent love for all scientific studies, which characterised him in after life.

Destined to follow in his father's steps, he was duly entered at Sandhurst, and achieved at that military college singular and unusual distinction.

George Grey gained the affection and esteem of his tutors, and kept up a regular correspondence with some of them during many years. They were pleased

to find the promise of his earlier years more than fulfilled in his colonial career, and were deeply interested in the results of his labours. There are in the Public Library in Auckland several very affectionate letters to Captain Grey from his former mathematical master at Sandhurst, Professor Narrieu, the author of a History of Astronomy, who evidently took the warmest interest in his former pupil's honourable and successful career. In a letter dated the 15th May, 1843, he expressed great pleasure at having received a communication from Captain Grey, and says he is much gratified by his appreciation of the course of studies pursued at Sandhurst. He says that it is very difficult to keep up the standard of proficiency in mathematics, as many think it unnecessarily high, but he has tried to do so; and adds, "You will not, therefore, be surprised to find that the number of officers who have carried away our highest class certificate—such as that which you had—is but few."

Nor was George Grey a favourite with the authorities alone. A clever, studious lad, more occupied and interested by books than out-door sports and games, is often regarded as a prig by his contemporaries; but there is no trace of this feeling towards Grey at Sandhurst. His superiority was frankly admitted, and always displayed in a way that challenged admiration certainly, but did not arouse jealousy or dislike.

We have a pleasant picture of the young military student at this time, given thirty-four years afterwards by a college mate, who recalled gratefully the days when Grey, "a bright, rosy-cheeked young subaltern of the 83rd Regiment, 'A1' in mathematics, fortifications, military survey, languages, and general knowledge, so kindly led my tottering steps over the 'Asses' Bridge.'"

CHAPTER II.

FIRST COMMISSION AND EARLY SERVICE IN SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.

“ Poor houseless wretches, wheresoe'er you are,
That bide the pelting of this pitiless storm,
How shall your houseless heads and unfed sides,
Your looped and windowed raggedness, defend you
From seasons such as these ? ”

King Lear.

IN the year 1830, George Grey, then aged eighteen, was gazetted ensign of the 83rd Regiment of Foot. Entering upon active service, he was quartered with his regiment, first at Glasgow, and afterwards at Dublin. In the latter city he was again brought into close contact with Dr. Whately. Endearred by old associations, and in a remote degree connected by marriage, the young soldier was a great favourite with the Archbishop, and had every opportunity of profiting by the wise counsels of his illustrious friend.

During four years' service in Ireland, his duty called him to various parts of the country, and brought him into contact with all classes of the people. At that time Ireland was in a most disturbed condition. The struggle for Catholic emancipation was indeed over, but the victory gained in the previous year had left a desire in the minds of the Irish for still greater freedom. After Daniel O'Connell had succeeded in forcing the Catholic Relief Bill through both Houses of Parliament, he began to clamour for the repeal of

the Union. Discontent, riots, murders perpetrated in the broad light of day, and crimes committed under cover of the darkness, were rife.

The spirit of the age, displayed on the Continent by the second French Revolution, and the rebellion of the people of Belgium against the union with Holland, led in Great Britain to a widely spread desire for Parliamentary Reform. Lord John Russell introduced a bill with this object. Being defeated in Committee, the Ministry appealed to the country. The elections throughout the United Kingdom were attended with serious riots and great tumult. The horrors of cholera added to the general misery and disorder.

The scenes of wretchedness which the young officer witnessed were never forgotten by him. Fifty years later, in reviewing the changing scenes and the many great affairs in which the active years of his life have been spent, Sir George Grey thus speaks of the influence which this first experience—the opening of his public life—exerted upon his future destiny :—

“I saw enough there to give a bias to my mind for ever as to the necessity for change and reform. It was really from a desire to find relief for that misery that I went to Australia. In all my walks on deck, on my first voyage, my mind was filled with the thought of what misery there was in the world, the hope there was in the new lands, and the greatness of the work of attempting to do something for the hopeless poor. The effort to get lands, made by single individuals, seemed to me a wrong to humanity. To prevent such a monopoly in the new countries has been my task ever since. Even in the case of the missionaries I found the same desire for selfish gain. Sent out by the contributions of many whose gifts involved self-denial, I found them living in good

houses, enjoying a competence and an assured position, with pensions for their wives and children. It seemed to me a dreadful thing that they should have come out on purpose to gain great estates for themselves and their families, and to use their influence over the natives—and the influence which a missionary has over a converted native can scarcely be imagined—to make them agree to all this; and my heart sank still more when I found the missionaries, as a class, opposing with all their power, and with bitter persecution, all those who dared to make a stand for fair dealing—to uphold those principles of eternal justice which the missionaries themselves were sent to teach.”

The condition of the majority of the Irish people, and the terrible distress apparent in so many parts of Great Britain, made an indelible impression upon young Grey's mind. The desire of childhood to travel and explore distant lands had never weakened. The charm which imagination had thrown long since over the far-off countries beyond the sea still dwelt upon his mind and influenced his hopes. To this desire for travel and discovery was now added a motive power which never abated in its force throughout his life.

“He started in the race with a definite purpose—that of opening a new future and a new hope for Anglo-Saxondom and humanity in the boundless colonies of England. In those vast territories, washed by the waves of every sea, and canopied by every constellation, he trusted to see communities arise, untrammelled by the ancient prejudices, unhampered by the hoary superstitions and tyrannies of the past, free in the fullest sense; communities in which the facilities for success in life should be vastly increased, and where all talent, virtue, and worth, should have free play, and a fair field in every condition of life.

“Beholding, with sincere sympathy, the hopeless condition of the increasing multitudes of the poorer classes at home, he saw, on the other hand, a vast world, spreading its arms, and unfolding its boundless wealth for their acceptance. Food for the million-mouthed hungry, equal freedom and liberty for the down-trodden myriads were thus easily to be obtained. From the crowded hives of the United Kingdom—from the fields of Norfolk and Devonshire, from the hills of Scotland, and from the Green Isle of the West—a continual exodus of nations could wander forth to till the mighty solitudes, and gather the harvests of the world. And each nation, so planted on the fair bosom of the silent wastes, would be a home of liberty, where freedom would reign secure. With prophetic eye he saw the continents and islands of distant seas so rich and prosperous, so virtuous and free, so great and powerful, that no future Alexander or Napoleon could threaten the liberties of humanity.

“Thus, as it were, the master of a new school, he taught that from the giant oak of England, trained and hardened into strength and beauty by the toils and storms, the prayers and sufferings of a thousand years, there should be carried out into every region where man could dwell young seedlings to grow up for the protection and comfort of mankind. It may be that in youth he had heard that theory argued which traces the Anglo-Saxon race back to the loins of Abraham, and proves it heir of those glorious promises which God himself made to the far-off descendants of the Chaldæan Seer. Perchance in this way he formed the lofty ideas which filled him of the future dominance of his kindred, and which revealed to him their destiny as one of solitary grandeur and unapproachable greatness. As the years rolled on he saw them anchoring deeper and deeper in every quarter of

the earth, claiming and holding nearly all the habitable globe, every sea whitened by the sails of their commerce, every land ringing with their glorious tongue; and at the last, as if preparing in the providence of God for the final consummation of all things, he beheld that day dawn which shall herald the advent of peace from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth. For, even judging by moral arguments and human logic, he believed that the united Anglo-Saxon powers would be so strong as to quell, by their mere existence, all warlike opposition, and constrain the families of mankind to decide their quarrels, not by the arbitrament of war, but by a congress of the nations.

“In the future of the race which he fondly loved he saw the possibility of a golden, a wonderful prosperity—a prosperity not merely material, but intellectual, scientific, moral, and religious. He looked forward to times and states in which free and happy nations should govern themselves by the most perfect and equal laws; and he hoped also to behold the young children of the mother of nations calmly solving many of the vexed questions of all time, and showing to the world how communities of free men could, without violence and without hate, become wise, and great, and good beyond all the examples of history.”*

* “The Great Pro-Consul.” Appendix to “Sir Gilbert Leigh.” pp. 234, 235. By W. L. Rees. Sampson Low. 1878. *Note.*—This extract is taken from a short sketch of Sir George Grey, written as an appendix to a novel, in 1878. The twelve years which have passed between that time and the penning of the present work have only shown Sir George Grey’s actions to be consistently influenced by the same hopes and ambitions which inspired him in early youth.

CHAPTER III.

APPOINTMENT TO CONDUCT EXPLORATIONS IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

“ This morning, like the spirit of a youth,
That means to be of note, begins betimes.”
Antony and Cleopatra.

PERCEIVING no immediate prospect of employment in the colonies, Lieutenant Grey, together with a brother officer, also anxious to explore the wonders of the new lands—Lieutenant Lushington of the 9th Regiment of Foot—offered his services to the Royal Geographical Society for the exploration of North Western Australia. On the 16th of November, 1836, they received a favourable reply, and on the 28th the President of that Society brought before the Council the application of these two young officers. It was decided to approach Lord Glenelg, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, with a view to the co-operation of the Government in the proposed plan of exploration.

Lieutenant Grey was already acquainted with Lord Glenelg, whose brother, William Grant, was one of Grey's friends. The Government were, themselves, most anxious to become better acquainted with that vast and unknown portion of Australia which Grey and Lushington proposed to visit. No difficulty, therefore, was experienced in obtaining not only permission, but assistance from the Government.

The opinion was held by celebrated navigators,

among whom were Dampier and King, that a great river or a large inlet would be found to give access to the interior of Australia from the north or north-west coast. It was chiefly with the hope that such a discovery might be made that the exploring expedition was formally decided upon by the Government.

On the 6th of February, 1837, two years' leave of absence, dated from the Horse Guards, was granted by Sir J. Macdonald, to Lieutenant Grey, for the purpose of exploration in New Holland. Four months later the two young officers received their instructions from Downing Street. They were informed that H.M.S. Beagle had been appointed to survey the north-west coast between Dampier's Archipelago and Cambridge Gulf, and that they had been appointed to explore the interior of the same part. The purpose and conduct of the expedition are summarised in the following short quotations from this despatch. "The immediate object of this exploration is that of gaining information as to the real state of the interior of North Western Australia, its resources, and the course and direction of its rivers and mountain ranges, as well as familiarizing the natives with the British name and character." . . . "Lieutenant Grey, the senior military officer, is considered as commanding the party" (despatch signed "Glenelg").

Thus, at the early age of twenty-four, Lieutenant Grey was selected to proceed upon a dangerous and important mission, and immediately after his twenty-fifth birthday, was regularly commissioned by His Majesty's Government to take charge of the expedition. The days following the 1st of June were spent in taking leave of friends. The parting between the young explorer and his mother must have called vividly to her mind the fact that she had given her husband to the service of her country, and might

possibly now, after the lapse of a quarter of a century, be called on to resign her son.

The two comrades proceeded to Plymouth for the purpose of joining H.M.S. Beagle. A day or two after their arrival at Plymouth, and while they were waiting for their ship to start, William IV. died, and they were eye-witnesses as well as auditors of the proclamations issued by the Mayor of Plymouth, on the accession of Victoria as Queen of England. Their commissions were nine days old at this time.

A fortnight passed away before all necessary stores and equipments had been shipped on board the Beagle. Then, finally, farewell was bidden to the friends who had come to Plymouth to see them depart, the anchor was weighed, and the Beagle, passing beyond the breakwater and the Eddystone, sailed on her southern voyage.

The hopes and ambitions which, since childhood, had grown up in the mind of George Grey thus seemed to be in a fair way of attainment. It is a strange and peculiar coincidence that the commencement of his career, as directly connected with the colonies, is contemporaneous with the reign of Victoria. It could not, by any possibility, have suggested itself to the mind of the voyager, that for upwards of half a century the young queen should sit upon the throne of her fathers, and that he, as her servant, should be engaged in many ways and in many lands in the public service of the Empire, and in direct connection with the colonies.

CHAPTER IV.

FIRST OUTWARD VOYAGE.—FORECAST OF FUTURE LIFE.

“ Adieu ! Adieu ! My native shore
Fades o'er the waters blue.”

Byron.

AS the ship left the shores of his native land, and gradually won her way towards the tropics, the hopes and purposes which had before been shadowed in Grey's mind began to assume more definite shapes and proportions. Often pacing the deck alone at night beneath the quiet stars of the tropics, or when, in colder latitudes, the rounded sails were gleaming in the moonlight, and the ship, with a fresh breeze behind her, was impatiently mounting the white-crested waves and winging her way to the new lands, plans for the future of his own work and toil, and for the benefit especially of the poorer classes of his countrymen, moulded and worked themselves out in George Grey's mind. He determined not merely to prosecute explorations and to discover great territories, but to devote the energies of his life to the new purpose of ameliorating the condition of the masses of his people. His mind, though not enthusiastic, was always characterized by excessive strength of opinion and determination of purpose. A plan once formed was never relinquished. A determination once taken, no vacillation was allowed. No hesitation

stayed his hand or foot in the accomplishment of the end he had proposed to himself. Cut off from the ordinary circles of friendship in England, started upon the voyage which meant the commencement of an active life, he could not avoid continuous thought upon the great purposes which he desired to accomplish.

The first break in the journey after leaving Plymouth was at Teneriffe, on the 19th of July. Anchoring off the quaint city of Santa Cruz, the Beagle stayed till the afternoon of the 23rd. This time was pleasantly spent by young Grey in expeditions across the island to various interesting spots, in taking a series of magnetic observations, and in collating a vocabulary of the language of the Guanches—a race who held possession of the Canary Islands about fifteen hundred years ago, but who passed out of existence within the century. He was much interested in noting other evidences of the occupation of the islands by these people, particularly an inaccessible cave, the opening of which was filled with their bones. Grey could only account for their being there by the supposition that they had gained the cave from the interior of the country or by a winding path on the face of the cliff, which had afterwards been destroyed and their retreat cut off. The stay here was accompanied by the usual difficulty experienced by a foreigner in making himself understood. This was peculiarly noticeable in Grey's case when it was to the interest of the residents not to understand.

The voyage from Teneriffe to Bahia was uneventful, though very pleasant. The anchor was dropped in the harbour of the latter place on August 17th. The beauty and luxuriance of the vegetation, the bountifulness of nature, awakened in the young explorer's mind "those wild and indescribable feelings which accompany the first entrance into a rich tropical

country." Speaking of a walk on the evening of his arrival, he says, "The luxuriant foliage, expanding in magnificent variety, the brightness of the stars above, the dazzling brilliancy of the fireflies around me, the breeze laden with balmy smells, and the busy hum of insect life making the deep woods vocal, at first oppress the senses with a feeling of novelty and strangeness, till the mind appears to hover between the realms of truth and falsehood."

On the 25th the Beagle left the shores of Brazil and set sail for the Cape of Good Hope, which they reached on the 22nd of September. Finding that a vessel could be procured here more readily and economically than at Swan River, where they had previously intended to hire one for the expedition, they engaged the *Lynher*, a schooner of about 140 tons. From this time till the 12th of October every moment was occupied with preparations for departure, engaging a few additional men of good character, embarking live stock (sheep and goats and dogs), collecting useful plants, vegetables, and fruits that would be likely to thrive in the new land, laying in necessary stores, and making all business arrangements.

The party consisted of twelve, besides the captain, mate, and crew of the schooner. The plan resolved on was to proceed to Hanover Bay, to select a good spot there for a temporary encampment, and, having landed the stock, to send away the schooner, under Lieutenant Lushington's command, to Timor for ponies. Embarking on the evening of October 12th, the *Lynher* hove anchor, and sailed away early next morning.

Lieutenant Grey very briefly speaks of his feelings and plans in the following passage:—"Great, then, was my joy when all my preparations were completed and I felt the vessel gliding swiftly from Table Bay

into that vast ocean at the other extremity of which lay the land I so longed to see, and to which I was now bound, with the ardent hope of opening the way for the conversion of a barren wilderness into a fruitful garden.

“Part of my plan was not only to introduce all useful animals that I possibly could into this part of Australia, but also the most valuable plants of every description. For this purpose a collection has been made at Teneriffe by Mr. Walker, under my direction, and another in South America, including the seeds of the cotton plant. From the Cape and from England I had also procured other useful plants, and had planned that the vessel, on quitting Timor with the horses, should be filled in every vacant space with young cocoanut trees and other fruits, together with useful animals, such as goats and sheep, in addition to the stock we conveyed from the Cape.”

CHAPTER V.

FIRST EXPLORATION.

“ O'er mountain routes
And over wild wolds clouded up with brush,
And cut with marshes perilously deep—
So went they forth at dawn ; at eve the sun,
That rose behind them as they journeyed out,
Was firing with his nether rim a range
Of unknown mountains that like ramparts towered
Full in their front ; and his last glances fell
Into the gloomy forest's eastern glades
In golden gleams.”

Charles Harpur.

LIEUTENANT GREY landed near Hanover Bay on December 3rd, 1837. He and a small party went ashore to find water, but the nature of the country made it so difficult to proceed, and the heat was so terrible, that they lost three dogs, two of whom died on the spot where they fell exhausted. After staggering on over rocks, that seemed like ruined mountains, for a whole day and a great part of the night, the men came to a halt on the sea beach.

Grey and Corporal Coles followed the coast for some distance further, but were stopped by an arm of the sea, about 500 yards wide. It was necessary for the safety of the party that this should be crossed, as the ship was to meet them further along the coast. The tide was ebbing out to sea with tremendous swiftness. At this place the difference between high and low tide is 38 feet, and many portions of comparatively high land are completely submerged at flood tide. Coles was unfit to attempt the swimming

of the stream. The presence of hostile natives on the opposite shore made it an extremely dangerous undertaking. But the lives of all the party were in peril, and Grey plunged into the current, at first holding his pistol above the water with one hand, but was soon obliged to use both hands in making way against the rushing water, which would have carried him out to sea. He reached the other side, exhausted, naked, and wounded from clambering over the sharp rocks. He heard the shouts of the savages, as they answered each other, from every side. Taking refuge from the natives in a cave, he was overcome with exhaustion, and fell asleep. Finally, he was awakened and taken off, towards morning, by a boat's crew who were searching for him.

The rest of the month was occupied in forming a camping ground, as headquarters and base of operations. After landing a large supply of provisions, the schooner, which had brought them, sailed for Timor, to fetch horses and fresh stores. Meanwhile, Grey, with three or four men, explored the country to some distance from the Prince Regent river, but in an almost parallel course.

Finding indications of the proximity of large numbers of natives, they took all possible precautions to avoid being surprised. Grey thus writes of the situation :—"In the event of anything happening to one of the three, our return to the main party might be considerably impeded, if not altogether prevented ; and although from the superiority of our weapons over theirs, I entertained but little doubt of the issue of any contest we might be forced into, the calls of humanity as well as of personal interest, warned me to do my utmost to avoid an affray."*

* "Journal of Two Expeditions in North-West and Western Australia." Vol. I., p. 105. By George Grey.

The first actual meeting with these savages occurred a few days later. No further signs of the natives had been seen, and the three Englishmen had somewhat relaxed in their watchfulness. Compelled by a sudden and violent storm to seek shelter they doubled back about a hundred yards to the left of their former track. What followed is best described by another quotation from the work just mentioned: "Scarcely had we reached these rocks, and sheltered ourselves under the overhanging projections, when I saw a savage approaching with a spear in his right hand, and a bundle of similar weapons in his left; he was followed by a party of thirteen others, and with them was a small dog—not of the kind common to this country. The men were curiously painted for war, red being the predominant colour, and each man carried several spears, a throwing stick and a club. Their chief was in front, and distinguished by his hair being of a dark red colour from some composition with which it was smeared; the others followed him close, noiselessly, and with stealthy pace, one by one, whilst he, crouching almost to the earth, pricked off our trail.

"We remained concealed and motionless until they had all passed, but the moment they came to where we had turned off, they discovered our retreat, and raised loud shouts of triumph, as, forming themselves into a semicircle, they advanced upon us, brandishing their spears, and bounding from rock to rock. It was in vain that I made friendly signs and gestures, they still closed upon us, and to my surprise I heard their war-cry answered by a party who were coming over the high rocks in our rear, which I had flattered myself protected us in that direction.

"Our situation was now so critical that I was compelled to assume a hostile attitude. I therefore

shouted in answer to their cries, and desiring the men to fire one at a time, if I gave the word, I advanced rapidly, at the same time firing one barrel over their heads. This had the desired effect. With the exception of one more resolute than the rest, they fled on all sides, and he, finding his efforts unavailing, soon followed their example.

“Feeling, however, that the neighbourhood we were in was a dangerous one, and being anxious to know whether the party I had left at the encampment—only six in number—had seen these natives, I hurried our march, although the rain fell in torrents all day, and we that night made the camp.”

Christmas Day was spent at the camp, all dining together “in a little booth made of boughs, which we dressed up as gaily as we could. I could not but feel considerable pleasure in seeing the happy countenances of the men ranged round the rough plank that formed our table.”

On New Year's Day a ceremony like that which marks a similar festival in China took place. With the first ray of light Grey commenced to plant, in favourable situations, seeds of all the most useful vegetables and fruits he had brought with him—a valuable New Year's gift to the country. When the schooner returned with the horses, great difficulty was experienced in bringing them to the camp, owing to the steep and broken nature of the country; and the undertaking was not without its perils. On the 29th of January we can picture Lieutenant Grey sitting on the head of a pack horse which had been knocked down by a projecting rock, while passing along a narrow track on the face of a cliff, at the edge of a precipice 150 feet deep. Those who have had no acquaintance with such perils read with wonder that even at that moment of anxiety and personal danger

Grey found leisure to appreciate the beauty of the scene around, and the romantic situation. Happily, the adventure led to no serious results. By cutting the girths of the saddle, and allowing the pack to fall over the precipice, a chance to recover itself was given to the pony, which then regained its footing.

When the depôt had been stocked, the party set out on the serious business of the expedition. The map accompanying Grey's account of the explorations shows very little progress at first, for the ponies were weak from exposure and unaccustomed food. On February 4th two miles was the distance accomplished. The rainy season had set in, and the gullies and passes of the hills were flooded. The consequence was that, after ten days of most fatiguing journeys, during which seven ponies died, and several of the remaining nineteen became weak and suffered injuries, the party had only just reached the high lands on the other side of the stony ranges, not more than a day's march if the proper route could have been taken.

On February 11th, when they were in high hopes of reaching a tolerably level country, Grey, Coles, and another man were attacked by a large body of natives.

The explorers were totally unprepared for the onslaught, although vague cries had resounded from different points, and been echoed from great distances earlier in the day. These sounds were so indistinct in character that the little party decided they were not human voices. One of the men being absent rather longer than usual on his task of notching the bark of certain trees to serve as a land-mark, Grey grew slightly anxious. To quote his own words:—

“I called loudly to him, but received no answer, and therefore passed round some rocks which hid the tree from my view to look after him. Suddenly I

saw him close to me, breathless, and speechless with terror, and a native with his spear fixed in a throwing-stick, in full pursuit of him. Immediately numbers of other natives burst upon my sight; each tree, each rock, seemed to give forth its black denizens, as if by enchantment.

“A moment before the most solemn silence pervaded these woods; we deemed that not a human being moved within miles of us; and now they rang with savage and ferocious yells, and fierce armed men crowded round us on every side, bent on our destruction.

“There was something very terrible in so complete and sudden a surprise. Certain death appeared to stare us in the face; and from the determined and resolute air of our opponents I immediately guessed that the man who had first seen them, instead of boldly standing his ground, and calling to Coles and myself for assistance, had at once, like a coward, run away, thus giving the natives confidence in themselves, and a contempt for us; and this conjecture I afterwards ascertained was perfectly true.

“We were now fairly engaged for our lives; escape was impossible, and surrender to such enemies out of the question.

“As soon as I saw the natives around me I fired one barrel of my gun over the head of him who was pursuing my dismayed attendant, hoping the report would have checked his further career. He proved to be the tall man seen at the camp, painted with white. My shot stopped him not; he still closed on us, and his spear whistled by my head; but whilst he was fixing another in his throwing-stick a ball from my second barrel struck him in the arm, and it fell powerless by his side. He now retired behind a rock, but the others still pressed on.

“I now made the two men retire behind some neighbouring rocks, which formed a kind of protecting parapet along our front and right flank, whilst I took post on the left. Both my barrels were now exhausted; and I desired the other two to fire separately whilst I was reloading; but to my horror, Coles, who was armed with my rifle, reported hurriedly that the cloth case with which he had covered it for protection against rain had become entangled. His services were thus lost at a most critical moment, whilst trying to tear off the lock cover; and the other man was so paralysed with fear that he could do nothing but cry out, ‘Oh, God! sir, look at them; look at them!’

“In the meantime, our opponents pressed more closely round; their spears kept whistling by us, and our fate seemed inevitable. The light-coloured man, spoken of at the camp, now appeared to direct their movements. He sprang forward to a rock not more than thirty yards from us, and posting himself behind it, threw a spear, with such deadly force and aim, that had I not drawn myself forward by a sudden jerk, it must have gone through my body, and as it was, it touched my back in flying by. Another well-directed spear, from a different hand, would have pierced me in the breast, but in the motion I made to avoid it, it struck upon the stock of my gun, of which it carried away a portion by its force.

“All this took place in a few seconds of time, and no shot had been fired but by me. I now recognized in the light-coloured man an old enemy who had led on the former attack against me on the 22nd of December. By his cries and gestures he now appeared to be urging the others to surround and press on us, which they were rapidly doing.

“I saw now that but one thing could be done to

save our lives, so I gave Coles my gun to complete the reloading, and took the rifle which he had not yet disengaged from the cover. I tore it off, and stepping out from behind our parapet, advanced to the rock which covered my light-coloured opponent. I had not made two steps in advance when three spears struck me nearly at the same moment, one of which was thrown by him. I felt severely wounded in the hip, but knew not exactly where the others had struck me. The force of all knocked me down, and made me very giddy and faint, but as I fell I heard the savage yells of the natives' delight and triumph. These recalled me to myself, and roused my momentary rage and indignation. I made a strong effort, rallied, and in a moment was on my legs; the spear was wrenched from my wound, and my haversack drawn closely over it, that neither my own party nor the natives might see it, and I advanced again steadily to the rock. The man became alarmed, and threatened me with his club, yelling most furiously; but as I neared the rock, behind which all but his head and arm was covered, he fled towards an adjoining one, dodging dexterously, according to the native manner of confusing an assailant and avoiding the cast of his spear; but he was scarcely uncovered in his flight, when my rifle ball pierced him through the back, between the shoulders and he fell heavily on his face, with a deep groan.

“The effect was electrical. The tumult of the combat had ceased. Not another spear was thrown, not another yell was uttered. Native after native dropped away, and noiselessly disappeared. I stood alone with the wretched savage dying before me, and my two men close to me behind the rocks, in the attitude of deep attention; and as I looked round upon the dark rocks and forests now suddenly silent and

lifeless, but for the sight of the unhappy being who lay on the ground before me, I could have thought that the whole affair had been a horrid dream.

“For a second or two I gazed on the scene, and then returned to my former position. I took my gun from Coles, which he had not yet finished loading, and gave him the rifle. I then went up to the other man, and gave him two balls to hold, but when I placed them in his hands they rolled upon the earth. He could not hold them, for he was completely paralysed with terror, and they fell through his fingers; the perspiration streamed from every pore; he was ghastly pale, and trembled from head to foot; his limbs refused their functions; his eyes were so fixed in the direction in which the natives had disappeared, that I could draw his attention to nothing else, and he still continued repeating, ‘Good God, sir! look at them—look at them!’

“The natives had all now concealed themselves, but they were not far off. Presently the wounded man made an effort to raise himself slowly from the ground. Some of them instantly came from behind the rocks and trees, without their spears, crowding round him with the greatest tenderness and solicitude. Two passed their arms round him, his head drooped senselessly upon his chest, and, with hurried steps, the whole party wound their way through the forest, their black forms being scarcely distinguishable from the charred trunks of the trees, as they receded in the distance.

“To have fired upon the other natives, when they returned for the wounded man, would, in my belief, have been an unnecessary piece of barbarity. I already felt deeply the death of him I had been compelled to shoot; and I believe that when a fellow-creature falls by one’s hand, even in a single combat,

rendered unavoidable in self-defence, it is impossible not sincerely to regret the force of so cruel a necessity."

In these days, when the world rings with the fame of explorers whose progress through savage lands has been marked by havoc and desolation, we hear little about their poignancy of regret at shedding a fellow-creature's blood. All Christendom bows down and worships adventurers, whose hands are red, not with the blood of one naked savage, but of hundreds—and these slain not under the "cruel necessity" of self-defence, but with mere brutal disregard for human life. Grey wished to win the confidence and the goodwill of the native tribes, to teach them to welcome Europeans as friends, and to bring benefits and prosperity to all the uncivilized races with whom he came in contact. He strove to inspire affection, gratitude, and trust towards the invading white man. Modern pioneers of civilization too frequently succeed in arousing in barbaric hearts the sentiments of fear and hatred. So anxious was Captain Grey to show the natives that he felt no ill-will towards them, that, weak and wounded as he was, he saw that the spears and other native weapons, which were lying about in abundance, were left untouched. The only one he took was that which had wounded him in the thigh.

With the assistance of his comrades, Grey managed to get back within two miles of the main party, whom he had left in order to find a path suitable for the horses to follow.

In crossing a stream, the leader strained his wounded hip severely, and, on reaching the opposite shore, fell heavily, and was unable to rise again. Coles went on alone to the encampment. Within an hour Mr. Walker had reached Grey's side, and very shortly after the rest of the party arrived, bringing tents and

stores. The mind of the young explorer, during that hour of loneliness and pain, was filled with memories of home and the realization of the vivid contrast presented by his present circumstances. "I sat upon the rocky edge of a cool, clear brook," he says, "supported by a small tree. The sun shone out brightly; the dark forest was alive with birds and insects. On such scenery I had loved to meditate when a boy, but now how changed I was — wounded, fatigued, and wandering in an unknown land. In momentary expectation of being attacked, my finger was on the trigger, my gun ready to be raised, my eyes and ears busily engaged in detecting the slightest sounds, that I might defend a life which I, at that moment, believed was ebbing with my blood away. The loveliness of nature was around me, the sun rejoicing in his cloudless career; the birds were filling the woods with their songs, and my friends far away and unapprehensive of my condition, whilst I felt that I was dying there."

For more than a fortnight he was unable to proceed any further. During the first night, while he was lying awake, and suffering from his wounds, more than the pain and weariness he felt the mournful cries and wailing with which the unseen natives filled the air, lamenting their chief, the strong and the brave.

When he was a little better they proceeded on their course, Grey being carried by one of the ponies. This mode of travel was very exhausting, and his anxiety to be on his feet once more, and able to seek for the best track, no doubt retarded his discovery. Following a westerly direction, they soon sighted a noble river, which Grey called the Glenelg, after his friend the Secretary of State. This was on the 3rd of March. From that time till the end of the month their way led

through marshy and swampy ground, and they often had to retrace their steps in order to avoid the numerous streams which poured into the river.

On March 26th they discovered some remarkable paintings in a cave, and during the next few days found several similar works of savage art. On the 31st Grey decided to turn back, as the men's strength was rapidly diminishing, the stock of provisions getting very low, and his own state of health becoming critical. A small party, led by Lieutenant Lushington, was, however, sent forward on foot to see if it were practicable to proceed. They returned on April 3rd with the report that the country was perfectly impassable for horses. The original camp in Hanover Bay was reached again on April 15th. They found H.M.S. Beagle on the coast, and the narrative of their adventures was eagerly listened to. Turning the different animals still alive loose, to wander into the bush, the explorers sailed away in their little schooner to Perth.

After the lapse of more than fifty years it is not easy to realize exactly what we owe to the first explorers of new territory. The earliest information of the existence of mountains such as the Stephen Range and Mount Lyell, of rivers such as the Glenelg, of fertile districts and stony deserts in North-Western Australia, was given to the world by Captain Grey. The facts he observed and published in connection with the nature of the soil; the characteristics of the rivers; the peculiarities of the climate; the various forms of animal and vegetable life; the language, customs, and achievements of the natives—all these were of vivid interest at the time, and of enduring value as reliable contributions to the sum of human knowledge.

CHAPTER VI.

SECOND EXPLORATION.

“ Ah God ! what fierce extremes encompass life !
Note yon plump Sybarite, whose noons are feasts,
Whose midnights dainty banquets ! Hedged with gold
He sucks abundance from earth's shores and seas ;
He drains the wine of life from jewelled cups,
And fattens well for grave-worms !

Different fares

Yon child of pain that treads dry furnaced tracts,
Above stretch skies of fire ; around him plains,
Bare, moistureless ; beneath him, earth—his grave !
For him no rich looms play with curious skill ;
No menials crook and cringe ; no tempting cates,
Nor rare wines glisten ; at Fate's Sibyl-hands
He plucks desire, mistrust, hope, fear, and death.
Ah God ! what fierce extremes encompass life !

* * * *

Through night's long hours Paul trod that hopeless land,
Nor neared the peaks till dawn. Grim hills were they
Whose huge piled blocks seemed poised by giant hands
In high perpetual menace of mankind !
Athwart their base rough gorges stretched, and past
Precipitous steeps, one large, dry, gum creek, paved
With smooth round boulders and worn gravel stones ;
Its banks were loose and blistered. Noon's strong heats
Had sucked the streams that once hummed hereabout
True desert music.”

P. J. Holdsworth.

NOT having discovered any such large stream as he believed must exist, Grey was very anxious to start on a fresh expedition. He spent a few months at Mauritius, recovering from his wounds, and studying the resources of the country. During this time he

also learned sufficient of the different dialects to be able to converse with the natives, and to form a vocabulary, which was afterwards transmitted to England. He returned to Swan River on the 18th September, 1838, but owing to many unforeseen difficulties, was compelled to give up the idea of an expedition at that time. After one or two short explorations in the neighbourhood of Perth, Grey decided on a new plan, namely, to follow the coast, both north and south of Shark Bay, in whaleboats, landing at different points and making short trips into the interior.

The little party consisted of twelve men, five of whom had been through the trying experiences of the former expedition. With three whaleboats and provisions for five months, they were conveyed to Shark Bay in a whaler, and landed on Bernier Island on the 25th of February, 1839, where it had been decided to form a depôt for the stores. Two days later one of the boats was wrecked while being launched in order to search for fresh water, as none could be found on the island. Next day, having buried the bulk of the provisions, the whole party went to Dorre Island, where they found a small quantity of water.

In the night a furious gale rose suddenly, and Mr. Walker, Mr. Smith, and Grey had to swim out through the surf to reach the two boats, which were found nearly full of water. One of them soon broke from her moorings, but was hauled safely up the beach. Grey, writing of this night, calls it "one of the most fearful I have ever passed." The storm raged all the night, and a temporary lull at daybreak was followed by an instantaneous change of direction, whence the tempest blew for some hours with the greatest violence, tossing the second boat on shore. By pulling her far up she also was secured without

being much damaged. There were no trees on the island, but the bushes were all dragged from the ground, and stalwart men could not keep their feet.

At two p.m., during the short calm, the leader of the party sent men in all directions to collect water from holes in the rocks. Even thus early in the expedition the explorers were placed in desperate circumstances. The perils which menaced them are summed up in an entry in Lieutenant Grey's journal :—

“The men who had gone out for water soon returned and reported that they had been able to find very little which was not brackish from the spray having dashed over the island. I, therefore, again reduced the allowance to one pint a day, and proceeded to inspect damages. Yesterday we had started in good boats, with strong men, plenty of provisions, everything in the best order. To-day I found myself in a very different position, all the stores we had with us, with the exception of the salt provisions, were spoilt; our ammunition damaged; the chronometers down; and both boats so stoved and strained as to be quite beyond our powers of repairing them effectually. Moreover, from want of water, we were compelled to make for the main before we could return to Bernier Island, to recruit from our ample stores there.”

Two days having been spent in repairing the boats, the party once more set out for the mainland, and on March 4th, reached it. After a few hours' toilsome walking they found a welcome pool. Coasting along the shore they discovered a river, which they called the Gascoyne. The bed of the river was so choked with shallows and sandbanks that navigation soon became impossible. The explorers, therefore, set out on foot to discover the nature of the country on its banks. To his delight, Grey found it a most fertile district. The rich alluvial soil was, in his opinion,

“well adapted for either agricultural or pastoral purposes, but especially for the growth of cotton and sugar.” His chief object in braving the perils and privations of these expeditions was to throw open large tracts of unknown territory for human habitation. His feelings at this important discovery are recorded in these words:—

“I felt conscious that within a few years of the moment at which I stood there, a British population, rich in civilization and the means of transforming an unoccupied country to one teeming with inhabitants and produce, would have followed my steps, and be eagerly and anxiously examining my charts; and this reflection imparted a high degree of interest and importance to our present position and operations.”

A little further to the north, where they had landed to avoid heavy weather, they were attacked by about thirty natives. These were frightened away by firing guns over their heads, but they stole two bags containing the journal and several useful articles which the explorers could ill spare. They were detained at this spot for some time as the surf was too high for them to get out. Every day they became more anxious to leave the place, as their flour had been spoilt by the salt water, and the men were not only becoming weak, from insufficient and bad food, but were getting demoralised by inactivity.

The picture drawn by the young officer of their situation at this time, presents the first suggestion of despondency: “Day after day did we sit and wait for this favourable moment, until the noise of the hoarse breaking surf had become a familiar sound to our ears; but the longer the men watched, the more dispirited did they become; each returning day found them more weak and wan, more gloomy and petulant, than the preceding one; and when the eighth day of

constant and fruitless expectation slowly closed upon us, I felt a gloomy foreboding creeping over me."

Grey spent that night in walking up and down the beach, "anxiously looking out seaward." About day-break the longed-for opportunity presented itself, and the two boats were safely launched.

When they reached Bernier Island again, on the 20th of March, they discovered that a terrible calamity had befallen them. Seeing that the land-marks had been altered, and that evidences of the fury of the hurricane were everywhere visible, Grey took with him only two of the party whom he thought he could trust implicitly, and of whose good sense, fidelity, and courage he was sure. He went to visit the depôt of provisions. His worst fears were realised, for the sea had reached and destroyed it, and all the stores were gone. A cask of salt provisions and half a cask of flour were found on the top of a rock, more than twenty feet above the reach of ordinary high tide, and this was all that remained of their ample stores.

It is impossible for anyone who has not been in a similar position to comprehend, or even in a slight degree to enter into, the feelings which oppressed the leader of the little band when his suspicions were so terribly confirmed. Of them all he was the most alive to the gravity of the situation—he could foresee dangers and sufferings of which the rest would never think. Accustomed to command, and a profound student of human nature, his heart sank as he contemplated the difficulties of preserving discipline and courage amongst the men. Whatever evils he foresaw he could not allow himself to dwell on them. The whole party looked to him for wisdom to guide, for courage to sustain, and for cheerfulness to inspire. While considering every contingency which might arise, and preparing to meet it, he could never look

downcast or appear to expect misfortune. The lives of all depended, under the providence of God, on his coolness, discretion, personal influence, and example. It is not wonderful to read that in such crises of anxiety his greatest comfort was derived from the perusal of a New Testament, which he always carried with him, and ever found a source of strength and encouragement.

The plan he decided upon was to proceed down the coast towards Perth in the whaleboats, as far as possible, and if anything happened to the boats, to continue on foot in the same direction. The remaining provisions were spoilt by salt water, and really unfit for food, but they were carefully weighed, and equal amounts allotted to each of the party. No time was lost. By noon on the 22nd all preparations had been made, and the explorers set forth on their desperate homeward journey.

In pulling down the coast they were frequently in danger. On the 31st of March they were compelled to make the shore to procure water. Choosing what appeared a most favourable spot, they pulled through the surf. Grey thus describes the catastrophe which followed: "For one second the boat hung upon the top of a wave, in the next I felt the sensation of falling rapidly, then a tremendous shock and crash which jerked me away amongst rocks and breakers, and for the few following seconds I heard nothing but the din of waves, whilst I was rolling about amongst men and a torn boat, oars, and water kegs in such a manner that I could not collect my senses." The men regained their feet and beached the boat without any loss of life. The second boat, misunderstanding the signals which Grey made to them not to venture at the same spot, had some of her timbers shattered from stem to stern. Neither boat was fit to

put to sea again, and the party found that they had to walk the rest of the way to Perth, a distance of about 300 miles as the crow flies.

The men were in high spirits. Indeed, their leader had to impress upon them the difficulties of the march which lay before them, in the hope of inducing them to abandon some portion of the loads which they intended to carry. Each member of the party bore his own share of the provisions, one pound of salt meat and twenty pounds of flour—which, with its sour, fermented taste and brown colour, would have been uneatable in less desperate circumstances. Besides these burdens, the men encumbered themselves with “canvas, and what else they thought would sell at Perth, and some of them appeared to be resolved rather to risk their lives than the booty they were bending under.” Lieutenant Grey, in addition to his rations, carried his own papers, several charts, a large map which he filled in as they journeyed, and a number of instruments. Kaiber, a native who accompanied the party, relieved him of his gun. Chronometers, sextants, and sketching materials were borne by other individuals.

The new mode of travel commenced on April 2nd. The entry in Grey's journal runs thus:—“Our loads having been hoisted on our shoulders, away we moved. I had before chosen my line of route, and the plan I resolved to adopt was to walk on slowly but continuously for an hour, and then to halt for ten minutes, during which interval of time the men could rest and relieve themselves from the weight of their burdens, whilst I could enter what notes and bearings I had taken during the preceding hour.”

For a few days the little party pressed onwards intolerably good spirits, despite toilsome journeys, rough ways, nauseous and scanty food, heavy burdens,

and constant exposure to the weather. They passed through a fertile and beautiful region, but the presence of hostile natives added to their troubles. Grey's humanity in firing over their heads soon taught the blacks contempt for his weapon. "Then," he writes, "I was compelled to act promptly, or blood would undoubtedly have been shed. I therefore took my rifle from Coles, and directing it at a heap of closely matted dead bushes which were distant two or three yards to the right of their main body, I drove a ball right through it. The dry, rotten boughs crackled and flew in all directions, whilst our enemy, utterly confounded at this distant, novel, and unfair mode of warfare, fled from the field in confusion, the majority of our party rejoicing at the bloodless victory."

Before long, the men began to sink beneath their self-imposed burdens, and to rebel against the continuous progress insisted on by their leader. The idea took possession of their minds that they were wasting their strength by long marches, and that it would be far wiser to rest frequently and recruit, "utterly forgetting that most of the party had now only seven or eight pounds of fermented flour left, and that if they did not make play whilst they had strength, their eventually reaching Perth was quite hopeless."

When the majority "not only adopted these views in theory, but doggedly carried them into practice," Grey was forced to separate from the advocates of short journeys and frequent rests. Dividing the party into two, he went forward as quickly as he could, leaving the others, under the guidance of Mr. Walker, to follow at their leisure.

This separation occurred on April 10th. Three days later Grey shared the last morsel of his damper with Kaiber, the native who accompanied the expedition. He had still three spoonfuls of arrowroot in

his wallet, but no water to cook it with, and suffered intensely from hunger and thirst. His misery and longing for food were aggravated by seeing the men preparing their evening meal. He was much touched by the action of one of his companions, who offered him a morsel of damper about the size of a walnut. Next day they found a native store of nuts in several holes, one of which only they emptied, the leader holding that they were only justified in taking as much as was absolutely necessary to support life. Grey shot a hawk during the day, and was able liberally to repay the lad who had so generously given him a portion of his scanty store the previous evening.

The sufferings of the little party became almost intolerable. Water could not be found, for although the country was intersected by large river beds, yet they were all dry, and only occasionally were a few muddy pools discovered, where, in the rainy season, immense bodies of water rushed to the ocean. On the 17th they had been three days without either food or water. They could not sleep that night, but roamed wearily about seeking vainly for what they so much needed. Still pushing on, they came to a small mudhole, beside which the men sank on the ground with cries of weariness and rapture, and their leader had great difficulty in inducing them to move on again.

They were now passing through a fertile and promising country, and game was plentiful, but weakness and exhaustion had so told upon them all, that even Grey found his hand shaking so much that he could not for an instant cover a bird with his gun. Watching where a flock of cockatoos went to roost, he followed them, and firing into their midst, killed one. Next morning they found some mussels on the bank of a stream. Much as he needed food, Kaiber could not be induced to taste one of these, declaring they

were under the protection of a powerful spirit. His master, however, insisted on his procuring some for the rest of the party. A torrent of bitterly cold rain falling that night, gave Kaiber the intense satisfaction, even to an uncivilised mind, of saying, "I told you so." Grey's wrath was kindled by the monotonous chant in which the native indulged through the long hours of the wretched night.

"Why should he eat the mussels?" was the burden of his lay, and although he introduced slight variations they in nowise disturbed its monotony. Irritated beyond endurance, the young officer peremptorily forbade any further mention of the mussels. Kaiber knew and respected a tone which did not encourage trifling, and lamented in a much lower key, although, even then, Grey heard a subdued murmuring at intervals.

After a few more days of starvation and fatigue, toiling wearily onward with blistered and bleeding feet, and enfeebled frames, none of the party seemed to feel any desire to carry on the unequal struggle against death, but showed an inclination to lie down and succumb at once. Only the consideration that they might yet save the lives of the other half of the expedition, by sending assistance to them from Perth, urged them to continue. On the 20th they fell in with a party of natives, some of whom were known to Kaiber, and these men supplied them with food. Next day they reached Perth, and Grey immediately went to see the Governor. The latter did not at first recognize the visitor, but when he heard his story showed great kindness to the six who had successfully performed such a long and trying journey, and sent immediate assistance to those who had been left behind.

The hardships of that terrible three months had so

greatly changed the young explorer, that friends hearing of his return, and hastening to congratulate him, passed him unrecognized in the street. Not one of the men who had pushed forward upon his advice and under his guidance was lost.

The rescuing party, setting out from Perth, found four of the other detachment still alive. The youngest, Frederick Smyth, a lad of eighteen, had perished by the way, and three others when discovered had sunk on the ground in the last stages of exhaustion, unable, as they asserted, to proceed a step further. They had been without food or water for several days. Mr. Walker had left the others and reached Perth by himself in order to send help back to them.

These two years of adventure, of hardship, and of peril, were sufficient to develop those qualities which enabled George Grey to fill with wonderful ability the varied and dangerous positions of his after life. Always surrounded by great difficulties—every sense of comfort sacrificed—facing death in many ways, with a despairing following, and under singularly adverse circumstances, his courage never failed, nor did he ever yield to despondency.

When hope had abandoned every other heart, and his followers lay down to die, he kept resolutely on. The same invincible determination which characterized his after life, was brought into prominence thus early. Bearing patiently with weaker men and without bravado, he kept upon his course with a will of iron. Under the stress of danger and perplexity was developed that lofty faith, which sustained him through all the trying ordeals of his later career. So far as regards this world, his creed was the simplest possible. He believed that the Maker of all had placed every man in a position where the performance of duty was incumbent, and expected that duty to be

well done. Following this as a necessary consequence, came the consciousness of a duty to man, only less sacred than the other. The trying circumstances of these expeditions—the necessity ever present for self-control, patience, endurance and self-sacrifice—foreshadowed the greater events and more important deeds of later years.

In this school George Grey learnt to rule himself, his followers, the savage tribes with whom he came into contact, and even the forces of nature. In no scene of his subsequent history—remarkable as that history has been—did he fail to draw encouragement and confidence from his explorations in Western Australia.

Never afterwards was he likely to be called upon to face danger so imminent or circumstances so apparently hopeless. A heart which had borne up against the privations and disasters of those terrible explorations would scarcely be disturbed or beat more quickly under any possible conditions of peril. The foresight which had enabled him in some measure to anticipate every contingency which could arise would not be likely to fail in any future difficulty; and the patience which could bear with the harassing and despairing petulance of men who wished to be allowed to lie down and die could scarcely give way under any future pressure.

That faith in the mercy and power of an unseen God which enabled him, when suddenly confronted with the loss of all the provisions of the party on Bernier Island, to commit himself and his party confidently to the guardianship and care of the Almighty, and which sustained him when in the midst of the waterless desert he had shared his last remaining piece of damper with the native, would not be afterwards greatly staggered by any difficulties, however

insurmountable they might appear to be. The remarkable passage in which he describes his feelings in the second of these appalling situations deserves quotation.

“We halted at noon for about two hours, during which I made my breakfast with Kaiber, sharing my remaining portion of damper between us. It was almost a satisfaction to me when it was gone, for, tormented by the pangs of hunger, as I had now been for many days, I found that nearly the whole of my time was passed in struggling with myself as to whether I should eat at once all the provisions I had left or refrain till a future hour. Having completed this last morsel, I occupied myself for a little with my journals, then read a few chapters in the New Testament, and having fulfilled these duties, I felt myself as contented and cheerful as I had ever been in the most fortunate moments of my life.”

The history of these explorations was not published till 1841, when Captain Grey was performing his duties as Governor in South Australia. He wrote to Lord Glenelg, requesting permission to dedicate the record of his travels to him, receiving the following little note in reply:—

Dear Sir,—I am not a little gratified and flattered by your kind wish, and can only say that I shall feel it an honour to be associated with the history of your expeditions—an honour which I appreciate the more on account of the motives which have induced you to offer it.

It will be always to me a source of sincere satisfaction that I was in any degree enabled to assist your early efforts in the public service, and witness your entrance on a career which is, I trust, destined to be long and honourable. The new year opens auspiciously for you. I offer to you the best wishes of the season. May a kind Providence be your guide and guard.—I am, dear Sir, yours very faithfully,

GLENELG.

The book met with great success, and strengthened the reputation which its writer had already obtained. In itself it is a simple narrative of the facts and circumstances of Grey's two expeditions, to which are added dissertations upon several scientific subjects. The style is clear, the narrative continuous. There are indications in many places of the leading features of the author's character and purposes. The predominant idea as to the future of these unoccupied territories repeatedly manifests itself.

Upon the banks of rivers, or the shores of the sea, he beheld, in anticipation, great towns arising, filled with commerce and with plenty. Upon the boundless pastures he heard the bleating of the flocks, and the lowing of the cattle. The wealth of nature, which spread itself out before his delighted vision to satisfy the wants of multitudes, and to give homes to the poor and needy, became the possession of the struggling masses, who, in the mother country, were on the brink of starvation. Hope pictured to him, in the future, not far distant, the realization of his brightest dreams.

The love of children, ever a striking feature in his character, was displayed on many occasions. Once, the natives, believing him to be a friend come back from the dead, compelled the little children of the tribe to sit upon his knees, and submit to the touch of his hand. At first this process was accompanied by cries of terror, but so potent and gentle were his caresses, that at last the children strove together to get nearest to him, and to obtain the most of his attention.

Humanity, fortitude, foresight, and determination, were all displayed by him in the arduous circumstances which surrounded both expeditions. Grey made no secret of his intense belief in the overruling

providence of God, and of the certainty of His interposition on behalf of those who put their trust in His mercy. On returning to Bernier Island, he found that the awful succession of hurricanes, lashing the sea into unbounded fury, had swept away all their provisions, and brought them face to face with death. His own words will best describe the position, and his feelings.

“The safety of the whole party now depended upon my forming a prompt and efficient plan of operations, and seeing it carried out with energy and perseverance. As soon as I was out of sight of Mr. Smith and Coles, I sat down upon a rock on the shore, to reflect upon our present position. The view seawards was discouraging; the gale blew fiercely in my face, and the spray of the breakers was dashed over me; nothing could be more dismal and drear. I turned inland, and could see only a bed of rock, covered with drifting sand, on which grew a stunted vegetation, and former experience had taught me that we could not hope to find water in this island. Our position here was, therefore, untenable, and but three plans presented themselves to me:—First, to leave a notice of my intentions on the island, then to make for some known point on the mainland, and there endeavour to subsist ourselves, until we should be found and taken off by the colonial schooner; secondly, to start for Timor or Port Essington; thirdly, to try and make Swan River in the boats. I determined not to decide hastily between these plans, and, in order more fully to compose my mind, I sat down and read a few chapters in the Bible.

“By the influence these imparted I became perfectly contented and resigned to our apparently wretched condition, and, again rising up, pursued my way along the beach to the party. It may here be

remarked by some that these statements of my attending to religious duties are irrelevant to the subject, but in such an opinion I cannot at all coincide. In detailing the sufferings we underwent it is necessary to relate the means by which those sufferings were alleviated; and, after having, in the midst of perils and misfortunes, received the greatest consolation from religion, I should be ungrateful to my Maker not to acknowledge this, and should ill perform my duty to my fellow-men did I not bear testimony to the fact that under all the weightier sorrows and sufferings that our frail nature is liable to, a perfect reliance upon the goodness of God and the merits of our Redeemer, will be found a sure refuge and a certain source of consolation.”*

After having been attacked by the natives, and hedged in by the surf on the mainland, they sat day and night upon the lonely beach watching the waves until some favourable moment might enable them to embark. When the whole party was plunged in gloom and despondency, Grey thus writes:—

“It may be asked if, during such a trying period, I did not seek from religion that consolation which it is sure to afford? My answer is, Yes; and I further feel assured that but for the support I derived from prayer and frequent perusal and meditation of the Scriptures, I should never have been able to have borne myself in such a manner as to have maintained discipline and confidence amongst the rest of the party; nor in all my sufferings did I ever lose the consolation derived from a firm reliance upon the goodness of Providence.

“It is only those who go forth into perils and dangers, amidst which human foresight and strength

* “Two Expeditions in North-West and Western Australia,” pp. 393, 394. 1841. G. Grey.

can but little avail, and who find themselves, day after day, protected by an unseen influence, and ever and again snatched from the very jaws of destruction by a power which is not of this world, who can at all estimate the knowledge of one's own weakness and littleness, and the firm reliance and trust upon the goodness of the Creator which the human breast is capable of feeling. Like all other lessons which are of great and lasting benefit to man, this one must be learnt amid much sorrowing and woe; but having learnt it, it is but the sweeter from the pain and toil which are undergone in the acquisition."

And when the advance party had triumphed over every difficulty and arrived near the town of Perth, and meeting friendly natives received a plentiful supply of frogs and nuts, eating as they had not eaten for weeks before, knowing that the next day they should be able to reach Perth—Grey writes: "We all lay down to sleep, and in the silence of the night I rendered fervent thanks to my Maker who had again brought us so near the haven where we would be."

The enterprising explorer did not deceive himself as to the value and suitability for settlement of the lands he traversed, although the first attempts to discover the fertile territory which he described were unsuccessful.

A letter, written nearly half a century later, by Commodore Coghlan, who speaks of himself as "one who has read your journals many times, and is personally acquainted with much of the ground described (having seen in Vansittart Bay similar buffalo tracks, or spors, to those seen by you in Prince Regent Inlet, and having also seen the spot where brave Frederick Smyth lies buried)," says:—"Since that day there have been many Australian expeditions, but, to my mind, none in which so many personal hardships were

endured, as during that memorable journey you made by sea to Gantheaume Bay, and thence, on foot, to Perth. To-day, Gascoyne is comparatively a flourishing place. It is the outlet for sheep stations, some of which are as far back as four hundred miles from the coast. Steamers call frequently, carrying men and stores, *en route* to the newly discovered Kimberley goldfields."

CHAPTER VII.

GREY APPOINTED RESIDENT AT KING GEORGE'S
SOUND—HIS METHOD OF DEALING WITH NATIVE
RACES.

“The proper study of mankind is man.”
Pope.

“Ill can he rule the great, that cannot reach the small.”
Spenser, “Faerie Queen.”

WHILE recruiting, after the close of the second expedition, George Grey received his commission as Captain of the 83rd Regiment. Soon afterwards, he was requested by the Governor of Western Australia to assume the position of Resident at King George's Sound. This he readily assented to, as it provided him with employment, and afforded further opportunities of becoming acquainted with colonial life, and with the character and adaptability of the native races. His appointment was dated August 31, 1839.

While occupying this position, he determined to ascertain, by practical experiment, the possibility of engaging the settled attention of a nomadic savage race in the employments of civilized life. Carrying out the ideas which he had already formed during his travels, he commenced the task of employing the Australian natives in the simplest work which the public service could offer. A number of the aborigines were set to work at roadmaking. In dealing with the

child-like minds of these people, utterly unused to the idea of waiting for reward, he found it necessary to present the incentive of prompt and immediate payment. Twice every day were his native workmen paid. When half the day's toil had been accomplished, they received sixpence each, and, when the dinner hour was past, they knew that, if they recommenced their labour, at the end of the day they would receive the further sum of a shilling.

The work being simple, the task being lightened by the good temper and good management of overseers, chosen by the Resident with due regard to their necessary qualifications, and the reward given being adequate to supply the wants of savages, little difficulty was experienced in utilizing the labour of one of the least intelligent amongst uncivilized races.

The plan which Captain Grey definitely adopted, while Resident, as the best method of dealing with savage tribes, he never forsook, and never found to fail. To give employment suited to the natural or acquired capacity of the persons employed; to bestow a sufficient reward for the work accomplished, in a speedy and certain manner, and to hold out the prospect of some further reward in the future, as the consequence of continued industry and good conduct, seemed theoretically, as it proved in practice, to be a reasonable and successful method of dealing with barbarous peoples.

Believing that a great portion of his life would be spent in the management of the aboriginal inhabitants of the colonies, Grey devoted his time, attention, and study, to the habits of life, and the methods of thought of these races. His experiment was entirely successful. The natives worked steadily, and worked well. The two payments daily provided for all their requirements, and were always certain. They were not

overtaxed; they were treated kindly, and with a certain amount of respect. Thus, during the first short apprenticeship which he served, before assuming the actual duties of a Governor, Grey ascertained, from personal experience, a certain and efficacious method of peaceful settlement, and peaceful employment of native races.

The few months during which Captain Grey filled the position of Resident at Albany swiftly passed. Receiving notification that Her Majesty's Government did not think it expedient to prosecute further the exploration of North-Western Australia, he returned to England.

The series of experiments which he had conducted, in dealing with the natives, and the knowledge which he had obtained of their character, found expression in a memorandum, which he transmitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, as a report, on the 4th of June, 1840, upon the best means of promoting the civilization of the Australian natives. This report attracted considerable attention, and copies of it were sent to the various Governors of the Australian Colonies, for their consideration and guidance.

Grey arrived in England in September, 1840. At this time he was preparing his book, "Explorations in Western and North-Western Australia," which was published in 1841, after his return to Australia. The end of his employment by the Government in the work of exploration left him without a tangible connection with any of the colonies, or with the Government. He had not long, however, to remain in doubt as to his future career.

The despatches which he had forwarded to the Colonial Office; the able memorandum, before mentioned, on the civilization of the Australian natives; the remarkable courage and capacity which he had

shown through the fearful ordeal of the two expeditions, had all been noted at headquarters; and, although he was himself unaware, from official intimation, of the feelings held towards him by the Colonial Office, it was an understood fact in that department that in Captain Grey they possessed an officer, whose presence of mind, firmness of character, and genius for command, would authorize Her Majesty's Government in placing him in any position which the colonial exigencies might require.

Within a month of his landing, on October 20th, when he had scarcely ceased telling his mother and many friends of the strange adventures and the wonderful scenes through which he had passed, he received a most flattering letter from Lord John Russell, then principal Secretary of State for the Colonies. The letter opened with these words:—
“The high opinion which is entertained of your ability and energy by those who have had to transact business with you, regarding the affairs of Australia, induces me to propose to recommend you to the Queen for the Government of South Australia, in the place of Colonel Gawler.”

This intimation, not merely of the esteem in which he was held by those high in office, but of the probability of the fulfilment of his loftiest hopes, filled the heart of George Grey with delight and gratitude. To that of his mother it must have brought a feeling of sorrow and anxiety, mingled with the pride which she felt in her son's success.

South Australia had been, from the day of its foundation, gradually, but surely, drifting into perilous circumstances. Colonel Gawler, though an excellent officer and a man of great courage, did not possess those qualifications which were necessary to guide the destinies of a young settlement. The affairs of the

colony were in a desperate condition, and ministers had resolved to recall Colonel Gawler, and to appoint some man of position and of character, who would be able, far removed from the assistance and the authority of Downing Street, to retrieve and to carry on successfully the affairs of the infant colony.

Sir Charles Napier had been requested by Lord John Russell to undertake the task. Sir Charles was eminently a soldier. His main idea, correct in itself, was that Government must rest on force. He was informed of the mutinous and insubordinate state into which the colonists had passed, and after accepting the position of Governor of South Australia, he requested that he should be permitted to take troops with him to Adelaide.

To this Her Majesty's Government demurred. That feeling of anxiety, which, ever since the American Revolution, has so powerfully influenced the colonial policy of Great Britain, at once compelled ministers to refuse this demand to land an armed force in a free colony. Thereupon Sir Charles Napier resigned the Governorship.

With these circumstances Captain Grey was made acquainted. Conscious as he was of the dignity of the position offered, and the high appreciation thus shown of the work he had already accomplished, he naturally regarded with some doubt the responsibilities of the proposed task. He repaired to London, there sought and received advice from a statesman well acquainted with colonial questions, and with the colonial policy of successive Governments. This revered friend expressed his opinion that Sir Charles Napier was wrong in refusing the Government because he could not take with him the troops he required. "Do not," said he, speaking to Captain Grey, "do not refuse this great opening for usefulness

in the public service because you cannot take troops with you, to preserve order, and to enforce the laws. When you have assumed the command, if you find it to be necessary to employ force, you will be the master of the situation, and forces must be placed at your disposal. Sir George Gipps, an able man, is the Governor of New South Wales. He will listen at once to your request, and you can avail yourself of his assistance, and of some of the troops which he has under his command."

His only doubt thus removed, Grey answered the letter from Lord John Russell. While expressing his sense of the high honour sought to be conferred upon him, he alluded with diffidence to his own age and comparative inexperience, but trusted that the advice and counsel of Her Majesty's Government would enable him to cope successfully with whatever difficulties he might meet, and that ministers would be lenient in their judgment of his actions.

His acceptance of the offer gave satisfaction to the Cabinet. Her Majesty was advised to appoint Captain Grey as Governor of South Australia, to succeed Colonel Gawler; and, at the close of the year, on December 29th, Grey received a letter from Lord John Russell, enclosing his commission as Governor of that colony.

After the receipt of his commission, it took but little time for the new Governor of South Australia to arrange all business matters in England, and to start upon his second voyage to Australia, not now as a young officer and adventurer, about to explore unknown countries, but to assume the important position of a Colonial Governor—a position, the responsibility of which was greatly added to by the unfortunate series of mistakes and blunders which had characterised the administration of the colony since

its commencement. Once more he had to bid farewell to his mother, this time, finally, for when Sir George Grey returned to England, from New Zealand, in 1854, his mother was no more.

Thus, at the age of twenty-eight, George Grey left England as the ruler of her youngest colony, himself the youngest Governor ever appointed to a similar position.

Book the Second.

GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA, 1841-1845.

CHAPTER VIII.

UNHAPPY POSITION OF THE COLONY—CHANGE EFFECTED BY CAPTAIN GREY.

“I have done the State some service, and they know't.”

Othello.

“Rich in saving common-sense,
And, as the greatest only are,
In his simplicity, sublime.”

Tennyson.

IN May, 1841, Captain Grey arrived at Adelaide. On this, his second journey to the Antipodes, his mind often reverted to that voyage in the *Beagle*, four years earlier, when, under the auspices of the Geographical Society and the Government, he, having chosen his career, had entered upon it. His rapid promotion, the varied circumstances through which he had passed, the knowledge of men and things which he had obtained, the approval of his superiors, the trust and affection of his fellow toilers, had all tended to strengthen his determination as to the course of his future life. He was resolved to enter upon the duties of his Government, and his new official position, with the fixed purpose of increasing the happiness of all who came within the sphere of

his administration, and of laying the foundations for future prosperity in these new lands.

His arrival in the colony was the signal for some little manifestation of welcome. The circumstances of South Australia, however, were so confused and desperate, that they precluded the possibility of any great excitement in the public mind on any other subject. To understand the position of the colony, it will be necessary to give a short sketch of its foundation and history.

The statement made by Captain King, in 1822, that the south coast of Australia was barren and unfit for settlement, seems to have prevented any serious exploration of its capabilities until 1829, when Sturt proceeded from Sydney to explore the Murrumbidgee. This entailed a journey of nearly one thousand miles along an unknown stream, running through a country inhabited by hostile tribes. Reaching the coast successfully, Sturt and his party, threatened with starvation, had to return—a much more difficult operation than going down with the current. The voyage up the Murray took nearly three months, amid such exertions and privations, that, when the adventurers again reached Sydney, one of the party had lost his reason, and the intrepid leader was in darkness—Sturt had lost his eyesight. The report they brought back was very different to the verdict of Captain King. "My eye never fell on a region of more promising aspect, or of more favourable position," were the words of Sturt.

Attention being drawn to this part of the colony, a plan of settlement, embodying the views of Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, was formed in London, and an Act passed in the English Parliament, by which the district was proclaimed a British Province, to which no convicts were to be sent, the upset price

of the land being fixed at 12s. per acre. The province was to be self-supporting, by the sale of its lands, and a company was formed, which made large purchases, appointing commissioners to manage the affairs of the new settlement.

The first emigrants arrived in the colony on the 9th of November, 1836. Captain Hindmarsh, one of the commissioners, was appointed the first Governor. His recommendations for the position seem to have been chiefly his distinguished services as a naval officer, but he was not well qualified for a Governor of a new colony. Disputes with the official authorities under him were constant, and he was soon recalled, Colonel Gawler being appointed in his place.

Finding the revenue very low, and the resources of the country almost untouched, the new Governor should have encouraged agriculture and settlement on the soil, but, instead, he launched the colony on an extravagant public works policy, forming expensive roads, and erecting large and handsome buildings in the town of Adelaide. For a time labour was well paid, and apparent prosperity reigned, but it was artificial, and soon came to an end. In 1840, Colonel Gawler was recalled, in consequence of having drawn bills upon the Lords of the Treasury, in excess of the authority received from the commissioners.

Under his administration, while the revenue was, at the outside, not more than £30,000, the expenses of keeping up the different departments of Government alone amounted to £94,000, and at the same time the land sales fell off. Lord Stanley, commenting on Gawler's administration, stated that the building of Government House and the formation of an unnecessary road had each cost more than a year's revenue; that land in the unformed town of

Adelaide fetched prices which would hardly be given for the same amount of land in Liverpool; and that not two hundred acres of soil in the colony were under tillage. In the face of these facts, he continued, it was evident that "a profligate waste of money had taken place in a manner utterly inconsistent with the success of the colony."

Captain Grey's local knowledge of South Australia, and his administrative capacity, pointed him out as the best person to undertake the difficult task of restoring the credit of the new colony, greatly damaged by the refusal of the British Government to honour the bills drawn by the late Governor. Grey's position in the colony differed from that of his predecessors in the fact that he was directly responsible to the Imperial powers, and owed no authority to the commissioners.

Grey was thus, in his first Governorship, brought directly into contact with the Wakefield system of colonization. Here he fought his first battles against the land monopolists, and commenced the struggle which has continued throughout his life. His administration in New Zealand was continuously marked by determined opposition to the theories of Edward Gibbon Wakefield and the practices of his supporters.

The two men regarded the question of emigration from opposite points of the compass. Grey looked upon the colonies as the rightful heritage of succeeding generations and the future home of millions of the British poor. Wakefield regarded them as mines of wealth, to be exploited by the powerful governing classes for their own benefit. Grey's chief aim in life was to extend the blessings of these new lands as widely as possible, and to lay the foundations of the young communities in justice, wisdom, and constitu-

tional freedom. Wakefield's object was to reproduce in the nascent states the class distinctions, the inequalities, and the social barriers which fetter popular liberty in older countries.

It is impossible to understand the varying phases of colonization and of the internal conflicts which took place in the young states of Australasia without some general knowledge of the plans of Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, which have left their mark for good or ill upon the modern history of British settlement. Mr. Wakefield, in a series of letters, propounded a system founded, like modern political economy, upon human selfishness and the domination of capital over labour.

In "The Three Colonies of Australia," by Samuel Sidney, the author observes:—"Mr. Wakefield contended that colonial land should be sold at a 'sufficient price,' at a uniform rate, so high as to prevent labourers from buying it. That it should be sold in large blocks, and the purchase money expended in bringing to the colonies healthy and capable young men and women of the labouring class, who, being debarred from becoming land-owners themselves, should continue to work for wages, and thus guarantee a perpetual abundance of cheap labour for the benefit of the capitalist." This theory of colonization did not appeal to the best sentiments of human nature.

"But Mr. Wakefield had to assist him in propagating his tenets, not only the charm of 'style,' but of personal fascination, with a more than Protean adaptiveness which rendered him a friend and bosom adviser of Republicans and Radicals, Whig and Conservative peers, Low Church and High Church bishops. Five Secretaries of State for the Colonies—Lords Glenelg and Stanley, Monteaige, Aberdeen,

and Grey—have been more or less his pupils; the influence of his writings, even quotations from them, are to be found in their despatches; while so late as 1850 he led, or rather sent captive, to Canterbury, New Zealand, a crowd of educated victims.

“Energetic, tenacious, indefatigable, unscrupulous, with a wonderful talent for literary agitation, for simultaneously feeding a hundred journalists with the same idea and the same illustrations in varying language, for filling eloquent but indolent orators with telling speeches—at one time he had rallied round him nearly every rising man of political aspirations, and secured the support of nearly every economical writer of any celebrity. He had shaken a Ministry, founded and distributed the patronage of at least two colonies, and left the seeds, after nearly exciting open rebellion, in a third.”

Under the regulations which the powerful company that founded the colony had made, any person could deposit £4,000 and take up all the best parts of a block of twenty-eight thousand acres. This Captain Grey opposed and repealed. Then a block of twenty thousand acres could be purchased for cash by any one or more persons.

A very valuable deposit of copper ore was discovered. A number of speculators, seeing an opportunity for making a fortune, applied to purchase a twenty thousand acre block, including the new copper fields. The Governor was averse to granting such a huge monopoly, but the law was imperative. When, however, the purchasers came to pay for their grant, it was found that the bank could not spare so much specie as £20,000. They therefore brought bills drawn upon London houses endorsed by the bank.

Captain Grey realised the position. He refused to take the bills. Legal advice was taken, and he was

told that they were as good as cash, and he was bound to receive and execute the grant. He deliberately refused to do so. Then the people of Adelaide, including tradesmen, artisans, clerks, workmen, and others, recognising the importance of the opportunity presented, clubbed their savings together and were able to produce ten thousand pounds in cash. The wealthier syndicate also procured ten thousand pounds in cash. They joined together, and the land was taken up.

This land comprised the Burra Burra copper mines. The ownership was thus distributed amongst a very large number of deserving people, who, with their families, enjoyed considerable benefits from these rich mines for many years. This effort to spread as widely as possible the advantages arising from the ownership of lands or mines—or indeed any of the forces of nature—was typical of Grey's life-long desire.

Another abuse which Captain Grey encountered in New Zealand, but first met in South Australia, was that of Church endowments. The price of all colonial lands, under the actual or legislative control of supporters of the Wakefield theory, was increased in order to pay a fixed sum to the Church of England. Whatever denomination the purchaser might belong to, he was forced in this way to contribute to the Established Anglican Church. This matter will be more fully discussed in the history of Captain Grey's government of New Zealand. It is sufficient here to mention that he successfully opposed the system in South Australia.

Grey found matters in the colony almost as bad as they could be. Troubles with the natives had arisen, and the first executive act of the newly-appointed Governor was to despatch an expedition to quell the outbreaks of the blacks upon the Murray.

Far more difficult to deal with were the monetary depression in the colony, the loss of credit, and the problem of restoring prosperity. Enterprise was dead, and all the sources of revenue seemed barren. The land sales had fallen off greatly. The claims left unsettled by his predecessor were clamorously pressed upon him. £3,000 due from the last quarter demanded immediate payment, and the estimated expenses of the next quarter would be £32,000, while the Treasury only contained £700. He was forced to sell the Crown lands, but it was not easy to find purchasers.

Captain Grey set about the task of retrenchment immediately. The costly Government works which had been begun were finished only as far as was necessary to prevent them falling into dilapidation; the labourers were encouraged to turn to agricultural pursuits, or else were treated as pauper emigrants. The Government expenditure in 1841 was £100,000; in 1842 it was reduced to £34,000.

The Governor borrowed money from another colony, and renewed some of the bills drawn by Colonel Gawler on the British Treasury. These drafts were at first dishonoured by the Home authorities, and there was some doubt as to whether Captain Grey could be held individually responsible for them. A private despatch from Lord Stanley, dated June 21st, 1843, states that the reasons which led to their being dishonoured in the first instance by the Lords Commissioners "did not in any degree impugn the motives which had induced you to issue them. . . . It would, indeed, be an ill return for the essential and most effective services which you have rendered in reducing the expenditure and re-establishing the finances of South Australia, if you should be left to discharge, from your own private fortune, a debt originally con-

tracted, not by yourself, but by your predecessor, for the public service of that colony."

During the days of artificial prosperity the settlers had found life very pleasant, enlivened with continuous feasting and merrymaking. The time was filled with a round of garden-parties, balls, dinners, morning rides and drives. The records of that period present the picture of an idle, happy people, revelling in the pure air and bright sunshine of what seemed to be "the land where it is always afternoon," and lightheartedly believing that they were making fortunes for themselves and others, while in reality the apparent prosperity was a mere bubble resting on wild and foolish speculation. No one attempted the production of fresh wealth, all being satisfied to import necessaries, as well as luxuries, at enormous expense from New South Wales and other places.

The reduction in wages, and the return to the real price of things from the fictitious values which had attached to them, woke the colonists from their pleasant dreams. Many became absolutely destitute, bankruptcies were alarmingly numerous, and very few indeed they were who did not suffer by the collapse. The measures taken to retrieve the past, and to open a future of sound prosperity, were by many blamed for the natural results of former improvidence. Governor Grey had not only to meet the difficulties of the situation, but also to resist "the clamorous demands made by tumultuous bodies of men, using seditious language and marching in organized array to Government House, threatening the representative of their sovereign, whom there was no military to protect. But these and other unjustifiable proceedings did not prevent the Governor contributing £400 in one year to charitable purposes out of his limited

income of £1,000."* At an early period of his government nearly two thousand men, women, and children were dependent upon him for support as absolute paupers. The young officer must have found it a difficult matter to supply the needs of such great numbers of destitute persons. And yet one historian says that of him "real poverty and distressed merit never in vain sought relief."

The measures he took were approved and endorsed by the Home Government, and in a despatch to Lord Stanley, dated the 26th of April, 1842, the Lords of the Treasury stated that the Governor had acquitted himself "in an able and satisfactory manner of the important trust which had been reposed in him."

When Governor Grey received a slight rebuke for drawing upon the Government for the bills which they had once dishonoured, he pointed out that Parliament had voted £155,000 to liquidate those bills.

By the beginning of 1843 prosperity upon a safe basis commenced for the colony. Everyone was at work upon his own land. The revenue was increasing. A splendid harvest, the abolition of the port dues (imposed by Captain Grey at the beginning of his administration to provide ready money), and the settlement of some heavy liabilities by grants of land, made the improvement more noticeable. The high price (£1 per acre) fixed by the British Government on all land in the colony prevented much being sold; but the discovery that copper was abundant gave a fresh impetus to land sales, and the crisis in the life of the colony was passed.

The introduction of legislative institutions in South Australia dates from Captain Grey's government. One of his earliest acts was to nominate the first Legislative Council. Of the members appointed at

* Martin's "British Colonies," p. 646.

the time, one, Sir John Morphett, still sits in that Assembly. The Governor also issued an order that the proceedings of this Chamber—then the only one—should be thrown open to the public and the press.

A series of letters written by Mr. George Fife Angas to Captain Grey, during the term of the latter's government, throw valuable light upon the condition of South Australia at this time, the causes of that condition, and the sincere and patriotic efforts made by some who loved the colony well.

It is impossible to give, from Sir George Grey's life, any adequate idea of the communications between himself and individuals or associations, having reference to the work of colonisation in its widest scope. But the correspondence with Mr. Angas may be regarded as typical of the magnetic influence exercised by Sir George Grey throughout his life, in attracting to himself the confidence and esteem of those who devoted time, intellect, and wealth to the amelioration of the condition of their fellow-men, and the building up of Greater Britain.

The friendship of these two men commenced when the young explorer was in England, in 1840. Anxious to learn the views of a man so interested and experienced in questions of colonisation on the Government project of founding a colony on the north coast of Australia, Grey sought and obtained an interview with Mr. Angas. The latter strenuously opposed the plan, foreseeing many difficulties and disasters. Years afterwards he raised his voice in the Legislative Council of South Australia against the proposed settlement being made, except as a purely tropical colony with aid from Calcutta and London.

Mr. G. F. Angas was one of the most sincere and untiring friends a young colony ever had. A director of the company, under whose auspices South Aus-

tralia was founded, he lost no opportunity of doing it a service, sparing neither time, money, nor personal effort in its cause. At the same time, he strongly disapproved of the extravagance which characterized the new community. No words can be more decided than those he used on this subject in writing to Captain Grey, in 1843.

“You know my views as to the absolute necessity of settlers in a new colony adopting the most rigid economy in all their establishments and expenditure. A neglect of this has been the curse of South Australia, and the ruin of its best interests, and nothing has made it greater enemies at home and abroad.”

These letters are remarkably interesting. They contain an account of the formation of the South Australian Society and its first prospectus. They form a record of what was done by this one man during the term of Captain Grey's governorship and residence at Adelaide. He was, indeed, helped and cheered by the co-operation and sympathy of the Governor, who furnished him with statistics and other information concerning the colony; but, in the details of his work, he was practically single-handed.

He wrote pamphlets, publishing and circulating them at his own expense; he obtained interviews with Cabinet Ministers and other leaders of public opinion; he delivered lectures in every town through which he passed in travelling about Great Britain; he appointed agents, who were, he wrote, “Men of influence and devoted to South Australia,” to perform the same duties; he kept up an active correspondence for over three years with the owners of six or seven hundred American ships engaged in the South Sea whale fisheries with the object of inducing them to put into South Australia for their supplies.

He was also in constant communication with European States, with commercial houses in China, Mauritius and Bombay, and with the various missionary societies; approaching the latter with a plan for establishing colleges in Adelaide, at which young men might receive a suitable training for future work amongst the heathen of the Pacific Islands.

In every direction from which prosperity might flow to the colony, Mr. Angas thus laboriously made a channel for its passage, turning up the sods of ignorance and apathy. He met with discouragements which would have caused one, who had the real interests of the young community and of humanity less at heart, to give up the weary struggle in despair. But, foiled at one point, Mr. Angas only turned with fresh energy to another.

Thus he wrote: "When I found our Government resolved upon doing nothing for us, I commenced an active correspondence with the Continent, and I do confidently expect that we shall get out one hundred Germans this spring to Adelaide. Often enough my spirits sink under my incessant labour, on the one hand from the shameful, cruel, and ungrateful treatment I have met with from many persons in the colony, who have thereby amply repaid me for having been their best and most generous friend; and on the other hand from the utter apathy which universally exists in this country towards the colony. Still I will never abandon the work as long as God enables me to continue it. I began it with the best of intentions, and I shall not leave it in this extremity."

In February, 1844, he wrote that if his resources had not been crippled by the dishonesty of agents in South Australia, he would have been able to send out from one to two thousand Germans as settlers. "But," he added, "beaten down as I am with all my

troubles, I will not rest until you have emigration renewed from this country."

Mr. Angas was successful in his introduction of German colonists, and at his own expense settled large tracts of agricultural country. Many of these communities still retain their Teutonic character. This experiment worked so well that years afterwards Sir George Grey, when Governor of Cape Colony, carried it out on a larger scale, under somewhat different conditions, and with still more marked success.

Captain Grey was able to give valuable assistance to Mr. George French Angas, the talented son of his correspondent. Hardly past boyhood, the young artist author determined to prepare a great work which should make the colony, for which his father had so long and so unselfishly toiled, better known to the British public. With this object he visited South Australia and travelled throughout its length and breadth, collecting information, writing and taking sketches. Before Grey left for New Zealand, Mr. Fife Angas, disappointed in the action of the South Australia Company, crippled in resources by his own efforts in the cause of the colony and by the dishonesty of his agents, retired from the directorate and sent some of the younger members of his family to try their fortunes in a humble way in the new lands. They also experienced great kindness at the hands of the Governor. Eventually Mr. Angas himself left England, and cast in his lot completely with the young community.

It is a mournful criticism upon the justice of human judgment to find that after the lapse of a quarter of a century, when Mr. Angas was upwards of eighty years of age, his claims to the gratitude of South Australia and the South Australians were treated with

contempt, his long years of faithful service depreciated, and his lavish expenditure of money and zeal turned into derision.

In 1869, Sir George Grey, himself smarting under unmerited coldness and neglect, received from his old fellow-worker in South Australia, a pathetic letter claiming his sympathy, and asking Sir George Grey to bear testimony to the unselfishness of his efforts for the well-being of the colony, for which, in years long gone by, they had worked so zealously together. The answer given must have done much to soothe the wounded feelings of Mr. Angas, and to vindicate his undoubted services to the colony.

The instability of human affairs was thus strikingly exemplified. Mr. Angas had served the people with a loyal and unswerving faith, and the people had forsaken him. Sir George Grey had served the Government of Great Britain with unexampled vigour and success, and as a reward was dismissed contemptuously. Yet history will record the deeds and achievements of both when the names of their detractors are forgotten.

During the whole of his official career, Grey, like other men of original character and decided views, experienced that opposition which so frequently rises against departures from the ordinary courses of life, and discoveries in science or exploration. The first striking illustration of this principle which he met with arose from the reports made by him concerning the suitability for colonisation of the country which he had traversed in his explorations.

The records which, amid hunger, thirst, and weariness, had been kept of his memorable journey from Shark Bay to Perth, revealed the existence of land well suited for colonisation. The Western Australian Company, who were then sending a special settle-

ment to the colony, obtained permission of the Colonial Government for the employment of the *Beagle*, under the command of Captain Stokes, to verify or refute the statements made by Grey as to the suitability of the district before finally selecting it as the site of their projected settlement.

On the 12th of December, 1841, three years after Grey's explorations, the *Beagle* left Gage Roads for the purpose of fulfilling this duty. It might have been supposed that, with all the advantages at his command, Captain Stokes would have been able to give a more complete description of the country, and form a truer estimate of its suitability for colonisation than his harassed and worn predecessor had been able to do.

Captain Stokes drew up a report upon the district, which stated that the fertile country described by Grey, had no existence; that two rivers mentioned by him, were, in fact, only one; that the points and sites upon his charts were wrongly placed; and that, generally speaking, the whole of his report was incorrect and misleading.

The whole official record of Stokes' survey is eminently unfavourable to Grey, and entirely discredits his accuracy and capacity. A few quotations from Captain Stokes' report, and a short summary of its effect will show the extreme bitterness of the attack which it made upon Grey's reputation.

On the 15th of December, 1841, Captain Stokes and Mr. Clifton, the Chief Commissioner of the Western Australian Company, landed to explore the country round Champion Bay. They absolutely condemned it as unfit for settlement, and as being utterly deficient in the three most essential requisites for human occupation, namely, timber for building, water for consumption and use, and food for stock.

“It was not until it became apparent to my own eyes that I could believe anyone could be so reckless as to induce a large number of individuals, including women and children, by false or at least exaggerated representations, to sever the ties of friendship and of kindred, and become voluntary exiles to a far country in search of a new and more prosperous home; whilst in lieu of the promised streams and fertile plains, nothing in reality awaited them but sterility—the certain loss of property, and the imminent risk of their lives.” *

Upon the receipt of this official intelligence the Western Australian Company refused to found a settlement in what was, according to Captain Stokes' report, a sterile desert, “absolutely a mass of bare ironstone.”

Western Australia has ever since had reason to regret the so-called survey made by Captain Stokes. Seven years afterwards, Mr. Gregory, the Assistant Surveyor-General of the Colony, conducted an official expedition through this very country, for the purpose of ascertaining its capabilities. His decision, as well as that of subsequent explorers and settlers (for that country is now well settled), is clear and distinct, and substantiates every statement made by Grey. The district is now only second in population, wealth, and importance to that in which Perth, the capital of the colony, is situated.

The place selected by the Western Australian Company ultimately proved unfit for settlement, and the colony itself a lamentable and complete failure, causing ruin, disappointment, and in some instances death to the unhappy colonists. Had it been placed upon the site originally intended, and on the lands

* Stokes' “Discoveries in Australia.” Vol. ii. p. 390.

described by Grey, it would certainly have been successful—a still more prosperous and flourishing settlement than that now in existence. It would have opened a field for colonisation, and brought people and money to that part of Australia at a much earlier date than was the case.

In September and October, 1849, a series of articles was published in the *Western Australian Enquirer*, which discussed the whole subject both as regards the different accounts given by Grey and Stokes, and the intrinsic value to the colony of the locality referred to. The following extract will show what the public opinion was when the facts were fully known:

“We do not expect to exonerate Mr. Grey from the charges so ruthlessly laid against him. We do not presume to attempt it. We merely wish to draw a comparison between his statements and those of his successors, being confident that he will not suffer by the ordeal. Captain Grey does not require any advocate to vindicate his conduct; an answer to the misrepresentations that have been heaped upon him has already appeared in the published report of Assistant-Surveyor Gregory. He has been tried in the furnace of popular opinion, and has come forth unscathed. He endured every toil and danger that could fall to the lot of any traveller. He bore in silence the taunts and sneers of his opponents, for he knew that sooner or later the truth would appear. And it has appeared, and future explorations will make it more apparent; and then will he receive the reward, the long-delayed tribute, so justly due for his past services. He will be happy in the congratulations of his friends, the conviction of his enemies, and, better far, the approving voice of his own heart, which prompts him to feel as an honest man that, though the judgment of contem-

poraries has been long withheld, yet it was not the less acceptable and not the less deserved." *

At the close of the last article on October 10th, 1849, the editor, after apologising for the length of his review, but justifying his prolixity by the importance of the subject itself, and the just claim which Captain Grey had upon the colonists, thus writes:—

“We trust that our object has been attained, and that for Captain Grey there will henceforth exist a feeling opposite to that which has hitherto, at least in this colony, prevailed. He is a man who has done much and endured much for Western Australia. Let us not, then, be wanting in common gratitude. Let us no longer withhold from him what he has so hardly earned, what he so richly deserves—the character of an intrepid and successful explorer, a veracious and painstaking narrator, and an upright, impartial, and honest man.”

In this case, as in others in after life, Grey did not attempt to defend himself from attacks made upon him or accusations made against him. In this particular instance he knew that nature itself must prove that he was right. Yet often his silence has been mistaken as an admission of error, while, in truth, it was but the unconcern of a mind conscious of its own rectitude, and indifferent as to the passing appreciation of the moment.

For such a silence he gave a valid reason. He ever maintained that it was the duty of a servant of the Crown to go on in the performance of the public service without devoting time and energy to the refutation of attacks made upon him. He held that such attacks would always be made when public duties were faithfully performed, and that they would meet with adequate and proper judgment when time had

* *Western Australian Enquirer*, September 26, 1849.

afforded the evidence upon which public opinion could be justly expressed. And he considered that the energies of those to whom had been committed great responsibilities were too valuable to be wasted in useless apologies, or lengthened arguments, and should be applied exclusively to useful and beneficial purposes.

It was upon this principle that he acted through life. The only exceptions which he would allow arose when he was directly called on to vindicate his conduct, or when the exigencies of the public service demanded an explanation.

Time has long since settled the dispute between himself and Captain Stokes, as it has settled many others which are not alluded to so fully. The words formerly quoted as having been recently written by Commodore Coghlan,* which so completely confirm the statements made by Mr. Gregory, are the latest testimony to the absolute correctness of the statements made by Captain Grey.

* See page 44.

CHAPTER IX.

THE SUMMONS TO NEW ZEALAND.

“A man, he seems, of cheerful yesterdays
And confident to-morrows.”

Wordsworth.

THE circumstances in which Captain Grey received the first intimation that the English Government desired him to proceed to New Zealand and assume the government of that colony was somewhat peculiar, and gave a spice of adventure to the new step. A man-of-war, commanded by an old friend of the Governor, was at Port Adelaide when the first news came from New Zealand of the burning of Kororareka, the attack on Ohaewai, and the slaughter of our men. The news affected the two friends deeply. Their hearts were filled with sorrow and the determination to help the New Zealand Government in its extremity. In a conversation with the commander of the man-of-war, Grey said, “The only thing for you to do is to go as quickly as you can to New Zealand, taking with you all the Government arms and everything useful that we have here.”

This fell in exactly with Captain Hay's own wishes, and no time was lost in setting off.

Three or four days later, as the Governor and his step-brother were out riding they met a man driving a tax-cart at a furious pace. He pulled up on seeing

them, and said, "Have you heard, sir, that the Elphinstone has come in?" Captain Grey enquired what she, an East Indian man-of-war, was doing in those waters. "She brings the most important news, sir, and I have all the despatches here in the cart for you." Upon hearing this the two gentlemen dismounted, and sitting down on a bank under a hedge by the roadside, opened the letters, which contained the information that the Home authorities had sent out Colonel Holt Robe to take the government of South Australia for a time, while Captain Grey proceeded to New Zealand to take command there. The following extracts from Lord Stanley's despatch are sufficient to give an idea of the tone of the whole communication. It was dated June 13th, 1845, and began:—"After the repeated testimonials I have borne to the value of your public services in administering the government of South Australia, it would be very gratifying to me to prove my esteem for your capacity and your public spirit by proposing to you some other office of higher rank and of increased emolument.

"Still I am convinced that I shall give you a yet more welcome proof of the confidence which Her Majesty reposes in you by inviting you to undertake public duties more arduous and responsible than those in which you have hitherto been engaged, though recommended to your acceptance by hardly any other consideration. The urgent necessity which has arisen for invoking your aid in the government of New Zealand is the single apology I have (to a man of your character it will be an ample apology) for calling on you, with no previous notice, to incur the sacrifices and inconveniences of proceeding thither with the least possible delay after your receipt of this despatch."

After alluding to the Wairau massacre and to the

burning of Russell, it pointed out that the colonisation of New Zealand was not undertaken voluntarily by the English Government, but forced upon Ministers to prevent the evils which seemed to threaten the previous inhabitants from unauthorised settlement, and declared it had been "the anxious and unremitting desire of Her Majesty's Government to avoid, if possible, any actual conflict with the native tribes."

It went on to show that the colony was involved in "financial difficulties of the most serious kind." After regretting the circumstances which precluded him from personally talking over matters with Captain Grey, Lord Stanley writes:—"I am happy in the assurance that that disadvantage will in your case be in great measure compensated by the experience you have gained in the conduct of affairs not altogether dissimilar, and by the energy, capacity, and circumspection which you have exhibited in the conduct of them.

"I devolve on you a responsibility which it seems impossible for me to narrow, and of which I am persuaded you will acquit yourself in such a manner as to enhance your claims to the approbation of the Queen and the gratitude of Her Majesty's subjects."

In the event of Captain Grey being unable or unwilling to undertake the responsible task on such short notice, the Secretary for the Colonies requested him to communicate with Sir George Gipps, who it was believed would not hesitate to accept the position. The appointment was only regarded as temporary, and provision was made for supplying Captain Grey's place in South Australia during his absence in New Zealand.

As the two brothers read the despatches, including the letter of Lord Stanley to the Governor of South Australia, with its terms of high appreciation and unmeasured confidence, Grey felt that a portion of

the reward of public labour faithfully performed was being meted to him with no niggard hand.

The struggle in South Australia had been sometimes wearisome and monotonous. The accusations which had been made against him, the animosities which he had aroused in many quarters by his bold and unswerving policy, had tended to discourage him as to the ultimate result of his efforts. Those results, nevertheless, had been on the whole marvellously successful. He had seen the people subside from a mutinous crowd into a well-ordered and thriving community. Roads had been driven into regions comparatively distant, fertile lands opened for settlement, and over thousands of square miles of territory corn lands and pasture yielded to the prevailing industry of once-idle factionaries the harvests of wealth and toil. The revenue had steadily increased, keeping pace with the growing commerce. "Overlanders" had come from New South Wales with mobs of cattle and flocks of sheep, and had developed fresh country upon the banks of great rivers and on the plains which intervened in the course of their journeys.

Besides the success which had attended his efforts since 1841, the life itself had been one of almost continual enjoyment. The brilliant climate, the ever-fresh scenery, the discoveries of new territories fit for human habitation, the conscious moulding of the institutions of a new community, the freehanded and generous hospitality of colonial life, the constant change and freshness of character with which in all classes of this strange society he was brought into contact, the ardent and successful pursuit of many branches of science—all aided in giving to his four years' tenure of office a charm and fulness which could not be forgotten.

Yet the summons to a different and a wider sphere

of action was not unpleasant. The work in South Australia which he had been sent to do was in fact accomplished. The finances of the young colony had been put in proper order, her social and municipal government regulated, and she was started upon a fair and safe career of prosperity. The work was finished, and he felt a sentiment of pride and joy on this new call to duty in a land where courage and capacity would equally be demanded to deal with the strange and wonderful circumstances by which he must be surrounded.

As, sitting by the roadside, he read Lord Stanley's despatch, his cheek coloured, and his eye glowed with a new fire. He felt that the second chapter in the active history of his life was finished. In the first he had had to deal with exceptional conditions of danger and privation. In the second he had been called upon to exert talent and power in different directions in the management of men and the adaptation of circumstances. Now he was requested to depart upon a different course and meet the savage tribes of New Zealand; to control the passions of many men, gathered from different parts of the earth and from many callings, who had settled in the southern islands of romance; to watch over the safety of widely scattered communities, surrounded by foes considerable in number, desperate in courage, cunning in attack. This was indeed a duty likely to task to the very uttermost all the powers of which he felt the conscious possession.

Fully alive to the difficulties and responsibilities of the new position, Captain Grey was yet not daunted by them. His decision was immediately taken, and no time was lost in making all preparations for departure and leaving Adelaide in the Elphinstone.

The people in South Australia had been much annoyed when their supplies and arms were previ-

ously sent to New Zealand, and when they heard that their Governor was about to follow, they believed that he had known from the first, and had planned to take these away for his use in another colony. Afterwards, finding by the despatches that they were wrong in their suspicions, they began with pleasure to take credit to themselves for being the first to send help to New Zealand. No remnant of the undeserved unpopularity against which he had had to contend at first marred the heartfelt gratitude and esteem or the deep and universal regret of the South Australians at his departure.

During the four years of his Governorship, Grey did not relax the discharge of those minor but gentle duties to society which have in every land been associated with his presence. Advice and assistance to Christian churches, to schools, and to students were always given on proper occasions; and when wanted heavily on considerable numbers of the labouring population of the colony, he gave with a free and liberal hand to their necessities. In such a work as this it is impossible to give due prominence to what Wordsworth called

“That best portion of a good man’s life—
His little, nameless, unremembered acts
Of kindness and of love.”

In matters more intimately affecting his own life and feelings, the eight years Grey spent in Australia were fraught with mingled happiness and sorrow. They brought him love and marriage. There a son was born to him, and hopeful affection drew bright pictures of the child’s future. But when Captain and Mrs. Grey left Adelaide for New Zealand in 1845, they took with them the memory only of that young life.

CHAPTER X.

REVIEW OF GREY'S LIFE IN AUSTRALIA, CORRESPONDENCE, AND SCIENTIFIC PURSUITS.

“How charming is divine philosophy!
Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose;
But musical as is Apollo's lute,
And a perpetual feast of nectared sweets,
Where no crude surfeit reigns.”

Milton's "Comus."

“To him who in the love of Nature holds
Communion with her visible forms, she speaks
A various language.”

Bryant.

EIGHT years had passed since Grey, then an ardent young explorer, had landed in Australia. His career as a colonial governor and a founder of new states in new lands had actually commenced. To suppose, however, that the mere duties of government, difficult as they were, had occupied the whole of his attention, would be far from the truth. His love of science never wavered, and his application to the study of nature was constant. The troubles inseparable from the position which he had voluntarily taken did not exhaust the energy which he devoted to the business of life. To intense admiration of all natural beauties, and a keen perception of the new and surprising visions which everywhere met his eyes, he added the close attention which the student gives to the objects spread out before him.

The languages of the tribes, the natural products of

the island-continent, the trees, the plants, the animals—all new, not merely to him, but to the scientists of Europe—claimed his attention. As in his short stay at Teneriffe he had made observations and collected the phrases and vocabulary of an extinct native tongue ; as in his explorations he had studied the manners, customs, and dialects of the Australian blacks—so, during his Governorship of South Australia, he devoted sufficient time and energy to the study of its natural history as to enable him to send contributions to the British Museum and to the Royal Conservatory at Kew, which called forth the admiration and gratitude of those who occupied a leading position in the scientific world.

Many acknowledgments of valuable contributions were received by him from the Royal Library at Berlin. A letter from Professor Owen, from the College of Surgeons, dated May, 1839, contains the following paragraph :—

“ All the specimens you sent were new to us, or of great rarity ; and, what is more to the purpose, of great utility. I shall soon commence a monograph on the muscles and other parts of the hooded lizard. Your note on the action of the hood is a new and interesting fact in its history.”

In December, 1840, at the close of his second expedition, and after his return to England, he made his first donation to the British Museum, consisting of mineral and zoological specimens from Australia. This gift was followed up in January and February, 1841, by two valuable collections of fossils and shells from the same land.

During his residence at Albany, he sent to London a collection of specimens of various sorts, for which a letter of “ especial thanks ” was sent by the Council of the British Museum, dated April 23, 1842.

On his return to Australia in 1841 he started busily to work in the same direction, and in July, 1843, the Museum in London received another donation from him, comprising three hundred and seventy-four specimens of birds, three eggs, and a snake, followed in October of the same year by two hundred and sixty-seven specimens of birds, and thirty of mammals. So valuable and numerous were the collections which he thus transmitted that, in addition to the usual letters of thanks by the trustees to contributors, in October, 1844, Mr. Forshall, Secretary to the Board of Trustees, despatched a letter to Captain Grey, containing the following acknowledgment: "We really feel our obligation to you, and that your contributions are some of the most interesting which we can boast in the department of zoology." This accompanied the formal acknowledgment of the receipt of a present of fifteen specimens of mammals, twenty-eight birds, four reptiles, seven fish, and one crustacean from South Australia.

In 1845 the stream of his contributions still flowed in from South Australia to enrich the national collection. Three donations were acknowledged by the trustees during the year, comprising two hundred and sixty-five species of plants, a series of rock specimens and minerals, two hundred and ninety in number, and a large number of skins of mammals and birds. The last gift of South Australian specimens was acknowledged on March 18th, 1847, after Captain Grey had gone to New Zealand.

The British Museum was not the only recipient of the results of his untiring energy and scientific knowledge. In 1840 and 1842 he contributed to the Royal Geographical Society copies of the vocabulary of the dialects of South-western Australia, with a map of Western Australia, and his "Journal of Two

Expeditions in Western and North-western Australia."

Early in 1841 the Horticultural Society of London tendered him their thanks for a present of fifty-two papers of seeds from Australia, and a year later the Geological Society of London gratefully acknowledged a collection of fossils from the cliffs beyond the north-west bend of the Murray.

It would be impossible here, as in the other period of Grey's life, to describe minutely the numerous donations made by him to museums, libraries, schools, and other centres of public thought and education. From time to time it will be proper to glance at some of his principal benefactions; but it must be always understood and remembered that no attempt is made to give in detail, or with any completeness, their full enumeration. Gathered with immense care, at continual expense both of time and of money, with wonderful discrimination, and incomparable variety of knowledge, the museums and libraries of every country in Europe, and of most of the great colonies have been enriched by the munificence of Sir George Grey.

With this earnest longing for fuller information on all matters connected with Australia, there mingled no petty jealousy of the discoveries made by other men. Grey was animated, not by the desire to have his name associated with some great discovery, but by the hope that he might be of use in adding to the sum of general knowledge, and making that knowledge accessible to thousands outside the narrow circle of scientific students. So long as the results of his observations and the logical deductions which his own readings and researches enabled him to make, were published to the world, he cared little or nothing that those who benefited by his labours should be impressed by his attainments.

Thus we find that while the foremost men of the day in many different branches of learning unhesitatingly acknowledge their indebtedness to him, and ask for his opinion and advice in formulating their own theories, yet the general public is quite unaware that he ever attained any special excellence in these directions.

Both the fact of his generous friendship and assistance towards explorers, discoverers, and struggling literary men, and that of the deference paid to his opinion by men of high scientific attainments, are clearly proved by many acknowledgments. While Captain Grey was Governor of South Australia he kept up a large and interesting correspondence with all parts of the world.

Nor was Sir George Grey forgetful in later years of the labours and merits of those who had braved the perils of an unknown continent to open the way for the peaceful settlement of men. In March, 1869, he and Sir Henry Young, successive Governors of South Australia, addressed a letter to the Secretary of State, urging the claim of Sturt to knighthood as the earliest of living Australian explorers, and on other grounds. Their request was granted, but Sturt died before the honour could be conferred upon him.

A monument at the summit of Stamford Hill, overlooking St. Vincent Gulf, was erected by Sir John Franklin to the memory of Captain Flinders, during Captain Grey's Governorship of South Australia. The spot was chosen by Lady Franklin as being not only suitable in itself, but also because (as Sir John Franklin wrote to the Governor when asking his co-operation in the work) "the ports and islands bear the names of his native country, and of the places in the immediate vicinity of that of his birth."

Although Captain Grey and Sir John Franklin

never met they carried on a correspondence, opened by the Governor of Van Diemen's Land, who wrote on October 3rd, 1841, congratulating Captain Grey on his appointment to South Australia, and forwarding a copy of the first number of a Tasmanian journal of science, edited by the Governor's private secretary, their purpose being "to give and invite accurate information on some portions of the natural history of the Australian colonies, and to show that even in a penal colony there are persons who can direct their attention to other subjects than chains and convicts."

That Sir Charles Lyell, the eminent geologist, entertained a warm friendship for Grey as a man, and a high admiration for his knowledge and opinions, is shown by his letters, one or two extracts from which may be of some interest.

In one letter, dated January, 1843, he thanks Captain Grey for a box of fossils, and states that the Geological Society and Professor Owen entirely agreed with the opinion Governor Grey had formed of some interesting cetacean remains which he had sent home. "No small sensation was created by Owen discovering about a month ago for the first time a non-marsupial mammiferous bone in some fossil sent, I think, ninety miles inland from Moreton Bay. He refers it to some pachyderm allied to Demotherium. So the kangaroos had not your word all to themselves."

In a letter written in 1862 he writes: "I am coming out with a volume on the 'Geological Evidence of the Antiquity of Man,' and shall treat of many subjects we talked over together. Although several of your presents sent to the Zoological Gardens from the Cape were lost, your donations make a great show there at present." He also expresses a firm belief that England would have been spared the loss of

more than a million sterling if Sir George had gone to New Zealand a year or two earlier.

Writing to Sir George in March, 1860, he speaks in a rather regretful tone of the fact that he had received an invitation to dine with Her Majesty on an evening which he had previously intended to devote to receiving Sir George at the Geological Society Club.

Sir John Lubbock was indebted to Captain Grey for some valuable information sent in reply to the following little note:—

My dear Sir George,—I am working at a book on “Modern Savages,” and am very anxious to know your views as to the religious dogmas of the Australians, especially with reference to the Kobongs. I know that they are regarded with much mystery, but are they looked on and worshipped as actual gods? My impression is that they are not, but I am anxious to know your opinion on the subject.—Believe me to be, dear Sir George, yours most sincerely,

JOHN LUBBOCK.

The Governor was never too busy to attend to such requests. The web of his life, while presenting a bold and consistent pattern throughout, will yet repay a close and minute scrutiny, the seemingly trivial details being wonderfully perfect and complete. The innumerable threads of purpose, knowledge and principle—some thick and strong as cables, some delicate as gossamer—may be traced with unbroken continuity through the whole fabric.

It is given to but few men to exercise so great an influence in so many different spheres of action and of thought, as Captain Grey was privileged to do.

Considering the number and variety of his pursuits, remembering the thoroughness with which he entered into all, and taking into account the fact that his health still suffered from the effects of his exploring expeditions, we feel that a sentence from one of Arnold Forster's letters expresses a simple truth: “I

have often wondered how, with such delicate health as I thought you had when in Adelaide, you could get through such hard work."

When from the deck of the Elphinstone, steering south-east, he saw the Australian shores sink beneath the horizon, the history of the last eight years came vividly enough to his mind. The landing in Hanover Bay, his first day's adventure, with its imminent perils from the sea, from the sun, and from the natives; the wounds which he received from the spears of the savages, the destruction of the stores at Bernier Island; the terrible march from Shark Bay to Perth; his appointment to the Governorship of South Australia, and the four years of his administration there—were past, but certainly not forgotten. He neither knew nor thought that his connection with Australia was ended. He was only enjoying leave of absence from South Australia in order that he might perform a great public work in the more southern colony. He expected to return and resume his duties in Adelaide as soon as his work in New Zealand was accomplished.

Events, however, do not transpire as they are expected. Grey was not to return to Australia, but again to be relieved by another Governor, and shifted to another part of the earth, to undertake a still more arduous task. He looked his last, therefore, upon the great island-continent as the Elphinstone sailed towards the Britain of the South.*

Grateful to his Maker for the guidance and protection which he had enjoyed, rejoicing at the successful accomplishment of the work which had been committed to him so confidently by Lord John Russell, he looked forward to the difficult task which lay before

* When this was written, Sir George Grey's visit to Australia as a member of the Federal Convention was not thought of.

him with equal confidence and delight. He had read of New Zealand; he had met men who had landed upon its shores and mingled with its aboriginal inhabitants; he had heard of its glorious climate, of its tangled forests, its noble harbours, its snow-tipped mountains, its rushing torrents, its peaceful lakes and smiling plains. It was with no slight anticipation that he looked forward to his arrival in the new scene of duty, and the unfolding of a new chapter in his life's work.

In South Australia he had found discontent, mutiny, want, despair; he had left, after four years of patient and unremitting toil, contentment, peaceful industry, and prosperity. What new scenes of trouble and of danger he had to face he knew not, but relying on the Hand which had guided and defended him through dangers and troubles during the last eight years, and gratified beyond measure at the confidence displayed by Her Majesty's Government in his capacity and courage, he went forward without a single fear as to the ultimate result.

Book the Third.

FIRST GOVERNMENT OF NEW ZEALAND, 1845-1854.

CHAPTER XI.

CAPTAIN GREY'S ARRIVAL AT AUCKLAND. SKETCH
OF THE PREVIOUS HISTORY OF THE COLONY.

“Oh! pitiless race of the fierce pale face!
Hadst thou a warrant from God,
In the cold grey north to come south and drive forth
The peaceable people who trod,
By right of their birth, their own spot of earth?
Was there not room under heaven
For thy people and mine, that my people by thine
To death and destruction were given?
You came unsought, and the gifts you brought,
As Christians from over the wave,
Were greed for land, and a merciless hand,
And the fire-drink that digs the grave.”

Australian Writer.

ON the 14th of November, 1845, the Elphinstone, after beating down the coast of the North Island of New Zealand, sailed across the Hauraki Gulf, and landed Captain Grey at Auckland. With intense interest the new Governor of the young colony beheld the striking features of this portion of New Zealand rising into view. When the ship passed by the Barrier Islands, with the bold headland of Cape Colville in sight; and when coming past Kawau (in future years to be his residence), Rangitoto, Mount Eden, and the shores of the Waitemata rose slowly above the horizon—the cloudless sky above and the blue waters of the Pacific

beneath—he easily understood the enthusiasm with which travellers had spoken of the scenery of New Zealand.

It was not publicly known in the colony that Captain Fitzroy was to be superseded, although rumours of such a change had gained circulation. The Governor was in Auckland. The assistance he had asked was indeed being given, but was to be used by another. No trace of disappointment appeared in his demeanour. On the contrary, he treated his successor with great kindness and consideration during the short time they were together in New Zealand.

The four days succeeding the 14th were spent by Captain Grey in obtaining all possible information as to the position of affairs in the colony. Captain Fitzroy laid before him all means of access to the knowledge he required. The Government officers, and Government papers as well, tended to throw light upon the causes which had led to the position then occupied, and pointed to the dangers ahead if prompt measures were not taken.

Captain Hobson had in 1840 assumed command under his commission, although New Zealand for the first year of its existence as a colony was a dependency of New South Wales. For a time there had been no difficulties with the natives.

The anxiety of the first Governor was aroused by the action of the European colonists, especially that of the officers and emigrants of the New Zealand Company. In November, 1840, a patent or charter had been granted freeing New Zealand from its dependence on New South Wales, and creating it into a separate colony. Captain Hobson was appointed Governor, and a Council, composed of various officials and some colonists nominated by himself, was appointed to aid him in the government.

A fatal error was, however, committed by the English Cabinet in connection with the creation of the Colony of New Zealand. The New Zealand Company was formally recognised by a despatch from Lord John Russell, and an arrangement was made by Ministers that the directors of the Company in London should co-operate with the Government in New Zealand in advancing the settlement of the colony. This step led to most of the complications, and to much of the ill-feeling which afterwards arose in the administration of public affairs.

The native wars are distinctly traceable to the great power exercised, and the boundless ambition displayed by the Company and its officials. The colonists who had arrived at Port Nicholson found that the natives still claimed the land of which the Company were the alleged purchasers. The idleness and discontent which naturally followed their futile efforts to obtain land for settlement soon made them dangerous. They appealed to Captain Hobson to enforce the sales which they declared the natives had made. He refused. They complained of the Government being in Auckland, at a great distance from the place of their location. Some moved to Wanganui to get land; another party was sent, under the auspices of the Company, to Taranaki; and although Hobson issued a proclamation forbidding settlement in a place well known to be filled with warlike and quarrelsome natives, the Company's settlers landed at New Plymouth and began to build.

In 1841 lands were sold in Auckland, and a system of customs and of police made a rude commencement of political and financial institutions in the new colony. Disputes, meanwhile, arose in London between the Company and the Colonial Office, which were paraphrased in New Zealand by conflicts be-

tween Captain Hobson, as Governor, and Colonel Wakefield, with the Company's settlers at his back. Clamorous demands were still made that the Governor should place these settlers upon the land they claimed by force. It was useless to argue that the Treaty of Waitangi bound him to respect the rights of the Maoris; that it would be an act of tyranny and oppression to take the tribal lands from the possession of the natives without the decision of a competent tribunal; and that at all hazards justice must be done. The new colonists were idle. They had paid their money in good faith in London, and they saw the land they claimed lying unoccupied and unused.

The position of Captain Hobson was most difficult. The colonists in Wellington established a Government for themselves, and it was not until Lieutenant Shortland with a company was sent to Wellington to assert the authority of the Governor with a high hand that order was restored, and a properly conducted administration settled in the future capital. In 1841 the Company in London had issued a fresh prospectus, and sold another 200,000 acres of land. In August the new settlers arrived under the leadership of Captain Arthur Wakefield.

Hobson met the Wakefields in Wellington. He wished the settlers to go north to Whangarei, and promised help in the obtaining of land there. The Wakefields objected. A species of compromise was made, and Blind Bay, on the other side of Cook's Straits, was fixed upon by common consent as the seat of the Company's settlement. When the surveyors left Wellington in October but little was known of the South Island, and they were favourably impressed with the extensive fertile country at Wairau, and the green hills around it. A site for a town was fixed upon, and called Nelson; the Wairau was

explored ; and favourable reports forwarded to headquarters. This led to the first serious conflict between the two races.

Rauparaha and Rangihaeta on hearing of the Wairau survey asserted their claim to the land, stating that it had never been sold with the exception of a small piece given to Captain Blenkinsop. The Wakefields, however, would not give way. They insisted on the survey being completed. A commissioner had been sent from London to inquire into the land claims of the New Zealand Company, and Rauparaha, alleging his willingness to submit to the decision of a proper court, demanded that nothing should be done till Mr. Spain arrived. At the end of the year Mr. Spain landed in New Zealand, but before entering upon his duties proceeded to Auckland to gather information.

Ultimately the Wakefields declined to wait for the decision of Mr. Commissioner Spain, a conflict ensued, and thirty of the Europeans were killed. This is the historical "Wairau Massacre" which commenced the native troubles in New Zealand.

Colonists had now begun to arrive in considerable numbers. Everywhere the discontent between the Maoris and Europeans was increasing. The Company's settlers, by petition and in various ways, violently attacked the administration of Captain Hobson, who, weak from illness, was overwhelmed with his anxieties. On the 10th of September, 1842, the first Governor of New Zealand died. The address sent by the Maori chiefs to the Queen shows the esteem they felt for Hobson's character. They asked that the Queen would send them another Governor, "a good man like the Governor who has just died." Before his death Sir William Martin and Bishop Selwyn had arrived in the colony.

A short interval, during which Mr. Willoughby Shortland became acting Governor, occurred between the death of Hobson and the arrival of his successor. Disputes at this time grew in intensity between the natives and the Europeans. The colonists asserted their rights to land, and put up fences and houses. The Maoris destroyed them. These disputes culminated in one locality, as we have seen, in the Wairau massacre. Troops were sent for. The colonists were in a state of fear as to a general Maori rising. The morning of New Zealand's history was clouded over, and the country was in a condition of unrest and terror when Captain Fitzroy landed at Auckland as Governor in December, 1843.

No man ever plunged into a more veritable hornet's nest than Fitzroy entered in New Zealand. He quarrelled with the Europeans; he quarrelled with the natives. Eminently desirous to carry on his Government in the best interests of both races he armed them both against himself with invincible hostility. A man of great justice of character, of considerable reputation as a scientific man, clever in his own profession, he yet left the impression that he was a partizan, and unable even to control himself.

The officials gradually fell into the general opposition against him. Nor did he fail to arouse an enmity as deep if not deeper than that felt for Captain Hobson in the directors and officers of the New Zealand Company. To add to his difficulties, the Colonial Office, anxious about New Zealand affairs, and apprehensive of grave troubles arising there, complained bitterly.

Captain Fitzroy seemed destined to misfortune from the very commencement of his Governorship. The Treasury being empty he commenced the issue of debentures, and in so doing created without

authority of law a new currency. Following upon the disaster at Wairau, in July, 1844, Hone Heke, son-in-law of the great Hongi (well known in New Zealand story), cut down the flagstaff at Kororareka, believing that so long as the English flag waved on New Zealand soil, that soil itself would be claimed by the pakeha strangers. The flagstaff was indeed put up again, and several chiefs undertook to restrain Heke, but within six months, in January, 1845, the young and fiery chief had returned, and once more cut down his old enemy.

On this occasion prompt measures were taken to punish the offenders. A man-of-war and a military force were sent to Kororareka, and the flagstaff, now plated and shod with iron, was again erected. Heke, joined by Kawiti and other chiefs, attacked the town, cut down the flagstaff, iron-shod as it was, for the third time, took Kororareka, and drove the military and marines, with severe loss, on board their ships. The town was plundered and burnt by the Maoris, but so chivalrous were these people in the conduct of their warfare that they not only permitted the Europeans to take away papers and any property or jewellery that they desired, but they guarded the public buildings and the churches, and helped the townspeople to carry the things they wished to save down to the boats.

Bishop Selwyn and the missionary, Henry Williams, were permitted to search for the wounded and the dead without molestation. Selwyn, in after life, telling of the sack of Kororareka, never forgot to narrate how when he found a party of natives preparing to broach a cask of rum which they had secured, they nevertheless permitted him to turn the tap, and allow all the spirits to run down into the gutter.

The people of Auckland had been credibly informed that Hone Heke intended to attack that town and that he had two thousand resolute and well-armed natives at his back, but they also knew that Waka Nene and the friendly chiefs had stated openly that if he attempted such a step they would meet him with even superior forces, and drive him back to the forests of the north.

Reinforcements were sent from Sydney, but this only led to a still more serious disaster. After a decided repulse which our troops received in their attack upon Okaihau, in May, a force of between six and seven hundred men under Colonel Despard of the 90th, besieged Hone Heke in his pah at Ohaewai. On the first of July, in spite of the earnest warnings of the friendly Maoris, and against the opinions of his own officers, Colonel Despard ordered an assault on the pah by a storming party two hundred strong.

Tamati Waka Nene, a chief whose fidelity was never doubted, and whose courage no man dared to question, denounced the assault as madness. It was, he said, sending brave men to death, and he refused either to join in it himself or to allow any of his people to take part in so hopeless an undertaking.

Beneath an afternoon sun the men, headed gallantly by their officers, rushed at the pah. A few, led by Lieutenant Philpott of the Hazard—himself a great favourite of the natives—did actually surmount the first of the three rows of defences, only to be shot down in front of the second. The predictions of Waka Nene were swiftly fulfilled. It is said that in ten minutes half the attacking force was killed or wounded. Horrified by the carnage, Colonel Despard ordered the bugles to sound a retreat. One hundred and three men out of the two hundred of the attacking party were killed or wounded.

CHAPTER XII.

SPEEDY AND TRIUMPHANT CONCLUSION OF THE MAORI WAR.

“ Unbounded courage and compassion joined,
Tempering each other in the victor's mind,
Alternately proclaim him good and great,
And make the hero and the man complete.”

Addison.

WHEN, five months after the repulse at Ohaewai, Captain Grey arrived to take over the Government of New Zealand, assistance was coming to the colony from many quarters. From India, from China, and from Australia, ships of war had been sent with men and military material. The money and munitions of war which he himself had forwarded from South Australia were especially useful. He found everything in confusion—finance, Government, military, natives, settlers. It would hardly be possible to imagine a more tangled skein than that which the new Governor was called upon to unwind. In addition to the disasters which had already been made public in England, were the reverses which our arms had sustained at Okaihau and Ohaewai, with the consequent increase of confidence among the disaffected Maoris, and dismay and confusion of the few and scattered European settlers.

No time was lost in regrets or ceremonies. In a few days Grey had decided as to the course to be taken. With the treasure brought from South Aus-

tralia he called in, and partly paid, the debentures issued by Captain Fitzroy. These were payable at a fixed date, bearing interest at six per cent., and amounted to £37,000. He put a stop to the sale of firearms to the Maoris, in the face of a bitter opposition, and after a desperate struggle in the Council, by an Order. When Grey left in 1854 this was repealed, and the natives then bought the arms with which our people were slaughtered in the great wars. He also prohibited the purchase of native land by private individuals. He organised a body of native armed police, under European officers. He entered into negotiations with friendly chiefs, with a view to appoint them magistrates under the Crown, at small salaries. He arranged with Waka Nene, who was in command of the friendly natives, that all his fighting men should receive regular rations. He publicly broke off negotiations with Heke and Kawiti until they should ask for peace and forgiveness. He issued a proclamation to the natives, warning them that he should treat as hostile those tribes which did not render assistance when it was in their power. Within a week of his arrival in the colony he had proceeded in the *Elphinstone* to the Bay of Islands. Within five days of his landing at Auckland he had written and transmitted to Lord Stanley a despatch, in which he described the state of affairs then existing, and the measures which he intended to adopt.

He saw at once that the native mind had become impressed with the superior prowess and skill of their own race. The old belief in the superiority of the white man, rudely shaken by the conflict at Wairau, further weakened by the sack of Kororareka and the repulse at Okaihau, had been for the time destroyed by the slaughter and defeat of the English at Ohae-wai. In New Zealand there were at that time at least

one hundred and twenty thousand Maoris, while the European residents numbered only from ten thousand to twelve thousand, scattered over distant settlements, without means of co-operation for defence. The natives were a race born for military undertakings, and, in some of the characteristics of soldiers, unsurpassed by any people on earth. The Europeans were untrained to military service, unaccustomed to the use of arms, and eminently wishful for a life of peace and quiet.

Although the disaffected natives were yet in a minority, their numbers had rapidly increased with the successes of Heke and Kawiti, and Grey saw that he must strike an immediate and successful blow. One or two more defeats would ensure the destruction of the infant colony and the expulsion of the Europeans from New Zealand or their destruction in it.

The speed and energy which the new Governor exhibited in the measures which have been already detailed suffered no abatement in his subsequent proceedings. Ohaewai had been abandoned by Hone Heke, and a new pah, still more strongly fortified and in an almost impregnable position, had been built at Ruapekapeka (The Bat's Nest). At this point, strong as it appeared, Grey determined to deliver a blow which should be felt throughout both islands. Heke himself had been wounded in a skirmish with Waka Nene's people, and was stationed at Kaikohe, twenty miles from Ruapekapeka, of which strong fortress Kawiti was in command.

Within five weeks of his arrival in the colony, the Governor put eleven hundred men in motion against the Maoris at the Bat's Nest. A camp was formed near the Kawakawa river, and the troops were set to work on making that first military necessity, a practical road to the scene of intended operations. Mac-

quarie, a friendly chief, was despatched to hold Heke in check, in case he should attempt to advance from Kaikohe to relieve Ruapekapeka.

In a fortnight the road was completed sufficiently to enable the men to draw the guns on carts to the front, and the siege commenced. Within the pah Kawiti raised his flag. Frequent sorties were made by the Maoris, but they were repulsed and driven back on every occasion. Meanwhile the artillery which had been brought by the new road was playing continuously upon the palisading of the pah. So strong and ingenious were the fortifications that ten days elapsed before any apparent effect was produced by the cannon shot of the besiegers. During this time the wily old chief Kawiti and his people used every means to provoke a repetition of the assault which had proved so fatal at Ohaewai. The natives, however, had not here to deal with an impulsive military officer who undervalued the strength of the place he was attacking and the courage of the men who defended it. They were opposed now by a man who had learnt patience in a good school, whose courage was always cool, and who was determined to succeed in the task which he had set himself to perform. A letter from Sir Everard Home, written early in January, 1846, to Captain Grey, then at Ruapekapeka, gives a graphic description of Kawiti pressed for want of water in his pah, and of the old Maori women fetching it.

In another letter, written in the preceding month, Sir Everard exhibits a fine scorn for any difficulties of government save those involved in the native war. "You know," he writes, "that all New Zealand depends upon the result of the work now in hand. Never mind the debentures, but *come here as soon as you can.* COME."

On the 10th January, 1846, two small breaches were seen. On the 11th (Sunday), the garrison, anxious at once to celebrate Divine service (for they were Christian natives), and to be safe from the missiles of war, retired from the interior of the pah to a slight valley in its rear. Waka Nene's brother, Wi Waka, noticing the silence within the pah, and hearing the sound of hymns, immediately surmised what had taken place. Communicating his belief to the Governor and Sir Everard Home, an assault was at once ordered. The pah was entered. The Maori garrison, rushing back, met the troops; a smart hand-to-hand fight took place. Outnumbered and outgeneralled, the Maoris were completely defeated.

At a loss of twelve killed and thirty-one wounded the Bat's Nest was taken, and Hone Heke's power and prestige destroyed. So well had Macquarie performed his duty, that Heke had been unable to reach Ruapekapeka till the eventful Sunday, during the time of the conflict, and then only with sixty followers. The fighting chief was too late. His men were swept away among the defeated garrison, and he and Kawiti made head no more. A complete record of the Maori loss was not attainable, but it was severe. Bravely following gallant leaders, they did all that men could do; but discipline, arms, and numbers were against them.

Military visitors to the great Exhibition in 1851 were struck by the ingenuity and strength displayed in a model of a Maori pah, made and exhibited by Colonel Balneavis. That model was roughly taken from the pah at Ruapekapeka. Even yet the student of military fortification finds his interest awakened by another model of the same fortress, presented by Colonel Wynyard to the United Service Museum.

The blow had been fairly delivered. Its importance

and weight were fully appreciated by the Maoris. They confessed themselves beaten. Within a fortnight the Governor's trusted ally, Waka Nene, came to Auckland, whither Grey, with most of the troops, had returned, bringing a letter from Kawiti requesting peace.

Waka Nene, wise in council as he was brave in war, supported the request made by his grim old foeman; and, equally generous as he was wise and brave, voluntarily offered to forego the claims which he and his people might allege to land taken from their beaten enemies.

With sincere pleasure and gratitude the Governor acceded to the prayer for peace set forth in Kawiti's letter. The noble unselfishness displayed by Waka Nene gave him unqualified delight. Determined to meet these native chiefs in their own spirit of frankness and generosity, he immediately issued a proclamation, stating that the chiefs having submitted themselves to the Queen's authority, the war was ended. Pardon was granted to all who had been in arms. They were to return to their kaingas, cultivate the ground, fish in the rivers and sea, and live at peace.

Once only did the Governor and Heke meet. In 1848, when visiting the Waimate, the Governor met the redoubtable chief at the hospitable board of the Rev. Mr. Burrows. They talked together cordially, but the flagstaff was not alluded to, nor were the names of Okaihau, Kororareka, Ohaewai, or Ruapekapeka mentioned. They, however, corresponded, and Heke, by will, left his lands to Governor Grey. It is needless to say that the Governor gave his rights to Heke's relatives.

Two years afterwards Heke, still a young man, fell a victim to consumption. After his defeat at Ruape-

kapeka he became despondent as to the future of his people. He saw them, as he said, "as in a vision, drying up as a river when there is no rain." When sinking into his last slumber he spoke pathetically of that time, not far distant, when the missionaries would ring their bells for the Maoris, but there would be none to answer.

Kawiti lived four years longer than his comrade. He was a very old man, being upwards of seventy when, on that fatal Sunday morning, he had led his intrepid followers in the attempt to recapture the Bat's Nest.

Two months had not yet passed since Captain Grey's arrival in New Zealand, but the whole aspect of affairs was changed. The war which threatened the extinction of the infant colony was brought to an abrupt and triumphant ending; the prestige of the European was again established; terms of peace, neither derogatory to the Crown nor to the natives, were agreed upon; while the strength and weight of the new Governor's hand was felt and acknowledged by all the tribes. They believed, also, that while it was the hand of a strong ruler, it was the hand of a faithful friend.

This successful termination of the war, coupled with reforms and remedial measures adopted in regard to finance, the purchase of native lands, the sale of fire-arms, and the organization of a native police force, placed the colony in a condition at once safe and hopeful. The trust which Her Majesty's Government had so generously placed in Captain Grey had been abundantly justified. Colonists were jubilant; the natives filled with admiration of the skill, promptitude, and kindness of the new Governor.

When the despatches recording the transactions of his first eight weeks' Governorship of New Zealand

reached London, Her Majesty's Ministers, as well as the public press, spoke loudly in approval. Even the most sanguine friends of Captain Grey—men who, like Lord Glenelg and Sir James Stephen, had watched his course with unmingled pleasure—had not dared to hope that such swift success would have crowned his first efforts to restore peace, order, and safety to such a scene of confusion and danger as New Zealand presented.

CHAPTER XIII.

SHORT HISTORY OF THE NEW ZEALAND COMPANY.

“ Ill fares the land, to hastening woes a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay.
Princes and lords many flourish, or may fade,
A breath can make them, as a breath has made,
But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroyed, can never be supplied.”

Goldsmith.

THE difficulties which were presented by the Maori war, and the necessity of acquiring a knowledge of the native language, religion, and literature, were not the only obstacles to peaceable and successful government which Captain Grey had to encounter. The cupidity and ambition of his fellow-countrymen, the restless and adventurous spirit of the first colonists of New Zealand, gave rise to continual conflicts and continual dangers. Taking the tide of public opinion on his system of colonization at the flood, Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield and a large circle of friends and admirers had registered a joint stock company destined to become famous, or rather infamous, as the New Zealand Company.

This corporate body was formed for the purpose of colonizing New Zealand upon Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield's plan, and to make money. At that time New Zealand was a free and sovereign power. It owned allegiance to no authority beyond its own shores. Its tribes were free to deal with intending

settlers as they chose. No law but that which the chiefs chose to make, and which they had power to enforce, existed from Cape Maria Van Diemen to Stewart's Island. To this land—fertile, beautiful, and waste—the longing eyes of Mr. Wakefield and his friends were turned. In defiance of the warnings of the British Government, numbers of people were attracted by the hopes held out by the Company, and joined in the adventure. Money flowed in swiftly, because intending emigrants and speculators had to pay in London for the land they were to own in New Zealand. Colonel Wakefield was hurriedly despatched to obtain land from the natives. Purchasers flocked to the London office. In a short time upwards of one hundred thousand pounds was received as purchase money.

Without waiting to hear that a spot sufficient even to land upon had been purchased, the Company sent off several ships filled with emigrants to find a home, if possible, among the savage and warlike Maoris. This "highly irregular and improper conduct" (Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1844) was consistent with the purposes for which the Company was formed. "The New Zealand Company was founded for two objects: the one was to put in practice certain views with regard to colonisation; the other was to make money" (Sir W. Molesworth, speech on New Zealand Bill, 1852).

As English subjects were thus being carried to New Zealand from Great Britain, and as from Australia a stream of colonisation had previously set in, Her Majesty's Ministers were driven to adopt the only effectual measures for establishing in these islands a settled form of government. Captain Hobson, who had been officially sent to New Zealand and had made a very able report, was appointed to undertake the

negotiations. The meeting called by him was held at Waitangi, and there, under the most solemn promises that their titles to their lands should be secured to them by the Crown, the famous treaty was signed by the native chiefs, by which the Britain of the South became incorporated in the empire. Great fears were expressed by the chiefs present at the meeting that in ceding sovereignty they would be held as giving up their lands. The project was nearly defeated. Many leading men wavered. At last Tamati Waka rose. To him, equally renowned in the field and the council, the assembly listened attentively. He spoke with great earnestness and ability. When he had concluded he turned to Captain Hobson, and with pathetic confidence said, "You must be our father. You must not allow us to become slaves. You must preserve our customs, and never permit our lands to be wrested from us." Tamati Waka's speech was decisive; the treaty was signed, the aid of the missionaries of the different churches was invoked, and many other influential chiefs not present at Waitangi joined in the movement. But the same promise was always exacted and was always made. The Maori was to be guaranteed, on the faith of England, all his rights in the lands of his fathers. On the 6th of February, the first forty-six signatures were appended to the treaty. At that time the first settlers of the Company at Port Nicholson, who had been landed at Petone some sixteen days before, were wondering where they were to get the land for which they had paid before leaving England. On the 21st May the sovereignty of the Queen was proclaimed, and the 16th of November created New Zealand a separate colony. So great was the influence which the New Zealand Company had by this time acquired that when the colony was declared independent of New South Wales Lord John

Russell formally recognised it, and made arrangements with its directors in order that the colonisation of New Zealand should be carried on conjointly by the Government of the colony and the Company.

The agitation for what was afterwards called "local government" commenced with the landing of the Company's settlers at Petone. They formed a government of their own, with courts and officers, and acted as if they were invested with the authority of the Crown. From the first it became evident that the agents and officers of the Company were determined to exercise sovereign rule. Their idea of constitutional and representative government was, and always has been, continuing until the present time, that New Zealand was made especially for them, that they had or ought to have the right to rule, to legislate for their own benefit, to acquire great estates in land as their own inheritance, and, under the name of constitutional or representative government, to use the public money, the public credit, and the public patronage for themselves and their friends. The same struggle is being maintained now as commenced between Captain Hobson and the Wakefields in 1840, continued between the Wakefields and Captain Fitzroy in 1843, and afterwards between Sir George Grey, aided by Bishop Selwyn and Sir William Martin on the one side, and Sir William Fox, Sir Charles Clifford, Dr. Featherston, Mr. Weld, and the whole host of land speculators and land jobbers who sided with them.

The immediate consequence of the Treaty of Waitangi was the creation of courts by the authority of Government, which, after due deliberation, declared that the pretended purchases of native land made by the Company were nearly all invalid. The Company at once set itself by its agents and members to destroy

the principle on which the Treaty of Waitangi was based, namely, the rights of the Maoris to their lands. Those rights were denied. They were assailed with ridicule. They were stated to be in antagonism to the rights of civilised humanity. No effort was spared to induce the Government of England to adopt this view, and although for some time these efforts were unavailing, at length, in 1844, they succeeded in obtaining a resolution from a Committee of the House of Commons, recommending the Crown to take possession of all lands not actually occupied by the natives; and in 1846, not only did Earl Grey deliberately set out his opinion to this effect in his despatch to the Governor, but in the Royal instructions, which accompanied the Act of 1846 and the Charter, provisions were made for registration of native lands, which, had they been carried into effect, would have absolutely despoiled the natives of the great bulk of their ancestral territories.

From its first existence, the Company commenced its work of colonisation openly in direct antagonism to the English Government. Its first detachment of settlers reached New Zealand and disembarked at Wellington on the 22nd of January, 1840.

These settlers had been allured by the prospects held out to them, and had paid large sums of money in London for the lands which they were to occupy in New Zealand. At the time of these sales the Company had no land, nor did it, until the period of its dissolution, ever place a solitary settler upon a single acre of land with a good title acquired by it from the natives. It sent a fleet with emigrants to Wellington, and it had no land there on which to place them. It then located them at the Hutt and other places upon disputed lands, which led to a long series of sanguinary conflicts and murders. It

despatched a large party to Nelson, and its efforts there to take the lands of the natives by force ended in the conflict in Wairau, where, after a smart skirmish, in which our people were defeated, the prisoners taken by the Maoris were killed by one of Rangihaeata's natives, the chief being maddened by the death of his wife, the favourite daughter of Te Rauparaha. It attempted to locate a body of settlers at Wanganui; but there also it had no land. It sold the Chatham Islands, having no title or claim to them, to a German firm, and when threatened by the English Government with the loss of its charter for so doing, attempted to escape from the consequences of its own acts by evasion and falsehood. It covenanted to give employment to its settlers, if available land was not found for them, and when these men applied at Taranaki for this employment under what were called their "Embarkation Orders," its agent in his own words "endeavoured to evade the promise made by the Company, by sending the applicants for employment a long distance from home, making no allowance for time spent on the journey or for time lost in bad weather. The necessities of the men and their families were such as compelled them to submit for several weeks to these conditions, but many came home sick and claimed the promised medical aid; and others commenced *the trade of pig and sheep stealing*, not having yet had time to raise potatoes for themselves."*

It deceived Lord Stanley and attempted in vain to obtain his assent to its denial of the rights of the Maoris; and when Lord Howick, having become Earl Grey, was invested with authority in the Colonial Office, and another of its great champions, Mr. Hawes,

* See Appendix to Twelfth Report.

became Under Secretary in the same department, and its legal adviser and organ of communication with the Government, Mr. Charles Buller, became Judge-Advocate-General, it deceived the Government and the House in order to further its nefarious plans. Immense sums, upwards of £230,000, were placed at its disposal by the English Government, of which but a small proportion, less than £30,000, was, it is said, expended by it in emigration.* “A considerable sum was lent by the Company to its own shareholders and lost. Other large sums were laid out ostensibly in the purchase of private estates, but really to buy up troublesome claims for compensation, and further sums of considerable magnitude were appropriated by the directors of the Company amongst themselves on account of past fees.”† Finally, taking advantage of a very favourable arrangement (under the Act of 1847) which had been made by Mr. Charles Buller, *who drafted the letters for the Colonial Office, and then drafted the letters for the Directors of the Company in reply*, which letters, on both sides, embodied the terms of the arrangement *which he had prepared*, it “surrendered its charter, and, as a colonising association, ended its career without having given a single legal title to a single individual of a single piece of land, leaving the whole of its engagements in respect of the disposal of land during a period of twelve years unfulfilled and uncompleted, and leaving the whole colony burdened with a debt of £268,000.”‡

When an Imperial guarantee was sought for a loan of £200,000, which the Company agreed to take in

* Report on New Zealand Company's Debt Paper.—Sessions I. and II.

† See Lord Grey's speech on the second reading of the New Zealand Bill.

‡ “New Zealand and its Colonisation,” p. 145, William Swainson.

full of all demands, it was stigmatised by men like Sir J. Trelawney as "nothing but hush-money, in order that all discussions about past transactions may be put an end to," while Sir James Graham regretted that it was no longer advisable to debate the questionable transactions of which this Company had been guilty. Its own settlers, overwhelmed by disappointment and woe, "afflicting the directors with their complaints of disappointment and ruin,"* thus addressed them while claiming compensation: "We address you not as supplicants for your bounty, not as men suing for favour at your hands, but as parties deeply and grievously injured by you, and as such demanding redress. And to what cause are the disasters which have befallen us attributable? You cannot and dare not deny that the immediate and proximate cause of our ruin has been the non-fulfilment by you of a contract formed with us seven years ago."†

Alarmed by these and other threats from the victims of their cupidity and selfishness, the directors took legal advice as to their liability. The counsel who advised, a member of their own company, and a man of character and standing, gave his opinion that the Company was not only liable for the original money paid by the settlers, with interest, but could also be made to pay compensation for all their losses. True to its character, the Company suppressed this opinion, obtained more favourable advice from a more pliable lawyer, but little known in his profession, and sent out this second opinion to the settlers, thereby entrapping these unhappy people into making compromises disadvantageous to themselves. Upon this

* Mr. Charles A. Buller to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

† Swainson's "New Zealand," p. 125.

it was charged before Parliament with deceiving its own New Zealand colonists by means of a deliberate suppression of the truth. So tortuous and disingenuous were the proceedings of this Company that Sir James Stephen, then permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, requested Lord John Russell, then principal Secretary of State in the department, "to relieve him from the duty of ever again receiving any of the directors of that body at any interview relating to their affairs."

This significant request, which showed clearly that Sir James Stephen feared to trust himself at an interview with unscrupulous men, was granted without hesitation by Lord John Russell.

Prior to the advent of Captain Grey the Company had ruined hundreds of settlers; brought about the massacre at the Wairau; it had harassed the gallant Captain Hobson to death, and driven Captain Fitzroy well-nigh into lunacy; it had deceived the English Government and a Committee of the House of Commons, and had commenced a civil war in New Zealand, which, but for the inflexible determination and great sagacity of Governor Grey, might have ended in the total extermination of the white population of these islands.

The report of the Committee of the House of Representatives of New Zealand upon the matter of the New Zealand Company's debt is most damaging. And with respect to the debt generally, resolutions were agreed to by both Houses to the effect that the charge on the land fund of the colony was an oppressive burden on its resources; that it appeared to have been created by Parliament in ignorance of the real facts, and to have been obtained by the New Zealand Company by means of the suppression of material circumstances, and that the colony was entitled to

obtain from the British Parliament a re-consideration of the case.

Prior to the advent of Governor Fitzroy, who landed in Auckland on the 23rd of December, 1843, the native mind had become strongly excited by statements industriously promulgated, having reference to the determination of the English Parliament and the English Government, moved by the New Zealand Company, to deny the Treaty of Waitangi, and the rights of the Maoris to any lands upon which they had not bestowed labour and been at one time in personal occupation.

The fight and massacre at Wairau had destroyed the fear which had long existed in the minds of the Maoris regarding the superior prowess and warlike skill of the Europeans. On the 9th of July, 1844, Hone Heke, a son-in-law of the famous Hongi, as before stated, asserted the rights of the Maoris and their determination not to submit to spoliation, by cutting down the flagstaff at Kororareka, and the flag of England which it carried. In January, 1845, this was repeated, and on the 11th of March Kororareka was taken, the block-house burned, and all the English people driven away.

It has been stated that Hone Heke's war did not arise through the Maoris' fears about their land, but the concurrent testimony of all competent authorities affirms the fact.* Bishop Selwyn distinctly states it in his answer to Earl Grey. Even the chairman of the Company, when writing to the Secretary of State, speaking of the difficulties which the Company had to face, says: "These difficulties must, we think, be ascribed to one cause, namely, the disputes respecting the Company's title to land. This is the one thing that appears to have led to all the bad blood between

* Bishop Selwyn to Earl Grey, August 1st, 1848, "New Zealand Papers," Imperial Parliament, July, 1849, p. 37.

the natives and the settlers. It was the direct cause of the unhappy business at Cloudy Bay (the Wairau), and of the subsequent disastrous state of feeling." *

Indeed, it was only when the recommendation of the Parliamentary Committee before alluded to was communicated to the natives in the North that Hone Heke and his people rose to protect themselves against what they considered to be a gross intended violation of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Governor Fitzroy was recalled. The Company meanwhile made propositions to the Government in London, the knowledge of which tended still farther to alarm the natives. The position of affairs in New Zealand was the subject of a five days' debate in the House of Commons.

The Company continually desired the English Government to disregard the Treaty of Waitangi, and to confiscate the whole of the lands of New Zealand nominally to the Crown, but really for the benefit of the New Zealand Company. It had gone so far as to approach Lord Stanley, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, urging upon him that the Treaty of Waitangi was simply a device for the purpose of amusing naked savages, and inducing them to behave in a friendly manner until the British power should be permanent in these islands.

With Lord Stanley the leaders of the Company met with no success. His reply to them, at once noble and dignified, stated that he, as Her Majesty's representative, held all treaties assented to by the Crown of England as solemn and deliberate transactions; that he should in no wise assent to the doctrine propounded to him that such treaties were merely devices to amuse naked savages, and that he held, on behalf

* Swainson's "New Zealand," p. 126.

of Her Majesty, that the Crown of England and the people of England were bound by their solemn obligations to the native people and chiefs of New Zealand.

The promoters and leaders of the Company were not to be rebuffed. No sooner had Lord Stanley quitted his position of authority in Downing-street than they repeated their attacks upon Earl Grey, who, as Lord Howick, had been interested in the formation of the Company. In Earl Grey, for a time, Mr. Wakefield and his coadjutors found a more willing listener. Under his auspices, and with his assistance, they obtained, in 1846, the passage of an Act through the English Parliament providing for a so-called Constitutional Government of New Zealand. Immediately subsequent to the passing of the Act it was transmitted with a long despatch from Earl Grey to the Governor, in which his lordship sets forth, with great circumstantiality, his belief that the Treaty of Waitangi cannot be held to be binding upon the British Government.

So strenuous were the efforts made by the Company to obtain complete control of the colony that it was believed by many that Captain Grey was about to be recalled, and an agent of the Company made Governor in his stead. In anticipation of such a step a public meeting was called, and held at Nelson, on the 30th January, 1847, the Honourable Constantine Dillon being chairman. The first resolution expressed the deep regret of the people at the reported removal of Captain Grey from the office of Governor. The second was thus worded: "That we view with feelings of alarm and regret the proposed delegation of the powers of Government to the New Zealand Company." Three other resolutions in the same direction were also carried, the last being: "That the twentieth report of the directors of the New Zealand Company lately

received, the letter of Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield appended to it, and the report of the Committee upon that letter, are all characterised by a most extraordinary ignorance of the state of the colony, and of their own settlements in particular, by predictions of which the subsequent course of events has shown the absurdity in the most striking manner, and by the suggestion of a course of policy for the future based upon error—visionary and impracticable.”*

One of the former resolutions states the opinion of the meeting that “The administration of the affairs of this settlement (Nelson) by the New Zealand Company has convinced us of its incapacity, and destroyed all confidence on our part either in the wisdom of its measures or in the integrity of its conduct.” The speakers at this meeting represented the entire public feeling of the community. Besides the Hon. Constantine Dillon in the chair, Dr. Monro and Mr. David Monro, J.P.; Mr. Greenwood, Mr. Fell, Mr. C. P. Withers, J.P., Mr. Seymour, Mr. Saxton, Dr. Renwick, Mr. Budge, Mr. Moore, Mr. Greaves, and Mr. Dartnell all spoke to different resolutions. Copies of the resolutions were sent by order of the meeting to the Governor, to Earl Grey, and to the Court of Directors of the New Zealand Company.

In Auckland at about the same time and while the Constitution was on the way, the people of Auckland signed an address to Captain Grey eulogising his efforts for the public good. Auckland and its people were bitterly opposed by the New Zealand Company. This address states: “When it was found that Auckland could not be deprived of its natural gifts, and that in spite of all attempts to retard its progress and destroy its very existence it still advanced steadily

* New Zealand Parliamentary Papers, Imperial Parliament, December, 1847, p. 10.

but slowly, and that when compared with the settlements of the Company which sought its extinction, it rose superior to them all, then the attempt is made to defame and malign its settlers, and no misstatements, however gross, no fabrications, however outrageous, are left untried to effect this purpose. . . . As an apology for the introduction of these remarks, and for praying your Excellency to represent our interests at Home, and disabuse Her Majesty's Government of any false impressions with regard to us as a community, we may mention that so entirely is the influential portion of the press in the mother country enlisted in advocating the cause of the New Zealand Company, that the friends of this settlement now in England have found themselves totally unable to cope with their more powerful opponents, and like ourselves have been obliged to sit down in patience, trusting in the power of truth and time eventually to obtain us justice."*

* Enclosure in Despatch, Governor Grey to Earl Grey, February 4th, 1847. Parl. Papers, June, 1847.

CHAPTER XIV.

MAORI POLICY.—PROPOSED FEDERATION OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS.

“The primal duties shine aloft like stars ;
The charities that soothe and heal and bless
Are scattered at the feet of man, like flowers.”

Wordsworth.

“Down the dark future, through long generations,
The echoing sounds grow fainter, and then cease,
Till like a bell, with solemn, sweet vibrations,
I hear once more the voice of Christ ! ‘ Peace ! ’

“ ‘ Peace ! ’ And no longer from its brazen portals
The blast of war’s great organ shakes the skies,
But, beautiful as songs of the immortals,
The holy melodies of love arise.”

Longfellow.

THE records of New Zealand for some time after the end of Heke’s war exhibit the difficulties and dangers to which the early colonists were continually exposed. The native Chiefs, fearing the growing influence of the pakeha, and smarting under the rapacity of the earth hunger so constantly shown by Europeans, carried on a scattered and desultory war. But the Governor proved himself more than their equal. He utilised his forces in making military roads, and in this way gained easy access to many of the Maori strongholds. His plans in this respect were submitted to the Duke of Wellington, by whom they were highly approved. He swooped down like a hawk upon the great chief

Rauparaha at Porirua and carried him off in the *Driver* to Wellington, where the grim old chief was sent on board H.M. s. *Calliope* as a state prisoner. His swift strokes, falling like bolts from the clouds, paralysed the native warriors. Incidental outrages—sometimes murders—still happened, followed always by punishment. At length, in 1847, the colony for the first time felt the blessings of complete peace.

Other matters, however, called for attention besides war with the Maoris. In the interesting preface to his "Polynesian Mythology," Sir George Grey says:—"I soon perceived that I could neither successfully govern nor hope to conciliate a numerous and turbulent people with whose language, manners, customs, religion, and modes of thought I was quite unacquainted. In order to redress their grievances and apply remedies which would neither wound their feelings nor militate against their prejudices, it was necessary that I should be able thoroughly to understand their complaints. And to win their confidence and regard, it was also requisite that I should be able at all times, and in all places, patiently to listen to the tales of their wrongs or sufferings, and, even if I could not assist them, to give them a kind reply, couched in such terms as would leave no doubt in their minds that I clearly understood and felt for them and was really well disposed towards them.

"Although furnished with some very able interpreters, who gave me assistance of the most friendly nature, I soon found that even with their aid I could still only very imperfectly perform my duties. I could not at all times and in all places have an interpreter by my side; and then often when waylaid by some suitor, who had, perhaps, travelled on foot two or three hundred miles to lay before me the tale of his or her grievance, I was compelled to pass on without

listening, and to witness, with pain, an expression of sorrow and keenly disappointed hope cloud over features which the moment before were bright with gladness, that the opportunity, so anxiously looked for, had at length been secured.

“Again I found that any tale of sorrow or suffering, passing through the medium of an interpreter, fell much more coldly on my ear than it would have done had the person interested addressed the tale direct to myself; and in like manner an answer delivered through the intervention of a third person appeared to have a very different impression upon the suitor to what it would have had coming direct from the lips of the Governor of the country. Moreover, this mode of communication through a third person was so cumbersome and slow, that, in order to compensate for the loss of time thus occasioned, it became necessary for the interpreters to compress the substance of the representations made to me, as also of my own replies, into the fewest words possible; and as this had in each instance to be done hurriedly and at the moment, there was reason to fear that much that was material to enable me fully to understand the question brought before me, or the suitor to comprehend my reply, might be unintentionally omitted.

“Lastly, I had on several occasions reasons to believe that a native hesitated to state facts, or to express feelings and wishes to an interpreter which he would most gladly have done to the Governor, could he have addressed him direct.

“These reasons and others of equal force made me feel it to be my duty to make myself acquainted, with the least possible delay, with the language of the New Zealanders, as also with their manners, customs, and prejudices. But I soon found that this was a far more difficult matter than I had at first supposed. The

language of the New Zealanders is a very difficult one to understand thoroughly. There was then no dictionary of it published (unless a vocabulary can be so called); there were no books published in the language which would enable me to study its construction; it varied altogether in form from any of the ancient or modern languages that I knew, and my thoughts and time were so occupied with the cares of the government of a country then pressed upon by many difficulties and with a formidable rebellion raging in it, that I could find but very few hours to devote to the acquisition of an unwritten and difficult language. I, however, did my best, and cheerfully devoted all my spare moments to a task, the accomplishment of which was necessary to enable me to perform properly every duty to my country, and to the people I was appointed to govern."

Suddenly a new and unexpected difficulty presented itself to the Governor. The rebel chiefs were among the oldest and least civilized of the natives. In their speeches and letters they often quoted fragments of ancient poems and proverbs in support of their views and contentions. The interpreters were ignorant of their meaning, as were the young Christian natives. To a man of great determination this mystery commended itself as a question to be solved. The Governor set to work to acquaint himself with the customs, mythology, language, and traditions of the Maoris and their cognate races in the South Pacific. He had worked steadily on at this great task for several years, when Government House at Auckland was burnt to the ground, and all the fruits of his toils in this and in other subjects were consumed. Nothing daunted, he began it all once more. For six years he laboured indefatigably in the intervals of other duties, and at last, having mastered his subject, published

his "Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealand Race."

From the first day of his arrival in the colony, Captain Grey became involved in contentions with European settlers on the question of the acquisition of native land. A long and bitter controversy ensued between the Governor and the majority of the old settlers and missionaries, which formed the text of despatches, enquiries, and commissions for several years. Then and since some of the missionaries declared that the information given to the Governor was false, and that there had been no complaints ever made by the Maoris against them or any of their number concerning the purchase of land. In addition to the abundant evidence given by Captain Grey in his despatches, an account published recently by the Rev. Mr. Colenso, of Napier, of the proceedings before Captain Hobson when the Treaty of Waitangi was signed, proves conclusively that on that occasion several Maori chiefs accused missionaries then present of unfair and improper land transactions. Mr. Colenso speaks with authority, for he was present and made notes at the time, from which his book is written.

The first eighteen months of Captain Grey's administration were thus filled with arduous labours. The great events which have been alluded to did not prevent his attending to other duties. The interior administration of a young colony, with many settlements scattered far and wide, threw upon him great responsibilities, and constantly taxed his care and attention. The control of the Maoris when reduced to peaceable subjection demanded the most delicate treatment and his own personal supervision.

He perceived that the power of the chiefs must either be broken or enlisted on behalf of the Government, if the peaceable control of the islands was to

remain with the Europeans. Not only did he enrol young native chiefs in the constabulary, he also appointed the heads of the Maori tribes to be magistrates in their different districts, with fixed pay.

Nor did he confine himself to general principles of action. The peculiar characteristics of individual chiefs, and the circumstances of different tribes, gave to him opportunities, which were never neglected, of strengthening his government. One great chief refused to allow roads to be made in his territory. To a young and favourite wife of this stubborn Maori the Governor presented a horse and carriage, at the same time conveying, with assurances of his friendship, the intimation that the use of the carriage would add both to the health and comfort of his dusky bride. Without hesitation the husband entered upon the making of roads which as a chief he had absolutely refused to sanction. To utilise the present made by the Governor and to please his young wife, the old Maori warrior made a passable road through country before inaccessible.

He established schools, at which the sons of chiefs were to be educated, and made endowments for their support, which in many instances still exist. For the rapidly increasing European population he was anxious to provide all means, not only for safety, but for success and happiness as settlers. The powers conferred upon him were sufficient to enable a wise and vigorous policy of settlement to be established. Measures calculated to promote public prosperity were passed by him with the sanction of his Council. The law of England was in many respects, especially in regard to the holding and transfer of land, altered and simplified.

In June, 1848, a great calamity happened which destroyed the fruits of years of Sir George Grey's

labour, and inflicted severe loss in many ways upon him. Government House at Auckland was destroyed by fire. Scarcely anything was saved from the flames. Manuscripts, correspondence, works of art, data of various sorts upon many subjects, compiled by himself, and by willing friends in all parts of the earth, were completely destroyed. In some instances things thus lost were of priceless value, because they could not be replaced. In others it meant the re-imposition of years of laborious toil.

Without hesitation and without delay Sir George Grey commenced afresh the works upon which he had been employed at the time of this disaster. Messages of sympathy and condolence were received by him from many quarters. The English Parliament expressed sympathy, and passed a money vote to replace the value of plate, furniture, etc., this being the Governor's own loss. Sir Everard Home, in writing upon this subject, uses the following words: "Owen (Professor Owen) considers the burning of your house, with the collections in Natural History, as a national loss." But it was from the humble native workmen whom he had employed in the Government quarries, and who had been instructed under his orders in skilled stone-work, that he received the most characteristic and, perhaps, most welcome sympathy of all. In the kindly feelings of their hearts they wrote proffering assistance. The letters translated ran thus:—

Auckland, June the 24th, 1848.

Friend, the Governor,—Salutations to you. Great is our love and sympathy to yourself and Mrs. Grey because your dwelling has been destroyed by fire. Had we been awake at the commencement of the fire we should have come to your aid, but we reached the place when the fire was in full vigour. Our object was to save your property. There are forty of us working at the barracks, and this is the love of us people at the barracks for you,

because you are the directing, upholding, controlling, or parent of all the people. Do you hearken? With yourself is the thought relative to our building a new house of stone for you, as we have been instructed in this good work, and we know how to perform it, as we have learnt the art of building. If you consent to this will you write to us, and we will talk to the chiefs about it.—From your loving children. Written by TE TARANU for the workmen of the barracks. Concluded to our father the Governor.

Auckland, June 24th, 1848.

Friend, the Governor,—Salutations to you. Great is our love to you. We have heard of your distress (or loss) by fire. Friend, this is the love of the people of the quarry to you. Friend, we are here pleased with you. We are willing (or anxious) that the stones of the quarry should be taken by you, so that a stone house may be built for you. It will not take many weeks to build it—perhaps one, perhaps two. This is our thought relative to the stones for you: but there must be no payment given us. This is a token of affection from the people of the quarry to our Governor. Enough.

In this year Captain Grey received from Her Majesty the distinction of the Order of the Bath. At his installation the esquires chosen by himself were his old friend Tamati Waka Nene and the great chief Te Puni, of Port Nicholson.

As may be judged by the past occurrences of his life, Governor Grey was strongly imbued with that religious feeling which has controlled many of the great men who have left England to found empires in distant lands. In New Zealand, as afterwards in South Africa, he was the friend, the protector, and adviser of the missionaries and ministers of all the Christian Churches.

The name of Bishop Selwyn is indelibly written in the early pages of New Zealand history. In 1842 he came to the colony as its first Bishop, and commenced his connection with New Zealand, being then thirty-

three years old, exactly the age of Captain Grey when he arrived in Auckland three years later as Governor.

George Augustus Selwyn and William Ewart Gladstone were schoolfellows in the same form at Eton, and there commenced a life-long friendship. Equal in literary power and scholastic attainments, the main contributors to their school magazine at a time when Eton flourished, they were the leaders of the leading school in England and the world. Together they roamed through the playing-fields, and together drove tandem to Sandhurst. The genius of Gladstone turned towards politics and learning; that of Selwyn to religion and athletics. Lacking, perhaps, something of the polish and erudite research which have since distinguished Gladstone, Selwyn excelled in all manly sports and in his bold defiance of wrong-doing and oppression.

When Captain Grey was appointed Governor of New Zealand, Mr. Gladstone wrote to him, using the highest terms of appreciation regarding the ability and "ardent piety" of Bishop Selwyn. The letter concludes thus:—"I must express my earnest hope that you may be able to obtain from him assistance, not perhaps the less valuable from the circumstance that he has been very careful (as I believe) to keep the Church aloof from politics, and it will increase my confidence and satisfaction in the transaction of business respecting the colony if I should find that there is a general concurrence of judgment, in relation to questions more or less falling within the provinces of both, between two persons whom I must esteem so highly, the one from experience and the other from reputation."

Mr. Gladstone's hopes were fully realised. The two young men, both animated by the loftiest ideas, became firm friends and allies. They were one in

their hatred of tyranny and love of justice, and both felt the most sincere interest in the real welfare of the Maoris as well as that of the European colonists. As we shall hereafter see, the Governor took counsel with the Bishop concerning the control and government of the natives, while the Church of England in New Zealand owed the original draft of its Constitution, not to Bishop Selwyn, but to Governor Grey.

The friendship of these two great men lasted until the death of Selwyn. In later days, each took the same interest as of old in the aims of former years. An extract from a letter written by the Bishop to Sir George Grey in 1863 expresses the stimulating advice and consolation which had so often cheered him in times past, when the struggle against wrongdoing and oppression seemed a very unequal and fruitless one :

“You may reflect,” he writes, “that after all the best use of time and pains, the life most fruitful in the cause of God and of human advancement, the best for man’s own nature, is that of upholding the right calmly and firmly against the selfishness, the impatience, and the ignorance of men.” The personal intimacy which existed between the Governor and the Bishop, founded upon mutual esteem and respect, continued undiminished until Sir George Grey returned to England at the end of 1853, while their friendship endured till Selwyn’s death. They traversed the North Island of New Zealand on foot together, from Wellington to Auckland, more than once. Together they scaled the mountains, and wended their way through the forests, swam dangerous rivers, became guests of the native chiefs, and influenced the tribes in the cause of Christianity and of loyalty to the Queen. Together they prosecuted scientific researches and discoursed in the solitude of

the Maori kaingas upon forms of Government, and the plans and aspirations of men in many ages for the happiness of their fellows.

Nor were their journeys confined to the shores of New Zealand. As fellow-voyagers they traversed portions of the great Pacific, and visited many of those islands where, amid all the beauties of tropical nature, the most savage nations of the human family are found. To many tribes and races did Selwyn and Grey go forth as ambassadors—one the teacher of a pure and exalted faith to the benighted heathen, the other tendering the sovereignty, guidance, and protection of the mighty power of England to these savage peoples of the South. And beneath the tropical skies of the Southern Hemisphere, borne upon the long, sleepy waves of the Pacific, the kindred enthusiasm of their hearts pictured a future of peace, both spiritual and temporal, in those wide regions in which they had been sent to labour.

Like Heber in India, like Paul in Macedonia, like Augustine in Britain, Selwyn, in Australasia, looked forward with hope and joyous anticipation to the conversion of the heathen and the triumphs of the Cross. The aspirations which filled the heart and the mind of Grey had scarcely a prototype in recorded history. To his mind the future of the South Pacific presented a new possibility in the history of nations. The long recurrence of old-world wars and conflicts, the perennial harvests of ruin and death which had marked every page in the history of the far-off lands, might here be forgotten and unknown. It was, he believed, possible to exclude from these seas the intervention of any foreign Power, and the intrusion of any Government other than that of Britain. To unite the islands and the people of this great archipelago under the flag of England would probably

insure a continued state of peace and safety. The children of the kings and chiefs might be educated in New Zealand, and sent back to their island homes to rule their people wisely beneath the control of English law and English power. Thus civilisation would spread its humanising influence over these vast stretches of the mighty ocean. Christianity, taught and exemplified by noble and good men, such as the one beside him, would reform the character and enlighten the consciences of the islanders. Commerce with its ample blessings, would enrich not merely Australasia but Britain, and the din of warfare and the crash of arms would only be heard afar off, and with sounds as subdued as the wash of the ripple on the coral reefs.

The native races of large groups of Islands, including amongst others Tonga, Fiji, New Caledonia, Tahiti, and the Loyalty Islands were willing and anxious to come under the English flag. They agreed to receive officers appointed by Great Britain who should collect customs duties on a common tariff with New Zealand. These duties were to be applied to the payment of salaries for the officials needed, and to the maintenance of other necessary but modest Government establishments. The principal chiefs of the islands had become Grey's personal friends, and many of their children were being educated in New Zealand.

The New Zealand chiefs were delighted with these arrangements. They willingly gave endowments of land for hospitals and schools for the benefit of the children of the people of the islands. In Auckland, Parnell, the North Shore, Three Kings, Taranaki, Wellington, Nelson, Hawke's Bay, Wanganui, and other places such endowments were set apart.

The hopes of both Selwyn and Grey were destined

to be unfulfilled. The innate savagery of the native character, the evil example of many of the traders frequenting those seas, and the entrance of French and German influence, always bitterly opposed to British missionary effort, defeated the plans of Selwyn. Grey's imperial views met with no favour and scant courtesy in London. Downing Street, with its usual incapacity and narrowness of view, scoffed at the idea of an island empire in the Southern Ocean, and allowed France, Germany, and Spain to get a footing there, which is now a continual cause of alarm—a perpetual source of disquiet. They looked upon Sir George Grey's plans as dreams—beautiful indeed, but fantastic, impracticable, and useless. It is of such dreams great histories are born; but to the Colonial Office such dreams as these were distasteful, and those who dreamed them were madmen.

The course of history has compelled England to carry out some of those plans, while the neglect to adopt them all has caused bitter regret. Napoleon, taking advantage of his position in regard to Russia, obtained possession of New Caledonia; and the Foreign Office and Colonial Office gave orders that he should not be interfered with.

Although the Imperial Government, with a blindness and want of foresight difficult to comprehend, had placed its veto upon the plans which Sir George Grey proposed, and which he had practically carried into effect, in relation to the annexation and government of the islands of the South Pacific, he never ceased to represent to the Colonial Office and to the Secretary for War the perils which must menace the British Empire in Australasia from the presence in those latitudes of settlements belonging to other European nations. He could not understand the denseness and stupidity which enabled Downing Street to treat such

vital questions with indifference and with contempt. His sense of duty compelled him again and again to direct the attention of Her Majesty's ministers to what he considered imminent dangers to the growing colonies of Australasia, and it was one of the charges against him in the official mind, reserved for the day of retribution, that, despite the ridicule of the Colonial Office and its positive opposition, Grey had continually directed attention to the necessity which existed for preserving the peace of the Southern seas and the security of the Southern colonies.

He fired his final shot in this warfare only a fortnight before leaving New Zealand. In a despatch to the Duke of Newcastle, dated from Auckland, December 15th, 1853, he stated that information had been received a few days previously from the Isle of Pines that some French men-of-war had taken possession of that island and also of New Caledonia, hoisting the French flag and establishing dépôts for war steamers. He then pointed out that owing to the excellence of the harbours in these islands, and from their commanding position in regard to the colonies—lying directly in the line of communication between Australia and America, commanding in great measure the routes from Australia to Great Britain, and from New Zealand to India—their occupation by the French would prove very harassing to British trade and to the colonies. He asserted that it would be impossible to find any other points in this part of the world which would enable France, in the event of war, so effectually to embarrass our commerce and distress our colonies; and that, as she had no colonial trade to protect, it was probable that the French were pursuing a line of policy founded upon the advantages mentioned above. Sir George communicated also with the senior naval officer on the Australian station,

acquainting him with these facts, and pointing out the claims of Britain to the possession of the islands.

All his efforts were in vain. The occupation by France and Germany of points of vantage in the Southern Archipelago has already caused disastrous consequences, and may yet provoke a European war or detach the Australasian colonies from the British Empire.

It so happened that Sir George Grey was in New Caledonia three days after the French had taken possession. He remonstrated with the French commander, who replied that his orders were specific, and he was acting in obedience thereto. Ultimately, in deference to Sir George Grey's position and strongly expressed wishes, the French officer consented to erect no buildings and to incur no large expenditure of money until a reference had been made to London and Paris, and a final decision arrived at between the two Governments. This was done, but, as Sir George Grey feared, without avail. Napoleon, confident in the hold which he had obtained upon English sympathy by his alliance with England against Russia, was pertinacious in the matter of New Caledonia, and that great island, with its smaller dependencies, finally passed under French rule.

CHAPTER XV.

NEW ZEALAND CONSTITUTION OF 1846.

“Laws grind the poor, and rich men rule the law.”
Goldsmith.

IN the midst of these great labours and incessant toils, Governor Grey received a despatch from Earl Grey, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, enclosing the Constitution for New Zealand, which had been passed by the Imperial Parliament in 1846. Lord Grey's despatch covered three documents:—1. The New Zealand Government Act, 1846. 2. Charter of 1846. 3. Royal Instructions of 1846.

Taken altogether, these provided as follows:—1. New Zealand was to be divided into two provinces—New Ulster and New Munster—having a Lieutenant-Governor and Provincial Assembly over each. 2. Each Provincial Assembly was to consist of two chambers—one composed of representatives, the other, the council, composed of persons directly nominated *by the Crown*. 3. The representatives were not to be immediately chosen by the people, but elected by the Mayors, aldermen, and common councils of the municipal bodies which were to be created throughout the country. 4. To elect the municipal bodies who were thus to elect the Houses of Representatives, those only were eligible who (i.) had been holders of any tenement in the municipalities for six

months prior to each 1st January; (ii.) subjects of the British Crown; (iii.) of good fame and character, and not paupers; (iv.) whose rates were paid or not more than six months in arrears; and (v.) *who could read and write English*. 5. For the whole colony a General Assembly was to be appointed, to consist of the Governor-in-Chief, Legislative Council (directly appointed by the Crown), and House of Representatives (to be appointed by Provincial Houses from among their own members). 6. In each of the two provinces, and in the whole colony, a civil list, controlled directly from Downing Street, was provided for, the salaries for which and the appointments to which were entirely independent of the Provincial or General Assemblies. 7. Native land registries were to be opened in the different districts, and all lands not registered as native lands by officers appointed, *not by the natives, but by the Government*, were to be deemed waste lands of the Crown, and this would include all lands claimed by natives save those actually used and occupied by them "by means of labour expended thereon." 8. The dissolution of the Assemblies included Councils, so that the Governor could get rid of obnoxious members even of the nominated bodies.

This so-called Representation Act was in reality a cast-iron frame of political bondage from which the people of New Zealand could not have escaped without the consent of the Company, which never would have been given.

The total number of persons who would have been qualified to vote for the mayors, aldermen, and councils of the different municipalities would have amounted to only a few hundreds, and the great majority of votes would have been cast in the interest of the Company. All natives were at once shut out from having any voice in the government of the

country, the disposal of their own lands and the revenues derived from their taxation. So were all foreigners, and the vast majority of those settlers who, like the pensioners, though of English, Irish, and Scotch birth, were uneducated, and therefore unable to read and write English, their mother tongue. No power of alteration existed save in the Imperial Parliament.

Under the Act, Charter, and Instructions, the inhabitants of New Zealand would have been utterly powerless to direct their own affairs or to control their own destiny. The Governor and Lieutenant-Governors were to be appointed directly by the Crown—that is, by the Secretary for the Colonies for the time being. The Council for the General Assembly and both Provincial Councils were also to be nominated from Downing Street; while the pretended representative institutions were a mockery and delusion. There was not, nor ever could there be, any direct representation of the people. The power to make laws, to levy taxes, to expend public moneys, to dispose of the public lands, and to bestow public patronage, would have remained for ever nominally with the English Government, in reality with the directors and agents of the New Zealand Company.

Not only were the Europeans disturbed by the proposals contained in the Imperial legislation; the friendly native chiefs were seriously alarmed. The Governor was continually receiving questions from them as to the meaning of the rumours which were freely circulated among them, and as to the real intentions of the English Government.

The native chiefs did not limit their anxiety to making inquiries of the Governor, but sent petitions also to the Queen, which ultimately, in May, 1848, produced an answer to Te Wherowhero and the other

chiefs solemnly disclaiming on the part of the Queen any intention or desire to violate the Treaty of Waitangi. The Wesleyan Missionary Society also, in a long and elaborate memorandum, prayed that all doubts regarding this question might be set at rest, as the honour of their missionaries, who had aided largely in obtaining the assent of many chiefs to the treaty, was at stake.*

Earl Grey's despatch itself closed somewhat ominously. A shadow of distrust passed over the heart of the Secretary for the Colonies. He saw that the granting of this Constitution would be attended with at least one serious danger:—"It is the danger that the powers conferred by this great franchise on the representatives of the people may be perverted into an instrument for the oppression of the less civilised and less powerful races of men inhabiting the same colony. . . . Such a society exists, and consequently such a temptation will arise in New Zealand."

The receipt of this despatch and of the Act of Parliament and Orders-in-Council accompanying it brought the difficulties under which Captain Grey laboured to a head. He had always previously informed the natives that the Treaty of Waitangi would be respected by the Crown and by the English people. He was now called upon to enforce an Act of the Imperial Parliament which destroyed the rights of the natives in their lands, and practically abrogated the Treaty itself. He was the representative of the English Government and of the English Parliament which had brought this law into existence and commanded him to see to its administration. He was bound to obey the lawful commands of the Queen. He now found himself for the first time placed in this most difficult of all positions: either he must obey

* New Zealand Papers, Imp. Par., August, 1847, page 144.

the mandate of the Parliament and Crown of Great Britain, and in so doing break the solemn treaty made with the natives, and destroy for ever the reasonable hopes which the Maoris had founded upon the good faith of England and of Englishmen; or he must refuse to carry out the commands of his Sovereign and the law pronounced by the Parliament of his country.

With great anxiety he weighed the matter in his own mind before arriving at any decision. On the one hand it might be urged that he was not responsible; that if the Crown and Parliament were pleased after due deliberation to legislate in a certain way, that he was but a servant, bound to administer the law as declared by his superiors. On the other hand, he remembered that he was the agent and representative of a great monarchy; that through him promises had been made by the Queen and Parliament of England to the natives of New Zealand, and that even before he had set foot within the colony solemn treaties and engagements had been entered into, in which the good faith of England was involved, and which he, as the representative of the Crown, was bound to acknowledge, and that his promise of obedience extended only to the carrying out of lawful commands. If he fulfilled the immediate and positive duty imposed upon him he might be blameless, but the fair fame of England would be tarnished. If, on the other hand, he refused to put in force the Royal and Parliamentary mandate he might ruin his own prospects, but he would give time for reconsideration of the subject and the rise of wiser counsels.

Very grave and momentous local considerations also weighed upon the mind of the Governor before arriving at a decision. He was called upon suddenly to consider the position and probable conduct of the

native race should the Act of Parliament be carried into execution. The newspapers under the influence of the Company, both in Great Britain and the colony, had published the Royal instructions and the partial disavowal on the part of Her Majesty's Government of the provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi. At that time we were engaged in a conflict with many great chiefs, and with large sections of the native tribes. Fighting under the standard of England were found many other great chiefs, and a large and powerful following of their people. With great loyalty and persistent honour, Tamati Waka Nene and his brothers had adhered to the Crown. The great reason which had animated Tamati Waka in his opposition to Hone Heke had been his disbelief in the statement made by Hone that the British Government was determined to take the land of the Maoris. "If I believed"—said Tamati Waka Nene—"if I believed with you that the Queen intended to take our lands, I should be found fighting at your side. Because I do not believe it, I will fight against you to preserve order and to keep good faith with the Queen."

They had acquiesced in the dictum of Captain Grey that they should not receive, as they had been promised, the lands of the rebel natives confiscated in war. They had voluntarily shared with Hone Heke for public purposes presents of money made to them by the Government, in order to convince the rebel natives that they were not actuated by the desire of gain. Captain Grey had stood side by side with these men upon the field of battle. At the final struggle of Ruapekapeka, where Hone Heke's *mana* and influence were destroyed, some of their chiefs had been killed and others wounded. Tamati Waka's brother William had been there shot through the

body. While lying wounded on the ground he asked the Governor whether his wound was fatal. Then, taking the Governor by the hand, he asked him whether in his opinion he (Wi Waka) had done his duty to the Queen. The Governor, in answer, said that he had proved himself to be a brave and gallant soldier and a true man. Then the Maori, addressing the chiefs who surrounded him, said that after the words of the Governor it mattered little to him whether he lived or died.

At the Council of Chiefs at Wanganui, nearly all the great leaders of the North had given their promise to support the Government, and named the number of men that they would bring into the field. When each chief had finished his statement he left the room, until at last Captain Grey was left alone with Te Wherewhero, many years afterwards Potatau, the first Maori king. When no ear was there to listen, Te Wherowhero said, "Oh, Governor, you have this day disgraced me before the chiefs of New Zealand. I am the greatest chief of the North Island. All these who have spoken to-day acknowledge my supremacy. You have received promises from them of great numbers of warriors. I have but one man whom you brought with me from my tribe. But though I am not able to lead a great *tauu* (war-party) to the field, yet to show my faith to you and loyalty to the Queen, I will serve as a private warrior under one of these other chiefs."

The Governor had received innumerable instances of self-denial, devotion, and confidence from both chiefs and people, and he was now asked or rather commanded to tell them that all the promises which had been made for years were to be broken, and they and their children were to be despoiled of the heritage which had been assured to them as the condition

of their allegiance by the Treaty of Waitangi. Not only was the Governor oppressed by this feeling of ingratitude and breach of faith, but he was bound to recognise the danger of such a proceeding to the European inhabitants of the colony. Twenty thousand Europeans, men, women, and children, were scattered far and wide in many settlements without means of communication or possibility of concerted measures of defence, everywhere surrounded by savage tribes, prompt in action, fearless in battle, unsparing in revenge. A few soldiers unused to Maori warfare, a few men capable of bearing arms but mostly untrained to military service, were all on which he could have depended against a combined onslaught by the Maoris. The probabilities were all in favour of a war of extermination arising should the provisions of the Act of Parliament and the Royal instructions be carried into effect. Within three months it was not only possible, but probable, that, save in one or two fortified places, no white people would have been left alive in these islands.

Still further and most important considerations weighed upon his mind and influenced him very greatly. Captain Grey had conceived the belief that the period in which he had been called to administer the affairs of South Australia and New Zealand was the turning point in the history of the colonial policy of Great Britain. Foreseeing the vast extent of populated territory which would hereafter be subject to the Crown of England, contemplating as though already in existence the "unborn millions" of God's creatures, and of his own race, who were destined, in the mighty colonial empire, to change or modify the history of the world, he was determined that in all constitutions or charters of government given to any one or more of these, so far as his ability allowed,

those constitutions should be as perfect and free as the mind of man could make them. He knew how difficult it would be, if a faulty constitution were once brought into existence, to amend or to alter it.

The charter which had been granted to New Zealand was not, in his opinion, a charter for the people, but a charter simply for speculators, for the hungerers after land, and the shipowners desiring freights and passengers, who helped so largely to form the New Zealand Company, and he believed it would perpetuate in this new land the worst abuses of the feudal system. He at once perceived that to bring this new Constitution with all its imperfections and proposed tyrannies into existence would in no sense give the power of self-government to the people of New Zealand, either of the few thousands already in the colony or of the millions who were destined to occupy it hereafter. During his ten years of official life he had become convinced that the Colonial Office was so little criticised or controlled by public opinion that every Minister of an hour was able to perform illegal acts without detection and without punishment. He did not know to what extent these personal illegalities might be carried. Holding extreme views upon the importance of the colonies to Britain and their probable influence upon the future welfare of the world, he had determined from the first to oppose every wrongful act where opposition was possible; for he saw that a day might come when, under some sudden pressure or political exigence, the integrity of the Empire might be impaired, and its existence threatened, without the consent of Parliament or people. He believed that the only hope for the Old World would be found in the New. And he dreaded the establishment in the colonies of those worn-out and effete institutions and class distinctions, and that

military rule, which threatened even yet the nations of Europe with universal destruction. To his mind the human regeneration of the world must come from the United States and the colonies of England. To him, therefore, the proposed Constitution was, in many respects, not only devoid of attraction, but absolutely repulsive.

Deeper than all, and more sacred and powerful in its force, was the sense of duty to himself and to his Maker. A sentiment of abhorrence to injustice, falsehood, and oppression made him shrink even at the command of Queen and Parliament (especially as he knew them to be misled), from the performance of an act which, while gratifying for the moment the clamour of powerful and unscrupulous opponents, would involve the disgrace of his country, the disappointment of the noblest hopes, and the suffering of many innocent and unoffending people.

There were at that time in New Zealand, besides Captain Grey, two men of more than ordinary greatness of character and capability of intellect, George Augustus Selwyn, the Bishop of New Zealand, and the Chief Justice, Sir William Martin. These gentlemen, equally with the Governor, felt outraged by the promulgation of the principles contained in Earl Grey's despatch, and were indignant at the attempted breach of faith contained in the Imperial Act and the Orders-in-Council. They made no secret of their opposition to the whole proceedings. The Chief Justice drew up a strong and indignant protest which was immediately forwarded to Her Majesty through the Colonial Office. The strongest of all grounds were taken in this remarkable letter of remonstrance. It consisted of three parts, which respectively urged—
I. That Earl Grey's instructions involve a breach of the national faith of Great Britain. II. That Earl

Grey's instructions involve a breach of established law. III. A protest against the general doctrine put forth by Earl Grey as the principle upon which colonization should be henceforth conducted by Great Britain.

Perhaps no more vigorous and outspoken denunciations of a proposed wrongful Act intended by a great Power were ever penned than those which were transmitted by Bishop Selwyn to the Governor in 1847 and 1848. In 1847, Selwyn had joined with the Chief Justice in protesting against the propositions contained in Earl Grey's first despatch, and united with the Chief Justice and many others in pointing out the great and imminent dangers which would surround the Europeans in New Zealand if the Act and instructions were enforced. In answer to that protest, Earl Grey had transmitted a vigorous animadversion both upon its manner and the matter contained in it. On August 1st, 1848, Selwyn, in a long letter to Governor Grey, enclosing a copy of the pamphlet written by the Chief Justice, deals in a most masterly manner with the statements made by Earl Grey and the position taken up by the Imperial Government. The Bishop's letter is unanswerable. With plain and forcible logic he exposes the weakness and inconsistency of the case made out by the Secretary for the Colonies, and disproves, by historic quotations and the expressed opinions of the greatest jurists, living and dead, the statement made by Earl Grey as to the rights of savage tribes to their lands. He cites the history of colonization in America. Quoting the writings of Sully, Blackstone, and Kent, he shatters the weak and illogical deductions of Earl Grey, and destroys without hope of rehabilitation the arguments which the Earl had used in defence of his remarkable despatch. Without hurry or impatience, but with due

regard to the gravity of the occasion and the importance of the issues involved, the Governor weighed the arguments upon both sides with impartiality. A great trust had been committed to his care, and Lord Stanley had already forewarned him as to the responsibilities which would attach to his governorship of New Zealand. Neither had anticipated the exact form in which this responsibility would come. The issue showed that Lord Stanley had not miscalculated the courage of the young officer so suddenly promoted, and that the character of Captain Grey was equal to the task imposed upon it.

His resolution was soon taken. He determined to suspend the operation of the Act, and decided also in his own mind that if the Imperial Government persisted finally in introducing it they must seek some other agent than himself for that purpose. His refusal to obey the orders of ministers in London was not based upon the same grounds as animated the angry correspondence between Bishop Selwyn and Earl Grey, or the impressive remonstrance made by the Chief Justice. Jealous of the honour and reputation of his superiors, Governor Grey determined to see nothing in his instructions but that which was consistent with law and with the good faith of the Empire. He therefore answered Earl Grey as if no infraction of the Treaty of Waitangi had been intended, and he assumed that whatever might be the abstract reasoning in the noble Earl's letter as regards the rights of savage nations to their lands, this was not intended to refer to those lands of the natives which, under the Treaty of Waitangi, had been assured to the Maori tribes.* The other reasons upon which he justified his action were set forth

* Governor Grey to Earl Grey—May 3rd, 1847, New Zealand Papers, Imperial Parliament, December, 1847, pp. 42 to 46.

clearly in his answer to Lord Grey's despatch. The principle which actuated him he declared in his memorandum in reply to a letter from Lord Lyttelton on his return to England in 1854. "When Parliament, from want of sufficient information, legislates wrongfully or unjustly for a distant nation subject to its laws, unless the high officers of the Empire will take the responsibility of delaying to act until they receive further instructions, the Empire cannot be held together. For the moment such an Act of Parliament arrived in the country, the people, hopeless of that redress which ought to be afforded to them, would break out into revolt: whilst, could they have hoped that their complaints would have been listened to before the law was enforced, they would have continued loyal and dutiful subjects. In declining, therefore, to break promises which I made as Her Majesty's representative, and in endeavouring to obtain a further consideration of the course which I felt certain Parliament had unadvisedly taken, . . . I feel that I did my duty as a faithful servant of my Queen and country, and will cheerfully undergo every risk and punishment which may follow from my having adopted that course." *

Happily as it ended, the danger to which Captain Grey exposed himself was of a nature to have overcome a mind of ordinary character and a courage of ordinary firmness. He was not only taking upon himself to bid defiance to the Queen and Parliament in a matter which had been solemnly discussed for weeks within the walls of St. Stephen's, but he was well aware that he was raising a host of enemies in all classes of the State who would pursue him with bitter and unrelenting hatred for the remainder of his life. He knew the characters, the power, and influence of

* Memo. by Sir George Grey, July 6th, 1854.

many of the persons whose path he thus crossed, and whose plans he deliberately frustrated.

As in the early days of his explorations, as amid the storms of disapprobation which he had been compelled to meet in South Australia, and as in after years, both in South Africa and in New Zealand, he steadfastly and silently faced insult, accusation, and injury, in what he believed to be the performance of his duty, so he now determined, at all cost and hazard, to pursue the straight path of righteousness and justice. He was confident that the truth was mighty and would prevail, and he was sustained not merely by his own conviction, but by the warm sympathy and vigorous aid of Bishop Selwyn and Sir William Martin.

So strong and convincing were the arguments and reasons adduced by the Governor, that the English Government immediately passed a Bill—not to impeach the Governor of New Zealand for contumacy, nor to dismiss him from the public employment because he had practically ignored the commands of the Parliament and the Crown, but to suspend its own Act for five years, during which period full power was given to the Governor to raise such a Constitution as he might deem proper in the interests of the mother country, and of both races in the colony of New Zealand.

This was the first, though not the last, time that Sir George Grey brought himself into direct collision with the Government of England and the Imperial Parliament. His disagreements with the Home Government had not always so complete a vindication, nor so happy a result; but it will be seen, as we proceed, that that opposition, whenever called into existence, sprang from the same lofty motives and the same intense determination to do right, whatever might be the consequences.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE DESPATCH OF JULY, 1849.

“Beneath the rule of men entirely great
The pen is mightier than the sword.”

Lytton.

IN July, 1849, Sir George sent a long and elaborate statement of the history and condition of the colony to the Secretary of State. His communications from all the colonies to the Government in England were singularly clear and well ordered. They form in themselves histories of the progress of the communities committed to his care.

It would be manifestly impossible to give at length the full text of documents which fill volumes of printed reports, Parliamentary papers, and official correspondence. Ministers of the Crown never complained either of want of information or of prolixity. All that was required to give full information was supplied: nothing superabundant or trivial was intruded.

This despatch of July 9th, 1849, was indited for the purpose of fully informing the Colonial Office of the difficulties and possibilities presented to the Government of New Zealand. In its opening paragraphs the numbers of the European and native population were contrasted. Twenty thousand European settlers unarmed and unused to military service were scattered in places far removed from each other over islands

stretching through eight hundred miles of latitude. No roads or methods of communication except by sea existed. Such places were, in truth, separate colonies. Between and around the European settlements dwelt a bold and turbulent race, passionately addicted to war, and well armed, numbering one hundred and twenty thousand, a large proportion of whom were fighting men.

Peculiar difficulties existed in carrying on warlike operations against these tribes, while for the purpose of offensive warfare against Europeans, they could unite with overwhelming numbers, and secretly, at any given point. But the native character was susceptible of great improvement. The Maoris were ambitious for advancement, and intensely desirous to acquire wealth. Successful in war, even against the English troops, and alarmed by the evident determination of the European settlers to acquire their tribal lands, great difficulties existed in producing amicable relations between the two peoples.

The revenue had almost ceased, while public debts had been incurred, and the nicest care became necessary to prevent a war of races, which must have ended in signal disaster. Such a war would have entailed great loss. The Governor had to consider the wisest course to be pursued.

“Mercy, justice, and prudence all appeared, therefore, to point to delay as the general rule on which the Government should act. This line of policy has, therefore, been in all instances unswervingly pursued, and the result has quite equalled the anticipation that might reasonably have been formed, for whilst the rebellion which existed and the disturbances which naturally sprang from that rebellion, have in all instances been crushed, the total loss of all ranks sustained on our side, through so long a period of

time, has amounted to only twenty-eight killed and fifty-three wounded, and in so far as human judgment can form an estimate of such matters, no probability exists of any extensive rebellion ever hereafter breaking out in the country; and even should such disturbance again unhappily break out, our knowledge of the country is now so much more accurate, our alliances with the natives have become so much more numerous, our military roads have already been so far completed, the number of persons acquainted with the native language and customs so increased, and the natives' supplies of arms and ammunition have been so diminished, that we should enter on such a contest with infinitely greater advantages than we formerly possessed."

Sir George then proceeded to describe the measures he had taken in regard to the revenue to make the Government of New Zealand self-supporting, and the remedial legislation adopted in regard to land claims and disputes.

Passing on, then, to the active measures, he proceeded—"But little would, however, have been accomplished if the Government had confined itself simply to an attempt to remove the various evils under which these islands were labouring. It was necessary that active measures should at the same time be taken, without delay, for the amalgamation of the two races, that the confidence of the natives should be won, that they should be inspired with a taste for the comforts and conveniences of civilised life, that they should be led to abandon their old habits, that the chiefs should be induced to renounce their rights of declaring peace and war, and that the whole of the native race should be led to abandon their barbarous modes of deciding disputes and administering justice, and should be induced for the

future to resort to our Courts for the adjustment of their differences and the punishment of their offenders.

“To attain these ends the Resident Magistrates’ Ordinance was passed, and mixed courts were constituted for the settlement of disputes betwixt natives. At the same time a considerable number of their young chiefs and most promising young men were enrolled in an armed police force, and thus habituated to act as actual administrators in the lowest offices of the law, and were made acquainted with the practical administration of the law in our inferior courts. This latter measure, at the time it was introduced, excited unbounded ridicule, yet probably no measure has been so totally successful in its results. The native armed police force has furnished gallant men who have led our skirmishing parties, and who have fallen like good soldiers in the discharge of their duty; and it has furnished intelligent, sober, and steady constables, whose services under various circumstances have been found of great utility.”

The Governor then went on to describe the plans which he had adopted for the civilization and education of the native race,—and here he gave credit in no stinted degree to the different missionaries labouring in the colony. “Fortunately, the task of the Government in this respect has been an easy one. There existed in this country three missions, established by different Christian denominations, amongst whom there is, perhaps, an emulation as to which should do the greatest amount of good; and it may reasonably be doubted whether at any period of the world there has existed in one country, amongst so large a number of men who had devoted themselves to the holy calling of a missionary, so many persons who were eminently qualified by piety, ability, and zeal to discharge the functions of the office upon which

they had entered. The result has been that these gentlemen, scattered throughout the country, have exercised an influence without which all the measures adopted by the Government would have produced but little effect. Won by their teaching the natives have almost as an entire race embraced Christianity, and have abandoned the most revolting of their heathen customs. Instructed by their missionaries probably a greater proportion of the population than in any European country are able to read and write; and encouraged by the precept and example of the same gentlemen they have in all parts of the islands made considerable progress in the rougher branches of civilized life."

Entering still more at length into the questions under consideration he showed how, in the face of opposition from many quarters, and of difficulties which at first seemed insurmountable, the measures which had been adopted had proved themselves successful beyond his hopes. He closed the retrospect of the past with a forecast of the future, and outlined those plans for the government and security of the colony which afterwards found expression in the Constitution Act of 1852.

CHAPTER XVII.

LAND REGULATIONS AND CONSTITUTION OF 1852.

“That this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.”—*Abraham Lincoln.*

THE despatch which accompanied the Act suspending the Constitution gave to Sir George Grey the fullest powers, and threw upon him the gravest responsibilities. His discretion was left unfettered. “I am fully aware,” writes Earl Grey, “and much regret that the course which I have taken, both in introducing this measure and in the instructions which I have given upon it, imposes upon you a great amount of responsibility. It may be necessary for you to refuse to exercise to such an extent as the settlers may desire the powers which you will be known to possess of extending to them the advantages of representative government.”

The land laws in New Zealand and the disposition of the waste lands of the Crown exercised the mind of the Governor greatly. The Australian law as to the purchase of waste lands had been continued in New Zealand when that colony severed its connection with New South Wales. The Otago and Canterbury settlements had charters regulating the disposal of large areas of Crown lands granted to them. All land held by the Crown beyond the limits of the Canterbury

and Otago grants was subject to the ordinary Australian law.

To promote small settlements, Sir George Grey caused the Hundreds Ordinance to be passed, under which Crown lands could be proclaimed, and, being laid off in small and moderate allotments, made available for persons of limited means. The inhabitants of the hundred formed a municipal body. Wardens were to be elected by them, whose duties and powers were sufficiently comprehensive to afford an efficient system of local self-government to the community.

The Hundreds Ordinance was only brought into force in localities and districts by proclamation, which proclamation also extended to certain lands surrounding the hundred to such an extent in area as the Land Department deemed advisable. All other waste lands of the Crown were subject to depasturing licenses, which gave their holders a right to depasture sheep and cattle upon the Crown lands, but afforded no fixed tenure. Such licenses could be recalled on notice.

No fixed regulations had been made for the general management and sale of the waste lands of the Crown. One pound per acre was the nominal price of the fee simple of all such lands.

The Canterbury Association and the Free Church Settlement in Otago were established with a view to the endowment of the Church of England and the Free Church of Scotland respectively within the colony. The Free Church of Scotland had the right to appropriate ten shillings per acre of the price of Crown lands sold within a certain district of Otago; while in Canterbury the English Church was endowed by Act of the Imperial Parliament with power to levy one pound per acre on 2,500,000 acres of land in that province.

The following is Sir George Grey's own statement on this subject :—

“Early in the year 1851, I became alarmed at reports which reached me that it was contemplated by the members of the Canterbury Association to inflict a serious wrong upon the inhabitants of New Zealand in reference to the public lands of this colony. I feared from what I heard that a state church with vast endowments was about to be established in this country without the local Government or the inhabitants of New Zealand having received any information upon the subject, and without their wishes having been in any way ascertained.

“If this was done, it might take a long period of time before the public could free itself from an incumbrance of this kind, and the system under which this wrong act was to be perpetrated was one which was designedly contrived to throw difficulties in the way of the poor in their efforts to secure lands for themselves and their families.

“This system, moreover, secured to an absentee body and their agents in this country the means of disposing of the funds, obtained from the sale of public lands, almost at their pleasure, by removing from the control of the local Government and the people of this country (New Zealand) all power of interference regarding the salaries of the officers of the Land Department or of the agents of the Company. Indeed it was difficult to see how any form of free government could be established or exist in New Zealand while such powers over the most prolific source of revenue in the country could be exercised by a distant body of absentees, who would have had this vast fund at their disposal, subject only to what, in fact, were worthless limitations.

“Whilst I was thus alarmed by rumours which

seemed to indicate that undoubtedly what has been above mentioned was likely to be accomplished, although no intimation on the subject had reached me from Great Britain, the Resident Agent of the Canterbury Association waited upon me and read to me the draft of letter which, in so far as he understood, contained a recommendation to the noblemen and gentlemen who formed the Canterbury Association that they should apply to the Home Government and to Parliament for an extension of the block of 2,500,000 acres of land which was already, by Act of Parliament, made subject to the Regulations of the Canterbury Association, one of which was that no rural land should be sold for less than three pounds per acre. One-third of this purchase-money was, by arrangement, to be expended for Church and school purposes.

“Thus the arrangements existing with the Association in 1851 provided that a sum of £2,500,000 should be expended upon religious and educational purposes.

“Being asked to give my assent to the recommendations as contained in the letter, I declined to do so, and stated that I would, by all means in my power, oppose the carrying of such recommendations into effect. Accordingly, upon the meeting of the Legislative Council of New Zealand, in June, 1851 (of which Council I was by law constituted the President), I made a speech upon the 18th of that month, the intention of which was to make manifest my objections to the designs of the Canterbury Association and of the New Zealand Company. I also hoped that so strong, and, as I believed, so just an exposition of my views on this subject, would have the effect of detaching from the Canterbury Association influential friends of my own who had joined it.

“My great difficulty was that I appeared to have no objection to what was being done, for I represented the British Government, and that Government was aiding the Canterbury Association, although I was left in ignorance of the steps that they were taking.

“It was fortunate I adopted the course I did. At the very time I made this speech an Act of Parliament was being passed with the full assent of the British Government, upon the provisions of which I had not been consulted. Indeed I was quite ignorant of them. This Act provided as follows:—

“‘Sect. II. And if at any time during the continuance of the powers of the said Association, Her Majesty, her heirs or successors, shall authorize the Governor, for the time being, of the Colony of New Zealand, to grant under the Public Seal of the said colony any other waste lands in the said colony, or shall otherwise declare such declaration to be signified by writing under the hand of one of Her Majesty’s principal Secretaries of State, that any other lands therein situate shall be added to the lands comprised in the said settlement, all such lands shall thereupon become part and parcel of the said settlement; and the said Association shall thenceforth have over all such lands the same disposing, and all other powers and authorities, as they shall have over the lands then comprised in the said settlement, and all such lands shall be thereupon dealt with and disposed of by the said Association in the same manner and under the same restrictions, and considered in all respects as if the same had originally formed part of the settlement, and had been included in the provisions of the said recited Act and of this Act.’

“My speech was received by my friends in England and by some of them at once acted upon.”

Towards the end of 1852 Sir George Grey received

the Constitution Act as it had passed the English Parliament. At this time the Canterbury Association was selling land at £3 per acre. The theory propounded by Mr. Wakefield of the "sufficient price" still prevailed. Land was made dear that labour might be made cheap. It became evident to Sir George Grey that an oppressive system of exclusion from the public lands was brought into operation in Canterbury, and might possibly be extended through the whole colony at the will of any Secretary of State in England who could be influenced by the selfish arguments of interested parties.

Accompanying the Constitution and Charter of 1852, Sir George Grey received a delegation of Her Majesty's powers to form regulations for the sale and disposal of the waste lands of the Crown in New Zealand. Instructions, imperative and distinct, were forwarded to him to frame such regulations without delay. The affairs of the New Zealand Company were finally wound up, and it became necessary that the Crown itself should take the management and disposal of its own lands.

And now the Governor found himself in possession of the power which he coveted to throw open the waste lands of the Crown to all the people, to destroy that monopoly which prevented men without capital from becoming freeholders, and to break down the oppressive system of Church establishments and Church endowments in New Zealand.

He did not fail to see that the effects of such blows would be felt far beyond the limits of these islands, but he rejoiced at the probability of a wide-spread reform, which might possibly reach to the most distant parts of the Empire.

With great care the Governor proceeded to frame the regulations. He reduced the price of public land

at one stroke from three pounds to ten shillings, and, in the case of inferior lands, five shillings per acre. All lands were divided into three classes—first, the hundreds; second, the rural proclaimed lands surrounding the hundreds; third, Crown lands unproclaimed. Rights of pasturage were conferred both within and without the hundreds on the inhabitants; and the rural lands surrounding the hundreds were to be divided into allotments of not less than eighty acres nor more than six hundred and forty acres in extent. These lands were to be sold by auction under fixed regulations. But where squatters who had held depasturing licenses were dispossessed, in order that their lands might be thrown open for settlement, such persons had the right to purchase an allotment at ten shillings or five shillings per acre according to value.

The unproclaimed Crown lands could be applied for under certain conditions, but when so applied for they were to come under the general provisions of the proclaimed rural lands. Wherever land was fit for agricultural settlement, the Hundreds Ordinance could be proclaimed, and such land be settled in accordance with its provisions.

These regulations were gazetted on the 14th of May, 1853. They raised a storm of disapprobation from that class which desired land speculation and not land settlement. During the eight months in which they were in force prior to Sir George Grey's departure from New Zealand, the small-farm settlements of Greytown, Masterton, and Cartertown, were successfully established; and in the province of Auckland lands were dealt with in the interests of the great body of the people.

Not only did the regulations themselves, properly interpreted, ensure the *bonâ-fidè* settlement of the

lands, but Sir George intended, as a part of his plan, to impose a land-tax, to prevent the acquisition of large areas of unoccupied land. But he had no power to frame such an Act, and could but leave it with his recommendation to public men in New Zealand.

As soon as Sir George Grey's back was turned his intentions were frustrated and his wishes neglected. The Hundreds Ordinance was never brought into existence by proclamation; the Regulations were altered; the General Assembly gave over the control of the waste lands to the provincial bodies; and the provincial bodies framed such ordinances and regulations as enabled those in power to possess themselves of large portions of the public estate in different places. Dr. Featherstone did indeed propose a land tax to the Wellington Provincial Council, but it was not pushed.

It has been said that Sir George Grey's Regulations are responsible for the acquisition of the large estates which now exist in New Zealand. Satan can quote Scripture to prove his own case to be correct. Only in this distorted and untruthful sense is it possible to charge Sir George Grey's Regulations with the giving of large estates to speculators and monopolists.

The following is the account given by Sir George Grey himself of the motives which actuated him:—

“Parliament, acting on reports of Committees got up by the New Zealand Company, had identified itself fully with the system of selling land at such a price as to place it beyond the reach of the poor—£3 per acre—and had established churches with enormous endowments, making the poor contribute as much as £1 per acre to the endowment of a Church which might be hateful to them. They then authorised the

Secretary of State to make a land law. He lawfully delegated his powers to me, and required me to issue a land law. I never sought these powers; but, being ordered to execute them, determined to do it in a way beneficial to my fellow-men. I, therefore, issued Regulations, and made a law, which gave to all a privilege from which they had been shut out, that is, of acquiring homes for themselves and their families such as had never been offered to them before.

“I raised a host of enemies who persecuted me through life; but I knew the true mind of the British Parliament. Both Houses of Parliament adopted my action, and tyrannical land laws were put an end to. It should be borne in mind that the New Zealand General Assembly which was to meet was not the Assembly I had intended. A nominated Upper House destroyed the glorious fabric which I had been privileged to frame.

“Having received my orders, and being endowed with powers which perhaps no single man had before exercised, I used them for the benefit of the poor of every European nation. And having thus done my duty, Australia was benefited as much as New Zealand.

“An opportunity had been given me of largely benefiting mankind. I accepted it. An end was put to closing the lands against the poor, and established churches, with numerous endowments, were got rid of. Because of the cruel system of land laws which prevailed being broken down in one part of the Empire, all other places would necessarily follow; and indeed they did.

“The British Parliament endorsed what I had done, thus showing that they did not wish to perpetuate injustice. My work being accomplished I

went forth to meet the enemies I knew I had to encounter."

During the five years for which period the English Government had suspended the operation of the Constitution Act, Sir George Grey proceeded to initiate reforms, all of which had for their object and their tendency the increase of the popular voice in the government of the country, and the steady extension of popular rule. During that period he was in constant though confidential communication with Earl Grey upon the terms of the new Constitution which he proposed to grant to this colony. Although desiring to give complete power into the hands of the people, Sir George Grey was at this time peculiarly fettered by the existence of contemporaneous facts.

In the early days of English colonization, when as yet there was no separate Secretary of State for the Colonies, various questions regarding colonial matters of importance both to Crown and people had from time to time arisen. To advise upon all such matters a body had been created within the Privy Council called "The Committee of Council for Trade and Foreign Plantations." To this Committee were relegated all important matters relating to the colonies. When, however, the colonial questions had become so grave as to necessitate the existence of a Minister responsible for their management, the functions of the Committee fell into disuse. The failure of the New Zealand Constitution in 1846, and the clamour arising in all the great dependencies of the Empire for constitutional and representative government, directed the attention of British statesmen to the existence and possible utility of the almost forgotten "Committee for Trade and Foreign Plantations." Canada, South Africa, Australia, and New

Zealand, but especially Australia, were upon the eve of great constitutional changes. While in the great North American Dominion confederation of separate colonies then in existence seemed imminent, in the vast territory of Australia the breaking up of the great colony of New South Wales was almost an accomplished fact.

The six years from 1846 to 1852 formed the period of transition in which the power of government was practically transferred from Downing Street to the capital cities of the great colonies.

In 1848 Earl Grey revived the "Committee for Trade and Foreign Plantations," and submitted to that Committee the consideration of the best mode of making constitutional changes in Australia. In reconstructing the Committee, to the members of the Board of Trade—who formed, in fact, the old Committee—were added Lord Campbell, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Sir James Stephen, formerly Permanent Under-Secretary for the Colonies, and Sir Edward Ryan. On the first of May, 1849, their report on the Australian Constitution was presented; they then proceeded further to consider the proposed Constitution for South Africa, and reported upon that on the 30th January, 1850. These reports form exhaustive and luminous dissertations upon the questions submitted, worthy of the great names appended to them, and sufficient to supply the historical foundations on which should be built up the political constitutions of free nations. It is worthy of remark that the New Zealand Constitution was not submitted to this Committee, nor was the question of Canada considered by it. The form of Government for New Zealand, as left perfect and complete by Earl Grey on his retirement from office in 1852, was the work of Sir George Grey, and to his correspondence and his

suggestions some of the best features of the Canadian Constitution owe their existence.

While, therefore, the Committee of the Privy Council was deliberating upon the form of representative constitutions to be granted to the Australian colonies, Sir George Grey felt himself bound by every sentiment of honour to Her Majesty's Government not to propose publicly any measure of government for New Zealand which might seem to extend the limit of popular power in these islands beyond that which the English Parliament was granting to the Australian colonies, lest dissatisfaction might there have been created at the superior advantages enjoyed by the colonists of New Zealand. In a despatch from the Governor to Earl Grey, dated August 30th, 1851, he clearly points out the position which he considered himself to hold, and the reasons which actuated him.*

"I judged, therefore, that it was my duty as an officer of a great empire, entrusted with high powers, not to attempt rashly to set up my judgment against the opinions of the majority of the great Council of that empire, and by legislating in a manner different from that which they thought proper to pursue in immediately neighbouring colonies, create perhaps great embarrassment and much discontent. But I thought it rather my duty in any ordinances which I might pass for the creation of local legislatures, to act, in as far as the circumstances of the country would permit, in perfect accord and harmony with the system which Parliament might pursue; and then, in reference to any other changes I might deem necessary, to make recommendations on the subject to your Lordship, in order that they

* Quotation from Constitution Act and Correspondence, pp. 34 and 35.

might be submitted for consideration of Parliament.

“In all proceedings, therefore, which I have taken in reference to the changes I have introduced into the Constitution of this country, I have held the two foregoing principles in view; although I have still so framed my measures as to make gradual advances towards what, in my own opinion, would be the most perfect form of Constitution which could be bestowed upon New Zealand.”*

Sir John Pakington, who succeeded Earl Grey, found the heads of the Bill already prepared. The new Secretary for the Colonies immediately invited Mr. (now Sir William) Fox, then in England, to wait upon him at the Colonial Office, and to confer and advise with him upon the proposed Constitution. Mr. Fox gladly consented. And it must be presumed that it was upon Mr. Fox's advice that the perfect character of the Bill as left by Lord Grey was destroyed and its whole nature altered for the worse.

In preparing his recommendations for the government of New Zealand, which should form, as he fondly hoped, a constitutional model for the government of a free country, Sir George Grey had studied, with deep and eager interest, all forms of government which the world had seen. The latest development of a popular system—that of the United States—naturally claimed his closest attention. The weakness of that great confederation he foresaw fifteen years before the links in the chain broke under the pressure of the question of slavery. Sir George Grey recognised in the Constitution of the United States of America the fact that each state was free, sovereign, and independent, and that the only powers

* Despatch from Sir George Grey to the Right Honourable Earl Grey, August 30, 1851.

properly claimed by the Union were such as were given to it by the legislatures and popular voice of the component States. He saw, therefore, that if ever the Union should claim jurisdiction in a question in which jurisdiction had not been given to it by the voice of its members, either that disruption must follow, or the rule of force prevail and the weaker party submit to the compulsion of an armed power. He aimed, therefore, at achieving a different result by assuming a different position. He desired to grant a Constitution the provinces and provincial governments of which should not give (as in the case of America) power and authority to the Central Government, but should receive from the Central Government that jurisdiction and that legislative authority over certain matters which the central power thought proper to bestow. But seeing that the central power might from various causes desire to usurp authority over the inferior legislatures, he provided a safeguard in the appointment of a second chamber, the electoral colleges for which should be the Provincial Councils themselves. By this method the provinces and Provincial Councils would have been safe from aggression by the federal Government, because they would have been directly represented in the second chamber, which would therefore have guarded their privileges with greater jealousy, and yet a minority of the province could not have prevented advisable reforms. He had advocated the existence of legislatures of a single chamber in the Provincial Councils, and the bi-cameral system he proposed for the federal Government, giving to the second chamber the distinct and direct representation of the provincial assemblies. For the loss of this the colony has to thank Sir John Pakington and his adviser Mr. Fox. Their action has entailed upon New Zealand innumerable troubles,

including the abolition of the provinces, the profligate borrowing and expenditure of nearly £35,000,000, and the growth of a huge central civil service, located in Wellington, which dominates the country; as well as the extreme difficulty in carrying any measure for the extension of public liberty, for the levying of just taxation, and for the settlement of the people upon the land.

New Zealand was saddled with a debt of £268,000, in favour of the New Zealand Company, a claim which the Crown Commissioner on the Company's Board, Mr. Cowell, states was, in the first place, established "by gross frauds, concealments, and misrepresentations, practised chiefly on Earl Grey and Sir Charles Wood, Chancellor of the Exchequer."*

It was only Sir George Grey's loyalty to the Imperial Government and Parliament that prevented him from bringing his Constitution into force earlier. As far as he thought he could properly go, he went. Then, making recommendations for still further steps to Her Majesty's Ministers, he desired them to gain the credit and renown which would have followed the adoption of his wise counsels and the results of his matured judgment. During the debates in Parliament which resulted in the passage of the Constitution Act, it was admitted on every hand that the Constitution as proposed by Sir George Grey was the most liberal system of government in the empire.

Other great advantages were proposed by Sir George Grey, such as the creation of hundreds and boroughs, which were, unfortunately, never properly adopted, by reason of the ignorance or misapprehension as to their advantages which existed in the minds both of English and colonial legislatures, and through

* Mr. Cowell's letter, June 8th, 1854.

the selfishness of those who desired to use political power for their own advantage.

Doubts having been on many occasions suggested as to the authorship of the New Zealand Constitution proposed by Earl Grey, it may be well to summarise the whole of the evidence upon the subject which is to be found in the despatches, blue books, and public speeches of the parties concerned. The only claimant to the responsibility of having framed that Act is Sir George Grey. Not one of the many antagonists who opposed him in New Zealand and in London, nor all combined, assert that they framed this measure, that they developed its principles, or that they submitted it for the consideration of the Imperial Government.

It is difficult to understand how any doubt can be entertained on this question after the perusal of Sir George Grey's despatch to Earl Grey of August 30th, 1851.* Sir George Grey has never ceased to claim the original Constitution as his own work, his expression of ideas and of hopes for the self-government of a free people.

Earl Grey, having finally determined upon the form which the Bill should take, wrote in answer to the despatch of Sir George Grey just quoted :

“Sir,—I have to acknowledge your despatch, No. 121, of August 30th last, transmitting the Provincial Council Ordinance in the form in which it passed the Legislative Council, and explaining with great clearness and in much detail your views with respect to the system of government best adapted to the existing conditions of New Zealand. I have to thank you for the valuable information contained in this despatch.

“It has been of great service in preparing the

* New Zealand Constitution Act, together with correspondence, Wellington, 1853.

enclosed heads of a Bill which it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to introduce into Parliament in the present session for the purpose of establishing the legislative institutions of New Zealand on a permanent footing."*

Before Earl Grey's Government could pass this Bill they were ousted from office. Sir John Pakington became Secretary for the Colonies in the new Ministry. As we have seen, the elective Council became a nominee body, and a debt of £268,000 in favour of the New Zealand Company was saddled upon the colony of New Zealand. How far Sir William Fox may be responsible for either or both of these it is impossible to say, but it is certain that the colonists of New Zealand had no opportunity of being heard on either of these points, and that great indignation was felt in the colony at the large debt with which it was burdened for the benefit of the New Zealand Company.

On the 1st of July, 1852, the Constitution Act as passed was transmitted by Sir John Pakington to Sir George Grey, with a despatch containing the following paragraph:—

“Her Majesty's Government have had abundant opportunities of recognising in the correspondence which has taken place on this subject between yourself and their predecessors your strong attachment to liberal institutions, and the able manner in which you and your Council have both prepared the way for their introduction, and urged upon the Imperial Government the necessity of speedily creating them as soon as the temporary difficulties which induced you at first to advise the suspension had passed away. They are, in fact, fully aware that the measure itself,

* Despatch from Earl Grey to Governor Sir George Grey, February, 1852.

now reduced into a law, owes its shape in a great degree to your valuable suggestions."*

Thus Sir John Pakington, Secretary for the Colonies, adds his testimony to that of Earl Grey, the late Secretary, as to the authorship of the Constitution Act.

In the debate upon the second reading of the Bill in the House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone spoke of the measure as having been recommended by the Governor, Sir George Grey, and proceeded to eulogise the wisdom which had appealed to the American Constitution for an example of a Federal Upper Chamber elected from provincial assemblies. Mr. Gladstone spoke of this Act also as "an Act which conceded a larger measure of freedom than had hitherto been granted to the colonies."

While Sir George Grey was in confidential correspondence with Earl Grey upon the proposed Constitution, his lordship, who was deeply interested, wrote to the Governor, asking whether he had considered the method in force in the United States as to the election of the Second Federal Chamber, and, if he thought that plan advisable, whether it would not be wise for him to propose it formally to Her Majesty's Government as a proper provision for New Zealand. So great was the encouragement given by Earl Grey to the Governor upon this subject, and so evident his desire to afford all assistance towards framing the most liberal form of government, that it is difficult to limit the extent of participation in the final result which can fairly be credited to his lordship.

Sir F. Peel, Under-Secretary of State, speaking in reply to Mr. Adderley, when that gentleman attacked Sir George Grey, said "he was astonished to hear Sir

* Despatch from Sir John Pakington to Governor Sir George Grey, July 16, 1852.

George Grey represented as having been accustomed to exercise undivided rule, and become wedded to autocratic power, and as having consequently endeavoured to prevent the colonists of New Zealand from getting the benefit of free institutions. Was the honourable gentleman not aware that the Bill which was passed through Parliament to give them free institutions was framed, except in one particular, by Governor Grey himself, and that it was to him that the colonists were indebted for the Constitution which Parliament had granted them?" *

On Sir George Grey's arrival in England he received letters from Sir John Pakington and Lord Lyttelton, warning him of intended attacks in Parliament, while notice was given in the House of Commons by Mr. Adderley that he should bring before the House several points of complaint against the Governor of New Zealand. A part of Lord Lyttelton's letter is as follows :—

"I also feel it my duty to inform you that I have felt bound to give notice of my intention to bring under the notice of the House of Lords, on the 13th inst., the same points (generally) which Mr. Adderley recently brought before the House of Commons." †

In his reply, dated July 6th, 1854, Sir George Grey fully stated and answered the various charges brought against him. So triumphant was his vindication of himself, and so complete the answer given by the papers and despatches as known to the Colonial Office and Parliament, that Sir John Pakington withdrew his attack; Mr. Adderley's motion in the House of Commons failed to find a seconder; and Lord Lyttelton's in the House of Peers only drew from the Duke of Newcastle, among other refutations of the

* English "Hansard," June—July, 1854, p. 710.

† Letter from Lord Lyttelton to Sir George Grey, June, 1854.

charges against Sir George, the following statement:—

“It is somewhat hard to charge Sir George Grey with culpability in leaving the colonies at the time he did. What were the circumstances under which he asked for leave of absence? Seventeen years of colonial service he could show, out of which he had been in England three months only—thirteen years and a-half of continual service, during which he had never re-visited this country. He had left a mother in England, and he was desirous of coming home to see her, and for that purpose, and that alone, he applied for leave of absence. Sir George Grey knew that she was in an infirm state of health, and that every month was precious. He, nevertheless, fulfilled the duties I had imposed upon him. He remained twelve months to carry out the Constitution, in a manner which I confidently anticipate will be most advantageous. He remained to his own bitter cost. If he had come away earlier he would have attained his object. Sir George Grey arrived in England to hear before he landed, that that mother, whom he had come sixteen thousand miles to see, lay on her death-bed, and before he reached her residence she had departed this life; and is it not cruel he should be accused of coming home at an inopportune moment, when he remained and fulfilled all the duties imposed upon him, knowing he was running the risk of the sad event which occurred?”*

The New Zealand Constitution, left perfect as it was by Earl Grey, forms an epoch in the history of colonial government. The old system could never be restored; the new principles of liberty and representative government became fixed and immovable in

* English “Hansard.” Speech of the Duke of Newcastle, June 14th, 1854.

the relations between Britain and her colonies. It is for future history to say whether the conduct of Sir George Grey in delaying the establishment of such institutions until the most perfect form could be obtained was the course of wisdom, or whether he would have been wise and patriotic in hurrying on an imperfect scheme which might have pacified the clamours of the moment, but have utterly failed to accomplish the great ends which he had in view. The verdict of posterity must be in favour of that procedure which waited for the corn to ripen before the sickle of the reaper was used. Sir George Grey never attempted to argue upon questions of his own conduct in this matter. He was content to allow time to give its verdict, and in relation to the New Zealand Constitution, affecting as it does so largely the destinies of many great nations of the future, as in other incidents which have happened in the course of his life, his actions will be admired, his arguments approved, and his name venerated when his antagonists of an hour and his contemporary assailants are forgotten.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CONSTITUTION FOR THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

“Order is Heaven’s first law.”

Essay on Man.

IN 1850, busied with the preparation of the Constitution and the harassing cares of government, Sir George Grey was confined to his bed by sickness at Taranaki. He seized upon this brief period of involuntary relaxation to place in tangible shape an idea which had for some time exercised his mind.

A member of the Church of England, though unobtrusive and retiring in his membership as in his ordinary Christian character, it had been forced upon him that the position of that Church within the colony needed an organisation and a framework fitted for the altered circumstances of a new country. As, years afterwards, when in enforced idleness in England, he framed a Constitution for the local self-government of Ireland, so now—when for the moment laid aside from the performance of his ordinary duties—he framed the Constitution for the Church of England in New Zealand under which that Church now lives and acts, and which seems destined to supply the necessary powers and functions for a long and successful existence.

When Bishop Selwyn was finally leaving the colony in 1867, he delivered a farewell address in the Bruns-

wick Hall, in Auckland. For a quarter of a century, Selwyn had been identified with everything that was good and noble in the Southern Hemisphere. His apostolic labours had extended over regions more remote, and to congregations more varied, than those of the Apostle Paul. He was now returning under the order of his Mother Church, to end his days in the diocese of Lichfield.

It had been said that in framing her Constitution the New Zealand Church had departed from her allegiance to the Church of England, and that Selwyn himself might have some apprehension that his conduct would be severely commented upon, if not condemned. Upon these points the Bishop thus spoke:—

“I certainly have no fear in going to England. I go there simply as an obedient son of the Church of England, and the more so, perhaps, because it has been said that I was an advocate for the severance of the Church of New Zealand from the Mother Church—to make her entirely independent of the Mother Church. I desire to show no such feeling at all. I desire to carry an expression of your opinion that we, as a body of English Churchmen, are as united in feeling to the Mother Church as we should have been if we had remained in our native country. That we have not separated from her in any respect; that we have done everything we could to carry out the liturgy of the Church; and that we have not deviated in any respect from the doctrines of the Church of England. I would now say a few words with regard to the Synod and the Constitution. The speakers who have referred to that subject have mentioned me as the originator of that Constitution. I have the pleasure of saying to you all that there was something more touching in the origin of that Constitution than

persons are generally aware of. The first draft of the present Constitution was drawn by Sir George Grey on a sick-bed at Taranaki, and it was the fruit of those feelings which come upon the mind in sickness, when a man sets aside thoughts of government and the care of this world, and knows, as a Christian man, that he has something better to think of than the perishable things of this life. His Excellency has produced what has been of great spiritual benefit to the Church in this country, by giving them at least the outward framework, which is as necessary to inward spiritual life as the body of a man is necessary to contain his soul. And so far are we against setting ourselves against the authority of the Queen, that it was the Queen's own representative who drew out the first draft of the Constitution; and I believe I have now in his handwriting that upon which the Constitution is framed."

Though not mentioned in the Bishop's speech the original draft of the Constitution, when forwarded to him by Sir George Grey from Taranaki, was, with the letter enclosing it, the subject of deep and prayerful consideration. In reply, Selwyn, as the Bishop of New Zealand, finally stated that he was prepared to adopt the proposed Church Constitution if it were deemed desirable by a large number of the members of the Church of England within the colony.

Upon receipt of this answer Sir George wrote the following letter :

"My Lord,—We the undersigned members of the branch of the Church of England existing in the New Zealand Islands, beg with great respect, to offer the following remarks for your Lordship's consideration.

"Upon reviewing our present position, we find that we form the most advanced and remote outpost of the Church of England. There have also devolved on us, in common with many of our countrymen, the important duties of aiding in the foundation of a

great nation, and in the moulding of its institutions. At the same time, there are in our immediate vicinity various heathen nations, and even in the midst of us are many native inhabitants of these islands who have not yet embraced the doctrines of Christianity. Moreover, we, the European members of the Church of England, have been collected from many countries, and are settled in widely detached localities; and thus although we are bound together by a common faith, and have common duties to perform, we are united by but few of the usual ties of long and familiar acquaintance, whilst there is no system of local organization which might tend to draw us together as members of the same Church.

“We, therefore, feel ourselves called, from circumstances and from our position, to vast responsibilities, and to the discharge of important duties, whilst we have many elements of weakness around and amongst us. From these causes it is our earnest conviction that a peculiar necessity exists for the speedy establishment of some system of Church government amongst us which, by assigning to each order in the Church its appropriate duties, might call forth the energies of all, and thus enable the whole body of the Church most efficiently to perform its functions. Even with such a system our efforts might at first be feeble, from want of numbers, and from our limited means, but yet we humbly trust that we should labour with such heart and earnestness as become those who desire in the planting here an efficient Church, which may, with God’s blessing, promote His service, spread wide a knowledge of the Gospel, and secure the welfare of those vast numbers of our brethren who must hereafter occupy these islands.

“Actuated by these views and wishes, we beg to submit for your Lordship’s consideration, and, we trust, for your approval, the outline of a plan of Church government, resembling in many points that which we are informed has proved so beneficial to our brethren in America, and which we should all be satisfied to see adopted here. By providing for the assembling of a general convention, the proposed plan affords also a security for the ultimate establishment of that system of Church government which may be found to be most in conformity with the wishes of the whole body of the branch of the Church of England existing in New Zealand.

“We have felt the less hesitation in submitting these our views to your Lordship, because we are aware that you have long been most anxious to see an efficient system of Church government established amongst us, and that this subject is one which has

not only always occupied your own earnest attention, but which you have on various occasions commended to the serious consideration of the members of our Church."

This letter was signed by many hundreds of the leading members of the Church of England in all parts of the colony, and was followed by the establishment of the Constitution of that Church as it now exists, the first general convention of which met shortly before the end of June, 1852.

This work did not end its course in New Zealand, nor were its good effects limited to that colony. The English Church in Canada and in Ireland has practically adopted its provisions. Thus the New World helps the Old.

Among Sir George Grey's visitors at this time when the Constitution of New Zealand and its Church were both being elaborated, and when the plans for the confederation of the islands of the Southern Ocean were yet existing, was Lord Robert Cecil, since then Marquis of Salisbury, the present Premier of England. Lord Robert was a schoolfellow at Eton with Lord Carnarvon, then finishing his University career, which Lord Robert Cecil had thrown up some time previously, having left Christ Church while Lord Carnarvon was still there.

An incisive writer and an earnest thinker, he and the Governor enjoyed many a walk by the seashore in Wellington while discussing the political and social phases of modern life, especially those which affected the future of the British Empire and the British people. When, seven years afterwards, Sir George Grey was recalled from South Africa, Lord Robert Cecil amply returned his hospitality and proved his friendship for his New Zealand host in many ways.

CHAPTER XIX.

KARAITIANA AND HAPUKU.

“Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail
Or knock the breast, no weakness or contempt,
Dispraise or blame, nothing but well and fair,
And what may quiet us in a death so noble.”

Samson Agonistes.

IN all Sir George Grey's Governments it sometimes happened that funds were necessary for the public service which were not available from the Public Treasury. At such times Sir George Grey never hesitated to advance from his own private fortune the sums so required. On no occasion when this happened did he receive security or did he ask it. It was sufficient for him that the public service needed, not only his time and effort, but money also, to cause him to take immediate action. The first occurrence of this nature took place about 1853.

Between the provinces of Auckland and Wellington lie the fertile plains of Hawke's Bay. The lands of the South Island had been purchased for a trifling amount from the native tribes to whom they belonged; but the Maori inhabitants of the South were few in number, and utterly unable to occupy any considerable portion of the territory which they nominally owned. In the North the situation was entirely different. Especially was this difference shown in the district of Hawke's Bay. On the wide and rich plains

which lie between the Seventy-mile Bush and Napier large numbers of natives made their homes. The cultivations were numerous, the eel fisheries abundant. Fierce wars had been waged between many tribes for the possession of that territory, and wild legends are yet told in the scattered kaingas of the Maoris of conquest and defeat, followed always by cannibal feasts.

Many Europeans had settled amongst the natives in this region, and it became advisable, if not absolutely necessary, that the Crown should acquire large portions of that territory in order to give good titles to European settlers. But the natives were difficult to deal with. The majority of the chiefs were willing to cede a portion of their tribal estates, while the remainder stubbornly refused. Some of them commenced to sell to the Government. On this becoming known to the remainder, a public runanga, or council, was held, at which, after a stormy discussion, the natives fell into two parties.

The war of words was, as is usual with the Maoris, quickly followed by actual conflict. After some desultory fighting, a pitched battle took place, in which many were killed and wounded upon both sides. Many noted warriors fell. The great chief Hapuku was driven from the lower plains to Te Aute. Karaitiana, Tareha, Moananui and Renata Kawepo remained masters of all that rich alluvial region which surrounds Heretaunga.

It needed the skill and address of the Governor himself to complete the purchase of the land required by the Government. He met the chiefs assembled with their people. The lands to be sold were marked out upon maps, and the price to be paid was fixed at £7,000, which money was to be paid in cash. Here a difficulty arose. In the Treasury there was but

about £5,000 available for the purchase of these lands. The Government had no power to borrow save with the sanction of the Imperial authorities.

But Governor Grey was not to be deterred by an obstacle of this nature. He advanced the necessary balance from his own private moneys, on the understanding that he should be repaid from the proceeds of the lands when sold. Thus the full sum was paid over to the Maoris.

Of the money so advanced by the Governor, the greater part (£2,000) was not repaid to him until after his return to England. By his influence with the natives, and by his assistance in thus advancing the necessary funds a magnificent estate was secured for the colony.

After their war Karaitiana and Hapuku were sworn foes. Karaitiana became a member of the Assembly, representing the Maoris of that district; while Hapuku, sullen and morose, dwelt apart in his pah on the shores of the Te Aute Lake. Sometimes the old warrior visited Napier, but until within a few hours of his death he and Karaitiana never met as friends.

Twenty-five years after the decisive struggle between them, Sir George Grey, then Premier of New Zealand, received intimation that Hapuku was dying. The ceremonies preceding death had been performed. His tribe was gathered for the *tangi* (weeping) which should lament the passage of his spirit to the unknown land. Sir George Grey visiting Napier, sent for Karaitiana, and said that together they would proceed to the death-bed of Hapuku, so that before he died the two great chiefs and warriors might be reconciled. At first his request was refused, but in the end his persuasion prevailed, and travelling forty miles they arrived at Te Aute.

When the former Governor and Hapuku's old enemy, Karaitiana, entered the pah, wonder and astonishment filled the place, and loud cries of welcome resounded on every hand. They walked to the side of the dying chief, and there sat down. Hapuku, with wondering eyes, exclaimed, "O friend, how did you come here?" "I came," was the reply, "upon the wings of love, and have brought with me Karaitiana so that you may be friends once more before you leave this world."

While Sir George Grey (still to the Maoris "the Governor") spoke these words of affection and of peace to Hapuku, the hands of the two enemies were clasped together, and their deep emotion testified by the tears shed by both witnessed a final reconciliation. Hapuku died within a few hours, and Karaitiana only survived him for about twelve months.

CHAPTER XX.

GREY'S DEPARTURE FROM NEW ZEALAND—FEELINGS OF BOTH RACES.

“Hail, mighty chief and brave! thy people stay!
While sadness veils our spirits; go thy way!
Go hence, lamented by each circled throng,
Who now rehearse thy deeds in plaintive song.
Lo! when the battle raged at Hope's dell
Thy foes gave way, and famed Panui fell.
Proud Ahurei has said that he will fire
The tribes with zeal: but he may not aspire
To thy acknowledged greatness. No, the grave
Ere long will claim the youthful and the brave!
And, weakened thus, Te Puhi, with his band,
Will smite the remnant, and pass through the land.”

(Translation of one of the farewell addresses to Sir George Grey from Maori chiefs.)

AT length the time arrived when Sir George Grey was to bid farewell to New Zealand. From all parts of the North Island rose the lamentations of the Maoris upon the departure of “their friend, the Governor.” Many deputations of native chiefs waited upon him. Of the first of these, Wi Maihi Rangikaheke was chosen to speak on behalf of the natives. The following account of the meeting is given by Mr. Davis:—“After sundry gesticulations and whispers among themselves as to how the performance was to be conducted, they broke out in full chorus, chanting the song with which the address opens. It was sung in a subdued tone, with great pathos, there being in

this mournful melody an absence of those wild shrieks so grating to the ears of Europeans. As the last words of the poetry died away, the Maori orator commenced the task allotted to him by reading the other portions of the address, which he executed in a masterly style. His movements were extremely graceful, and his emphasis good. While reading a certain clause in the address Rangikaheke broke off abruptly, took the mat that was thrown over his shoulder, and laid it at the Governor's feet; another was immediately placed with it by a native on the opposite side of the apartment, and while thus evincing their profound respect for the Governor, a deep silence pervaded the sorrowful throng, which was broken by the speaker resuming his oratory, and the whole was wound up by chanting the concluding song in the address.

“The exit of the deputation was as imposing as their entrance. They passed out of the room one by one, shaking hands with the Governor and bowing politely to him. Indeed, the whole affair is alike creditable to the intellect and affection of these inland chiefs.”

TRANSLATION OF ADDRESS.

Go, while the sun is shining,
Great shelter of our land;
Go, while the hearts are pining
Of this once savage band.

Go, while the winds are playing
In gusts above our head,
The while our hearts are saying,
“He's now to us as dead!”

Go, and before the morrow
Gaze on the deep, dark sea,
And then, these hearts in sorrow
Shall whisper, “Where is he?”

THIS is our farewell address to you, oh, friend Governor Grey :—

The chiefs and people of New Zealand, especially those of Rotorua,* let you go forth bearing their love. Suppose not, oh, Governor, that this affection for you is merely an outside thing. No, it comes from the inward recesses of the heart.

We hoped that your heart would rest here with us. Now, hearken. When the missionaries came first to this land there was little industry, and little good was visible, but there was much indolence and much wickedness, and all lived in ignorance. Then God kindled His light, and, lo ! it became as day.

After this came Governor Hobson, and then a little fear † came over us. After him came Governor Fitzroy, and things went on in a similar way. But when you came, oh, Governor Grey, it was like the shock of an earthquake ; your fame rose to the centre of the island, and extended to the waves on the ocean's shore. You came with two lights, and these are they : The lamp of God, and the lamp of the world. ‡

Your efforts on behalf of God's cause are the establishment of schools, the erection of houses of prayer—thus following in the footsteps of the Church. These are the things you did in regard to the body : Encouraged industry in the cultivation of the soil, pointed out the means of acquiring property, and raised this island to its present state of prosperity. You have done these things : You have taught us to shun evil, and pointed out the bad practices of this world so that we might cast them aside. You have been as one of the ministers of the churches, therefore we call you by these names :—The Peacemaker, the Honourable, the Friendly One, the Loving One, the Kind One, the Director, the Protector, the Far Famed One, the Lifter-up, and the Father.§

Although we heard of your projected departure, we thought, nevertheless, that you would stay. Both you and Bishop Selywn are going. New Zealand will thus be left without a parent.

* The inland tribes of Rotorua have become well known through the tourists to the famous Lake Rotorua.

† A slight yielding to the authority of Government.

‡ Two lights—the Holy Scriptures and the authority of the Queen of the British Empire.

§ The singular appellations used here are purely native ideas. Those who know this people will know also that they are in the habit of changing names owing to various circumstances which transpire in their history. Important events are thus recorded in a mere name.

Oh, cause the troubled wave to sleep,
 And silent keep the sea ;
 Nor let us hear its deafening roar
 Resound along the rocky shore,
 Till he * shall speak to me.

Till he shall speak in accents mild,
 And wave this tuft of green, †
 For Tangaroa ‡ will hear his words,
 And Oi§ in the train of birds,
 Shall smile upon the scene.

After various complimentary allusions to his career, and snatches of savage poetry, the Maori orator concluded thus—

Go, then, thou great one, the pride of the people. On the day that the great one shall depart let him be escorted (by the tribes), and let his attendants bear him along to the tides of Matirau, || and, Father, when they shall arrive at Waiariki, ¶ return, return to us.

I see him not.

I see the foggy cloud above the mountains' height,
 That harbinger of summer's balmy morn,
 But see him not.

Haste, Tiki, with your guns,**
 Throw open wide your magazines,
 And pay the homage due to such a chief.
 My son, evils in secret lurk,
 And friends are torn away by death or otherwise ;
 But the cause is neither seen nor known
 By those who weep their absence.

* The Governor is here represented as the Priest.

† The tuft of green is waved by the priest while he utters the prayer.

‡ Tangaroa—the God of the Sea.

§ Oi—sea-birds which congregate in vast numbers about the islets, and create quite a din with their croaking notes when the evening is calm.

|| The ocean is here meant.

¶ Waiariki here means Her Majesty the Queen of England.

** To fire a salute. This custom is not so common on the arrival of a distinguished visitor at a pah now as it used to be.

Come near, my son, till I salute thee ;
 For thou wilt take thy walks in other climes,
 And robe thyself in richer garments than the Maoris wear.

Bring forth the feathers of the Huia,
 That bird so prized that flits across the towering hills
 Of Tararu ; and bring the feathers of the Albatross,
 That bird that skims along the mountain wave ;
 Bring them to crown the brow of the loved one
 Going to the North to greet his fathers,
 And thus arrayed, sit at the entrance of thy dwelling,
 And look on scenes more dear perhaps to thee.

My son, we fondly hoped that thou
 Wouldst tarry with us long to bless the thousands
 That attend thy footsteps with peace and plenty.

The sympathy thus exemplified was general among the whole of the Maoris. Songs, waiatas, and laments were composed without number and chanted at all the Maori kaingas from the North Cape to Wellington.

The feelings of the Europeans were more mingled. To many of the leading colonists, identified as they were with the New Zealand Company,—to those missionaries who had taken a place among the purchasers of native lands, and to those who were interested in acquiring such lands,—as well as to those who were intimately connected with the foundation of the great Episcopal settlement of Canterbury, many of Sir George's actions had been extremely distasteful, and they judged his conduct to have been inimical to their prosperity. They had, as many of them boasted, "Given Sir George Grey a lively time of it"; nor had they as yet forgotten the resolute action of the Governor in suspending the Constitution Act of 1846.

Yet there were many who regretted the departure of a just and resolute Governor, and who were convinced that dangers might arise under a less strong and powerful control, especially from the warlike native race by which they were surrounded. At the

end of 1853, nominally upon leave of absence, but, as it turned out, upon the termination of his first government of New Zealand, Sir George Grey sailed from Auckland.

During his residence in New Zealand, full as his hands were of duties imposed upon him by his position, and occupied as he was in those labours which he had voluntarily undertaken, Sir George Grey in no way neglected those scientific researches and learned studies to which he was passionately devoted. His correspondence during this period reveals a continuous stream of assistance and contribution to many seats of art and learning in different parts of the world.

From London, from Berlin, from Melbourne and Vienna, from Glasgow and Paris, acknowledgments were received of generous gifts and of useful contributions to scientific knowledge. Plants, fossils, specimens of all descriptions, compilations of great philological value made at immense cost of trouble and of time, poetry, mythology, history, politics, colonisation, and philosophy, were all laid under contribution.

The perusal of his correspondence at this period arouses a sentiment of wonder as to how, in the ordinary working hours of daily life, one mind and the energies of one man could, in such a vast diversity of circumstances and affairs, have accomplished what it is absolutely certain Sir George Grey did accomplish. All was done without ostentation, and with no assertion of self. Ever ready to acknowledge the merit of others, he oftentimes allowed to those who occupied subordinate positions the full credit of plans and actions which owed their principal worth and success to the activity of his own mental powers or the strength of his own will.

Sir George Grey found New Zealand in a position

of imminent peril: he left it in perfect safety. He came to it at the crisis of a savage war: he left it in profound peace. On his arrival from South Australia, it was bankrupt in finance; on his departure for England, it was solvent and flourishing. The native tribes which in 1845 had been in a state of rebellion had not only been subdued by skill and arms, but had become willing and loyal servants of the Crown. They had learned the value of education, industry, and peace. A laudable spirit of emulation had been raised in their minds by the wise policy which he had pursued. His kindness and consideration had disarmed their hostility. The firmness of his rule had repressed their disorders. Had his policy been pursued, and the justice of his rule continued, in all human probability no native war would ever afterwards have been waged in New Zealand. Great numbers of natives had been trained to the skilful performance of public works. If continuous employment had been found for them, their minds would not have again turned to war.

The consequences of his government had been equally remarkable in regard to the Europeans. The scattered communities of intrepid and adventurous spirits had been reduced from a condition of lawless independence and antagonism into well-ordered portions of one state. Municipal organisations with extensive and beneficent powers had been established. A constitution, unsurpassed in freedom and elasticity, had been bestowed upon the people of New Zealand. The rude and turbulent bands, gathered from distant parts of the earth on the shores of these islands, had been formed into communal existence, and had become the first generation of a great nation. Out of incongruous materials, differing in race, in religion, and in colour—from war and poverty—the

skill, the courage, and the patience of Sir George Grey had constructed the framework of a mighty future. His hands had planted in the islands of the Britain of the South a seedling which may yet develop into one of the mightiest trees of the forest.

The one person whose judgment can be of value as to the influences which at this time determined the future history of New Zealand is without doubt Earl Grey. He alone of all the Colonial Secretaries, at the close of his connection with the Colonial Department, left upon record the history of what had been accomplished during his period of office, and the policy which had been pursued by him.

He thus writes : " It is to the Governor, Sir George Grey, that New Zealand is mainly indebted for the happy alteration in its condition and prospects. Nothing but the singular ability and judgment displayed by him during the whole of his administration, and especially in its commencement, could have averted a war between the European and native inhabitants of those islands. It would have been one of the same character with that which has been raging so long at the Cape of Good Hope, but still more arduous, since the New Zealanders would have been yet more formidable enemies than the Kafirs, and the scene of the contest so much more remote. The war, which had already begun when Sir George Grey reached New Zealand, and in which at that time all the advantage had been with our adversaries, would have been converted into a mortal struggle between the European and Maori races by the slightest error of judgment on his part, and by his failing to unite with the most cautious prudence equal firmness and decision. Such a struggle, once commenced, could hardly have been closed except by our abandonment of the islands in disgrace, or the extermination

of their aboriginal inhabitants. . . . Of the many remarkable proofs of the degree to which he has secured the affection and confidence of the natives, I will mention but two. When the Government House at Auckland had been destroyed by fire, a body of natives came forward with an entirely spontaneous offer of their unpaid labour to rebuild it; and, afterwards, when a report that he was to be recalled had been circulated by some of the white opponents of his Government, petitions to the Queen that he might be allowed to remain were signed by the natives, and it is a curious circumstance that the first signature to one of these petitions was that of the Chief Te Rauparaha, whom he had kept so long in confinement. Some of the letters written by chiefs to the Queen, expressing their earnest desire that he might not be removed, and the gratitude and affection they felt for him, are very interesting."

Indeed the only merit which Earl Grey claims for his Ministry in the wonderful manner in which New Zealand had been brought through the perilous crisis of 1845—52, was that they had supported Sir George Grey in the policy he had pursued, and co-operated with him to the utmost of their power.

"His previous administration of South Australia under difficulties of another kind, but hardly less formidable than those he had to encounter in New Zealand, and the justness of all his views with regard to the latter as explained in his despatches, entitled him to our unreserved confidence. This being the case I am persuaded that we adopted the only course likely to lead to a happy result in resolving to embarrass him by few positive and no minute instructions, but to leave it almost entirely to his own judgment to determine upon the measures to be taken by him, and to be guided mainly by his advice in what we were our-

selves called upon to do. This was the principle upon which we acted."

Earl Grey bore such high testimony to the great qualities of his namesake that he felt compelled to insert a paragraph disclaiming all personal or partial feeling.

"As I have expressed so strongly," says the noble Earl, "the admiration I feel for Sir George Grey, I ought, perhaps, to say that my opinion has not been influenced by any private feelings of partiality. Notwithstanding the name he bears, there is no relationship between Sir George Grey and myself, nor have I the advantage of any personal acquaintance with him. I never had the pleasure of seeing him, and know him only by his conduct and my correspondence with him in the public service."

During many years after this was written Sir George Grey has been pleased and honoured with the friendship of his distinguished namesake.

"In short," says Earl Grey, "the contrast between the state of things at the end of 1850 and that which the present Governor found existing on his arrival at the end of the year 1845, is so marked and so gratifying that it is difficult to believe that so great a change should have been accomplished in the short space of five years."

When the Constitution Act was suspended great powers were, as we have seen, given to Governor Grey.

"The authority thus entrusted to the Governor has been used with great discretion and advantage; he established subordinate provincial legislatures, and by passing various important and useful laws in furtherance of that general system of policy which I have described, he removed all obstacles to the establishment of representative Government in New

Zealand even before the five years for which it had been suspended had expired."

The feelings with which Sir George Grey undertook the task confided to him are best described in his own words, taken from his memorandum of July 6th, 1854 :—

"Not only did I not hesitate when thus appealed to, to do my utmost to assist Lord Derby in such difficult circumstances, but stimulated by his language and by that of Sir Robert Peel, I have spent more than eight of the best years of my life in New Zealand without once asking for promotion or reward ; and I would not leave the country (as I originally determined when I went there) until I had fulfilled, even to minute details, every duty Earl Derby had called upon me to perform, and until I could leave a country, which Her Majesty had by his advice placed in my hands in a state of rebellion and ruin, in a condition of profound peace, and of great prosperity, with representative institutions in full and successful operation, and followed by the prayers and blessings of the great mass of its inhabitants."

Another valuable testimony to the wisdom of Sir George Grey's policy is given by Earl Grey in the following paragraph :—

"By means of the large grants which were voted upon these grounds for the service of New Zealand, the Governor was enabled to prosecute with vigour the various measures of improvement he had described as necessary, and among these were none which, both on civil and military grounds, he considered so important as the construction of roads. With reference to these, it is a remarkable circumstance, which I hope there can be no objection to my mentioning, that at the very time when Sir George Grey was writing from New Zealand to represent the absolute

necessity of roads with a view to military security, the great man,* whose recent loss the nation has had to deplore, was in this country expressing precisely the same opinion.”†

It will be seen from the necessarily brief and imperfect history of Governor Grey's administration in New Zealand contained in the foregoing pages, that he relied less upon military force to subdue the Maoris than upon the civilising influences of wise and considerate legislation. When war was necessary, Sir George Grey did not shrink from the most severe and decisive action. This was clearly shown by his vigorous conduct of the struggle which was being waged when he arrived in the colony. But when recourse to arms could be avoided wisely and justly, nothing would induce the Governor to consent to bloodshed. His warm interest in the welfare of the Maoris, and his benevolent plans for their happiness had their due effect. Savage warriors, who had till then shown themselves rebellious and implacable, became as little children in their simple reverence and loving obedience to their “father,” “Kawana Kerei.”

Indisputable evidence of the peacefulness of Grey's method of dealing with the natives is afforded by the fact that there were one hundred and seventy-one of our soldiers and seamen killed and wounded in battle during the four months from March to July, 1845, before Sir George Grey arrived. After his arrival and until his departure in 1854, a period of more than eight years, the number was only eighty-one.

* The Duke of Wellington.

† Earl Grey, vol. 2, p. 150.

CHAPTER XXI.

SIR GEORGE GREY'S VINDICATION—HONOURS AT OXFORD.

“Censure is the tax a man pays to the public for being eminent.”
Swift.

“Truth crushed to earth shall rise again :
The eternal years of God are hers ;
But Error, wounded, writhes with pain,
And dies among his worshippers.”

Bryant.

“A jest's prosperity lies in the ear
Of him that hears it, never in the tongue
Of him that makes it.”

Love's Labour's Lost.

ON Sir George Grey's return to England, he found that the main object of that return was never to be accomplished. The mother whom he had fondly hoped to see once more was dead. Since the days of childhood he had seen but little of the one to whom he was so fondly attached. His regrets were vain. The delay in New Zealand which had prevented his presence at the death-bed of his mother had been caused only by the strong sense of duty which chained him to his post until his allotted task was finished.

He found himself regarded with extreme disfavour by the Colonial Office. He was, emphatically, in disgrace. The Duke of Newcastle, though a personal friend, would not see him, and it was some time before the permanent Under-Secretary, Herman Merivale,

approached the subject of his disobedience to the Act of Parliament. The charges against him were formally made in both Houses of Parliament by Mr. Adderley, Sir John Pakington, and Lord Lyttelton. These accusations were met in the memorandum of Sir George Grey dated the 6th of July, 1854. The principal head of his offence was that he had refused to pay to the New Zealand Company a sum of money lying in the Auckland treasury, although the Act of the Imperial Parliament, and the instructions of Her Majesty's Ministers had ordered him so to do.

The charge and his answer to it are stated thus by himself:—

(Charge *inter alia*.) “That I had refused to act according to the direction sent to me by the Superior Government at Home, by doing which I set an example which others might too readily form into a precedent in similar cases to act upon, and that therefore I am not a fit and proper person to retain in any office, or to receive any promotion in the public service.

“The facts of this case are as follow: Under instructions from Her Majesty, or from Her Majesty's Secretary of State, formal promises had been made by the Representatives of the Crown to the native population of New Zealand that the sum realised from the sale of the lands which they had been induced to part with to the Crown, should be expended for their benefit and for that of the settlements in the northern part of New Zealand; and when the chiefs have objected to part with their land for the inconsiderable sums offered to them by the Government, or have complained that they have been defrauded, I and others have repeatedly assured them, under the authority and with the approval of the Home Government, that the sums which they had received or which were to be given

to them were not the true payment for the land, but that the real payment would be the future expenditure of the fund realised from the sale of those lands upon certain objects specified to them, which would promote alike their own benefit and that of the European population.

“The European settlers in that district had also become purchasers of land there, and had invested large sums of money in the improvement of their lands on the faith of instructions of Her Majesty’s signet and Royal sign manual, pledging the land fund to certain specified objects.

“Parliament apparently overlooking these circumstances, enacted in the 74th clause of the Constitution Act that one-fourth part of the sum realised from the sale of all lands in New Zealand should be paid over to the New Zealand Company, in liquidation of the principal and interest of a debt of £268,370 15s. od. claimed by that body, this being in direct opposition to the frequent promises that had been made to the natives of the Northern Province, which is in no way whatever mixed up with the affairs of the New Zealand Company; and I was advised by the Lieutenant-Governor and Executive Council of the Northern Province that any attempt to bring this arrangement into practical operation would endanger the peace and prosperity of the colony.

“I therefore directed that one-fourth of the land fund be remitted Home from every other part of New Zealand except the Province of Auckland, advised Her Majesty’s Government of the amount due from Auckland under the arrangement made by Parliament (then about £9,000), directed that it should be retained in the chest to await their orders so that the Treasury in England could, if they thought proper, at once pay the amount in London and draw for it through the

military chest, at the same time earnestly entreating that the subject might be reconsidered, which could easily be done, for Parliament had by the 74th clause of the Constitution Act authorised the New Zealand Company to release all or any part of the lands in New Zealand from the payment charged upon them by the Act.

“I contend that in adopting this course I set a good example—not a bad one. As a high British officer I had induced a simple people to let us into quiet possession of tracts of land by frequently and formally making them promises of direct future advantages. If because Parliament, with insufficient information before it, legislated in a manner which required me to break those promises, I had deliberately broken them, and a new war and rebellion had followed, involving a large loss of life and property, and great expense to Great Britain, I should have been deservedly deemed not to be a fit and proper person to retain in my office.

“I contend that it was my duty, at the risk of every consequence to myself, to decline to break those public promises, which, in order to obtain valuable lands for the Crown, of which we still had possession, I had in my character of a British Governor made to the people I was sent to rule over. When Parliament, for want of sufficient information, legislates wrongfully or unjustly for a distant nation subject to its laws—unless the high officers of the empire will take the responsibility by delaying to act until they receive further instructions—the empire cannot be held together; for the moment such an Act of Parliament arrived in a country, the people, hopeless of that redress which ought to be afforded to them, would break out into revolt; whilst, could they have hoped that their complaints would have been listened to

before the law was enforced, they would have continued loyal and dutiful subjects.

“In declining, therefore, to break promises which I made as Her Majesty’s representative, and in endeavouring to obtain a further consideration of the course which I feel certain Parliament had unadvisedly taken, of subjecting the lands near Auckland to the payment of so large a portion of the New Zealand Company’s debt, I felt that I did my duty as a faithful servant of my Queen and country, and will cheerfully undergo every risk and punishment which may follow from my having adopted that course.”

The attacks thus made, though backed by much of the influence of the old New Zealand Company and the Canterbury Association, completely failed. Sir John Pakington, on being more fully informed, withdrew his motion from the Order Paper of the House of Commons. Mr. Adderley’s charge was only successful in eliciting from Sir Frederick Peel a spirited defence of the Governor of New Zealand, while in the House of Lords the accusation brought by Lord Lyttelton drew forth a long and complete vindication of Sir George Grey’s character and conduct from the Duke of Newcastle, the principal Secretary of State for the Colonies. Both in the Lords and Commons the motions, when made, failed to find a seconder.

The bold defiance Sir George had shown to the command of Ministers and Parliament was not in itself to be commended, but his defence was admitted almost universally to be complete. The public faith of England had been pledged; the honour of the Crown had to be maintained. The true spirit of the English Constitution had been appealed to by him in his dignified reply. All political parties concurred in the decision that in the government of a distant

colony, and under the peculiar circumstances in which that colony was placed, he had, by his bold and independent course, vindicated his claim to independent judgment and his assumption of authority, transcending even the power of Parliament itself.

His peace was soon made when full and personal explanation had been given. The public estimation of his conduct was shown typically by the University of Oxford. At all seasons of public excitement, especially when the conduct of individuals moving in the higher circles of political life is called in question, the great seats of learning show their appreciation of the merits of such personages irrespective of the success or failure which may attend their actions. So great was the sympathy aroused in favour of Sir George Grey, that Oxford tendered to him the highest honours which it is privileged to bestow, and which are reserved not to reward mere competition in learning, but the exemplification of those qualities which give lustre to private character or greatness to public life.

It was, therefore, with great pleasure, that Sir George Grey received the notification that the University of Oxford proposed to confer upon him its honorary degree.

He proceeded to Oxford for the purpose of accepting this gratifying mark of public approbation.

The only other recipient of the highest honours bestowed by Oxford on that day was Prince Napoleon. It was popularly supposed in England that Prince Napoleon had been instrumental in obtaining that alliance with France which launched us into the Crimean War. The fear and hatred of Russia had for years been growing. Russian atrocities in Poland and in Siberia, her designs in the far East, and evident desire to take Constantinople, and thus dominate the Black Sea, and perhaps the Mediterranean, raised in

the national mind a hatred at once deep and passionate.

The declaration of war against the great Northern Power was, therefore, almost universally hailed with rejoicing. John Bull was thoroughly roused, and he delighted to honour those who had helped to precipitate this gigantic strife.

Thus Sir George Grey found himself bracketed with the strangest possible companion in receiving honours at the oldest centre of learning in England or the world.

The French Prince was the first to be invested. During this process Sir George sat in a hall opposite the stage, listening to the alternate speeches and shoutings which made the theatre resound. The students were thoroughly in earnest. While the public orator dwelt upon the merits of the Great Nephew of the Conqueror of Europe, the whole assembly burst out into acclamation. Cheer followed cheer, as the undergraduates gave voice to the popular enthusiasm.

The mind of the solitary listener was perplexed. He remembered long years ago, when he was a child, how the very name of Buonaparte was hated. His memory recalled the pictures which represented "Boney" swallowing children, and which in a hundred ways held up the First Napoleon to the public hatred. Now, in less than fifty years, the *jeunesse dorée*—the golden youth of England—were mad with delight at honouring his nephew.

There was but little time left to him for moralising. The Prince having been duly invested, Sir George was pushed and dragged upon the platform in his turn. The crush was great—so heavy, in fact, that his gown, itself historical, for it had been worn by Blucher on a like occasion after Waterloo, was nearly

torn off his back before he was in that position necessary to enable the orator to address him, and at the same time to be visible and audible to the vast concourse in the body of the house.

At length the ceremony began. The public orator, in a learned Latin oration, enumerated the claims which Sir George Grey possessed to public honour. In flowing sentences he told how his subject had pierced the dim mysteries of unknown Australia, how he had pacified and blessed the first colony committed to his care, and how, in further performance of public duty, he had quelled the fierceness and civilised the spirit of the warlike and cannibal tribes of New Zealand. Young England, from the galleries of the Sheldonian Theatre, listened patiently till mention was made of the subduing of the "anthropophagi" of New Zealand.

Two thousand students, gathered within those walls which from time immemorial had echoed the free voices of English youth, heard that amid the sunny isles of the Pacific, and in New Zealand, Sir George Grey had made himself the ruler of savage, man-eating tribes. The hint afforded was amply sufficient. A stentorian voice in one of the galleries started that well-known song, "The King of the Cannibal Islands." Barely a line of this vulgar but popular melody had been sung, when with a roar of delight nearly the whole audience joined in. In vain the learned orator waved his arms and implored silence. The Napoleon episode had raised an extraordinary excitement in the undergraduate mind, and following that, the aptness of the circumstances surrounding Sir George Grey's history gave zest to the music-hall song.

The orator, alternately uttering his speech and endeavouring to still the tumult, continued to descant

upon the merits of the Governor of South Australia and New Zealand. His lips moved, and his hands kept time with what were no doubt rounded sentences and eloquent appeals, but Sir George could hear no sound which proceeded from his lips amid the tremendous chorus which surged and echoed round them.

Book the Fourth.

FIRST GOVERNORSHIP OF CAPE COLONY, 1854-1859.

CHAPTER XXII.

SKETCH OF PREVIOUS SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY.

“ The best-laid schemes o’ mice and men
Gang aft a-gley,
And leave us nought but grief and pain
For promised joy.”

Burns.

THE Duke of Newcastle was sincerely desirous for the welfare of the colonies. The condition of the Cape of Good Hope had been growing steadily more and more perplexing. Native wars involving military expenditure both in men and in money, seemed a part of the normal history of South Africa. The crisis, which culminated in the “boycotting” of the Government on account of the convict ships in 1849, was accompanied and followed by serious disturbances upon the frontier and a prolonged Kafir war. The numerous bodies of Dutch colonists who at various times, especially after 1833, when slavery was abolished, “trekked” to the northward caused great uneasiness, and led to the abandonment of the Orange River sovereignty and the treaty with the Boers of the Transvaal Republic.

The Cape had shared in the general advantages arising from the granting of local self-government to the colonies, and the first representative Parliament was to meet in 1854. The increased powers given to the colonists at the Cape did not seem likely to render any more easy the task of governing the heterogeneous mass of diverse races and interests existing under British rule in South Africa, and closely bordering upon British territory.

The presence of the Governor of New Zealand, fresh from his successful tasks in the far South, seemed to provide the man wanted by the Colonial Office in its extremity. The Duke, therefore, approached Sir George Grey and requested his assistance at the Cape. As, nine years before, Lord Stanley had placed before him the offer of New Zealand, and urged as strong inducements in themselves the peril, the toil, and the arduous nature of the duties thus proposed, so now the Duke of Newcastle pointed out the dangers which surrounded the Government of South Africa, and the difficulty of obtaining the necessary aid, as reasons why Sir George Grey should accede to the request of Her Majesty's ministers in this respect.

Deeply attached as he was to New Zealand and its people of both races, anxious almost beyond measure to witness and guide the working of those liberal institutions which he had done so much to frame, Sir George decided to act in the manner dictated by duty. Without hesitation he accepted the Governorship of the Cape.

When Bartholomew Diaz and Vasco di Gama doubled the Cape in 1486 and 1497, a marble cross was erected on the shore as a token of the annexation of that land to the Portuguese kingdom, as well as a monument of gratitude to God for His mercies. The country never was absolutely possessed by Portugal.

When they were supplanted by the Dutch, the latter also merely took nominal possession.

It was not until the middle of the seventeenth century that any act of colonisation was attempted. In 1652 Jan Anthony Van Riebeck, a surgeon in the employment of the Dutch East India Company, was duly commissioned to occupy the "Cabo de Bon Esperanza." Accompanied by about one hundred people, he arrived and encamped under Table Mountain on the 5th of April of the same year. He first formally purchased the territory in 1671. Under Simon Van der Stell, the ablest of Riebeck's successors, a number of French refugee Huguenots, of high rank and noble character, who with their wives and families were driven from France by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, joined the parties of Dutch emigrants, beginning in 1687. In 1688 and 1689 other shiploads followed.

After a century of rough history, in 1795, Admiral Elphinstone and General Craig, with a British fleet and forces, took possession. The Dutch resisted, although the English brought a letter from the Prince of Orange; but at length the place was given up to England on the 12th November, 1795.

The Cape was promised to Holland at the Peace of Amiens, 1802, and restored to her in 1803, when General Janssens took office. With the aid of the Commissary-General, De Mist, Janssens governed wisely for a little time, but war soon recommenced. General Baird was sent to the Cape, and, after a smart action, Janssens, who had done all that a brave man could, accepted the very honourable terms offered by Sir David Baird, and the Cape became finally a British colony on the 19th of January, 1806. A final convention was made in 1814, in which the Cape was ceded to the British Crown by the Netherlands.

The history of the Cape during the next forty years was a record of ever-increasing trouble and perplexity. Misunderstandings arose between the Dutch and English colonists, and the Dutch settlers and the English Governor, leading to defiance on the part of the Boers and savage punishment being inflicted on them by the Government of the time. Collisions occurred between the Imperial authorities and the colony, of so grave a nature as almost to threaten the continuance of the Cape as a British possession. Long-continued wars with the natives, always entailing heavy expense and loss; an expenditure of Imperial funds, irksome to the Home authorities and distasteful to Parliament—all contributed to make South Africa a source of annoyance and apprehension to the Ministers of the Crown. Governor after governor, general after general, retired from South Africa baffled and exasperated. As General Cathcart at length put it to the Ministry in London, it required a great statesman to deal with the complex questions raised in South Africa, and a great soldier to direct its military affairs.

The leading events of the five years which preceded the arrival of Sir George Grey were well calculated to perplex the mind of the Secretary of State, in whose department lay the care of this dependency. In 1849, the experiment tried by Earl Grey of sending cheap labour in the shape of convicts to the Cape of Good Hope, threw the whole colony into a state of frenzy. In the three years, 1850, 1851, and 1852, under Sir Harry Smith and General Cathcart, fierce wars were waged with the native tribes. So overweighted was the English Government by anxiety on account of the Transvaal Boers and the settlers in the Orange River Sovereignty that the Transvaal was declared an Independent Republic and the Orange River Sovereignty a Free State.

On the 18th of January, 1852, the Sand River Convention, for the settling and adjusting of the affairs of the eastern and north-eastern boundaries of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, was made between Major Hogge and C. M. Owen, Esq., Her Majesty's Assistant Commissioners, and a deputation of Boers, sixteen in number, headed by A. W. J. Pretorius, Commandant-General. Its principal clause runs thus :

“The Assistant Commissioners guarantee in the fullest manner on the part of the British Government to the emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal River the right to manage their own affairs, and to govern themselves according to their own laws without any interference on the part of the British Government, and that no encroachment shall be made by the said Government on the territory beyond the north of the Vaal River, with the further assurance that the warmest wish of the British Government is to promote peace, free trade, and friendly intercourse with the emigrant farmers now inhabiting or who may hereafter inhabit that country; it being understood that this system of non-interference is binding upon both parties.”*

On October 21st, 1851, Earl Grey had written to Sir Harry Smith that “The ultimate abandonment of the Orange River Sovereignty should be a settled point in the Imperial policy.” In December, 1852, General Cathcart had attacked the great Basuto chief Moshesh on the Berea, near to the isolated heights of Thaba Bosigo. Alarmed at the prospect of another great native war, the General had, after suffering considerable loss, accepted the formal submission of the cunning Basuto, proclaimed peace, and marched his troops back across the Orange River. He then re-

* Twenty-five years after, on the 22nd January, 1877, Theophilus Shepstone entered Pretoria with his commission to annex the Transvaal in his pocket. On the 18th, therefore, he was on his way.

presented to the English Government the necessity which existed for a final decision. Either they must support a force of two thousand men to uphold the authority of the Crown and resist at the same time Panda and his tribe, Moshesh and the Basutos, and the disaffected burghers and Transvaal emigrants, or they must abandon the sovereignty at once and for ever. Whichever course they adopted, the General requested that some able and experienced statesman might be sent from Great Britain, at any expense, to relieve him of political duties for which his military training did not fit him.

Two years afterwards the gallant soldier, having been recalled, met a warrior's death on the heights of Inkermann.

The despatches of General Cathcart precipitated a crisis in the colonial policy of the Empire. Already in the Sand River Convention the English Government had deliberately cast off large numbers of British subjects. Now a more decisive step was to be taken. Not only were subjects of the Crown to be told that they no longer owed allegiance to the Queen of England, but territories belonging to the Empire, over which its laws ran, and to the soil of which the title of the Crown had been given, were to be deliberately abandoned. After grave consideration, it was decided by Her Majesty's Ministers to relinquish the Orange River Sovereignty.

On the 6th of April, 1853, a commission was issued to Sir George Russell Clark, a distinguished Indian official, who had formerly been Governor of Bombay, appointing him Assistant Commissioner under the High Commissioner, and authorising him to carry the abandonment into effect. The announcement of this astounding decision was received in South Africa with dismay.

The severance was only to be completed if the people publicly desired it. A public meeting was called, at which it was made known that a sum of five thousand pounds would be given by the British Government, in case the abandonment were agreed to, for the purpose of placing the temporary Government in funds. The meeting was not truly representative. A majority, tempted more by the prospect of obtaining control of this sum of money than by any political feeling, carried a resolution agreeing to the terms offered and the severance of the territory from the Empire.

On the 11th March, 1854, the English flag was hoisted for the last time on the Queen's fort, and saluted. When it was lowered, the flag of the new Republic took its place. Delegates were sent to England to protest against this desertion of British territory and British subjects. On the 16th of March the delegates, Messrs. Fraser and Murray, having arrived in England, waited upon the Duke of Newcastle and laid their case before him. The Duke told them, in reply, that it was too late to discuss the question. The authority of the Queen had been already too far extended. England could not supply troops to maintain constantly-advancing outposts. So far as South Africa was concerned, continued the Duke, this reasoning was unanswerable, as Cape Town and the harbour of Table Bay were all that Great Britain really required there.

The delegates left the Colonial Office sad and dispirited. They opened communications with Mr. C. B. Adderley, afterwards Lord Norton, who had befriended the Cape in the dispute which had arisen five years before upon the question of the transportation of convicts, and whose name had been given to one of the principal streets in Cape Town. Mr.

Adderley agreed to bring the matter before the House of Commons. On the 9th of May he moved an address to Her Majesty, praying her to reconsider the order-in-council renouncing sovereignty over the Orange River Territory. His speech dealt mainly with the legal aspect of the question. He doubted the constitutional right of the Crown to alienate British territory and absolve British subjects from their allegiance without the consent of Parliament. The advantages offered by the country as a field for colonisation were but slightly touched upon.

The Attorney-General and a few other members spoke in support of the action of the Government. The belief was unanimously expressed that the step taken by the Ministers was in accordance with law, as well as expedient. Sir John Pakington, formerly Secretary for the Colonies, and Sir Frederick Thesiger concurred in the opinion that it would have been advisable to consult Parliament, but thought the abandonment a wise and judicious step. The debate was lifeless and one-sided. Mr. Adderley, finding that he had not a single supporter, withdrew his motion.

Messrs. Fraser and Murray left the House of Commons with heavy hearts, and sorrowfully returned to South Africa.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE GOVERNOR AND MR. SHEPSTONE'S PROPOSED KINGDOM.

“The commander over men: he to whose will our wills are to be subordinated and loyally surrender themselves, and find their welfare in doing so, may be reckoned the most important of great men.”—*Carlyle*.

THE delegates had just returned, when Sir George Grey arrived in England. Their mournful faces were no longer to be seen in the antechamber of the House of Commons. Representative institutions had been granted to the Cape Colony, but it was as yet quite uncertain whether they would work successfully or not in that part of the world.

So strong and bitter were the prejudices existing between the different races and the inhabitants of different localities in South Africa that it was beyond human foresight to predict with any certainty what the result would be. The first meeting of the Cape Parliament had been held some little time prior to the advent of Sir George Grey, but it had only sat for a few weeks, and no business of importance had been transacted. It was adjourned, in order that the new Governor might lay before it any proposals for the public welfare which he believed worthy of its consideration.

As he had done in South Australia and New Zealand, Sir George took immediate steps to become

acquainted with the real position of the colony committed to his care, and without loss of time mastered the intricacies of South African politics, even to minute details. He was soon in a position to meet the Parliament. When that body assembled, he submitted to its two houses a comprehensive plan for the pacification and development both of the British territory and of the States immediately contiguous. He united with his authority as Governor the almost absolute powers of High Commissioner.

Already, both in South Australia and in New Zealand, he had been called upon in exceptional circumstances to govern communities which were not under the control of ordinary law, nor amenable to the usual discipline of organised society. In both cases his power was almost unlimited, his discretion absolutely unfettered. In the closing words of his remarks upon New Zealand, Earl Grey had claimed as a merit the fact that Ministers had given the powers of a Dictator in that country to Sir George Grey. If it were possible that a colony could be found in a state of greater confusion than New Zealand when Sir George Grey assumed office there, that possibility occurred in South Africa.

Fully aware of the circumstances attendant upon Grey's governorship of New Zealand, and confident in his ability and courage, the Duke of Newcastle was keenly alive to the chaos which existed at the Cape. Sir George, therefore, was entrusted with ample jurisdiction. He was, as it were, constituted an autocrat.

When his proposals had been made to the Cape Parliament and accepted by them, and the first real session had ended, Sir George proceeded to enquire into those matters which fell more immediately within the powers of his commission, for the purpose of

rectifying abuses and redressing injuries which might exist.

After exhaustive enquiries he found that wherever certain Hottentot troops, who had been disbanded from Her Majesty's service, had found a home, that place became a little centre of discord and disaffection. Then he ascertained that these native troops had been cheated by the Imperial Government, or that department which ruled them, namely, the War Office; and were only receiving less than one quarter of the pension which they had been led to expect, a grant of land being taken into account, which the Government afterwards refused to give, and which the disbanded European troops were actually in possession of at that very time. Although representations had been made, these grievances were not redressed.

Sir George Grey thereupon issued a proclamation in the Queen's name, stating that out of the love borne by Her Most Gracious Majesty to her Hottentot subjects, she had determined that all their wounds should be healed and justice administered, and that thenceforward the disbanded Hottentot forces should receive exactly the same pension as they had been promised, and which their English comrades were receiving; and further, that all claims for arrears of pension sent in before a certain date should receive satisfaction in full. No further discontent or mutiny ever occurred from these people, or from this cause; and Sir George Grey obtained the consent of the Cape Parliament, which, indeed, voted and paid the money required.

But the great departments in London were dreadfully scandalised. They had set their feet upon the Hottentots, and now the "Great Pro-Consul," as Sir George Grey has been fitly called, rebuked them in the face of the whole colony, and indeed of the whole nation. They were furious, but their fury was un-

availing. The thing was done past recall; it was done in the Queen's name and by the Queen's High Commissioner. The mere healing of this one sore in the South African body was in itself of great importance, and it established a new precedent, the worth of which was incalculable. Both natives and Europeans became suddenly awake to the fact that the new Governor had at once the power and the will to do justice to all.

This was but one of many causes that kept South Africa in a ferment. The interminable wars waged with the Kafirs and Basutos had left the bulk of those tribes still dwelling upon portions of the northern and eastern frontiers; while to the east and northward of Natal the warlike Zulus, led by the great chief Panda, hovered like a thunder cloud, ever ready to burst in storm and ruin on the lands beneath. The tide of emigration from the Cape Colony proper had stretched in two directions. The emigrant farmers who had fled to escape the alleged severity of British rule, had gone northward across the River Vaal; while the main stream of those who had carried with them their allegiance to the British Crown, had flowed almost due east from the first settlements at the Cape. Some of the latter had deflected to the southward towards the sea coast, but the main body, opposed by fierce and untamable tribes, had gone on in an easterly course until they had swept down to the sea at Natal.

Natal at this time carried a population of somewhat under 10,000 Europeans. From the atrocious tyranny of the Zulu kings Chaaka, Dingaan, and Panda, scores of thousands of wretched outcasts had fled into British territory at Natal. The return of these to their own country had been demanded with threats by Panda, who could lead into the field a well-disciplined army of upwards of 30,000 fearless warriors. His demands

had been always refused. The presence, however, of such vast bodies of barbarians within the colony caused disquiet in the mind of the Government.

Sir Benjamin Pine was at that time Lieutenant-Governor of Natal. His principal adviser, especially in native matters, was the son of an African missionary named Shepstone. Theophilus Shepstone had been brought as the sons of missionaries are generally brought up in savage lands. They are surrounded by a servile population, and often nursed by them. These circumstances generally exercise some influence over the minds of the children. History is full of examples which illustrate this theory. No missionary church where the families of missionaries have accompanied their parents has altogether escaped. In New Zealand, in Tasmania, in India, and in Africa, this truth has in modern days been sometimes exemplified.

Theophilus Shepstone was named by the tribes among whom his youth and early manhood had been spent Somtseu, which name he always used in his correspondence and intercourse with the native people. No man has been more potent than he in wielding influences which have exposed the populations of South Africa to great disasters. History must declare that the astuteness displayed by him was singularly disastrous in its effects alike on friends and enemies. Mr. Shepstone had made proposals to the Lieutenant-Governor, and through him to the Imperial Government, in 1852, concerning the disposal and management of the fugitive crowds of Zulus who had sought refuge in British territory from their own ferocious king.

These overtures had been favourably considered by the governing powers, and correspondence had ensued, which was not completed when Sir George Grey entered upon his duties as Governor and High Com-

missioner. The proposals made by Mr. Shepstone were that he should personally obtain the cession of a large territory from the native tribes, and march 50,000 or 60,000 of these Zulus into and settle them upon this territory, himself assuming the position of an independent chief or king, being supported by British treasure and British arms. Fortunately, although the Lieutenant-Governor and his immediate superiors, as well as Downing Street, had expressed themselves as favourably inclined towards Mr. Shepstone's plans, Lord John Russell, who then held the seals of office, requested Sir George Grey to report at length upon the whole matter. The Governor, before reporting, inquired fully into all the circumstances connected with the subject.

Between Natal and British Kaffraria there lay a tract of country one hundred miles by sixty which was practically "No man's land." Bounded on the east by Natal, and on the west by British Kaffraria, it stretched from the mountains to the Atlantic. The traveller or sportsman traversing the lofty ridges of the Drakensberg towards Natal, beheld spreading to the south a fertile and beautiful land, fringed on the distant horizon by the blue waters of the great sea. Rivers like threads of silver wound their courses between the hills and through the woods and valleys beneath. Forests of primeval age flanked wide pasture-lands, green with natural herbage and dotted with graceful palms. Here and there sparsely scattered over this rich country were kraals, few in number and diminutive in extent. The great game, although diminishing, was still hunted there, and even yet the stately elephant tore his way through the dense undergrowth, and the roar of the lion woke warning echoes in the night. But the wildebeeste and the quagga, the leopard and the deer, roamed abundantly and

offered sport. The semi-tropical climate afforded every aid to the virgin soil necessary to produce in abundance the fruits of industry. In the gardens of the settlements cabbages and pineapples grew in alternate rows. Well watered, and possessing more natural advantages perhaps than any other part of South Africa, it tempted cupidity and inspired desire.

Upon this region Mr. Theophilus Shepstone had often cast a longing look. This was the territory which he proposed to Sir Benjamin Pine, and through him to the Governor and the Colonial Office, should be absolutely given and secured to him.

His propositions in reality amounted to the creation of a despotic kingdom, erected and sustained by Great Britain, in which he was to be the absolute ruler of a savage nation, with power to tax and to legislate uncontrolled. In it he was to be paid by annual grants of English money, and to be defended by English arms.

The matter had been almost concluded before Sir George Grey arrived at Cape Town. No sooner had he been made acquainted with the facts than he instructed Sir Benjamin Pine to do nothing further, and, in obedience to his instructions, he proceeded to explain to the Imperial Government the nature and consequences of the proposed arrangement.

On December 3rd, 1855, the Governor wrote from Cape Town a long and elaborate despatch. The subject was one of more than ordinary importance. It presented many and peculiar features. After sketching the rise and course of the various streams of colonisation, he dwelt upon the difficulties by which the emigrants had been met and the dangers which menaced them from the barbarous tribes, sullenly chafing against them on all points.

“ Thus,” he writes, “ the eastern districts have ever

been harassed by the turbulent Kafirs; the people of the Albert and Queen's Town districts by Kafirs, Tambookies, and Basutos; the Orange Free State by Basutos, Barolongs, and Koranas. On some points of this extensive line it is all that the European race can do to maintain its position; and it is yet doubtful, now the European population is broken up into separate States, if some one of these small communities may not hereafter find itself, at least for a time, overmatched by the turbulent barbarians who hang upon its eastern flank.

“The great chance of safety for all of them appears to be this, that the tract of country, bounded by British Kaffarari, the Queen's Town District, Albert, the Orange Free State, Natal, and the sea, is not thickly inhabited by the coloured race. The most densely inhabited portions of that territory are the hilly regions and difficult tracts of country which abut upon the European states, and lie on the western side of the mountain range; but there is a large tract of fertile country lying along the sea coast, and on the eastern side of the great mountain range, which is nearly uninhabited, into which Europeans are now filtering, which could carry a large and wealthy population, the presence of which would, by shutting in the native tribes between two faces, secure those European states which are now in constant jeopardy of hostile inroads from their barbarous neighbours.”

This was the district which Mr. Shepstone proposed to appropriate. It was the only available country, as the Governor showed, suitable for European colonisation at that time uninhabited.

Turning, then, to the position of Natal, Sir George Grey pointed out that the 100,000 Zulus settled within its borders were peaceable and well ordered, and that the very proximity of their former oppressor tended to

make them loyal to the English Government. They were also taxpayers, and although their location in large numbers upon great areas of land tended to discourage habits of industry, and promoted an idle pastoral life, yet they were, at any rate, under control, and civilising and Christianising influences were at work amongst them. Numbers of them, also, were employed by the European settlers, and some of the worst effects of the gathering together of large bodies of barbarians within, or immediately upon, the borders of a colony, had been in their case considerably mitigated.

The massing of large bodies of natives together had invariably produced disastrous results. Alluding to Mr. Shepstone himself, the Governor pointed out that that gentleman had for nearly ten years been in complete control of these Zulus in Natal. He had been aided by intelligent magistrates in their government, by missionary institutions for their civilisation, by a strong military force for the preservation of order; and yet, in the reports made by Mr. Owen, these natives were stated to be "as great savages as they possibly could have been a thousand years ago."

The despatch then proceeded to show that under the circumstances existing the shifting of fifty or sixty thousand of these turbulent people under the guidance of Mr. Shepstone (who had already failed to alter their condition), into a new and extensive country, where they would be free from those influences which had compelled submission, would inevitably lead to great disorder and endless trouble. The natives themselves would not be benefited, while the Europeans would have planted between the two colonies a nation of barbarians, likely to cause continual war.

To Natal also the step would be disadvantageous. Not only would the control of this vast multitude have

passed away from the government of that colony, but fresh hordes would swarm from Zululand across the border to fill up the places vacated by the army following Mr. Shepstone to the new location, thus creating additional perils for the Cape Colony.

Examining then the plan in detail Sir George Grey gave it his entire and utter condemnation. It was wrong in principle; it would be perilous in practice. He condemned also the guarantees which it was proposed to give to Mr. Shepstone.

The despatch concluded thus:—"The proposition, therefore, is nothing else than that Great Britain should establish a new kingdom in South Africa (it is so termed in letters I have seen); make Mr. Shepstone the king of that country; guarantee him the security and integrity of his dominions; give him a pension of £500 a year; and agree that he is to have despotic powers in governing the country, in raising its revenues, in expending them.

"No guarantees are exacted from him. It is not pretended that so princely a grant is to be bestowed on him in reward of past public services which entitle him to it. No condition is imposed on him precedent to his receiving this noble gift.

"The supremacy over the country and the people who may inhabit it is first to be assured to him. Then he is to induce as many of the natives of Natal as may be willing to follow him to join him. If not one thousand go, still he forfeits nothing. Yet, it need hardly be said, what will be the value of the gift of such a tract of country, not remote, but lying between already populous European countries, near to an European population, where a nation like Great Britain guarantees its inhabitants against foreign aggression and the acts of its own subjects. Why should Great Britain enter into such guarantees? It throws off

many thousands of its own European subjects in the Orange Free State simply because it will not protect them against foreign aggression. Why should it now with a single subject enter into such guarantees?

“I think, moreover, in a great Empire such as this, that it is wrong in principle to set a public officer over native races, and when he, from exercising for years over them powers delegated to him by the nation he represents, has necessarily from his public position acquired great influence over them, to permit him to use such influence to acquire the cession of a large tract of country to himself.

“If Great Britain thinks it necessary to set up in the territory now under consideration an independent kingdom under the sway of a prince established by herself, and guaranteed by her from all foreign aggression, which kingdom from its fertility and position must soon be occupied by a large European population, let her choose for the purpose someone whose great public services give him some claim to so noble a reward; whose talents and experience fit him to govern not only natives but Europeans; whose ability and knowledge would render this country a bulwark and source of strength to Great Britain, not of weakness; and if she enters into such important guarantees, let her exercise some control over the expenditure of its revenue, the judicious or injudicious application of which will determine what expense she will be required to bear in fulfilment of her part of the conditions.

“By the last despatch from your Lordship’s department in relation to this subject (No. 16, 20th March, 1855), it appears that Her Majesty’s Government has gone to the extent of stating that there can be no objection to the emigration of any of the Zulus from Natal into the country lying to the south-west of

that colony, provided that no obligation is incurred by the British or local governments for their maintenance or defence in these new habitations, and provided that the absence of all such obligation was distinctly notified to them.

“These instructions were, however, clearly issued because a full explanation had not been afforded of what had taken place.

“The plan was originally suggested by an officer of the British Government, who, still holding that office, was to negotiate for the surrender of the territory to himself, and who then was immediately to rule it as an independent prince. It was further then understood by all parties that Great Britain was to recognise this new chief, and to undertake to protect his state against aggression, either from other States or from British subjects.

“It therefore appears that if the Amapondo nation agreed to let a foreign people come in and occupy a part of their territories, on the understanding that these territories were given up to an agent of the British Government with the consent of that Government, and that the powerful British nation was going to guarantee the peace of that district and its inhabitants by promising protection from aggression or against all the world, then that justice to the Amapondos requires that the proposed emigration should not be allowed to go on under such altered circumstances, until they have been equally informed with the tribes who propose to emigrate of the changes in the plan which have taken place.

“Having taken these views upon this subject, which are embodied in the present despatch, I have, in pursuance of the powers vested in me, directed the Government of Natal neither directly or indirectly to encourage or sanction any measures for carrying it

out until Your Lordship's further instructions are received.

"It only remains for me to add that when I arrived at Natal I found that Lieutenant Governor Pine, notwithstanding the orders on the subject from Your Lordship's department, had, immediately before he embarked from Natal on leave of absence, written authorising Mr. Shepstone at once to take all necessary preliminary steps for carrying out his project when my approval to it was received, and that acting on this authority Mr. Shepstone had secured the cession of the territory to himself, subject to the approval of the British Government, and had by some of the natives in that territory been recognised as a chief; and it was therefore thought by some that to stop the plan would be a breach of faith with the natives. I, however, did not concur in this opinion, and have given the instructions I have above stated.—I have, etc.,

"G. GREY."

On the 15th February, 1856, Mr. Labouchere, afterwards Lord Taunton, wrote entirely agreeing with and endorsing Sir George Grey's views, and Mr. Shepstone's kingdom did not come into existence.

It is difficult to understand how such an outrageous proposal could ever have been entertained. As we shall hereafter see, Mr. Shepstone's subsequent actions helped to launch South Africa into the troubled waters of the Transvaal and Zulu wars. Had he succeeded in obtaining the kingdom which he desired, it is probable that still heavier disasters would have come upon that unhappy region.

CHAPTER XXIV.

SUBJUGATION OF KAFIR CHIEFS AND WITCH DOCTORS.

“ We live in deeds, not years ; in thoughts, not breaths,
In feelings, not in figures on a dial.
We should count time by heart-throbs. He most lives
Who thinks most, feels the noblest, acts the best.”

P. J. Bailey.

ALTHOUGH parliamentary government had been granted to South Africa, the rule of a responsible ministry had not yet obtained. The Governor was unfettered in his discretion as to the policy to be submitted by him to Parliament. He was indeed aided by a Council, composed of the great Executive officers, who, by virtue of their office, could attend in both Houses of Parliament and explain the scope and intention of all matters submitted. They, however, had no votes, nor were they dependent for office upon any will of the Legislature. They were Imperial officers, responsible only to the Governor and the Crown.

Seeking information from every source, and recognising the stupendous nature of the task imposed upon him in this new sphere of duty, the Governor fixed his mind upon the accomplishment of the same results by the same means which had already in the case of New Zealand worked so well. To him, in truth, there appeared but one road open which was likely to lead to success. Happily, as in his former

Governments, his hands were left untied. The country was given over to him. He was responsible for its good government, but he was free and unfettered for all practical purposes.

In Grey's estimation, power and authority were only means to an end. He coveted complete control, because with every widening of his influence he could accomplish more. The end he toiled for was the greatest good of all. That narrow maxim uttered by Jeremy Bentham, "The greatest good of the greatest number," found in him no ardent supporter. The greatest good for all was the constant aim of his life. To him power was to be desired because it enabled him to defend the weak, to succour the distressed, to teach the ignorant, to set free the slave, to raise the fallen, to humble the oppressor, and to establish liberty on a broad and substantial base. And he always pertinaciously strove for the highest good possible in the line of his various efforts. In education, in philanthropy, in public and social reforms, in politics, in science, and in religion, he always tried to scale the farthest heights. In all, his goal was the very last step that human reason and human fortitude might reach, the loftiest pinnacle that the sons of men might scale.

And so it sometimes happened that he, being far in advance of those by whom he was surrounded, alarmed many of his friends, and was jeered at by his enemies. To his mind possibilities presented themselves which others could not see. So long as he was the possessor of almost despotic authority, and was thereby enabled to carry his plans into execution, he did things which will make his name famous to all time. No Roman pro-consul wielded power over wider dominions or was brought into contact with wilder nations. No man ever subdued

with so little bloodshed such great numbers of barbarians. He set himself the task of utilising the great influence which he possessed in every direction for the permanent happiness and prosperity of the South African peoples. Many years afterwards, when the history of that time was written, the verdict passed upon Sir George Grey's plans, especially as regards the native tribes, was this :

"The aim of the policy of the Colonial Government since 1855 has been to establish and maintain peace, to diffuse civilization and Christianity, and to establish society on the basis of individual property and personal industry. The agencies employed are the magistrate, the missionary, the schoolmaster, and the trader. The educational efforts put forth are extensive, and pre-eminent among them is the industrial and training institution at Lovedale."*

Through this great school upwards of two thousand native youths have passed, receiving education and civilized culture. During the last seventeen years the natives have paid in fees to this school upwards of a thousand a year. "These efforts," observes Dr. Dale, the colonial Superintendent-General of Education, "must commend themselves to the statesman and the politician as providing the best guarantees for good order and commercial development. With school instruction came habits of enterprise and self-reliance. The wants of civilized life necessitate some degree of industry, and thus wealth accumulates in private hands. Every native who owns a plot of land or a plough or a wagon and oxen is a hostage for peace."

"Passing over the early days of colonisation and the series of miserable wars in later years, for which changes of Governors and changes of policy were in

* "History of South Africa," J. Noble, 1877, pp. 334, 335.

some degree responsible, we may limit our observations to the period embraced within the last quarter of a century, dating from the commencement of Sir George Grey's administration. During this time peace has been uninterruptedly enjoyed within British frontiers. The natives have been treated in all respects with justice and consideration. Large tracts of the richest land are expressly set apart for them under the name of 'reserves' and 'locations.' The greater part of them live in these locations, under the superintendence of European magistrates or missionaries. . . . As a whole they are now enjoying far greater comfort and prosperity than they ever did in their normal state of barbaric independence and perpetually-recurring tribal wars before coming into contact with Europeans.

"The advantages and value of British rule have of late years struck root in the native mind over an immense portion of South Africa. They realise that it is a protection from external encroachment, and that only under the '*ægis* of the Government' can they be secure and enjoy peace and prosperity. Influenced by this feeling, several tribes beyond the colonial boundaries are now eager to be brought within the pale of civilised authority, and ere long Her Majesty's sovereignty will be extended over fresh territories, with the full and free consent of the chiefs and tribes inhabiting them."*

The new Governor, besides establishing schools among the natives, saw that it was necessary to break down the power of the chiefs and the influence of the witch-doctors. In two ways the authority which the chiefs of the tribes possessed was used for the purpose of self-aggrandisement and of oppression. In the first place, they sat as magistrates, and as such

* "History of South Africa," J. Noble, pp. 334 and 335.

inflicted fines upon alleged wrong-doers, which fines they appropriated to themselves. This naturally led to every species of extortion and injustice, from which the only escape was by flight or assassination. A still more potent weapon was used by the chiefs, viz., the witch-doctors. If any individual became possessed of considerable property, so as to excite the cupidity of the chief, he incurred the risk of being accused of witchcraft. Some death or other misfortune happening to a member of the tribe was laid at his door. He was charged with having caused this misfortune by incantations or collusion with evil spirits.

To ascertain the machinery by which the crime had been committed, the aid of the witch-doctors was invoked. These pretended to be able to discover, by the sense of smell, the articles which had been used for the purpose of accomplishing the evil deed. They would declare the shape and substance of this instrument before entering on their final search. The fate of the victim was sealed. The witch-doctor having taken care to secrete the article searched for in some part of or near the dwelling of the accused person, would then publicly and infallibly find it in accordance with his prediction. Torture was resorted to to compel confession, oftentimes successfully. In some instances men really believed that they had caused the death of others by incantations. In others they willingly confessed crimes of which they were innocent, so that a swift and speedy death might terminate the horrible agonies of protracted torture.

The measures necessary to destroy these two evils were essentially different. As regards the power which the chiefs directly exercised, Sir George Grey made a commencement in British Kaffraria. This territory, then under the rule of the Imperial Government, was inhabited by the strong and the warlike

tribes of the Gaikas, the Slambies, and the Amagunukwebe, whose chiefs and sub-chiefs were powerful and independent. The system of subsidising these native rulers was introduced. Head men were appointed and European special magistrates, who were to hear and try all cases. The chiefs were to discontinue their duties as judges, except that they sat with the European magistrates, and in lieu of the revenue which they had formerly obtained through the fines imposed, they were to receive fixed salaries from the Governor.

The earliest experiment made was with the loyal chief Kama. Captain Reeve was appointed the first special magistrate in January, 1856, and Mr. Chalmers, who thirty years afterwards wrote an interesting account of this portion of South African history, was the first clerk and interpreter. This system was strenuously opposed. The chiefs saw that their influence was doomed were this new practice adopted. It succeeded, however, beyond anticipation. Kama was pleased, Captain Reeve gave great satisfaction, the natives were not only contented but delighted with the change. Sir George Grey determined that the system should be extended at all risks.

The Governor showed his wisdom in his selection and appointment of magistrates. In that lay to a great extent the secret of the subsequent success of his system. "The civil service of the country has never since held such a high tone and character in the eyes of the natives, or been held in such high esteem and respect as it did under the *régime* of Sir George Grey.

"Our main hope and power, however, in carrying out the policy of Sir George Grey lay in the councillors; and Sir George Grey wisely foresaw this, hence his instructions. Through the instrumentality

of the councillors, a great revolution was quietly, unostentatiously, but surely to be effected in the future management and government of the natives; and without their aid the wise and far-sighted policy of Sir George Grey would have been a complete failure.

“By kindness and firmness Sir George Grey disarmed the other chiefs and tribes of their opposition, and the diplomatic barque of a great and wise man was fairly launched in 1856.

“The instructions of Sir George Grey were that we were to treat the councillors or headmen in such a manner as to win them from their chiefs to the Government, and by their instrumentality win the people to us, and overthrow the chiefs who had always been such a source of anxiety, danger, and loss to the whole country and to the Imperial Government.

“Suffice it to say that the power of the chiefs has been completely and for ever broken.

“The people themselves are happy and contented under the altered state of affairs. Our government pleases them immensely, and they are very much pleased with the change, and at being relieved from the unjust tyranny of the chiefs. Many and warm are the thanks which are offered to Sir George Grey by the old people who know how this revolution was brought about.”*

Mr. Chalmers goes on to say that the Government had adopted this system and enforced it in the Transkei, Tembuland, and East Griqualand, where it was working well; “but would work better if Sir George Grey’s care was followed in the selection of officers, and if the officers were allowed the same freedom, and allowed to use their brains as was allowed to his officers by Sir George.”

Speaking with sorrow of the loss South Africa

* Letter, Nov. 3rd, 1886. W. B. Chalmers to Dr. Fitzgerald.

sustained when Sir George Grey left, Mr. Chalmers writes that the constant idea in the native mind, is, "If he had remained with us how many more advantages and good results would we not be enjoying now under his wise rule? He understood us, and understood what sort of government was necessary for us."

Sir George Grey selected Colonel Gawler and Pomeroy Colley, believing them to be capable men, and to their assistance he owes much. Colonel Maclean, Chief Commissioner in British Kaffraria, also helped the Governor thoroughly, although differing in opinion from him as to the wisdom of many of his steps.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE GREY HOSPITAL.

“Heaven doth with us as we with torches do ;
Not light them for themselves ; for if our virtues
Did not go forth of us, 'twere all alike
As if we had them not.”

Measure for Measure.

“It would take a volume to describe all the ramifications of witchcraft among the native tribes, and the evil it works both socially and politically. It was Sir George Grey's policy to have hospitals for the natives all over the country, and thus win the people from their witch-doctors and overthrow witchcraft. But unfortunately Sir George Grey did not remain long enough in the country to carry out this part of his policy. A beginning was made with the Grey Hospital, and there you have been, single-handed, doing battle with a great enemy ; the forces which were to be at your disposal in the shape of smaller hospitals all over the country have never been forthcoming. But you have held your ground. Witchcraft is now never practised publicly. The Grey Hospital is always crowded with natives from all parts of the country ; these take back to their friends the news of the cures which are effected. The eyes of the natives are becoming opened. They see the reality and the honesty and success of our way of treating diseases, and their faith in witchcraft is being terribly shaken.

“ If the Grey Hospital single-handed, has done so much good, and has brought about such a revolution in the minds of the natives regarding witchcraft, we can imagine what a good and glorious thing it would have been had good Sir George Grey been permitted to dot similar institutions all over the country. My old chief, good, dear Colonel Maclean, had every reason to shout out in his enthusiastic and cheery manner, ‘ Grey is great, and Fitzgerald is his witch-doctor.’ ”*

The troops hitherto so actively engaged were idle. There remained no enemies against whom to employ them. It was advisable to find some task upon which they might enter. The Governor now recognised an opportunity for breaking the power of the Kafir witch doctors. To extirpate this class by force was impossible, because fresh pretenders rose to fill the places of those who died or were driven away. Sir George Grey saw that the only cure for the superstitions of the native races was knowledge. He believed that if he could train the young Kafir chiefs to an acquaintance with medical science, and give them some general education, the power of the Fetish would be destroyed.

He seized the opportunity which now presented itself. The army should conquer the witch doctors.

In years long past, when a student at Sandhurst, Grey had delighted in roaming over the country between the college and Windsor. In that district there is perhaps the most perfect Roman camp in England. Cæsar had, possibly, in person watched over its construction, and his legions had found a temporary home within its walls. The massive earthworks and regular lines which have survived in almost perfect form

* W. B. Chalmers to Dr. Fitzgerald. Nov. 3rd, 1886.

through nineteen centuries, testify at once to the skill and strength of its builders. Many a time, when standing in this still nearly perfect camp, the young soldier had gone back in fancy to the olden times and seen the place instinct with military life. He could hear the clang of the trumpet, and see the stately warriors of old Rome marshalled in their cohorts and legions. The ground trembled beneath the tread of the great host as it marched past him and went forth to do battle with the native tribes. More than once on such occasions, when these visions faded, and he stood—an English lad, alone in the solitude once so full of life—he grieved that the only memorials left behind that army were the crumbling ramparts of their strongholds, the ashes of their dead, and a memory of strife and conquest. He dreamed that at some future day, in the course of the life upon which he was entering, it might be possible that he would aid an English army in leaving behind it in some new land a nobler token of its presence.

Now in this distant wilderness the recollection of Cæsar's camp came back to him. The English legions had visited this part of the earth. Were they to leave nothing behind them but a fort or two and their dead? Ever on the watch for useful projects, he determined that at least one memorial worthy of the fame of an English army should be bequeathed to the land and its people.

Causing the plans of a great hospital to be prepared, he employed the military forces in its construction. The Kafirs quarried stones. The military waggons carted them to the site prepared. The sappers dug the trenches for foundations. The soldiers laid the stones in solid tiers.

No stranger sight was ever seen—no more beautiful thought ever conceived. Hands accustomed to the

rifle and the sabre plied the chisel and the trowel. Organisation and discipline attained for service in war now became suddenly enlisted in a work of mercy. Many hands made light work. Encouraged by extra pay, amused and interested by such an uncommon application of military organisation, permeated with the kindling of a strange sympathy in the noble idea of the Governor, the whole army, officers and men, horse, foot and artillery, worked with a will. Not in silence, as the temple of Jerusalem reared itself, did the hospital rise up; but with laughter, with merry songs, with rough jokes, and with zealous toil the work progressed. It is strange that no artist has ever yet pourtrayed that marvellous scene. The military camp, the rising walls of the mighty building, the long trains of waggons carrying stones from the distant quarry and timber from the forest, the engineer officers studying the plans, the host of workers scattered in their various places of toil, each and all aiding in the common task, would make a picture of renown.

Difficulties were met and overcome. Step by step the building progressed. At length the last stone was laid, the last nail driven, and complete and beautiful, the hospital opened its doors to receive patients and to impart instruction. The venture was successful beyond hope. Thousands upon thousands of sufferers have been there received and healed. Numbers of native youths have been taught there the simple rules of medical skill, and the falsehood of the pretenders to witchcraft.

It has ever been a powerful lever to civilise the barbarians. It is now surrounded by a magnificent park and pleasure grounds. Prompted by gratitude and affection, a grateful government has within the last ten years, enacted that the building shall be

known as the "Grey Hospital," while to the spacious park in which it stands, Her Majesty has been pleased to give her own loved name.

While in New Zealand Sir George had made the acquaintance of Dr. Fitzgerald. The Governor had been struck by the completeness of organising power developed by this gentleman. To him he determined to commit the care of this first institution, and the commencement of this great experiment. His intention was to erect hospitals in different parts of South Africa.

To Dr. Fitzgerald, then, Sir George Grey wrote, inviting him to South Africa to undertake the charge of the hospital at King Williamstown. The Doctor readily assented, and to this day, for upwards of thirty years, his presence and his singular adaptability for the position thus offered and accepted, have been an unmitigated blessing to the whole land.

Some natives, who were kindly shown over the Grey Hospital by Dr. Fitzgerald, were very much struck with the fact that natives were treated there exactly the same as Europeans, had the same wards, the same clothes, beds, food, etc. When these natives, who came from a distant territory, were told that it was all the doing of a good Governor, Sir George Grey, who had intended to build similar institutions throughout the land, their chief, Makaula, was very much impressed, and returned again to his informant to ask whether it would not be possible to induce Sir George to return to carry on the work in which he was most anxious to join, adding that he should like to lift the Grey Hospital bodily and plant it in his own country.

Mr. Chalmers concludes a very interesting letter (to Dr. Fitzgerald) by saying that when future historians trace out and record how the great power of the chiefs

was overthrown, and how the people came to be entirely under British control and management, and how also it came about that the witch-doctors, who used to possess such tremendous and dreadful powers, became harmless amongst their own people, and how witchcraft was abolished, they will have to record that all this was brought about by the wise and far-sighted policy of Sir George Grey, and his name will be handed down to posterity as the best Governor the Colony and country has ever had.

Dr. Fitzgerald having received many flattering notices of a pamphlet he published on hospital management, and being much complimented on his management of the institution, wrote to Sir George Grey that he felt all the praise was really given to him (Sir George Grey), the originator of the work. "We together have witnessed wonderful times during the cattle killing. How wonderfully our good God humbled this proud nation at your feet. To Him be the first honour, and glory to you, dear Sir George, next. I am your child and faithful servant, nothing more." General Gordon used often to go and chat with him, and thought very highly of the hospital.

Dr. Fitzgerald continues: "You know it was my strong affection for you which made me throw up my position in Wellington to follow you here, and when you left I would have gone back to New Zealand if I could. The Irish heart does not forget kindness, and such kindness and honour as you showed me." In 1886 he writes that by the end of the year, "about one hundred and eleven thousand patients will have passed through this institution since it was established, and about two hundred blind people have been sent back to their friends with restored sight." He goes on to explain that this does not show the amount of work that had been done every day, as of course

patients would only have their names entered once, though they might continue coming for weeks.

“This year (1886), besides the indoor cases, over 5,000 fresh dispensing cases from all parts of the colony and the frontiers have received medical aid here. It is surprising what long distances they travel by waggon and on foot to seek medical aid here. This is very gratifying.”

He says, “Why don't you write ‘My Government of South Africa’? What an interesting and useful book it would be with the *Wonderful Prophecy*. All the institutions you establish here are working so well. The magistrates among the tribes, and in Basutoland Colonel Clerk appears by his wonderful tact and patience to be bringing back the chiefs to a state of tranquillity. You would do good amongst both Dutch and English, and allay a feeling of want of confidence between both races, your name is so revered. I pray God to inspire you to do what is His holy will. He gave me a friend and kind patron in you. We have worked together in wonderful times here, and if we have passed through severe trials we have had our consolations.—Ever, my dear Sir George, your grateful and affectionate servant,

“J. P. FITZGERALD.”

By the end of 1890 over 130,000 cases had been treated in the Grey Hospital.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE KAFIR PROPHETESS AND THE "WONDERFUL PROPHECY."

"All these woes shall serve
For sweet discourses in the time to come."
Romeo and Juliet.

"There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy."
Hamlet.

THE Kafir chiefs became now convinced that they must act decisively, or this new Governor with his strange institutions would certainly destroy their power. The Governor heard that all the Kafir chiefs were leaguings together to invade the colony at various points at the same time. He heard, also, a report so astounding and unprecedented, that he could scarcely give it credence. It was said that in order to ensure a desperate attack upon the European settlements, most of the chiefs had promised themselves and induced their people to promise to destroy their crops, cattle, pigs, sheep, fowls, and all other food. The barbarians were thus to be driven by famine to invade our territories. Behind them would be a barren desert, in front the land of promise. The fields, the crops, the bread of the English, they must have, or starve. As they numbered 200,000 souls, of whom about 60,000 were men, it was evident if these reports were true, that a colossal and appalling tragedy was imminent.

Sir George Grey at once proceeded to the Kafir country and saw the Kafir leaders. The tidings were true. He pointed out the fact that they were only injuring themselves, and indeed committing suicide; but argument was useless. They said that a prophetess, a girl reputed among the tribes as knowing the mind of the fates, had prophesied that it was the will of their deities that this sacrifice should be made, and that they should obtain tenfold from the English in the day of victory.

The proofs of her claim to supernatural knowledge were to the Kafir mind beyond dispute. To her eyes were revealed secrets hidden from the gaze of ordinary mortals. To her ears were spoken words which none else could hear, or hearing, understand. In the silent watches of the night, when others slept, shadowy guides conducted her to strange and wonderful scenes. For her the secret passage which led beneath the waters of the great lake was opened by the lifting of a hidden door. To that subterranean world she was welcomed by the mighty dead. Chiefs long since mouldered into dust, whose names alone remained as the heritage of their descendants, there appeared and spoke to her of the coming strife, and of its glorious ending—if the people were but faithful. Beneath the placid waters she beheld, far as the eye could reach, wide and fruitful fields. Upon these green pastures fed countless herds of cattle, larger and more beautiful than any she had ever seen upon earth's surface.

She was told that she must listen to the counsels of the departed, so that she might speak to the people now alive the wisdom of the unseen world. Chief after chief had spoken; wielding the arms once borne in the van of battle, each ancestor of the tribes gave his voice for the instruction and warning of his people. The warriors were to arm; the cattle and crops of food

of the people were to be destroyed by a fixed day. The whole nation, thus deprived of all means of support and sustenance, was to move upon the invading strangers without hesitation and without fear, and all would be well. Not only should victory crown their arms, and the rich farms, flocks, and herds of the white man be theirs by conquest, but the cattle now seen by the inspired girl-prophet, and all the splendour which the living dead revealed to her, should be theirs also.

On Wednesday, the 18th of February, 1857—"When the sun rose in the morning, after wandering for a time in the heavens, it was to set again in the east. A hurricane was to sweep from the earth all who would not believe in the revelation, European or Kafir. Then the ancestors of the Kafirs were to rise from the dead, with countless herds of cattle of a noble breed, and with quantities of plunder of every description, all of which were to be shared out among the followers of the prophetess, who were at the same time to be restored to youth and endowed with beauty."*

As with kindling eyes and inspired bearing the girl told to the astonished crowd the wonderful stories of her interviews with the dead, a frenzy seized upon her hearers, and impelled them onward in the course she pointed out. Old chiefs, whose prudence suggested caution, questioned her closely as to the appearance and words of the departed heroes who had met her in the shadowy land beneath the lake. To their astonishment, every question was correctly answered. The arms borne by each respectively, the peculiar expressions known, or believed, to have been used by each, the personal appearance, the very scars and wounds received in battle, were described minutely, but with unerring accuracy, by this female seer.

* "History of South Africa."—J. Noble.

To such evidence it was impossible to refuse belief. Some of the heads of tribes and families knew the power of the English, and dreaded the result. But the spell of the mysterious influence was too strong even for the timid or the wise. When the prophetess, from her trance-like calmness, leaped up to speak, the wild grandeur of her appearance and the glowing passion of her words carried away the people like a torrent, and with one consent the Kafir tribes obeyed.

Perhaps there never was a more remarkable illustration of the overwhelming power of popular belief, however erroneous, than this episode in the history of South Africa. Were it not that the records are beyond doubt or suspicion, and vouched by the bodies of thousands who perished by famine, it would be difficult to believe that solely in reliance on the ravings of a demented girl a whole nation should destroy its means of subsistence, and enter upon a desperate war. Compared with this, the burning of their ships by the Greeks before Troy is but feeble and trifling.

Sir George Grey received from time to time news of these strange proceedings. Without undue haste or apparent anxiety he made all the necessary military preparations.

The frontier to be defended was vast in extent, nor did he know where the attack might be delivered. Directing General Mitchell to take up a line of posts, he himself proceeded beyond the limits of the British territory, and visited in person localities and people already under the sway of the prophetess. His person was sacred, at any rate until war was actually commenced, and he was acquainted with every chief of note throughout Kaffraria. No stone was left unturned in his efforts to expose the folly of which the tribes were guilty. In plain and vigorous lan-

guage the Governor pointed out the fatal nature of the steps already being taken, and the certainty that the order for destruction would not be universally obeyed, and when famine came those still retaining cattle and food would be pillaged, and thus civil war and mutual strife would arise among themselves; whilst their efforts against the English would be vain. It was useless. Every breeze bore the stench of slaughtered cattle, every day beheld the mounting wreaths of smoke from burning kraals; already, before a solitary blow had been struck, famine began to weaken the strongest, and the hand of death to weed out the feeble and the young.

Meanwhile the mountain passes and the river fords were jealously guarded, and the last line of frontier diligently patrolled.

At last the crisis came. Maddened by excitement, the Kafir tribes determined to attack. General Mitchell, anxious for the safety of his widely dispersed forces, made the preparations necessary for falling back upon a more central and concentrated line upon the Fish River. The Governor was still in the Kafir country, attended only by his guard. Before making any backward movement, General Mitchell wrote to him stating his anxiety and his intentions. The messenger reached Sir George's camp at night. The Governor was aroused, the General's note was at once read. This proposed retreat was in the Governor's judgment the very worst and most dangerous step which could be taken. He was not, therefore, called upon to deliberate. He answered the General's letter by a positive command to hold every position, and on no account to show the barbarians in any place a retreating foe. Sir George Grey in his final letter, written on March, 1857, after sketching his own plans, thus speaks:—

If war takes place, I believe that this line of proceeding will be the proper one: but I am, moreover, quite satisfied that our maintaining at the present time that bold and resolute front, which I am determined shall be maintained (and in which view of the case I am sure the Lieutenant-General, Sir J. Jackson, will thoroughly and heartily concur with me), will go very far towards preventing a war, and compelling the Kaffirs to respect an enemy who, they will see, is thoroughly prepared to meet them.—Yours, etc.

G. GREY.

On this occasion his message was short and decisive. In half an hour the messenger had vanished, the Governor had resumed his slumbers, and the conduct of the expected war was settled.

Sir George Grey returned, but, while returning, struck an effective blow. By a clever combination of secret movements, skilfully executed, and with great daring, he captured the two or three principal chiefs, and thus broke the neck of the confederacy. The Kafirs, with no one to lead the intended invasion, began to starve. Pale death reigned there in dreadful silence. It is said that fifty thousand Kafirs died of starvation. Their villages became vast charnel houses, and stank with unburied corpses.

Then came into full play the wisdom and humanity of the Governor. Far and wide he despatched relief parties, and rescued the remnants of the tribes from destruction. Thirty-four thousand of them he brought into the Cape, and distributed them among the colonists as servants for specified terms of years and for specified wages. For the remainder he built villages, surveyed fields, provided food, implements, seeds, and cattle, and settled them in British Kaffraria in well-ordered communities.

Pursuing his usual method with regard to native peoples, Sir George found employment for the Kafirs on various public works. As no one had ever before

succeeded in this, and as regular work was utterly repugnant to the soul of a Kafir, great surprise was felt when the plan worked well. Still more astonishing was it when the Governor made the natives pay taxes. The Kafirs themselves were as much astonished as other people at the remarkable power of the man who had brought about two such changes, as the following little incident shows :

At a great gathering of the natives, Sir George noticed the women wearing a large number of brass ornaments on their legs. He pointed out the folly of wasting their wages in such an extravagant way, but was answered by one of the chiefs, who rose and told the Governor that he must remember there were limits to human power. "Rest content, O great chief," said he, "with what you have accomplished. You have made us pay taxes. You have made our people work. These things we thought could never be. But think not you can stop women wearing ornaments. If you try to do this, O Governor, you will most surely fail."

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE INDIAN MUTINY AND THE CHINA ARMY.

“Till old experience do attain
To something like prophetic strain.”
Milton.

EARLY in August, 1857, when the Kafir outbreak had but just subsided, and the survivors were scarcely settled in their new homes and locations in British Kaffraria, the Governor was surprised by the visit of a steamer from Bombay, bearing an important message from Lord Elphinstone. He received an urgent despatch which contained the tidings of the terrible outbreak in India. It detailed the rising at Meerut, the fall of Delhi, and conveyed with startling plainness of language, the belief of Lord Elphinstone and his Council, that in a short space of time the whole of the native forces in Central India would be in revolt.

No time was lost after the receipt of this momentous letter. There was in Table Bay a man-of-war. There were also two or three ships available for transports. The nearest troops were mustered and prepared for embarkation. Two batteries of the Royal Artillery were sent on board ship. A large quantity of ammunition and military stores were shipped. Horses also were procured. Within three days the man-of-war and transports sailed, and a commence-

ment had been made towards the assistance of India which proved invaluable.

It was a singular coincidence that within a few days of the receipt of Lord Elphinstone's despatch, transports containing a portion of the army then being sent to Lord Elgin to act in conjunction with the French in China, arrived at Simon's Bay. Knowing something of the character of Lord Elphinstone, and being alive to the necessity under such circumstances of immediate action, Sir George did not hesitate to take upon himself extreme responsibility in the crisis which had arisen. He invited the officer in command, the gallant Colonel Adrian Hope, to Government House, and laid before him the despatch which he had received from Bombay. He then urged upon his consideration the advisability of a change in the intended line of the voyage which should enable the troops to report themselves at Calcutta, so that their services might be available in Bengal, if the calamity which threatened India were as serious as he believed.

The commanding officer was not disposed to disobey his own orders. A treaty had been made with France, by which the armed forces of both powers were to co-operate against the Chinese Government. Should the French at once take an aggressive position, and the English troops by delay fail to appear in their support, a grave misunderstanding would be caused; and should any unforeseen disaster to the French arms thus arise, the officer held that he would be certainly subjected to censure.

The Governor allowed due weight to the arguments used, but again strongly pressed the immediate peril of the British Government in India as giving a just reason for any delay which might necessarily ensue. Finally, he decided that, possessing full powers as

Governor and High Commissioner in that portion of the continent, it was his duty to afford all possible assistance to the cause of Great Britain in India, and that he should require the officers commanding the various vessels conveying troops to China to report themselves at Calcutta, leaving upon them the responsibility of refusing.

In his belief a new and unparalleled event had taken place in the history of the empire, which threatened disasters it was impossible to over-estimate. He held that in the presence of such an emergency all precedents regulating the proceedings of the troops had become obsolete and inapplicable, and that it behoved the officers holding high powers in every part of the empire who could aid in such an emergency, at once to frame rules suited to the crisis which had arisen, and to act upon them.

Besides this, the voyage to Calcutta would only take them a few days' sail from Singapore, which lay in their direct route. The deviation would make no material difference in the time of their arrival in China if the service in India did not require them.

This settled the matter. The military officers required from Sir George Grey his command in writing for this deviation from their orders in London, to authorise their voyage to Calcutta. The commands were given. The responsibility, though great, was willingly accepted by Sir George Grey; and the various officers, who, led by Colonel Hope, nobly acquiesced, set sail with the troops. A swift steamer was sent to cruise to and fro for any other transports conveying the China army which might be passing the Cape, to communicate the same orders, and to inform the officers that their comrades had preceded them to the Hooghley.

This reinforcement, in the words of Lord Malmes-

bury, "probably saved India."* At the same time Sir George Grey sent a letter of apology and explanation to Lord Elgin, to which, however, he received no answer. These were the troops which arrived in India in time to enable Sir Colin Campbell to relieve Havelock at Lucknow. Had they been allowed to pass the Cape and to go on upon their voyage to China, Sir Colin Campbell would have been unable to make his celebrated march, Havelock and his forces would have shared the fate of General Wheeler at Cawnpore, and India must either have been abandoned or reconquered.

When the first detachment of the China army reached Calcutta, Lord Elgin was at Singapore waiting for the passage of his troops to the land of the Celestials. It is said that while at dinner one evening with his staff, a man-of-war commanded by Captain Peel came into the harbour, bringing despatches from the Governor-General. Probably Sir George Grey's letter was amongst them. He thus learned that his troops, without his authority, were already mustering under Sir Colin Campbell for the relief of Havelock. Lord Elgin rose from the table, and retiring, read his correspondence. For two or three hours he was heard walking to and fro on the balcony. He then went on board with Captain Peel, and steamed up the Bay of Bengal. He subsequently gave cordial assistance to Lord Canning.

The excitement in England when the tidings of the mutiny arrived was intense. Every movement was scanned with breathless interest. Lord Malmesbury, in his memoirs, thus writes :—“*No* † instructions had

* “Memoirs of an ex-Minister,” by Lord Malmesbury, vol. ii., p. 25.

† The word “No” is evidently a misprint, as the sense of the succeeding clause and the whole passage is opposed to it.

been transmitted to the Indian Government directing that the troops embarked for China should be employed in India, and the Governor-General had sent his orders to Ceylon to direct the forces on their arrival there to proceed to India. He had sent a requisition to Lord Elgin to despatch troops, but Lord Elgin had no instructions to comply. Whether he would deem the case so pressing as to induce him to do so on his own responsibility remains to be seen."

In a foot-note, Lord Malmesbury writes of the answer to this appeal:—"Lord Elgin, to his eternal honour, complied with Lord Canning's request, and this accidental reinforcement probably saved India."

No public mention was made of the fact that this timely and invaluable aid was rendered, not in the first instance by Lord Elgin, but by the exercise of a great responsibility on the part of Sir George Grey. On the 7th August, while the troops were just starting for Calcutta, Sir George transmitted a despatch to Mr. Labouchere, fully recounting the whole of the circumstances, and trusting that the extraordinary steps he had taken would meet with the approval of the Queen. Not only was he able to state that he had taken upon himself to send Lord Elgin's army to India, he also informed the Ministry that he had sent with them the Royal Artillery, fully horsed, great quantities of military stores, and sixty thousand pounds in specie from the Cape Treasury, besides a number of horses for cavalry and artillery. In the same despatch he informed Mr. Labouchere that he should take immediate steps to afford still further substantial assistance to Her Majesty's Government in India, and that the people at the Cape were eager to assist in every way possible. In due course he received the following private acknowledgment from Mr. Labouchere in correspondence:—

October 16th, 1857.

My dear Sir,—I have just received your private letter, as well as your despatch of the 7th of August. I have read with the greatest satisfaction the account you give of the prompt and energetic measures which you have adopted to assist the Indian Government in the present crisis of their affairs. I am confident that Her Majesty and my colleagues will fully appreciate the zeal and public spirit with which you have acted on this occasion.

I have not yet had time to read your despatch with care, but as some opportunity may occur for sending this note to you before I finally answer it, I have thought it best at once to write.

The account you give of the feelings and behaviour of the colonists is most gratifying.—Always yours sincerely,

W. LABOUCHERE.

The accounts which we have received from India speak with the utmost gratitude of your exertions in their behalf.

October 20th, 1857.

My dear Sir,—In writing to me on the subject of your last despatch, the Queen has commanded me to express to you in a private letter “her high personal appreciation of your services, and her gratification at the loyalty of her subjects at the Cape.” You will at the same time receive Her Majesty’s approbation of the measures you have adopted in an official form.—Always yours sincerely,

W. LABOUCHERE.

Long before the receipt of the Queen’s acknowledgment of his services, the Governor had added materially to the aid which he had already afforded to Lord Canning. Knowing that artillery and cavalry would be necessary, he purchased and despatched from time to time all the available horses at the Cape; for this purpose dismounting much of his own cavalry and sending his artillery horses, as well as the horses from his own private stables, and from those of many colonists who were eager to give assistance. Great stores of food for the men and for the cattle, and large

quantities of ammunition and military material, were despatched to India in a continuous stream.

This was all done without any authority from the Home Government, and simply upon Sir George Grey's own belief that it was necessary for the safety of the empire.

These active measures were watched with the keenest interest and delight by Her Majesty and the Prince Consort. In a letter to Mr. C. J. McCarthy on the 24th of October, 1857, Lord Houghton writes :

"I hear the Queen is in great admiration of Sir George Grey at the Cape, having sent his carriage horses to India and going afoot."* What the Queen really admired was the whole conduct of the Governor, the troops, the horses, the specie, the artillery and the munitions of war, the China army, and the continued reinforcements of every kind, sent in the face of the evident disbelief of Lord Canning in their necessity or the gravity of the crisis which had arisen in India, and in spite of his assertions that he wanted nothing but a few horses, and that it was a mistake to suppose the outbreak a mutiny.

Ministers in London said nothing. They regarded coldly the efforts made by the Governor at the Cape. The Queen and Prince Albert alone perceived and appreciated the value of the services rendered by Sir George Grey. Yet these steps were taken against the advice of the Governor-General, and at a fearful personal risk.

He had now been nearly three years in South Africa. He had become well acquainted with the necessities and desires of its different races, and he knew by experience the methods of government likely to succeed. His word was law. In his good

* "Life, Letters and Friendships of R. M. Milnes, first Lord Houghton." Vol. II., p. 20.

faith the native chiefs placed implicit confidence. None dared to oppose his will for two reasons. That will was certain to be properly directed, and seemed always victorious. At this tremendous crisis in Eastern affairs, Grey resolved to trust to his own personal influence for the maintenance of government in South Africa, and to despatch, squadron by squadron, nearly the whole of his military forces for the restoration of our supremacy in Hindostan. Before acting upon such a resolution he determined to take into his confidence the great native chiefs, to enlist their sympathy, and to obtain from them assurances that peace should be preserved on all his frontiers.

He immediately started upon a visit to the headquarters of the different chiefs, to lay before them his plans, for he felt convinced that if, upon a full statement of the facts, they gave a solemn assurance of fidelity, no evil results need be feared. He traversed those vast and wild regions by night and day. More than once, travelling at night, he slept in the saddle, closely supported on either side by orderlies told off for the purpose.

Many and varied were the interesting scenes which he witnessed. He climbed the well-nigh inaccessible heights of Thaba-Bosigo to see the great chief Moshesh. The old warrior was ill in bed. His chiefs and head men were called together, and the Governor was ushered in. A huge wooden four-post bedstead, carted from one of the frontier towns with great trouble, nearly filled the small room in which Moshesh lay. Propped up with pillows, and wrapped in blankets, the Basuto chief welcomed the Governor. His council sat round on the immense bedstead, or squatted on the floor.

After the welcomes had been finished, Sir George

Grey entered on the subject of his visit. He told his audience of the mutiny in India, of the necessity which existed for immediate assistance being given there to the government of the Queen. He told them plainly and frankly of his own fixed resolution to send every man and horse that could be spared out of Africa, and he asked an assurance from Moshesh and his chiefs that they would loyally assist him to maintain order and to preserve peace. The African chief was cunning as well as brave, but with Sir George Grey he felt that he could speak unreservedly. He gave the Governor, therefore, an absolute assurance of his friendship, and assented without hesitation to the propositions made. His chiefs followed in the same strain.

Thus at the different kraals and strongholds of the native tribes Sir George obtained promises of sympathy, and in some of assistance. Not one of these promises was broken. South Africa, which for thirty years had been a scene of commotion, of tumult, and of strife, saw the withdrawal of the armed forces of the crown without one solitary rising against the authority of the stranger. For many years after Sir George Grey left the shores of Africa profound peace remained there. Only after the lapse of nearly twenty years, when at last his policy was broken, and the rules laid down by him disobeyed, disturbances again commenced, and the fires of war were relighted.

Thus all South Africa reposed peacefully while the desperate struggle was proceeding in Bengal, and tribes once savage in their hatred of the English Government gave the great Queen and her Governor their sympathy.

It is hardly necessary to point out that the cares inseparable from the government of troublesome South Africa had to be borne, besides those great peculiar

burdens, which added their weight to the ordinary tasks of the Governor's daily life. Teaching and training mixed communities of Dutch, English, and natives in the forms of representative government and free institutions, promoting and fostering education and all philanthropic plans, never ceasing in the prosecution of scientific research and of literary attainments, free in hospitality and abounding in charitable deeds, Sir George Grey's name and memory stamp themselves in the history of South Africa.

The most serious obstacles both to his success and happiness arose from the actions of the Imperial Government. With that dogged and ignorant persistence of opposition which the War Office and the Colonial Office had so frequently shown to great plans and wise proposals, the officials in Downing Street and Pall Mall continued to thwart Sir George Grey, to administer severe rebukes, always undeserved, to limit unjustly his means of usefulness, and to break solemn promises made to him and the colonists, upon the faith of which serious responsibilities had been incurred by the settlers themselves.

During the height of the excitement attendant upon the mutiny, several chiefs of Wanganui and other tribes in New Zealand, wrote to Sir George offering to raise one or two regiments of Maoris for service in India. Their request was forwarded by him to London, together with his opinion upon it. Sir George had no hesitation in advising Her Majesty's Government to accept the service of the New Zealanders. He based his counsel on several grounds. They were excellent fighting men—every Maori was a born soldier. They would become, by service in India, firm in their loyalty. The survivors, receiving decorations and military pensions, would naturally cling to the government of the Queen in case of disturbances in New

Zealand. And the Governor reminded Ministers that the Maoris being essentially fond of war, and their tribal conflicts having been stopped by the Government, unless they were enabled to expend their warlike energies in our service, they might possibly turn them against ourselves.

The result was not what the chiefs desired—nor was it what Sir George Grey expected. A decided refusal was given to the proposition, and Ministers drew a parallel between the suggested employment of Maoris in India and that historic employment of the Red Indians against the colonists of America, which had roused the righteous anger of the great Chatham in his dying hours. The words of the Governor were prophetic. In four years the great Maori war had commenced.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE GERMAN LEGION.

“Life, when it is real, is not evanescent : is not slight : does not vanish away. Every noble life leaves the fibre of it interwoven for ever in the work of the world ; by so much evermore the strength of the human race has gained ; more stubborn in the root, higher towards heaven in the branch.”—*Ruskin*.

DURING the American and Continental wars at the close of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, Great Britain had retained the services of considerable bodies of German and other Continental troops. These had at length become a permanent part of the British army, under the name of the German Legion. The existence of this foreign element had become obnoxious, and it was finally determined to get rid of it. This was done ; but during the Russian war Baron von Stutterheim proposed to the Government again to raise a German Legion. The offer was accepted, and then with the consent of Parliament a new force was raised, principally from the German seaports, for this particular war.

At the close of the campaign these men were moved to England and placed in quarters. They feared to return to their native towns lest they should be punished. Some of them were almost necessarily lawless and violent characters, possessing the materials for good soldiers, but likely to be very troublesome in

English towns and villages. Troubles soon threatened to arise between them and the English population amongst whom they lived. The question, What was to be done with these men? demanded an immediate answer.

At length the Government, after numerous schemes had been discussed, proposed to the Cape Legislature that the men of the German Legion should become military settlers at the Cape, kept enrolled for service in Kaffraria, with separate houses and pieces of land for their officers and for themselves. Their military training would be useful in case of war, and they would unite the wealth-producing capacity of labour with the security of a military guard.

Sir George Grey was instructed to invite the acquiescence of the Cape Parliament. He did so. Correspondence ensued upon the subject. The Cape people, remembering that the great majority of these soldiers were unmarried, required a guarantee that they should be accompanied or immediately followed by German families containing sufficient numbers of young women among whom they could find wives, and thus become permanent and successful colonists. Sir George was instructed to give the necessary pledge to this effect to the Colonial Legislature. This also he did. In all good faith, the Cape Parliament then consented.

The German Legion were sent to Africa, but the promise of the English Government that they should be accompanied or followed by German families and young women was not fulfilled. The proportion of females actually sent by Government only amounted to about one to eight of the soldiers, who were settled over a long line of frontier, extending from East London to a point near Queenstown.

Seeing that the promises made by the Home Govern-

ment were broken, the Legislature at the Cape represented to the Governor that it was the duty of the English Government to carry out their contract with the colony. Correspondence was entered into between the Cape and Downing Street. All efforts to induce the Colonial Office and the War Office to redeem their solemn pledges were vain. Evasive replies, denials of responsibility, repudiation of covenants entered into at the request of Her Majesty's Ministers, were the only result. Downing Street refused to perform its part of the bargain and to send the German families to South Africa.

Meanwhile, large numbers of the disbanded soldiers had been located. Among them, some were unable to find employment—some were unwilling to work. The German Legion, though including many able men and skilful and excellent officers, had on occasions been recruited from the rougher classes of Continental towns. Without homes, therefore, and without the opportunity of making homes and becoming married men, many of these formed a floating and unsettled population, whose members caused anxiety in many parts of the frontier. Thrown back upon his own devices, Sir George Grey resolved to attempt the fulfilment of the Imperial promises, through the Government of British Kaffraria. In August 1857, as High Commissioner in that province, he entered into a contract with a German merchant of Capetown, M. William Berg, and through him with the eminent firm of Godeffroi in Hamburg, for the introduction of German families, numbering in all four thousand souls, at certain specified rates.

The Government of Kaffraria was to pay for the passage of these emigrants by debentures. Land was to be provided for the new colonists at a certain fixed price, and in fixed quantities for men, women and

children. Houses were to be built, and all necessary implements and rations for twelve months supplied. Interest upon this expenditure was to be charged and ultimately paid, together with the principal, by each of the colonists. The emigrants were to repay to the Government of Kaffraria the cost of their passages and the cost of the land, one-fifth after four years, and the remainder spread over equal terms of the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth years after landing in the colony. By these means the Governor trusted to neutralise the disastrous consequences arising from the failure of the Home Government to send out families to accompany the men of the Legion. Stringent conditions as to character and physical capacity were also attached to the examination of these intending emigrants.

The contracts were duly made, and amidst great rejoicings, the first batch of German colonists was landed at East London. The success of this new venture filled the Governor with delight. The marriageable women among the new comers were eagerly sought for, the families themselves became rapidly settled in their new homes, and the simple and common-sense expedient adopted, seemed destined to turn many of the roving and unsettled Germans into peaceful and prosperous colonists.

Suddenly the Governor and the Cape Parliament were astounded by the receipt of a despatch from Downing Street, refusing to allow the introduction of any more foreign families, on the ground that it was contrary to national policy. In a spirited and dignified reply, Sir George Grey answered Lord Stanley's despatch, drawing the noble lord's attention to the circumstances under which the German Legion had been admitted to the Cape Colony. Sir George stated that, "In the clearest language they had pledged

themselves to the colony that if it would receive the German Legion, containing so many doubtful characters, it should be accompanied here by a large proportion of females. I, the Queen's Representative, acting under the instructions of Her Majesty's Government, repeated formally this pledge to the Colonial Legislature. It was, however, not fulfilled, and in consequence, serious evils threatened, still threaten, and in fact have in part fallen on South Africa. I saw that I could retrieve this misfortune at no expense to Great Britain, and I strove to do it."

The original proposition made by the Imperial Government was that eight thousand soldiers of the German Legion should be accompanied by wives and families, which would have made a population of upwards of twenty thousand. The national policy, therefore, enunciated by the Home authorities, was distinctly a limited German colonisation, upon the faith of which the Cape Legislature had given its assent. Communications between the Cape and Downing Street became somewhat bitter, until at last Sir George Grey having had to point out in several instances the mistakes and contradictions of the Colonial Office, Sir E. B. Lytton, who had succeeded Lord Stanley as Colonial Secretary, wrote on the 1st of October, 1858: "There can, of course, be no doubt that the meaning of the passage was such as you have explained."

The German immigration was partially completed and eminently successful. Different parties arrived in the years 1858 and 1859. An Emigration Board was formed, which reported most favourably on the immigrants, and aided them in settling in their new homes.

Upon Sir George Grey's recall to England in 1859, another phase of this question appeared. He was

summoned from his breakfast table one morning in London to see a gentleman who had just arrived from the Continent upon urgent business. This visitor proved to be a leading member of the firm of Godeffroi & Co. That great house was receiving payment for the equipment and passage of the German emigrants in debentures of British Kaffraria. It found those debentures unsaleable upon the market, in consequence of the stern disapproval of the English Government. This gentleman had, therefore, come to London for the sole purpose of informing Sir George Grey that Godeffroi & Co. must obtain £20,000 on that day or they would be unable to continue the contract, and would suffer a serious loss in consequence of efforts to carry out with skill and faithfulness a useful plan of colonisation, which had already been eminently successful.

Sir George was distressed. He felt that it was useless to apply to the Colonial Office. His only alternative was to act upon his own responsibility with his own funds, or see a promising and beneficent experiment come to an impotent conclusion. He made up his mind to advance the £20,000 himself. On his way to his bankers in the city he met a relative of his own, the head of another great banking house. In the course of conversation the circumstances of his errand were told. To his astonishment and delight, his relative not only expressed great interest in the subject of the German emigration and settlement of the German Legion in South Africa, but concluded by saying, "Don't go any further, George. Come with me to our house and draw a cheque for the £20,000. Godeffroi shall receive the money, and you can arrange for the payment at your leisure."

Sir George accepted this generous and unexpected

offer. The cheque was duly drawn. The Messrs. Godeffroi received the £20,000, their agent steamed back to Hamburg, and the final parties of emigrants went joyfully upon their way. The Kaffrarian debentures were duly met, and every pound of the money for which these colonists became liable was paid to the Government of Kaffraria by them.

More than thirty years afterwards, in the early part of 1890, the survivors of the original colonists, and their children and grandchildren, a prosperous and happy people, met Sir Henry Loch on his visit to Kaffraria and Natal, and expressed to him the acknowledgment of their love and gratitude to the Kaffrarian Government for its unbounded kindness to them and to their fathers.

The efforts made to provide homes and families for the German Legion had, however, only been partially successful, because only partially permitted. There still remained members whose presence, instead of being a safeguard to the frontier, kept it in a continual state of alarm. At this time (1858), although the troops were pouring into India from different parts of the world, danger had arisen in a quarter not before seriously menaced. It became known to Lord Elphinstone and his Council in Bombay that in that city and Presidency a serious rising was to be apprehended at a certain religious festival. The troops from Bombay had passed over into Bengal and Oude.

Lord Elphinstone casting abroad for assistance, thought of the fertile resources of the Governor of the Cape. He knew that South Africa had been pretty well drained, but he knew also that Grey was a man of strange devices, and most fertile in resource, and that with some hope at any rate he might ask him for

assistance. He therefore sent another urgent appeal to Cape Town.

Sir George Grey, ever anxious about Indian matters, determined at once upon a plan, which, though strange, and in ordinary circumstances unlawful and subversive of the Constitution, seemed to him at the time, and under the peculiar conjunction of events, to be wise and expedient. He resolved upon his own authority to re-enroll all the men of the German Legion willing to follow the standard, to commission the officers afresh, and to forward them immediately to Bombay. With him, to form a decision was also to carry that decision into action.

A proclamation was issued; the men were invited to enlist. The invitations were readily accepted. Eager for war, adventure, and perhaps plunder, the men of the German Legion flocked by hundreds to the appointed depôts. They were enrolled, officers were commissioned, flags were given, and in a few weeks a detachment, shortly followed by others, set sail for India. The first body arrived in the very nick of time. Their disembarkation at Bombay, with flags and military music, "in all the pomp and circumstance of war," was hailed with an intense feeling of relief by the Governor and the whole of the European inhabitants. Company after company was forwarded, until at length there only remained in South Africa those who had made homes for themselves, and had settled down to the peaceful life of the frontier settlements.

The Germans in India, their officers properly re-commissioned, and the men freshly enrolled, were of signal service to the Government; and although this bold act of Sir George's drew from Ministers a sharp acknowledgment, containing a covert threat, not only of censure but of punishment, so valuable had been

the reinforcements, and so warm was the gratitude expressed by the Bombay Government, that the matter was allowed peacefully to drop.

Whilst the bitter correspondence between Sir George Grey and the Colonial Office upon the subject of the German Legion was proceeding, another matter of equal, if not greater, importance also threatened to disturb the amicable relations which should have subsisted between the Crown and its dependency. Sir George Grey had sent five thousand troops to India, and had weakened himself in Africa, avowedly to aid the Indian Government. The cost of the government of British Kaffraria had been considerably increased by the necessities which were created after the survivors of the Kafir nation had been brought in. All Sir George's actions in relation to the Kafir outbreak, consequent upon the wonderful prophecy, had met with the warmest approval of the Home Government. On August 5th, 1857, the Secretary for the Colonies, Mr. Labouchere (afterwards Lord Taunton), wrote thus:—

“I have just left the House of Commons, where we have been discussing the vote for £40,000 for the Kafirs. It was carried by a large majority. Your conduct was praised by every one who spoke, and I assure you it is duly appreciated by the Government who derive so much advantage from it at this juncture.”

Sir George's prompt action, also, at the very time when this despatch was written in London, in regard to the Indian Mutiny, met with public approval.

In February, 1858, a new ministry came into power, and in May of that year Lord Stanley informed Sir George Grey that the annual grant for British Kaffraria for 1858 would be reduced from £40,000 to £20,000. At this time half the year was passed.

The cost of civil government—gaols, police, hospitals, justice, education, etc.—demanded the whole of the £40,000, on which the expenditure was based. Almost denuded of troops, with forty thousand strange Kafirs just brought within its boundaries, dependent for the peace of the country upon the smoothness and regularity with which the functions of government could be carried on, the representative of the Crown, and the sole governing power of Kaffraria, was informed by the Imperial Government in June that his supplies for the year were already spent, and he could receive no more.

The announcement came upon Sir George Grey with the suddenness of a thunder-clap. No word of advice as to how the affairs of a British province under military occupation were to be administered without funds, was given. No authority to draw upon the Imperial Government was transmitted.

Whilst the British Government was, by votes from Parliament, conducting the administration of the conquered province of Kaffraria, Sir George Grey had, by the authority of the Home Government, entered into treaties with the native chiefs (whose revenues were derived from the fees and fines of the Courts of Justice in which they sat) that they should accept stipulated salaries to be paid to them at settled short periods for their services in the courts in which they presided, in lieu of the fees and fines previously paid to them. They were also, by the terms of such treaties, to allow a British Resident or Magistrate to sit as an assessor with themselves. The effect of this arrangement was to secure from the Kafir chiefs, an admission that they were salaried chiefs acting under the authority of a superior whose supremacy they recognized.

Sir George Grey had concluded these solemn

undertakings, and he was now required without any previous warning to break the treaty with each of the chiefs, all of whom had faithfully adhered to their engagements. He felt that it was unfair to expect that he, the great servant of the Crown, who had concluded these engagements, should be called upon to break them.

Driven in this instance, also, to rely solely upon himself, and his own means, the Queen's Commissioner had but one avenue of escape from the terrible difficulties of his position. He paid into the Treasury to the public account of British Kaffraria, the sum of six thousand pounds of his own private moneys. Then using as much economy as was consistent with safety, he carried on the Government of British Kaffraria with these funds. Earnest remonstrances were at the same time sent to England, but the danger was averted, and this act, on the part of the Commissioner and Governor, saved British Kaffraria from confusion and peril. Sir George Grey simply alluded to the circumstance in a despatch.

Some two years afterwards he received from Sir E. B. Lytton, a letter stating that from a casual expression in one of his (Grey's) despatches, it appeared probable that he had advanced the sum of six thousand pounds of his own money for the public services, under circumstances which clearly rendered it an act of justice in the Government to see that the public repaid the amount, and that if Sir George would certify that such was the case, and would furnish the name of his banker in London, the officers of the Treasury would be instructed to make the necessary repayment.

It was after he had returned from England and been re-appointed to the Governorship of the Cape, on the 31st of January, 1860, that the Right Honour-

able Chichester Fortescue wrote, stating that the Lord Commissioners of the Treasury had instructed the Paymaster-General to repay to him the sum of six thousand pounds, advanced by him for the public service of British Kaffraria.

In the importance of these grave affairs, Sir George Grey did not overlook the countless smaller matters which called for his attention. Although his advice was seldom taken by the Home Government, his opinion on various matters was continually asked, as in the following two instances:—Sir George Grey was requested by Mr. Labouchere, to make a full report on the subject whether the treaty by which the Transvaal Boers bound themselves to abolish slavery in that territory was enforced or not. Sir George replied in a despatch dated 22nd May, 1856. Mr. Chesson, commenting on this despatch, says:—"He displays a sagacity which is not far removed from prescience." It stated that in his opinion the treaties amount to a declaration on the part of the English that they abandon the coloured races to the mercy of the two Republics, and asserts that the interests of Britain will suffer from such disregard of engagements solemnly entered into.

Several letters from Sir George Grey, Bart., then principal Secretary for the Colonies, beginning in August, 1854, related to the management of affairs at the Cape, and dealt chiefly with the necessity for making the people accustomed to the idea of self-defence, and alive to the fact that the British Government intended to withdraw their troops from the eastern frontier. The letters contain many allusions to communications from Sir George Clark, who, after visiting the frontier, awaited Governor Grey's arrival at Cape Town, and whose opinion was unfavourable as to the measures likely to be taken by the legis-

latures in South Africa to provide for their own safety.

“While for the present an arrangement has been made for keeping up the actual amount of British forces at the Cape to its present number—about 5,000 men—this cannot be looked to as a permanent arrangement, and local means of defence ought undoubtedly to be organised with as little delay as possible.”*

Other demands upon his time were made by native troubles and risings.

In 1857-8 a fierce quarrel subsisted between the Orange Free State and the Basutos. It arose principally upon the question of the boundaries of their respective territories. The wily old Moshesh proved himself a full match for the indomitable courage and military skill of the Boers. At length the good offices of the High Commissioner were accepted by the belligerents, and Sir George Grey successfully mediated between them and made peace.

The question of the dividing line between the territories was left to his decision. In order that there might be no error or mistake in the exact locality of the boundary line, Sir George, taking with him a deputation of the burghers of the Free State and several Basuto chiefs, traversed the boundary, leaving marks, either of natural features of the country or artificial stations, by which the line should be for ever distinguished.

In after years he related with glee the manner in which he had led the stout and heavy Boers up well-nigh inaccessible hills and down the faces of precipices, much to their discomfort. He himself was hardy, and trained to such exploits; but to the ordinary

* Letter from Sir G. Grey (Col. Off.) to Sir G. Grey, Governor of Cape Colony, January 13th, 1855.

Boer such a journey was a thing to be dreaded and remembered.

A treaty was ultimately signed, and the quarrel, which bade fair to be ceaseless and bloody, was permanently disposed of. To one article of the proposed treaty alone did the Basuto chief object. Concerning it he thus wrote :—

October 4th, 1858.

To His Excellency Sir George Grey,

Governor of the Cape of Good Hope.

Sir,—I received your letter last Saturday, and I have heard all that you have said to me, and that you have fought very hard for me, but the Boers did not agree with you; and I said, Now, O my good sir, I have no doubt about you. I have found that you have worked very hard for me, and I shall be very glad if you can do as you see it proper, for I put my confidence in you, only what I wish from you is only peace.

The Lord be with you, so that you will complete your work with great success; and I agree upon the boundary line which the Boers have brought you to, if Your Excellency is therewith satisfied.

And about hunting, I am ashamed, therefore pray for me to the Governor of the Free State that they may not lay such a great heavy ban upon my poor people, who have nothing to live on this year, because their hopes of living this time are only in hunting.

With respect to the other articles, I have signed them at Moria.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE GOVERNOR RECALLED.

“ As some tall cliff that lifts its awful form,
Swells from the vale, and midway leaves the storm,
Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on its head.”

Goldsmith.

THE despatches which arrived in the year 1858 were decidedly hostile and antagonistic in tone to the Governor. The Colonial Office was, during this and the year following, ruled by Lord Stanley and Sir E. B. Lytton as principal secretaries, and Lord Carnarvon as political under-secretary. Earl Carnarvon's connection with the Colonial Office, throughout, from first to last, seems to have been a course of enmity against Sir George Grey. Sir E. B. Lytton, owing to illness, interfered but little in the work of the Colonial Office. The despatches from the Governor to Downing Street contain many allusions to the unjust and severe censures which he received.

“ If,” writes Sir George Grey, “ virtual censures are continually recorded against me by one department of the State when I am right, what hope is there for me if, in the difficulties with which I am daily beset, I commit some error? And how can those who are not acquainted with the real state of the case think otherwise, even when I am right, than that I must have acted wrongly to be so censured?”

So fierce at last became the attacks upon Sir George Grey, that on June 23, 1858, he wrote the following letter to Lord Stanley :—

My Lord,—In reference to some of the despatches which I have recently received, and which it appears to be thought here, and which (as you will find from my despatch No. 91) it is stated here, it was believed in England, when they were written to me, were of such a nature that they would render it imperative on me to resign my office, I think it right to state that my life has been one of such constant, active duty in remote parts of the world, and I have been so little mixed up in ordinary political affairs, that I am quite ignorant of what may be the conventional rules among public men on such subjects.

I simply believe, in as far as your lordship is concerned, that if you thought it would be for the advantage of the public service that I should vacate my office, you would in a very straightforward, although courteous manner, tell me so.

Yet, lest I should be violating any conventional rules which I do not understand, I beg to tell your lordship that nothing but a sense of duty has made me hold my present office so long as I have done. My life is one of ceaseless toil and anxiety—of long separations from much which makes life valuable to man. I have only remained here because I thought I was useful to Her Majesty and to my country, from an attachment I felt for any duty which I am set to do, and from a personal regard to the very great number of persons in this colony who have helped me in my many difficulties. But when it is thought to be for the advantage of the public service to send me back to private life, I shall cheerfully and gladly make way for a successor. If, therefore, her Majesty's Government desire to remove me, the slightest intimation to that effect from your lordship shall lead to my immediate retirement.

I have the honour to be,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

G. GREY.

On another occasion he wrote: "I am here beset by cares and difficulties which occupy my mind incessantly, and wear out my health. I feel that I have conducted Her Majesty's affairs for the advantage of her service, and the welfare of her subjects, whose

love, gratitude, and loyalty I have secured for the Queen—and I certainly feel it hard that the reward I should receive should be to have my spirit broken by having accounts which I feel are entitled to the approval of Her Majesty's Government, disallowed, thus throwing me into new difficulties—and that this should be done in the uncourteous manner it is, and in letters which, as an old and loyal government servant, sorely wound my feelings, is still worse." This was in relation to the non-payment for two thousand pairs of boots, for the bare feet of the German Legion, which force, indeed, was clearly entitled to them.

British Kaffraria, however, in spite of Downing Street, thrived and prospered. The children of the savages became civilised. The nomadic wanderers became settled agriculturists. Christianity spread its peaceful influence upon their hearts and homes, and when upon the journey alluded to, in 1880, Sir Henry Loch visited that portion of the Queen's dominions, eight thousand of the Kafirs, mounted, armed, wealthy and independent, met him, their new Governor, upon the road; and they also desired him (the only Governor who had visited them since the time of Grey) to transmit to Sir George, in New Zealand, their everlasting remembrance of his goodness in the days of old.

In September, 1858, Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, sent a private despatch to Governor Grey which commenced thus :

"Some of your recent despatches, to which it is not necessary that I should particularly advert, have conveyed to me the expression of an opinion which, as I know, you have frequently urged on Her Majesty's former advisers, namely, that it would be expedient to keep in view the ultimate policy of incorporating

British Kaffraria with the Cape Colony, and even, if possible, of uniting all Her Majesty's dominions in South Africa under some common (and of course free) government.

"If I have in any way misinterpreted your views, you will excuse the inadvertency, as on so complicated and extensive a subject it is possible I may not have thoroughly understood you.

"The experience which your administration of these dependencies has now given you, added to the ability and political knowledge which you have displayed in former employments, as well as in this, give a high value in the eyes of Her Majesty's Government to the expression of your deliberate sentiments on such a question; and it appears to me that it is one on which it is highly desirable, however difficult, that a definite understanding should be arrived at."

The despatch in which Sir George Grey answered the private communication of the 6th of September is one of the most important State documents ever penned by him. Its primary intention was no doubt to deal with the question immediately raised respecting a possible confederation of South African States. The consideration of this subject led him to weigh many other questions which directly or indirectly affected the main point.

He had long been grieved by the misconceptions under which the Imperial authorities laboured concerning the character and plans of the colonists, as well as the value of the territories which they inhabited. These misconceptions generally arose from the reports and statements made officially to the Home Government by officers employed in the different dependencies, who from various causes had arrived at erroneous conclusions.

It often happened that men of no special adaptation

for the work in hand, selected without due regard to their capacity, were the only means of communication, and the only sources of information. Grey had encountered this difficulty in Western Australia, in South Australia, and in New Zealand; and very many of the obstacles which he had to overcome in his official career arose from false estimates thus formed in the great departments of State in London.

In the case of South Africa he found these erroneous impressions multiplied and intensified. The official and confidential correspondence of successive Governors and high officers of State, written frequently under the pressure of impending calamity or harassing danger, had produced a very serious but essentially false estimate of the Cape and its people in Downing Street and Whitehall.

When, on the 19th of November, 1858, he proceeded to answer this despatch, he first stated the fact of such false impressions having been created and circulated, before offering his own advice and suggestions as to the proper course to be adopted. A summary of the belief which had thus been engendered was given by Sir George in the following words:—

“When the policy was adopted of dividing South Africa into many States, bound together by no ties of union, it was thought that the mother country derived no real benefit from the possession of this part of the African continent, except in holding the seaport of Simon’s Bay. It was also thought that peace was ruin to the Cape Colony; that the expenditure of British money during wars made the fortunes of its inhabitants; that they therefore encouraged such wars, often in the most profligate and unscrupulous manner. The European inhabitants beyond the Orange River were believed to be really rebels. It was thought that even in Cape Town it might at any

moment be necessary to employ a military force to punish the inhabitants and to prevent the commission of disgraceful scenes. So strongly was this apprehension of disloyalty felt, that even when the countries beyond the Orange River were thrown off, and the question of their federation amongst themselves arose, it was thought that it would be desirable to encourage such a measure, not with a view to the interests of the inhabitants, but because if they were united into one country they would have but one government and one capital; that, therefore, when it was necessary to punish or reconquer them, it would be only requisite to deliver one blow at one point, instead of several blows at two or more points.

“It was further thought that the occupation by Great Britain of the country beyond the Orange River had been a bubble and a farce, in which the Cape colonists were all interested; and it was to them a great gaming-table, and out of the reach of the police; that the country was itself, in great part, a desert, and would hardly keep half-starved antelopes; that it could never produce wool, as the Boers were so prejudiced that they would keep nothing but hairy, fat-tailed sheep; that the labours of the missionaries amongst the native tribes of Africa had produced no results, as no instances were known of real conversions to Christianity, and that it was a lamentable fact that all the Christianity amongst the native tribes in Southern Africa was purchased and paid for—its principal and sole object and end being the facility which such means afforded of obtaining gunpowder.

“These opinions prevailing regarding the country and its inhabitants, the necessary consequence was that Her Majesty’s Government determined to rid themselves of such costly and troublesome possessions, and the measures necessary for doing this were

hurriedly carried out before any free form of government had been introduced into or tried in any part of South Africa. Necessarily, therefore, the wishes of its inhabitants were in no way consulted in regard to what was done."

Had such reports been true, had the people been rebels, unscrupulous, and greedy; had the country been a waterless desert and useless to Great Britain save for the possession of two harbours, then the policy of dismemberment, which had been already commenced by the abandonment of the Orange Free State, would have been good and sufficient.

But the Governor consistently affirmed that the opinions which had been formed in England regarding the Cape and its people, the land of South Africa and its various inhabitants, were altogether opposed to the facts.

For nearly four years he had diligently studied the people and the country he had been sent to govern. He felt himself competent to pronounce a decisive judgment upon both. And he proceeded in his despatch, not merely to give a history of what had been done under the false impressions existing, but to sketch the possible dangers which menaced that portion of the Empire, and the steps which, in his opinion, should be taken to ensure its safety and to make it prosperous.

Its people, he contended, were not rebels, but law-abiding and law-loving subjects. He had always acted on this belief, and in no case had he been disappointed. In two notable instances, then present to his mind, the loyalty of the Cape people had been signally displayed. They had voted the necessary money to pay the Hottentot pensioners, and so redeemed the promises of British Ministers, while at the terrible crisis in India they had sent troops and money, and even given their own private horses for the cavalry

and artillery in Bengal. They were indeed impatient of oppression, and high-spirited as a race. The founders of the colony had drawn their blood from two noble strains, one of which had flowed in the veins of Dutchmen renowned for their stubborn bravery and unbounded perseverance; the other was traced from that great line of French Protestants who, like the Puritan founders of the United States, had fled from their native land to find in distant regions a home for civil and religious liberty.

From races such as these, upon which were grafted the gradual accretions of two centuries, he held that a people, intelligent and strong, loyal and true-hearted, had arisen. But it was necessary in order to their proper government, that those who ruled them should understand them, and that instead of being driven by the hand of power they should be led by the hand of sympathy.

Grey was convinced that the policy of confidence in the people was a policy of wisdom and justice. During his whole career he acted upon this principle, and he never had reason to regret it. When in after years he advocated Home Rule for Ireland he rested upon this principle of confidence in the governed which he had never known to fail.

Considered in the light of history and reason there can be no doubt that Sir George's argument is absolutely correct. It is founded upon the innate nobility of our common nature. It appeals to the very highest attributes of humanity. It builds upon the only durable basis—not upon fear—not merely upon authority.

When Governments will thus take the people into their confidence the peaceful ending of civil disputes will be, to use Mr. Gladstone's memorable words, "within measurable distance."

Regarding the native races, he held that they also could be raised in the social scale and made useful subjects of the Crown. In this direction also, it was necessary that the duty of instruction and government should be fulfilled, not in a perfunctory manner, but with zeal and affection.

To the slanders upon South Africa itself he gave an indignant denial. Large portions of the southern part of the great continent were eminently fertile. Some were well watered, and the climate was in many places good, in some almost perfect. In his own words, "The countries which lie beyond the Orange River are very fertile and productive. Some of them are so to the highest degree. Their extent may be said to be boundless, and in many portions they are capable of carrying a very dense population."

There was present to the mind of Sir George Grey while writing this despatch, a feeling of the evil influences resulting from the method of appointing Governors to the various colonies then practised. This feeling was afterwards strengthened from the year 1867 when the rule was first adopted and acted upon, of sending peers or the sons of peers to represent the Crown in the great consulates.

Believing in the righteousness and wisdom of local self-government in these distant parts of the empire, and that the great offices of state should be the reward of merit, he desired that an educated people should in every instance frame its own laws and administer its own affairs. Thus believing, he perceived that the appointment of Governors by Ministers at Home, tended to raise an aristocracy—generally of wealth—in every colony, thus perpetuating in the new world the vices of the older systems, and rendering necessary the same political and social struggles in these nascent nations, which were convulsing the

Kingdoms of Europe and threatening them with revolution.

He thought that every office of the State should be free and open. That to restrict the appointment of great officials to the uncontrolled voice of a Minister in another land was to cramp and confine the energies and hopes of the community, while it degraded the people so governed by declaring them to be incompetent and inferior.

He had in New Zealand raised a new and better system. The Superintendents of the different provinces were in reality Lieutenant-Governors, elected by the people. This had been recognised by the Imperial Parliament, and remarked upon by the two Secretaries of State for the Colonies—Earl Grey and Sir John Pakington—under whose administration of colonial affairs the New Zealand Constitution Act of 1852 had been framed and passed.

There was also strongly present to his mind the policy which the Imperial Government had determined to adopt in South Africa. The European population was to be treated as the emigrant Boers in the Transvaal and the inhabitants of the Orange River Sovereignty had been treated; that is, they were to be dealt with in the same fashion as a series of railway trucks when not wanted—they were to be “shunted”—while the Kafirs and other native races were to be repressed and governed by a strong military force, but still to enjoy their own savage and barbarous customs.

From each of these courses Sir George Grey dissented. He condemned them both equally. He had recognised the probability of a conflict between the Home Government and himself upon these subjects. But he was so convinced of the righteousness of his own purposes and the soundness of his own judgment,

that he determined at all risks to avert what he considered on the one hand would be a national calamity, and on the other an unworthy perpetuation of barbarism and tyranny. And this he resolved to accomplish by convincing Her Majesty's advisers that his recommendations were for the honour of the Crown and the welfare of the Empire. Thus he hoped to prevail upon them to abandon a plan which he believed to be suicidal, and to inspire in the minds of the colonists and native tribes an earnest desire for knowledge and political power, which would at once create self-respect, and render them mutually useful to each other.

From all sides of the question—the governing and the governed, the Empire and the Colonies, the rights of free men and the hopes of civilization for savages—these grave considerations forced themselves upon him. The Government should be of the people and for the people. The people themselves should be made fit to exercise political power and to enjoy the full and equal rights of freemen.

It was impossible, as it would have been impertinent, to have included arguments of so wide a scope in this answer to Sir E. B. Lytton's secret despatch. Yet the light and reason which flowed from such extensive trains of thought impelled the Governor to a full and exhaustive answer upon the immediate questions submitted to him.

He concluded by advising that the several legislatures of the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, and the Orange Free State should be empowered to found a federal union embracing Kaffraria within their limits, and with authority to adopt into the Union, then or thereafter, all States which might wish to join them, including Native States, with large powers of self-government.

He urged that all these considerations showed "the

desirability of allowing the people of South Africa an opportunity of exercising some influence on their own future destiny." Regarding the details of the form of government to be proposed, Sir George Grey stated that the Constitution of New Zealand would furnish a suitable model, and it could be so altered "as to suit in every particular the circumstances of South Africa." The soundness of his judgment in this last recommendation was vindicated by the fact that Canada was thus federated in less than ten years.

In subsequent despatches from Downing Street to the Cape, and from the Cape to Downing Street, the whole scope of federation, not only between the scattered communities then subject to the Crown, but also the Free States of the Transvaal and the Orange River, as well as some of the principal native dominions, was suggested. The matter was the subject of continuous comment between the Home Government and South Africa. It was stated by Sir George Grey that the Volksraad of the Free State had passed resolutions affirming the advisability of a union or alliance with the Cape. Indeed, the federation of South Africa seemed a possible, if not probable, event, with the full and entire concurrence of the Home Government, at no very distant day.

When the Parliament of 1859 met at Cape Town, Sir George Grey placed before it the resolutions of the Orange River Volksraad, and in the course of his address used the following terms:—"You would, in my belief, confer a lasting benefit upon Great Britain and upon the inhabitants of this country if you could succeed in devising a form of federal union, under which the several provinces composing it should have full and free scope of action left to them, through their own local governments and legislatures, upon all subjects relating to their individual prosperity or happi-

ness; whilst they should act under a general federal government in relation to all points which concern the general safety or weal."

He further continued to point out that in federation of the different South African States alone lay safety and success. A copy of this address was, of course, transmitted to Her Majesty's Government in London, with full explanations and comments.

To Sir George Grey's great surprise he received an answer upon the 5th of May, conveying an expression of dissatisfaction at his having brought the question of a federation of the South African provinces before the Cape Parliament without any authority from the Ministers at Home. In reply, Sir George sent a short but concise explanation of his conduct; of the reasons that had induced that conduct, reciting the various items of correspondence from Great Britain which had led him to suppose that the Imperial Government desired him to take the steps which he had taken.

On the 4th of June, 1859, the final answer came. After a long review of Sir George's whole administration, Sir E. B. Lytton commanded him to surrender his Government and to return to England. The deductions in Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton's despatch as to Sir George Grey's culpability in the matter of the federation are not borne out by the facts adduced, or by the arguments used. Even in this despatch, which was evidently intended to close the connection between Sir George Grey and the Imperial Government at once and for ever, the Secretary for the Colonies did not attempt to cast a slight upon the character or achievements of a public servant who had been so singularly useful and universally successful as Sir George Grey.

"I acknowledge," he says, "the large and comprehensive nature of your views, the mixture of firmness

and benevolence which has characterised your dealing with the native races, the sagacity with which you have foreseen and averted probable collisions, and the able policy by which you have availed yourself of unexpected and strange events in their history, so as to use them at once for their advantage and for the security of the colony. I am very conscious of the serious nature of the step taken by Her Majesty's Government when they deprive themselves of the services of one so highly endowed as yourself, but I am also satisfied that no other alternative is left them. They could not safely continue to entrust with your present functions one committed, as you have committed yourself, to a policy of which they disapprove on a subject of the first importance; nor could they expect from you the necessary assistance when steps, which you have taken without that authority, have of necessity to be retraced.

"I shall take the first opportunity of informing you of the appointment of a successor, and of any other steps which Her Majesty's Government may propose to take."

Immediately upon the receipt of this despatch, Sir George penned an elaborate statement—which indeed is more of a State memorandum than a despatch—in which, having entered fully into every aspect of the subject, he exonerates himself from all blame, and places his own conduct in an unassailable position. The closing paragraph of that despatch (dated July 20th, 1859) is a noble vindication of his conduct which deserves to be placed upon record and to be remembered:

"If, then, success is not to be the measure of the necessity and propriety of the amount of the responsibility assumed, how is it to be estimated? None can deny that, surrounded by the novel and trying diffi-

culties with which I had to grapple, instantly, without having received any instructions from Her Majesty's Government in relation to them, and without any power of obtaining such, I have, with the aid of the many able officers and public functionaries in this country, been fortunately successful. Can, then, Her Majesty's advisers undertake to say that if I had in any instance assumed less responsibility, Her Majesty's South African possessions would have been preserved intact, and have been raised to the condition in which they now are? If this is asserted, let it be shown how much too much responsibility I am believed to have assumed. Can a man, who on a distant and exposed frontier, surrounded by difficulties, with invasions of Her Majesty's territories threatening on several points, assumes a responsibility which he, guided by many circumstances which he can neither record nor remember as they come hurrying on one after another, be fairly judged of in respect of the amount of responsibility he assumes by those who, in the quiet of distant offices in London, know nothing of the anxieties or nature of the difficulties he had to encounter? If Her Majesty's possessions and Her Majesty's subjects are saved from threatening dangers, and they gratefully acknowledge this, whilst the Empire receives no hurt, is it a fitting return that the only reward he should receive should be the highest punishment which it is in the power of Her Majesty's Ministers to inflict? This may be the reward they bestow; but the true one of the consciousness of difficult duties performed to the best of his ability, with great personal sacrifice, they cannot take from him."

The unprecedented circumstances which had happened since Sir George Grey had accepted, at the request of the Duke of Newcastle, the care of South

Africa, had compelled him to a certain course of action, which had thus at last ended with his summary dismissal from his office. The affair of the Hottentot pensions; the dispute as to the revenue of British Kaffraria; the sending of the China army to India; the levying of the German Legion, thus adding to the military forces of the Empire without the sanction of Parliament; and, lastly, the suggestions for a confederated South Africa, were all illustrations of a principle which he contended for, and believed to be not only correct, but essential.

He felt that the Empire was in a state of transition, and, therefore, liable to sudden dangers which, if the public safety were to be secured, must be met and averted as they arose. As he had explained to Colonel Hope, when diverting the China army, and as he had stated in his memorandum in answer to accusations made against him on his return from New Zealand, he held as an article of faith that it was necessary, at whatever cost or personal sacrifice, that the great officers of the Empire should, upon such occasions, take upon themselves the full responsibility of doing as they might see fit. He acted on the true reading of the Latin maxim, *Salus populi suprema lex*, and felt that he was right in so acting.

To break through the orders of the Horse Guards and the War Office and himself issue fresh commands, would have been, under ordinary circumstances, little short of high treason; but in the face of the Indian Mutiny it was mere common sense. To raise fresh regiments and add them to the strength of the British army *would be*, under ordinary circumstances, high treason; but when Sir George Grey recalled the German Legion to its standards and sent it to Bombay, it was the act of a far-seeing and patriotic statesman. It was well for England and well for

India that at the Cape in 1857, there was a man who dared do all things when he felt he was in the right.

The natural consequences of such a course of conduct, especially when actions of this nature were repeated, ensued. His recall was sooner or later inevitable, and for the same reason it became certain that sooner or later Sir George Grey's connection with the Colonial Office must perforce cease. He was, as Ministers did not hesitate to say, too strong a man. As afterwards in England he sacrificed his political prospects to his sense of right and justice, so in his career as a Colonial Governor, he voluntarily placed himself in such a position as to close the gates against himself to the highest promotion in the public service.

The esteem of good men, the consciousness of work well done, the rewards which, in this world and the world to come, will be bestowed upon public virtue and public courage, are and will be his ; but, none the less, he was called upon to illustrate the truth that they who lead in that which is great and good, must be content to bear the martyr's cross.

Sir George Grey lost no time in obeying the orders thus received. He broke up his establishment at serious pecuniary loss to himself, and took passage for England. South Africa was overshadowed by astonishment and consternation. The prevalence of peace and good government raised by Grey's five years of administration—the sense of safety never before enjoyed—the hopes of future prosperity built upon the continuance of his wise and firm policy—were rudely swept away by a despatch from a gentleman whom the people had never seen and only knew by reputation, in whose estimation the lives and welfare of a million of people, civilized and barbarian, were not equal in importance to the continuance of

official control, and to the necessity of a blind obedience.

This difference between the Ministry and Sir George, led to results which never could have been anticipated, and which were destined to bring suffering and loss and shame upon Great Britain and South Africa in future years.

The principal Secretary of State for the Colonies at this time was the well-known novelist, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton. The Parliamentary Under-Secretary was the Earl of Carnarvon. Henry Howard Molyneux Herbert was then in his twenty-eighth year. Fresh from the schools, proud of his academic distinctions, accustomed to the praises of his peers and the flattery and subservience of his inferiors, he had entered public life with settled convictions as to his own ability and the sacred rights of his order. With one or two others, such as Earl Kimberley, Lord Carnarvon took a leading position in English politics as a peer without first serving his apprenticeship in the Commons.

The valuable lessons to be learned while contesting a seat in the popular assembly, and by participating in the keen debates of the Representative Chamber, were thus denied to him. Ushered at once into a prominent position, he was placed in a delicate and dangerous situation. As if to add at once to the responsibility and the perils which encompassed the young Earl's path, Bulwer Lytton became seriously unwell. Driven by illness to seek the waters and mild climate of Malvern, the Chief Secretary had to devolve well nigh the whole active conduct of his great department upon Lord Carnarvon. To the young peer Sir George Grey's conduct in all these matters (some of which happened within his own experience, while others had come to his knowledge

from the recent history of the department) amounted to less than treason, but more than insubordination.

Lord Carnarvon's mind was made up. Sir George might have rendered great services to the nation, but he must henceforth be dispensed with. To use the noble Earl's own words, which in after years he did not hesitate to utter, "Sir George Grey was a dangerous man." His actions might be successful, but the doom of any public servant who acted as Sir George Grey had done was, in Lord Carnarvon's mind, already decreed. He must be got rid of. He was a dangerous man. Thus were sown the seeds, the harvest of which in 1877-81 England and South Africa were to reap in suffering and in tears. The mind of the young peer became so violently prejudiced against Sir George Grey, as to preclude the possibility of his ever again employing this bold defier of all constituted authority in the service of the Crown. Only upon this theory is it possible to understand the acts of Lord Carnarvon in relation to Sir George Grey and to affairs in South Africa on this occasion and in after years.

CHAPTER XXX.

DISMAY OF SOUTH AFRICA.

“The kindest man,
The best-conditioned and unwearied spirit
In doing courtesies.”

Merchant of Venice.

THE sudden news of the Governor's recall spread sorrow and dismay over every community in South Africa. The disagreements between Sir George Grey and the great departments in Whitehall were generally known. Well-informed people had long been cognizant of the fact that the independence of Governor Grey and his original method of acting upon his own belief, irrespective of orders or established rules, had caused great bitterness at headquarters, but so valuable were the services he had rendered, so indispensable his assistance in the maintenance of the Imperial authority, that no one dreamed that the blow now delivered was imminent.

The whole people rose in expostulation. From every district, every race, and all classes, there went up one common cry of disapproval and sorrow. Meetings were held, resolutions passed, and petitions signed, praying Her Majesty to rescind the obnoxious order of recall, and to reappoint Sir George Grey to the scene of his successful labours. The tidings “staggered and excited the country from one end to the other,” wrote the Metropolitan of Cape Town to

the Bishop of Oxford; and, to quote from the report of a member of the Cambridge Committee on the Oxford and Cambridge mission to Central Africa, "filled the minds of all interested in the missionary cause with dismay, and threatened the extinction of some of the most hopeful work ever yet undertaken in the colony."

The Fingoes, after long deliberation, framed their prayer to the Queen thus:—

TO THE GREAT QUEEN VICTORIA.

Oh, our Great Queen, graciously look upon us. We, thy subjects, Fingoes, residing at Grahamstown, desire to approach thy feet and pray before thee.

For a long time we have sat under thy Government, loving thy authority and thy customs.

In thy kindness thou didst send us Sir George Grey, that he might administer rule over us.

We saw when he arrived that he was just such a chief as we black people needed. He manifested his love towards us in many things. He helped us in all things. He gave us ground to live upon, that we might no longer be as wanderers and strangers without location. He built us great schools, that our children might enter them and learn nicely, like the children of English people.

We rejoiced for all these things. We said, "We are a blessed people under our Queen Victoria. We are like children who have a father in all things to preserve, feed, and help them."

But to-day we are smitten with sorrow by hearing very heavy tidings, viz., that thou, our Great Queen, hast called home our chief, Sir George Grey. To-day our hearts weep: they are dead because of this. We say, "Has our Queen forsaken us or not? Having deprived us of our father, we are now orphans indeed." No, our Great Queen, don't throw us away. Regard our prayer and send back our chief, that he may again come and live with us and comfort us by taking away our crying.

And may the Lord of Heaven look upon thee and bless thee with all the blessings of this earth, and when thou leavest this world may He give thee a throne in Heaven.

Amid all the petitions which were forwarded from

the different parts of South Africa, there was one which can fairly be regarded as the representation of the opinions and wishes of all classes and conditions of people in that portion of the Queen's dominions. It was headed:—

THE HUMBLE PETITION OF THE UNDERSIGNED LAND HOLDERS, BANKERS, MERCHANTS, AGRICULTURISTS AND OTHERS.

HUMBLY SHOWETH,—That Your Majesty's loyal subjects in South Africa have derived great benefits from the wise, prudent, and active administration of the Colonial Government by His Excellency Sir George Grey, to whom your majesty was graciously pleased to commit the arduous duty of restoring and consolidating peace and good order over a vast country, recently the scene of cruel wars and confusion, and always exposed to a recurrence of danger unless guarded and kept in a state of preparation by men of ability and large experience in colonial affairs.

That the high character which Sir George Grey had acquired in the course of many years' service under Your Majesty, in administering the affairs of European settlements in the neighbourhood of barbarous tribes, and with equal ability and success in pacifying and promoting the welfare and civilisation of those native populations themselves, has been fully sustained and rendered still more eminent by the whole course of his proceedings at the Cape of Good Hope.

The petitioners then proceeded to express the perilous condition in which Sir George Grey had found the colony—the skill and fortitude with which all these untoward circumstances had been met and overcome; the high state of prosperity to which under God's blessing, the Governor had been able to lead that portion of the Queen's Dominions; the confidence which all men had learnt to repose in his wisdom and courage, and the gratitude and affection which he had earned from the multitudinous races and peoples who, in that part of the world, were

subjects of the Crown, or who lived in contiguity with her people.

After depicting the regret and alarm with which they had heard the statement of his recall, the petitioners thus closed this memorable document:—

That while humbly presenting to your majesty every expression of loyalty and devotion to your Majesty's person and Government, and carefully abstaining from any wish to encroach on the undoubted prerogative of their revered and beloved Sovereign, Your Majesty's petitioners would pray permission to lay their petition at the foot of the Throne for a reconsideration of the measure which Your Majesty has been advised to adopt in this instance. They entertain a hope that when all the circumstances of this colony and the neighbouring communities shall have been fully unfolded to Your Majesty, and the whole tenor and effect of Sir George Grey's administration made apparent, Your Majesty may see cause consistently with the principles of Your Majesty's Government, and the honour and dignity of the Crown, to gratify the wishes and desires of your people by restoring to them a Governor, who, from their experience, they believe will ever give Your Majesty the highest satisfaction.

This petition, typical of the general feeling of the colonists and their neighbours, was signed by Mr. J. B. Ebden, Chairman of the public meeting, and 2,272 others.

The universal prayer of the people was that Sir George Grey might be re-appointed. To such a prayer, no Sovereign, least of all Victoria, would have turned a deaf ear, and even Downing Street, with its case-hardened officialism, its Tite Barnacles and red tapeism, would have been forced to yield. The people trusted that when due consideration had been given to the whole subject, and when Her Majesty's Ministers had time to reconsider their decision, their petitions would be granted. There were many amongst them who did not fear to assert, both in speech and writing, that such a universal

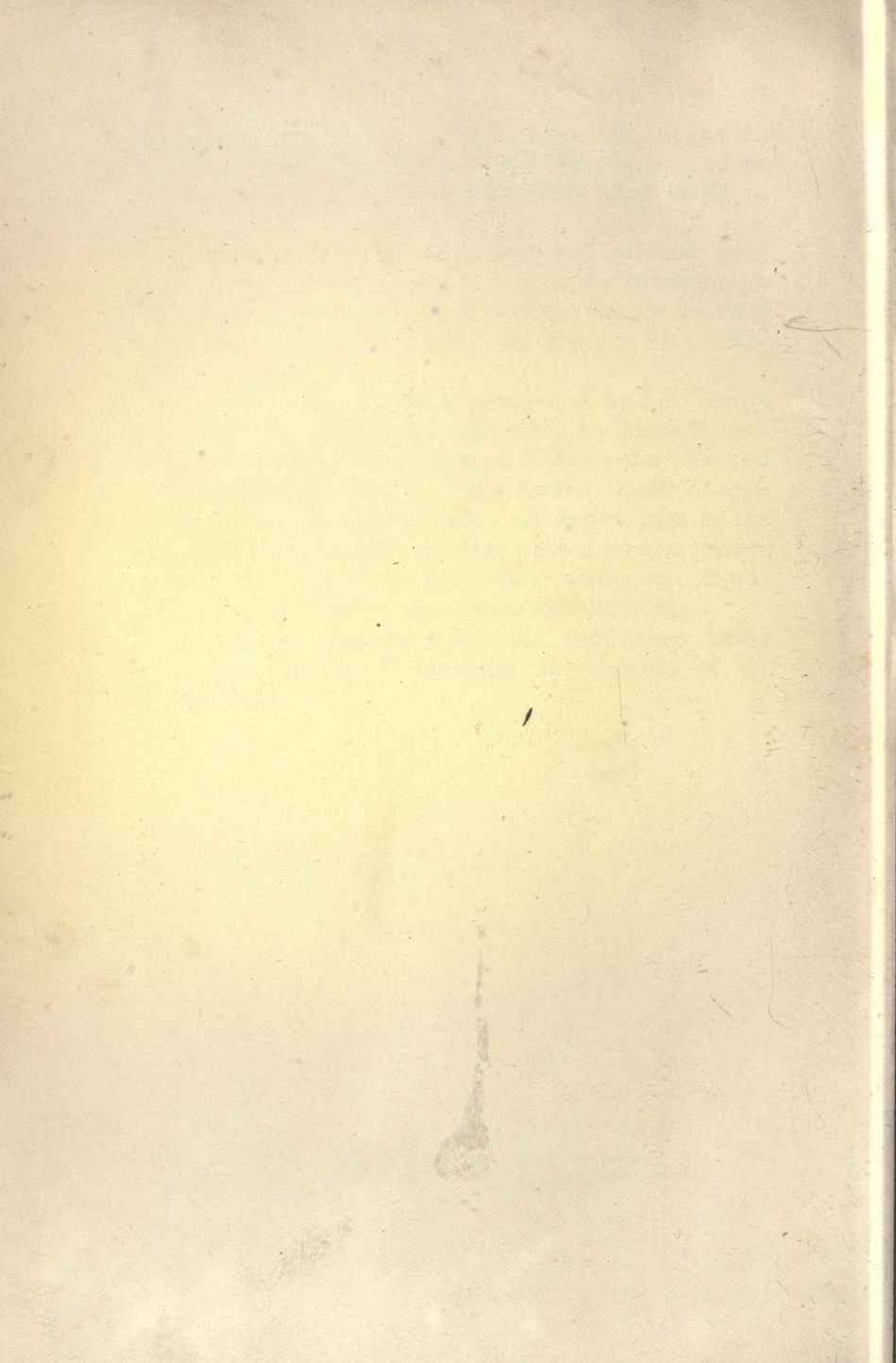
expression of opinion as had been given, would influence public opinion in Great Britain, and cause the re-appointment of the Governor they loved so well.

Without their knowledge this had already been done, but the test applied drew forth the spontaneous feelings cherished in the hearts of the people for their ruler, and revealed the estimation in which Sir George Grey was held.

The last public function performed by Sir George Grey was one peculiarly agreeable to himself, and consisted in laying the foundation stone of a new and commodious Hospital in Cape Town. Lord Charles Somerset had formerly taken an active part in the erection of a hospital. As time passed on this proved entirely inadequate to the public wants, and it was determined to erect a more capacious building.

Sir George insisted upon the institution being called the Somerset Hospital in memory of his predecessor.

END OF VOL. I.





DA
17
G8R3
v.1

Rees, William Lee
The life and times of Sir
George Grey.

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

