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New Zealand Colonization

John Jennings

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DETAILS OF THE SYSTEM OF
THE NEW ZEALAND COMPANY,
AND OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF
THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT;
WITH OBJECTIONS STATED, AND REMEDIES PROPOSED
IN A PLAN FOR
THE NEXT SETTLEMENT;
SUGGESTED WITH THE VIEW OF PRESERVING ALL THE advantages OF COLONIZATION TO THE COLONISTS THEMSELVES.

BY
JOHN JENNINGS,
NEW ZEALAND AGENT.

LONDON:
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1843.

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NEW ZEALAND COLONIZATION,

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THE Islands of New Zealand, situated in the Southern Pacific Ocean, and occupying nearly that part of the globe's surface which lies at the antipodes of the British Isles, seem relatively to surrounding countries, destined to become the Britain of the southern hemisphere; – writers have often instituted comparisons between the natural capabilities and advantages of the two groups of islands, and have endeavoured to shew the probability of New Zealand being in future ages as eminent for commerce and navigation as our native land. And, however profitless these speculations may be deemed, since it must be admitted our actual knowledge of the islands is as yet insufficient to justify such magnificent anticipations, nevertheless – the reports of traders visiting the coasts, of travellers exploring the interior, of naval officers, of missionaries, of English farmers, of men of science, and of men of commerce – have all agreed, if not equally in representing New Zealand as the most desirable of all lands, yet at least as being eminently adapted for the purposes of British colonizing enterprise.

And neither are these reports collected from an experience of too limited duration, and opinions formed upon them to be pronounced premature on that account. There have been British residents on the islands, both traders and numerous missionaries, for nearly twenty years, and now we have the additional accounts of from two to three years successful progress of large bodies of actual colonists.

Slow incredulity is as fruitful of failure, as rash confidence, nay the latter has chances in its favor, since success can only be attained by action; and however croakings may occasionally be heard, proceeding probably from parties biassed in favour of other colonies, or from others prejudiced against emigration itself, or uttered by some repentant idler colonist in self justification for deserting an enterprise, in which he had proved himself to have been unfitted to embark; nevertheless the inquirer who endeavors to hold opinions in a just balance, will have no cause to fear the continued success of the new settlements.

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Divesting New Zealand colonization of that character of romance, with which some of its enthusiastic advocates have enveloped it, and which more than anything else has tended to bring into question the wisdom and honesty of its promoters; there still remain, it must be admitted, amply sufficient grounds for asserting its encouragement to be of immense national importance.

It need not be assumed by the advocates of emigration, that it presents a competent remedy for all the evils to which a country is subjected by over-population – a country such as our own, where the population cannot find sufficient objects for the profitable application of its industry and capital, so that each individual may obtain the means of comfortable subsistence; where there is, as at present with us, such an immense pressure of competition, that numbers in every pursuit, whether they therein employ their labor, or their capital, are either excluded from the market altogether, or compelled so to reduce their prices, that they no longer obtain adequate remuneration for their products. It is not necessary that emigration be a sufficient remedy for a national distress, it is enough that it be admitted to afford relief in the degree to which it is applied. And whilst we have only to refer to the official returns of emigration to be satisfied of the great extent of the relief already thus afforded, we need

but to observe the ratio of its annual increase to be convinced of the fast growing disposition to resort to it.

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But the thinning of the population is not perhaps the greatest benefit the mother country derives from emigration; the establishment of every new settlement, is the opening of a new market for the productions of her industry, new channels for the augmentation of her commerce; and the great employment given to shipping, both in the conveyance out of the colonists, and in the carrying trade created by them, is also to be considered.

The attractions which New Zealand holds out to intending colonists, may be stated to be – First, the exuberant fertility of its soil – the quantity greater or less, which there may be found of level and cultivable land in proportion to the whole surface of the islands, although it must of course have an immense influence as regards the future importance of the colony, does not for the present very much affect the prospects of the individual settler; it is sufficient that there are known to be extensive districts capable of being immediately brought into profitable cultivation.

Secondly – The excellence of its climate, both as regards salubrity and adaptation to the English constitution, and its agreeable, mild, and equal temperature; and as regards the advantages it offers for the greater regularity and success of agricultural operations, and the obtaining of a large production.

Thirdly – The superiority of its commercial position, and the possession of fine harbors for facilitating commerce, and commanding foreign markets for its produce.

And – Fourthly, may be mentioned, the great beauty of the scenery, and the diversified character of the surface of the country.

These seem to present the inducements which have operated on the numerous emigrants, who since the year 1839, have chosen New Zealand for their future home. But it is

not the present object of the writer, to examine whether New Zealand has claims for preference over other colonies, still less to pronounce upon the expediency of directing emigration thither; he purposes simply to enquire into those methods which are at present in operation for colonizing the islands, pointing out what he considers to be their defects, and suggesting improvements. With these remarks, then, he will proceed to give an outline of the proceedings which have as yet marked the course of New Zealand colonization.

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The New Zealand Company was formed early in the spring of 1839; the declared purpose being, the – "employing capital in the purchase and re-sale of lands in New Zealand, and the promotion of emigration to that country." The first step taken by the company in furtherance of these objects, was the appointment of Colonel Wakefield, as their agent, and despatching him with instructions to purchase lands from the natives, and to select a location for their first and principal settlement. Colonel Wakefield sailed in the ship *Tory* on the 5th May. The Company then proceeded to offer on public sale, 990 out of 1,100 allotments (110 being reserved to be appropriated to the benefit of the aborigines); each allotment consisting of a section of 100 acres of rural land, and a section of 1 acre of town land; so that the preliminary lands of the first settlement (Wellington, Port Nicholson) comprised in all 111,100 acres. The price of each allotment was £100, and the right of priority of choice of the land sections was to be determined by a lottery. Upon this sale the company bound themselves to expend 75 per cent, of the proceeds, in sending laborers to the settlement; with the exception that purchasers going out, were granted upon their purchases, a passage allowance to the same extent, of course deducted from the emigration funds.

The whole of the preliminary lands of the first settlement

were speedily bought up. The accounts received from South Australia down to that period had been very flattering, and the details of the enormous profits made upon the first land purchases in that colony, no doubt quickened the public avidity for engaging in the present speculation.

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On the 1st August, the company despatched the *Cuba*, with a staff of surveyors to make preparation for the colonists; and in the middle of September, the ships *Aurora*, *Oriental*, and *Adelaide*, sailed from the Thames, conveying to the settlement 78 cabin, and 401 steerage passengers; other ships followed in succession, so that previous to the 31st May, 1842, in all 4,302 passengers had been conveyed out, in 29 ships.

In January 1840, a branch company was established at Plymouth, with the view of facilitating emigration from the West of England. The Plymouth Company having sent out instructions to Colonel Wakefield to select a location for their settlement, and afterwards despatched a party of surveyors to prepare it, forthwith proceeded to sell land upon the following scheme –

2,200 town sections of 1/4 acre each,
209 suburban sections of 50 acres each,

And at least 1,150 rural sections of 50 acres each, an equal reserve of one eleventh of all these lands being made for the natives, as in the earlier colony. The company first offered 1,000 of the town sections, at the price of £10 each, reserving 1,000 for disposal combined with the rural sections, at £75 the allotment, consisting of one of each; and the suburban sections were sold first at £50, but the price was afterwards raised to £100, and the sale restricted to emigrants only. The right of priority of choice was to be determined by lottery, excepting in the case of the rural sections, with regard to which, it was to follow the presentation of the land-order in the colony. The company guaranteed an expenditure of 15s. an acre, to be applied to emigration, and

passage allowances were made to purchasers of town lands (with certain restrictions) to the extent of 50 per cent., and of rural lands to the extent of 60 per cent.

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Upon the merger of the Plymouth Branch into the London Company, in May, 1841, the conditions of sale were altered; and of the 1,000 reserved town sections, 250 only, together with 250 of the rural sections, then remaining unsold, were retained for sale in England; in allotments at £75, with a passage allowance to the extent of 25 per cent, upon purchases of £300 and upwards; instructions being at the same time transmitted to the settlement, to sell by public auction, the residue of the reserved town sections and of the rural sections, and 130 suburban sections then also remaining unsold – to be put up in such portions and at such upset prices, as should be from time to time determined by the company's agents.

The *Amelia Thompson*, with 31 cabin, and 153 steerage passengers, the first party of colonists for this settlement, sailed from Plymouth on the 25th March, 1841; since then, other ships have followed, and in all, up to the 31st May, 1842, 5 ships have conveyed out 755 passengers.

In February, 1841, the company issued proposals for the formation of a second settlement, in reality the third, but second as originated by the London board. Hitherto the company had bound themselves to no expenditure for the benefit of their colonists, beyond what was necessary for putting the purchasers in possession of their lands, and the stipulated disbursements for free emigration; whatever other expenses had been incurred, had been entirely voluntary, or such as tended to make their settlements attractive to other emigrants, and so promoted the interests of the company themselves; but in the scheme of the second, or Nelson settlement, other objects were proposed to be accomplished, and were provided for by an increase in the price of the land sections. An agent, Captain Arthur Wakefield, and a staff

of surveyors, were despatched to select and prepare the site; and then 221,100 acres, to constitute the preliminary lands, were offered for public sale, deducting one eleventh part as before for native reserves. These lands were divided into 1,100 allotments of three sections each, one comprising 150 acres of rural land, another 50 acres of "accommodation" land, and the third 1 acre of town land. The price of each allotment was £300; and of the £300,000 to be raised by the sale of the 1,000 allotments, £150,000 were to be appropriated to the free conveyance out of laborers; but out of the 50 per cent, thus appropriated, the directors might at their discretion grant a passage allowance of 25 per cent, on the amount of purchases made by persons going out; of the remaining £150,000, it was provided that £15,000 were to be devoted to religious endowments, £15,000 to the establishment of a college, and £20,000 were to be appropriated for steam navigation; and the residue was to be the company's remuneration and profit. The plan of this settlement was put forth as having been proposed to the company by a party of intending colonists, who were desirous that the special objects here enumerated, should be provided for out of the proceeds of the land sales, and the company are therefore only to be considered as the agents of the colonists for carrying these objects into effect.

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The 30th August was appointed for the lottery to decide the right of priority of choice; and it was notified to the purchasers on that occasion assembled, that the company had themselves been purchasers of 100 allotments, that they had transmitted instructions to offer the sale of 200 in the Australian colonies, that 370 had been disposed of to the public, and that 330 at that time remained for disposal. The first body of colonists, to the number of 70 cabin and 693 steerage passengers, embarked September, 1841; and by the 31st May following, 2,103 persons, in 13 ships, had sailed for this settlement.

By terms of purchase dated the 30th July, 1839, all the first settlement preliminary lands having been previously disposed of, the company opened the sale of country lands in any of their possessions, in sections of 100 acres, at £100 each section, contracting to expend 75 per cent, upon emigration, but out of this, making the purchaser going out a passage allowance to the extent of 60 per cent, on his purchase; by further terms, dated 1st November, 1840, the sale was restricted to country lands in the first settlement, and the price raised to £125 the section, the 60 percent passage allowance being granted as before; but on the 27th of the same month, the passage allowance was discontinued, the contract still being made to apply 75 per cent, to emigration. The company have now stopped the sale of lands of this description in England, and adopted the plan of an upset price and sale by auction in the colony.

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Having thus explicitly detailed the plans of the New Zealand Company for the disposal of their lands, we proceed to point out the strong objections which we think maybe taken to them; these objections consist, in the first place, in the opening the sales to stay-at-home capitalists, and speculators, as investments for money, the profits upon which. are to be derived from re-sale of the lands – secondly, in the mode of determining the right of choice of the sections – and thirdly, in the disposal of the town sections at a merely nominal price, or throwing them in as a bonus, to purchasers of rural land.

First with regard to colonial lands being held by absentee proprietors. The object of the purchaser is profit upon the use of his money, and this profit is derivable solely from the improved value that he knows will be given to his land, by the colonists who take out their capital and labor to cultivate the adjacent sections. Land upon Kennington Common is valuable, not that it has hitherto ever produced any rental; but, because it is surrounded by houses, and it is

known that any vacant space in the neighbourhood, upon which more could be built, would fetch a high price if thrown upon the market. Neither has

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Badminton Park yet been brought into cultivation; but, as possessing the same productive powers as other parts of the county of Gloucester, it is known that large crops of wheat and turnips could be raised upon the land in it, and therefore, if it were cut up into farms, an equal rental to that of the rest of the county could be obtained for it. In the same way, if colonists go to the antipodes, and settle upon waste land, build a town, and lay out farms; the town lots in juxtaposition to those built upon, and the rural sections intermixed with those brought into cultivation, will equally share in the improved value given by the influx of population, and consequent demand for land. But Kennington Common must be sold to the builders, and Badminton Park rented to the farmers, before the estimated value of either will be realized; and just so, colonial lands must be purchased by a colonist, before the stay-at-home capitalist will obtain the return of his investment, and realize his profit. And whether the land-order remain in the hands of the original purchaser, or be repeatedly transferred from one side of Broad Street, to the other, each seller raising the fictitious value upon his next purchaser, before it reach the hands of a colonist; it is the same thing to him, he is impoverished; and the colony suffers by the payment of the difference, between the amount of the first purchase money, and its price to the first colonial purchaser; which according to experience in a very few years amounts to many hundreds per cent.

It may be alleged in answer to this objection, that the young colony benefits by the capital created by the purchase: granted, but to what extent? – the purchase money is divisible into two portions, one portion (in the Wellington settlement 25 per cent., in the Nelson settlement 40 per cent.) is a repayment to the company of their expen-

diture for purchase from government; for surveying; expenses of management; and say for such incidental advantages, as the opening of roads, or any other benefit accruing from the operations of the company in improving the residue of their lands – the other portion is by the terms of sale to be appropriated to emigration; and as the home capitalist does not cultivate, the colony has the advantage of the labor sent out upon his purchase; that is, for the time elapsing whilst the land lies fallow, until it be purchased and taken into occupation by a colonist. Now, of the first portion, a very small part only, and that uncertain in amount, and altogether contingent and without the contract, may be expected to be applied to the general benefit, viz. – that part which will probably be expended by the company in attracting purchasers for their remaining lands; and by the second portion, the actual colonist is benefited only by a small temporary supply of labor in advance, to be hereafter paid for at an enormous cost. The purchasing of land by absenteees, considered as a mode of obtaining advances of money for the colony, constitutes a most improvident arrangement, this we have already shewn, and we will also by and bye endeavour to prove that any such advances are unnecessary; besides, that for the application specified, they are false in principle, the true theory being, that the land actually taken into occupation, should be sold at a price, sufficient to provide enough labor to bring it into cultivation.

But there are other injuries inflicted upon a colony by absentee proprietorship. The colonists are forced into the occupation and cultivation of less valuable land; land is of more or less value, its natural capabilities being equal, by its nearness or distance from the seat of population, from the market for its produce; and this in a new country where roads are of difficult and expensive construction, is a matter of great importance; large intermediate spaces between the

occupied sections produce this injurious effect, and so tend to promote the evils of a scattered population. The cost of conveyance of produce to market, including that of road making, is in such instances a positive loss to the colony.

Another evil is, the leaving unoccupied sections in the middle of the town, however offensive they may be in appearance, or whatever public inconvenience may be thereby produced. In the great majority of cases it is found that the absentee proprietors take no measures for enclosing their lands, and appoint no agents to be responsible to the public on their behalf; agency in most cases, being limited to the mere selection, which is to be attributed to the unwillingness to incur expenses; the proprietor trusting to the principles above explained, leaves his land fallow, until the demand rises for a profitable sale. In this way the expense of enclosing at least the two longest sides of each section, are not shared between the two neighbour proprietors, where one is an absentee, but falls wholly upon the resident; other lesser evils of this nature could be easily pointed out – but a much greater objection is yet to be made.

It lies in the distrust created in the public mind, by the knowledge that under the present system of conducting colonization, there are powerful monied interests at work, necessarily influencing the proceedings of its most active promoters, and supplying a sufficient reason for questioning the correctness of their representations. In emigration, the steps taken, involve consequences of such deep importance, being as regards the interests of the individual, in perhaps the greater number of cases, perfectly irretrievable, that the utmost caution need be exercised; and for a person, say accustomed to the almost uniform aspect and regular routine of English life – a tradesman, it may be, to break up his business connection – or a farmer, to give up his farm, and remove his family to a distant colony; must be admitted to be in all probability the most eventful proceeding, which

occurs in the common course of married life. The present interests of the parents, the future welfare of the children, may be jeopardized, or destroyed; or the best opportunity of improving and securing both, may be missed by one false move, and the remnant of a property, or the slow accumulations of half a life, be thrown away. How well considered then should be every resolve – how carefully should information be collected, and the evidences of its trustworthiness be examined, and the probable motives of the parties communicating it be inquired into. It is no light matter to decide, in the particular circumstances of the individual, on the choice of a colony; and contemplating his object with earnest thoughtfulness, or deep anxiety, he naturally looks with suspicion and disgust upon those men whom, for aught he knows, having it in their power, may be capable of jobbing upon his interests; and further, of misleading him by corrupting the sources of information, in the promotion of their own selfish objects.

The second objection to the company's operations, as already stated, lies against the determination of the "order of choice" by lottery. It would be difficult to shew that this is not gambling, and if there should be law against gambling in one kind of lottery, that the law ought not to interfere and prevent another. The main objection is the moral objection; strengthened by the further probability that this first step in the colonist's progress should kindle the spirit of land gambling, and send him out an idler land-shark to the colony; let those who know human nature, our nature, deny what is likely to be the influence of a fortunate turn of the wheel. Besides there is something frivolous in the character of the process, beneath the dignity of a matter of proper business; those who have witnessed the twirling of the great black cylinders containing the tickets, must have felt this to be the impression produced; and if it can be shewn that another method of distributing land with equal

fairness to each purchaser, and that too with advantages in other respects, can be proposed, let the gambling process be discontinued.

Our third objection lies against the town lots being disposed of gratuitously, or thrown into the scale as makeweights. The rapid increase in value of these sections, constitutes them the most desirable description of land – that portion of the allotments for which such a price could be obtained with the greatest readiness, as would furnish a fund for the public improvement of the settlement. A proportionate price being put upon town sections, would also tend to discourage land speculations; for the acquisition of them is the favorite object of the jobbers, being so much more readily disposable when subdivided, as the market is usually brisk amongst the newly arriving settlers. Besides it is the interest of a colony to encourage the class of producers, and to keep the price of rural lands as low as possible, provided always that sufficient funds be raised to maintain the supply of labor in its necessary proportion; we therefore think it better to raise funds for

general purposes, by putting an adequate price upon town lands, rather than by increasing the price of rural lands.

It may have been expedient in the circumstances of the formation of the first settlement, for the company to have thrown into their allotments the tempting bait of town acres, at the nominal price of £1 each; but we cannot but regard their wholly gratuitous disposal of the town acres in the Nelson allotments, (of course to be taken as the more perfected scheme,) as a sheer and improvident waste of means, exhibiting a great want of foresight on the part of its concocters.

Let us now turn to the measures hitherto taken by the Government, for regulating the settlement of the Islands. In August, 1839, in consequence of the vigorous proceedings of the company, as yet acting without any official sanction, the government deemed it expedient to despatch Captain

William Hobson, R. N., to assume the Lieutenant Governorship of New Zealand, as a dependency of the colony of New South Wales. Captain Hobson proceeded in the Druid frigate to Sydney, and after conferring with Sir George Gipps, the Governor, continued his voyage in her Majesty's ship Herald, and arrived at the Bay of Islands, on the 29th January, 1840. On the next day, after reading his commission, he issued a proclamation denying the validity of all titles of land which had been derived from the natives; and forbidding any future purchases to be made from them; and at the same time notifying the intention of government to establish a commission, to enquire into all land claims on account of past purchases.

Captain Hobson next proceeded to obtain cessions of sovereignty from the chiefs and tribes, reserving to them the ownership in the land, and conferring upon them the rights of British subjects in return for the cession. The whole of the New Zealand group of islands was declared by proclamation to be under the sovereignty of her Majesty, on the 21st May following.

On the 4th August, 1840, a Bill passed the Legislative Council of New South Wales for appointing Commissioners, to hear, examine, and report upon all claims for grants of land in New Zealand; and enacted that all such claims, admitted, should be estimated agreeably to the following scale, and have grants recommended to be assigned to the claimants, in proportion to the amount of their purchase money.

Time when purchases were made.	Per acre.
From to	s. d. s. d.
1st January, 1815, 31st December, 1824,	0 6 to 0 0
1825, " 1829,	0 6 " 0 8
1830, " 1834,	0 8 " 1 0
1835, " 1836,	1 0 " 2 0
1837, " 1838	2 0 " 4 0
1839, " 1839	4 0 " 8 0

– the purchase money to be estimated 50 per cent, above these rates, to claimants non-resident, or not having an agent on the spot – goods when given in barter to the natives to be estimated at three times the selling price in Sydney at the time – all claims to be sent in within six months, or else to be void, unless good cause shewn to the contrary – and no grant under this Act to exceed two thousand, five hundred and sixty acres.

New Zealand was declared by her Majesty in council, on the sixteenth November, 1840, to be independent of the government of New South Wales; and constituted a distinct Colony; and a proclamation to this effect was made at Auckland, on the 3rd May, 1841. On the 9th June, the New South Wales land commission act was repealed by the legislative council of the colony, and a local act substituted, with the same clauses as regarded the disposal of the claims. Up to the 1st August, 1841, about 600 claims had been referred by the governor to the commissioners for hearing; these claims in many cases refer to mere patches of land, but others amount to millions of acres; it is to be remarked that conflicting claims are in very numerous instances, made by different parties, to the same tracts of land.

However, in the governor's address to the second session of the legislative council, on the 14th December, 1841, it is represented that "more extended experience of the nature and extent of claims to land" had convinced the governor of the necessity of remodelling the law passed in the former session; "the claims which had been preferred, having been so numerous, and the quantity of land, so extensive, as to comprise every available tract in the islands," that the conceding to the claimants under this law, awards of portions of the actual land, to which they had established the validity of the purchase from the natives; would give the power to private individuals to lay out townships, and establish settle-

ments, throughout the length and breadth of the islands; from which great difficulties would arise to the government, and the public interest of the colony be seriously injured – whilst the interests of the claimants themselves, would probably in the greater number of cases be best consulted, by such an alteration of the law as would enable the governor to make satisfaction of their claims, by awards of land in districts especially opened for settlement; rather than that they should remain unsatisfied, until surveys could be made in the particular localities where the claim existed; since "with any surveying staff within the means of the colony, many years would necessarily elapse, before the numerous and widely-scattered claims could be satisfactorily disposed of."

The governor having been also previously advised that Her Majesty's Government had made an arrangement with the New Zealand Company, that there should be granted to them in respect to their claims to land, four times as many acres as they had expended pounds in the original purchases from the native chiefs, and in the introduction of emigrants into the colony; and had also declared their intention to apply the same rule to all other claimants, proposed therefore to lay before the council, a bill "to repeal so much of the ordinance then in force, as relates to the rule by which the quantity of land is in each case to be determined; and also such of the clauses as give to the governor the power of granting any part of the particular land claimed; and to substitute for all parties the rule prescribed for the New Zealand Company." The bill proved to be the subject of much violent and protracted discussion in the council, and (notwithstanding the just principles enunciated by the governor) as finally amended and passed, contained a clause under which "the land to be granted at the recommendation of the commissioner, may be selected by the person entitled to such grant out of the land claimed by him," the

principle of adjudication of quantity was however adopted as proposed. But since the settlement of claims under the recommendation of the commissioners cannot be finally adjudicated, and the awards made, for some considerable time to come, the law upon the subject may still be considered as in an unsettled state; particularly, since the statements of the governor, and his proposed arrangements as detailed in his speech, have, in the interim between the transmission of the speech and of the ordinance of the council, received the general concurrence of Lord Stanley, and of the Land and Emigration Commissioners, as notified in his lordship's despatch to Governor Hobson of the 11th July last.

It is to be noted also, that in the despatch here referred to, Lord Stanley, in the anomalous case of the satisfaction of the claims, although he leaves much to Captain Hobson and his council, yet adds that "it will be necessary to observe great care in respect of previous claims, to keep strictly within the limits of advantage offered to the New Zealand Company that is, the award of one acre for every five shillings actually expended; – but the local ordinances include a provision for estimating

the objects of barter with the natives, at three times the Sydney prices of such goods at the time of the land purchases; a most objectionable mode of estimating the amount of the value given, as presenting a ready means of overreaching the government by fraudulent representations – the current value of goods in such a fluctuating market as Sydney!! This alone must be admitted to constitute a sufficient reason for disannulling the last ordinance.

The important public interests involved, having once moved the government to invalidate all contracts of private parties with the natives, the principle should be strictly carried out; and whilst a grant of an acre of land for every five shillings proved expenditure, must surely be considered an equitable compensation, the government selling price of land being at the least £1 per acre – it is such a basis of arrangement,

as, so far as the notifications of claims in the Auckland Gazette will enable to form an opinion, will reduce the aggregate of the awards within reasonable limits; and leave the government free from any effectual competition in the sale of land, such as would impede its measures for regulating the colonization of the islands. The almost impracticable, but where practicable, injurious, regulation for allowing the claimant to select the quantity awarded him out of the actual land he claims, ought to be rescinded; or only allowed in cases of actual occupancy and improvement of the land by the claimant himself, and that only where residence was established, at the least one year previous to the invalidating proclamation.

The governor first fixed upon a site for a town (which he called Russell) at the Bay of Islands; but afterwards removed to the River or Bay of Waitemata, in the Gulf of Houraki; where he fixed his residence, and laid out the plan of the future capital. This spot possesses no doubt, great and peculiar advantages for a settlement; but its geographical position renders it decidedly unsuitable for the seat of government; for which some locality on one side or the other of Cook's Straits should most certainly be chosen, on account of centrality, and command of ready communication with the east and west coasts of both islands.

Captain Hobson appears from the first to have set himself determinately against the land speculators. At the time of his arrival there appears to have been a perfect mania for "jobbing" both amongst the Europeans and the natives; and although the proclamation and commission must have done much to have dissipated the too ardent expectations, of these votaries of the easiest of all possible ways of making money; nevertheless the laying out of a metropolitan city, was too glorious an opportunity to be lost sight of; and accordingly as soon as it became known that Waitemata was to be the favored site, numbers of speculators assembled from

all quarters. Mr. Terry, in his "New Zealand," describes the genus of "land sharks" or jobbers, as "a class of men until of late years very little known in the colonies; men who go from one new settlement to another as they are formed, for the sole purpose of monopolizing, jobbing, and enriching themselves, at the expense of the poorer yet more industrious emigrant."¹

The first government land sale in New Zealand took place at Auckland on the 19th April, 1841; and it is to be feared that Captain Hobson's zealous eagerness to frustrate the scheming of the jobbers (if that were his prevailing motive,) led him to take such measures as must, if repeated and persisted in, greatly militate against the healthy progress of the

Auckland settlement. He seems indeed, himself to have been tainted with the very madness that he shunned; and through want of knowledge of the principles of colonization, or even of a judicious foresight, to have laid his plan for the sale in such a fashion, that the last possible shilling should be extracted from the purchasers; whether bona fide settlers requiring land for occupation, or mere speculators; a distinction which at the nonce, and during the customary excitement of a public auction, it must have been impossible to make; and much less likely to have been divined before hand, through the obvious policy of each man's keeping his own counsel on approaching such a business.

The sale did not take place until after some long delays, perhaps partly unavoidable, after the completion of the survey; the quantity of land was far too limited for the legitimate requirements of the population assembled on the spot, although much more had been laid out; and the upset price advertised at 10s. per perch, was raised at the auction to 12s. 6d. The settlers, as they successively arrived, Mr. Terry informs us, had been forbidden to locate themselves on any other ground than that in Commercial Bay, the spot where most of the allotments put up for sale were situated; they were therefore compelled, either to purchase their temporary locations at the sale, or to give them up; and as, agreeably to the existing law, no further sale could take place

until after three month's notice, the alternative might have subjected them to extreme inconvenience.

The sale was limited to town lots, of which 116 were submitted to public competition; these comprised 38 acres, 1 rood, and 27 perches of land; divided into sections varying in extent from 2 roods and 11 perches, to 32 perches; and the proceeds amounted to £21,499 9s. Of the land now sold – the average price was £559 12s. 1d. per acre – the highest being £1,608 – and the lowest £232. Thirteen lots were also disposed of, at the average price of the sections in which they were situated, to government officers; the contents of these lots being 5a. 3r. 11p., and the proceeds £2,976 8s. 9d.

The effect of this notable sale was to raise land in Auckland to an enormous fictitious value, such as must operate in deterring many valuable settlers from selecting this settlement, however otherwise they might be inclined to adopt it;² whilst its immediate consequence was to subject those

settlers who had already arrived, and whose means were too limited to enter into competition with the jobbers, for the purchase of whole sections at the high prices which they fetched, to the necessity of making re-purchases of divided portions, at a still increased valuation. The poorer settlers were indeed entirely thrown upon the mercy of the speculators.

Captain Hobson's next sale took place on the 1st September; and comprised 25 suburban, 10 "cultivation," and 53 small farm sections. The suburban sections varying from 7a. 1r. to 1a. 3r. 8p., in all 91a. 2r. 21p. of land, produced £2,564 2s. 1d.; eight containing 34a. 2r. 9p. remaining unsold; the highest price being £103 19s. per acre – the lowest £21 – the average £44 17s. 5d. The upset price was £20 per acre. The cultivation sections, of about 3 acres each, in all 30a. 1r. 24 p., produced £326 8s.; two remaining unsold; highest price per acre £21 – lowest £10 10s. – average £13 7s. 6d.; upset price £10.

The small farms comprised 1,119a. 0r. 21p., and produced £1,580 0s. 10d; sixteen containing 560a. 3r. 4p. remaining unsold; the highest price being £9 11s. per acre – the lowest £2 1s. – and the average £3 7s. 5d. The upset price was at first £3, but was reduced to £2 during the sale.

The whole quantity of land, therefore, of which we have advices, that Captain Hobson has hitherto disposed of, amounts to 594a. 0r. 11p., and the proceeds to £28,777 12s. 7d. Now, since by the last accounts, the population of Auckland had reached nearly 2,000 persons, the quantity of land disposed of, is quite insignificant in comparison; and the probability is, that the settlers are deferring their purchases, until the adjudications under the land commission shall have taken place; with the view to purchase with greater advantage from private holders, when there shall be more land thrown into the market – the great mass of the claims lying in the northern part of the North Island, includ-

ing the Auckland district. But as Captain Hobson himself informs us, that through the experience gained by the natives, they had been able to obtain for

their later sales a very fair valuation; there is not much prospect for colonists obtaining land by re-purchase at a moderate price; and therefore between the competition of government auctions, and private dealers, an immense advantage seems to be left in favor of the settlements of the company.

There can be but few persons in the present day, who would venture to deny the advantages derivable to the nation, from the foundation and possession of colonies; whilst the great frequency with which colonization is made a topic of the press, affords proof of the strong public interest taken in it. But the extent to which the government should interfere, in the promotion and conduct of emigration, is still a much disputed question, and upon this we have a few remarks to offer. Our own opinion is, that the action of the government should be limited to the regulating of the distribution of waste lands – the protection of emigrants engaging for, and during the voyage – and the establishment and maintenance of British law in the colony. What are the objects of colonization? – clearly commercial; and why may not the public money, with the same propriety, be devoted to the encouragement of any other commercial objects – such as the fostering of manufactures or production at home, by the payment of bounties on export or import, or for the support of fisheries; but this erroneous system has now happily been long discontinued, and it is acknowledged that the direct profit derivable from any application of industry, is all that it should require for its encouragement; and that if it be found unprofitable to the individuals engaged in it, the sooner it be given up the better, rather than that the community should pay for its

support. To take from the whole, to give to a part, it is now understood does not increase the wealth of a people, and laissez faire is recognized as the true theory. What is necessarily the first and principal object, the main business to be looked to, in colonial enterprises – the drawing profits from the cultivation of land, and the feeding of stock; and then follow in their turn the thousand other occupations depending upon the exchange of the surplus produce; and what make the differences between farming in England, and farming in New Zealand? – the conveyance of the farmer himself, and his laborers, a sea voyage, and the acquisition of land at a cheaper rate than it is obtainable in England; but these circumstances are mere conditions of the business, and attended as they may be with more or less expense, the outlay should be provided from the farmer's own capital. It is surely no more within the duty of government to provide for the laying out of farms, and cultivation of wheat, in New Zealand, or for the pasturing of sheep in Australia; than it is – to encourage the cultivation of hops in Devonshire, or in any other county, suited or unsuited for the purpose – to promote the mining of coal on Blackheath, or of iron in Cavan – or the establishment of silk factories in Glasgow, or Dublin. In whatever form the government affords assistance to the individual colonist, it becomes a party in his business; and that, like every other business, where it does not afford the sure prospect of supporting itself and yielding sufficient profit, should not be undertaken. A government expenditure, operating as a bounty upon colonization, would, like every other bounty, be a mere throwing away of the public money. A bounty being the difference between the outlay and returns of an unprofitable pursuit, paid out of the public purse for the encouragement of ill-directed, if not useless, industry.³

The mistake is often committed between emigration and colonization, the latter requiring the export of capital, in addition to labor – capital for the employment of labor. Many writers, commiserating the wretched condition of the working classes, point public attention, on the one hand, to the surplus population, and, on the other, to numerous ships uselessly laying up in ordinary; and call for the application of parliamentary grants and parish funds, for the fitting out these ships to convey the surplus population to the colonies. But the mere unshipping of laborers on colonial waste land is not enough, and where more has been attempted, as in some few instances it has been, by the government, but little success has attended the experiments.

There is this evil also in the active interference of government in emigration, that in providing funds for carrying it on, it will to a very great extent come in competition with, and supersede the application of, private resources. The average annual emigration to British North America for the last three years, has been about 35,000 persons; either paying their own charges, and of these by far the greater number,

or obtaining parish assistance for the purpose; but the probability is, that under any government scheme for granting free passages, nine out of ten of all these parties would be claimants, and six out of the nine successful claimants, as eligible persons; a large proportion of the rejected being unsuitable emigrants, or worthless characters, who would still get out, then, as they do now, by means of parish aid; it being found to be the cheapest way for parishes discharging liabilities on their account, and becoming freed from their presence. The consequence of the government interference would therefore be a waste of the public money, to the extent of the expenditure incurred in keeping up the present average emigration, or rather its ratio of increase. Again, in New South Wales the average annual free emigration of the last three years, has been about 11,000 persons; and the average annual proceeds of land sales, out of which the funds have been provided for it, has been about £190,000. But the extent of the land sales is the best indication of the quantity of labor required in the colonies, and of the amount of capital ready to employ it. And if the labor sent out should be at any time deficient, the price of land might be somewhat raised to provide funds for importing more; on the other hand, if superabundant, the portion of the land proceeds not then needed for laborers, might be advantageously expended upon public works, giving employment to the occasional surplus of labor. It may thus be perceived that there is no need for the application of national funds to aid emigration to the Australian colonies; for the profits of stock farming are amply sufficient to induce the importation of capital and the purchase of land, without the enticing of the capitalist by any kind of bounty.

Other advocates of emigration have proposed, that means for carrying it on, should be raised by public subscription; that in this way the wealthy should assist the needy; but we fear there are so many other ways in which they do that

already, that all that could be hoped for up to the utmost possible extent of benevolence, would be for emigration very little indeed. Others have suggested common-stock communities; but we see no permanent interest for each and every individual, and therefore no more efficiency in the bond for keeping the community together, in a new country, than in an old one. They have been attempted by emigrants proceeding from England to America, but have always failed. All history has shewn that such communities have never had a permanent existence, where they have not been cemented by religious principle, or superstitious enthusiasm; in all other cases, fancied advantages may have induced persons of weaker minds and larger means, to unite with others of stronger minds and smaller means; but real self interests have always been sure to discover themselves, and quickly break up such fragile unions. Colonization presupposes, and necessarily requires association, but then it must be limited to legitimate means and objects.

Again it has been proposed that those of the working classes who were desirous of emigrating, should raise the funds for it by subscription amongst themselves – a penny a day each, for instance; and that subscribing families should take their turn, as the aggregate accumulations reached the sufficient amount, to defray the cost of their passages. But there would be great difficulties in the impartial arrangement of this, and some expense in it too; and neither is the subject of emigration sufficiently understood, amongst the class to whom it is best suited, viz., agricultural labourers, to obtain the adoption of the plan to a sufficient extent; whilst, on the other hand, their miserable poverty would make it almost impossible for them to effectuate it; besides it is of course perfectly inapplicable, in competition with the existing Australian system of granting free passages, and that too with a difficulty sometimes in finding eligible emigrants. But lottery schemes are the favorites with the most recent

writers, and we have accordingly plans seriously projected for establishing government offices for the sale of tickets; greater and lesser prizes being

proposed, some for married couples without children, and various others, for those couples having any specific number of children – some to be for passages to Canada – some to Australia or the Cape colony – some with small outfits, some with large – and others we believe with farms, and stock upon them. Truly what a shifting of prizes and chances there would be, before the right prize fell to the right family; or do these schemers suppose that the people who would avail themselves of their lottery chances, would be so brutishly ignorant and indifferent, that it would matter not to them, to what quarter of the globe they had the fortune to be transported, so that they could only get out of their own country. Such schemes would necessarily be expensive in their management; and although not a penny can be created by a lottery, to further the object for which it is devised, yet probably some such projects would be set on foot, if the government would suffer them – so legitimate a prey for humbug are the poorer classes considered, and such is the itching for practising it upon them.

It may be said, in reference to most of the above modes devised for aiding emigration, that one great error pervades them – it is taken for granted that the desire of emigrating is universal, or almost universal; but, happily indeed for the country, this is not the case. The disposition to emigrate is increasing; its advantages to all parties – to those who go, and to those who stay – are getting better understood; but were the desire so general as it is assumed to be, or any thing like so general, it would soon be found to be a deplorable evil, in the unsettled state to which society would in consequence be reduced. But turning from these impracticable projects, let us recur to the only system which has yet been found effectual for providing funds for emigration. We mean of course the system now so sun-

cessfully pursued in all the Australian colonies, properly including New Zealand.

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Keeping to the principle that colonization is essentially a business which should originate in, and be conducted by, private enterprise; and therefore limiting the functions of government in reference to it, to the maintenance of the public interests in the waste lands of the colonies, and regulating their distribution so as best to promote the general welfare; we now come to the question, of how that business can be carried on with most advantage – by what parties, by what kind of associations. And since our whole enquiry has reference to the colony of New Zealand, we will elucidate our subject, by first analyzing the constitution of the New Zealand Company, attempting to show that the commercial object of that company, viz., the accumulation of profits upon its joint-stock, is in a great degree inconsistent with, if not even opposed to, the interests of the colonists.

The charter of the company, granted 12th February, 1841, constitutes them a body corporate for the purpose of "purchasing, improving, cultivating," – "letting, selling, granting," "or otherwise dealing with, and making a profit of lands and tenements," in New Zealand and its dependencies; "of laying out settlements and towns," and of working of "all mines, pits and quarries, and all minerals and metals;" and for the purpose of conveying emigrants to the colony, subject to the regulations of the government. The company are at liberty to import any "articles" that may be required for the above purposes, and may "export the produce of the colony and its seas." They are prohibited from otherwise engaging in commercial or banking business for profit; but they are nevertheless incorporated for the "further purpose of lending and advancing money on the security of land and other property in the colony."⁴

The capital of the company was set by the charter at three hundred thousand pounds; of which, two hundred thousand were required to be paid up, and power was given to increase the capital to one million, and to contract loans not exceeding on the whole five hundred thousand pounds. The charter does not in any way place restrictions on, or provide regulations for, the disposal of the company's lands; neither does it bind them to take any measures, or make any expenditure, for the improvement of their settlements.

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At the time of conceding the charter, Lord John Russell made an arrangement with the company, for the settlement of its extensive land claims; the basis of the arrangement being laid down in a letter from Mr. Vernon Smith to Mr. Joseph Somes, dated 18th November, 1840; the principal condition being, that the company should receive a free grant from the crown of four acres of land in the colony, for every pound sterling which had been expended by them in the purchase of land, in the conveyance out of emigrants, or in the establishment of their settlements. An accountant (Mr. Pennington) was appointed to examine the company's accounts, and to arbitrate upon them; and this gentleman made his award on the 8th May, 1841; to the effect, that the ascertained expenditure, already made or contracted for, up to the 31st December, 1840, had amounted to £132, 982 9s. 8d.; and that there remained a contingent expenditure and liabilities together, not exceeding £116,276 13s. 4d., and not yet ascertained, upon which they would have a corresponding claim. The lands therefore to which the company thus became entitled, may reach the extent of nearly a million of acres; and from the proceeds of the future sale of these immense territories, they are not bound to expend one farthing upon free emigration, or for the advantage of the colony. Further, the company have made purchases from the government, of 50,000 acres for the New Plymouth settlement, by contract for the expenditure of £40,000 upon

free emigration; and of 100,000 acres for the Nelson settlement, upon condition of expending £40,000 upon free emigration, and £40,000 more upon public works in the settlement; a discount of 20 per cent, having been allowed to them upon these purchases, in compliance with the arrangement of the late colonial secretary.⁵ But a letter from Mr. G. W. Hope to Mr. Somes, of the 24th May last, contains the declaration of Lord Stanley that the company shall not in future "be permitted to claim any peculiar advantages," over other purchasers of land from the government.

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It will be readily seen that the New Zealand Company are in secure possession, by means of their extensive territories, of immense power, to promote the welfare, or hinder the progress of the colony; and how greatly an important national interest is subjected to their influence. If their ac-

quisitions be considered the result of successful commercial enterprise, the juster view to take, then, whilst on the one hand, the company have no claim upon public confidence on the ground of their success; on the other hand, the public cannot justify expectations that the promotion of any national good, will be the first object of their endeavours. But the company, in their public addresses, are much accustomed to dwell upon the patriotism of their objects and proceedings; whilst it will be found in the reports of the board to the shareholders, to be recommended "that the measures of the company should be steadily directed towards the grand object of enhancing the value of the vast property which they possess in New Zealand." It is clearly, from such increase in value, that the profits of the shareholders must be mainly derived. Now with regard to its territorial possessions, the company's interests precisely correspond with those of any other absentee proprietor of land, and if they expend nothing upon the improvement of their estates, they will nevertheless increase in value from the extending demand created by the colonists. Whilst, if they employ their capital in effecting improvements upon the land, or for the more general benefit of the settlements, increasing their attractions, and inducing the resort of capitalists; or simply in carrying on free emigration in advance, and beyond what they have been pledged to by the conditions of past sales to their colonists, – so the returns upon their expenditure are also foreseen by themselves to be ample, as will appear from a passage in one of their despatches to their principal agent; as follows, "It is most expedient that emigration to the company's settlements should be steadily carried on by means of advances from the company's capital, in anticipation of land sales. If the land were offered for sale before the emigration in respect of it had taken place, competition for the land, and the price obtained by auction, (the company's mode of sale in the colony,) would be far less than

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if the first step were to convey population to the land, and the second to offer the land for sale. By thus anticipating its sales of land, the company may obtain a much higher price than has ever before been paid in a new country." It thus appears that, with or without the employment of capital, the "company" is every way secure of large profits, and that even their liberality will return to their own pockets.

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The company has repeatedly assumed that there is an identity of interests between itself and the colonists – this is partially true; the individual proprietors, whether settlers or absentees, have a correspondent interest with the great monopoly in the enhanced value of land; the lesser proprietors, profitters by its liberality, may be content that the land market should be controlled by the company up to a certain point – the correspondence extends so far as the colonists have the greater, or less portion of their capital, invested in land. The sale of land will always be infinitely the greatest, if it do not always remain the sole, source of profit to the company; but with the settlers it is different, their main dependence lies in trade, the extent of their trade being regulated in a great degree by the cheapness of production, which must be much affected by the price of land. And again, so far as the colonists hold investments in land, their interests, as we have seen, are similar to those of the company; but as they require more land for cultivation, the interests of the parties become just opposite, viz., those of buyer and seller, – now this is also the relation in which all fresh colonists must stand with the company, and we must maintain, therefore, that the interests of the New Zealand Company will in general be found to be opposed to those of the public.

But the New Zealand Company are not only dealers in land, that is but one of their functions, – another is, that of agents for colonization; they have, indeed, repeatedly offered themselves as the principal agents of the crown, for effecting

the colonization of the islands. Let us now examine their adaptation, as a joint-stock company, for effectuating this business. Our first objection to their agency is its enormous cost; – with the highest probability it appears hitherto, or at least up to the date of their last printed report, that with one trifling case of exception, which shall be pointed out, the New Zealand Company have not employed any part of their capital, in any part of their business; and consequently, that the whole difference between the cost and the proceeds of the land that they have disposed of, has been the remuneration of their agency. In future, since they have intimated their intention to employ their capital, and have furnished us with information respecting its expected profits therefrom, as already quoted, their agency remuneration will probably be undistinguishable from their returns.

The exception of an advance of capital by the company, was for the outfit and despatch of their first ship, the *Tory*, in May, 1839 – the land sales not commencing before the 1st of June, but by the end of July the receipts from this source had amounted to £101,000; and since that time, it appears from the financial statements appended to the company's first, third, and fifth printed reports, that the receipts have always been in advance of the expenditure, both in point of time and amount. So that we find on the 13th May, 1840, the subscribed capital then being £100,000, that their investments of money for which securities were held, amounted to £101,555 10s. On the 6th of April, 1841, the investments amounted to £121,142 9s. 4d. – and on the 5th of April, 1842, the subscribed capital having been increased to £200,000, the investments amounted to £212,990 18s. 2d.; besides large amounts of cash at their bankers at each of the three periods. Now, since respectable boards of directors are customarily only disposed to risk cash investments of the capital of their constituents, upon first-rate securities, such as exchequer bills, or India stock; it is highly probable

that the whole capital of the company has only brought in an interest, of from two to three per cent., in the money plethora of the last few years; whilst the shareholders have had the pleasure of receiving dividends upon their stock, at the rate of ten per cent, per annum. And at the same time, the company has been accumulating a property, which appears, by deducting their total liabilities from their assets, to have amounted in value, on the 5th of April last, to £177,289 10s. 2d.; their land being estimated at its cost price of 5s. per acre, and there remaining "very considerable" claims for land against the government, not brought into the account. But further, in order to form a judgment of the whole cost of the services of this proposed "national instrument" of colonizing, we must take into consideration what has been the expenditure for its own establishments, (independently of course of what has been the expenditure for emigration, public works, &c, in the settlements;) and we find for the last year, that they amount in payments to £19,539 6s. 1d., besides liabilities on the same account, amounting to £23,180 4s. 10d. But objection is not taken to the agency of the New Zealand Company, solely on the ground of its enormous cost. The distribution of lands, surveying a larger and allotting it into smaller quantities, is a very simple function, for which it could never be maintained that any such excessive profits should be the remuneration; but it is further proposed by the company to effect improvements, and adapt their settlements to the reception of colonists. Now for these objects, the objection lies against the management of the company, its controlling power existing at the distance of thirteen thousand miles from the sphere of its operations; a return communication scarcely ever being obtainable in less than a year. A London board of directors must necessarily be incapable of exercising a proper oversight on the conduct of its agents, so as to ensure efficient discharge of duties, and economy in

outlay, where, as in the case in question, the measures to be taken, and works to be performed, must be left so much to the discretion of the agents, and so little can be defined by instructions; and where, through the remoteness of responsibility, and the difficulty of effecting inquiry, so little can be feared from non-compliance, either with the letter, or the spirit of any such instructions.

With regard to the emigration part of the company's agency, opinions may vary as to the efficiency with which it has been conducted, and the adaptation of a board of directors for the management of such business; but we think, considering the relative means at the disposal of the parties, that the emigration under the bounty system, carried on by Mr. Marshall, for the colony of New South Wales;⁶ and the emigration to the Cape of Good Hope, conducted by Mr. Christopher, for a Cape committee, may be fairly cited for advantageous comparison. We put it to the opinion of our readers, whether a mercantile firm, bound by the conditions of a contract, is not more likely to conduct such a business for their own interest with energy and efficiency, than the directors of a public company, whose shareholders have so very indirect an interest in it; whilst the colonists, to whom the conveyance out of labouring emigrants at the right time, and of the best classes, is a matter of the most urgent importance, have no control whatever; – and even no provision is made for the company's rendering to them accounts of the expenditure of the funds placed at their disposal for the purpose. With regard to emigration under the bounty system, experience has shown that it works well – that it is much less expensive, and that emigrants are better selected; and there is no difficulty in understanding how individuals, receiving their instructions in this routine business from the colony, and being held

directly responsible to the parties interested, should succeed better in its management, than a government department, or a public company with a very indirect responsibility.

We have shown that the interest of the company, as holding a monopoly in land, is opposed to that of the colonists; but if this be the only interest of the company, as such, opposed to the colonists, there are other interests of equal importance, often of greater importance to the individual emigrant, which may well induce him to regard with much distrust the management of a colonization company; – we mean his interest in cheap passages, and his interests as an exporter to the colony. It will almost necessarily be the case in a board of directors, composed of men of various ranks and professions, that those of them possessing practical knowledge of the business operations of their company, will govern its proceedings; for instance, that in matters of emigration, ship-owners and brokers, export merchants, &c, if such there be among the directors, will on account of their experience, have the practical part of the business of the company committed to them – that they will in fact be the active managers. We believe this to be the case in the New Zealand Company itself, and although we have no charges whatever to bring against the management on such grounds, yet intending emigrants may well be incredulous of the disinterestedness of the company's shipping arrangements; and seeing how greatly their interests may be affected by them, be inclined to regard their proceedings with some measure of wholesome distrust; considering that ship-

owners, seeking high rates of passage, and merchants, competitors in the colonial markets, cannot really be the best promoters of their interests as passengers and traders.⁷

Another objection that we think has much force in it, lies against the company's undertaking the management of so many different settlements; each settlement has doubtless a general interest in the colonization of the whole country, its opportunities of trade are thereby increased, and it shares in the general advancement and augmented importance of the colony, whilst its own portion of the expense of the government may be diminished; but still the particular interest of the settlement, its own increase in population and imported capital, is incomparably the greater interest. And so far as the influence of the company may be exercised partially, and their expenditure be unequally applied, or may only be believed to be so, jealousies, and discontents with their management will scarcely fail to arise.

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Having now pointed attention to the defects and evils existing in the New Zealand Company's system,⁸ and also to the

errors which have been committed by the local government; it remains for us, agreeably to our purpose, to suggest such a mode of conducting the colonization of the islands, as will meet the difficulties, and remedy the evils complained of.

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We premise, that we consider the work of founding a colony or settlement, can be best undertaken by an association of actual colonists; – the distribution of the land to be made under fixed regulations, agreed upon between the government and the association. And further, that in framing the constitution of such an association, and arranging its course of procedure, the objects that should be proposed, and kept steadily in view, should be – first, to preserve to the colonists and their settlement, all the directly accruing advantages of the great work which they undertake. Secondly, to provide sufficient funds for public works, and other objects of public utility, necessary for the first establishment, and future advancement of the settlement. And thirdly, that efficient measures should be taken for securing such attractions to the colony, as would ensure a succession of capitalist colonists, during the first few years, the period of weakness.

We would suggest then that future settlements in New Zealand should be formed by associations of colonists. –

Assuming that a plan for founding a new settlement could be proposed, which should receive the approbation of a sufficient number of respectable intending colonists, say fifty at the least; which fifty persons should collectively be capable and willing to appropriate £25,000 for the purchase of land, each one making a purchase of more or less extent – and this would be much less, both as to the numbers of capitalists collected, and the amount by them invested, than has been done within one season, in the formation of the company's colonies; – we say, assuming such a body of persons should agree to form an association; – that it may be reasonably inferred, from the tenor and conditions of the act for the disposal of colonial waste lands, from the existing regulations of the emigration commissioners, and from the arrangements that have been made with the New Zealand Company – that her Majesty's government would be disposed to treat with such an association on such terms as the following. – To allow the purchase by the association of a block of land, containing 20,000 acres, at the lowest upset price of £20,000; the said land to be allotted and re-sold under fixed regulations, assented to by her Majesty's government, and alterable only with its consent; the locality to be selected by officers of the association; and the exclusive right of pre-emption of the adjacent territory, to be guaranteed, under certain limitations, to the association. That her Majesty's government shall receive in payment for such land £5,000 in money; and a like proportion in money of all future purchases; such purchase money to be applied to the general purposes of local government; – and that with regard to the remaining £15,000; the association shall be allowed credit for £5,000, to be expended upon surveys, and in public works in the settlement; and a further credit for £10,000, to be also expended by the association, in conveying to the colony "emigrants not possessing the means of defraying their own emigration thither," subject to the regulations of the board of emigration commissioners.

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It is further not deemed improbable, that the government might in such a case be disposed to anticipate the liberal ordinance of the colonial governor, and grant the colonists a charter of incorporation previous to their embarkation for the settlement; this would doubtless greatly facilitate their proceedings, and several precedents in the earlier American colonies, might be found for the measure.

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The experience of the five bands of colonists, who, within these few years, have been the earliest of their associates, to go forth from the shores of Britain, and successfully establish settlements upon waste lands; will, if examined, furnish the proof, that the expenditure for the purposes contemplated during the first year of a colony of medium numbers, need not to exceed the amount stated; it is a matter of easy calculation as regards the costs of freight and victualling, and of certain outfits and supplies.

Having settled the arrangement with the government here at home, the next step would be to send out a "preliminary expedition," consisting of agents deputed by the colonists (and probably chosen from their own number,) to treat with the colonial authorities for the selection of a site for the settlement; and also of a party of surveyors, to make the necessary preparations. The preliminary expedition should be at least six months in advance of the main body of the first year's colonists; but volunteer pioneers might be allowed to accompany it.

We would then propose that the mode of distributing and re-selling the land should be as follows, viz. –

That of the 20,000 acres, above provided, 2,000 with the most eligible site should constitute the town district; 5,000 should be laid out in suburban sections, of 20 acres each; and 12,000 in rural sections of 40 acres each; the remaining 1,000 acres being allowed for roads and waste land.

That out of the 2,000 acres, constituting the town district, 4,000 sections should be laid out, of one quarter acre each; and the remain-

ing 1,000 acres should be appropriated for streets, squares, a belt round the town, and other public purposes.⁹

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That (say) one-twentieth part of all the town, suburban, and rural sections thus laid out, and one-twentieth of all future allotments of land, shall be reserved for the exclusive use and benefit of the aborigines; the sections to be selected of fair average value, as shall be provided for, and such reserved lands to be alienable only by act of the British parliament.

That in like manner (say also) one-twentieth of all allotted lands shall be reserved for public use; to be assigned, as may be agreed, to provide for religious instruction, or for the support of schools.

That the remainder of the above town sections shall be divided into five portions; each portion containing a fair selection of sections, in reference to situation and value, and that one portion shall be put on sale in each of the first five years of the settlement.

That the remainder of the suburban sections shall be divided into portions; fairly selected, according to distance from the town, and other circumstances; and that one portion shall be sold annually; and in like manner also, shall the remainder of the rural sections be divided and sold.

That all the allotments thus offered on sale, shall be sold agreeably to fixed prices upon a sale register. In the first instance, previous to the departure of the first body of colonists, (say for the first year,) the relative value must necessarily be assigned to the right of priority of choice; – but at the time of the allotment of the several descriptions

of lands in the colony, simultaneously with the purchasers exercising their choice, agreeable to the order on the sale register, which they shall have proportionably paid for; there should be commissioners on the part of the association, (with one perhaps nominated by the government,) exercising the right of choice for all the sections remaining unsold; so that in future sales, in addition to the order of the sale register, the value of any sections may be judged of, by the report of the surveyors, and the situation exhibited on the plan of survey.

That the sections in each description of land shall be divided into classes, according to their value, as defined by order of choice; and of course each portion of the lands for annual sale, will contain in it an equal number of each class.

The price of the first class of town sections, may perhaps, as well as past experience will afford the means of judging, be set at £200 per section, the second class at £190, and so on, upon a graduated scale down to £20 per section; the classes being so arranged as to consist of but few of the more, and many of the less valuable sections. The first class of the suburban sections, may perhaps be set at £120 per section, descending to £60; and the first class of the rural sections at £100, descending to £60.

That as successive blocks of 20,000 acres shall be taken up from the government by the association, they shall be surveyed and laid out in rural sections of 80 acres each, and the fixed price in England shall be £80 per section,¹⁰ the purchaser making his selection at the time of taking possession of his land.

That all sales taking place in England during the first five years, as provided, shall be at the fixed prices of the sale register; but that at the termination of each annual period, all the sections, of the portions set apart of each description of land, then remaining unsold, shall be advised to the colony; there to be sold at public auction, the fixed price of the register being the upset price, and the auctions being adjourned from month to month; and a certain proportion of the whole of the residue of the sections remaining unsold, shall be offered successively at each auction.

That sales of further allotments of rural lands, shall also take place in the colony by public monthly auction, at the upset price of £80 per

section; provision being made that the supply of land so put up, shall at all times be proportionate to the demand for occupation.

That it shall be a condition of sale in England, that the purchaser personally take possession of his land within three years after purchase, on pain of forfeiture; but in order to prevent unnecessary hardship to individuals, who may be prevented by unforeseen circumstances from fulfilling their intentions of emigrating, provision might perhaps be safely made, for returning three-fourths of the purchase money.

That as a recompense for the greater risk and difficulties encountered by the first body of settlers, say those embarking for the colony during the first year, a passage allowance of twenty-five per cent, shall be made to them upon the amount of their purchases out of the first allotments.

The sale register should at all times be open to the inspection of persons intending emigration, and all persons should be free to make purchases of any unappropriated sections. As a further measure for securing a just and equal opportunity of choice, and appropriation of the sections according to their value, it might be provided that the first fifty persons joining the association, should have the right of entry of purchases agreeably to the alphabetical order of their names, or the reverse, as at the time of the first opening of the sale register might be determined; afterwards the order of application would be sufficient.

Under such a plan of distributing the land in a new settlement, it is clear that absentee proprietorship, with all its attendant evils, would be excluded; whilst the advantage would be secured of raising ample funds, probably a gradually increasing revenue, for the important purposes of importing labor, and the public improvement of the settlement. It may be well to enumerate purposes, to which the funds thus accruing to the association, after provision made for the fulfillment of the stipulation with government to apply 10s. per acre to free emigration, might be necessarily or advantageously appropriated. First, the expenses of survey and allotment of the land sections – Second, the erection of buildings for the reception of free emigrants upon arrival, and their maintenance until they obtained

employment – Third, the construction of landing places and quays, and other public works for the improvement of the town site – Fourth, the formation of roads, and the opening of country districts – Fifth, the improvement of harbors, and the erection of light-houses – and Sixth, the important object of making grants of money in further aid of free emigration, should the circumstances of the settlement require it.¹¹

In fixing upon a scale of prices for the town lands, and those in the vicinity, the object should be to hit upon a just medium between what would be the likely results of auction competition, and the throwing them in as a bait, or disposing of them at a low price, to attract colonists to purchase largely of country lands in the first instance – far more

largely than they require for occupation, and at the same time raising no funds for public improvements. The consequence of this want of foresight in the company's settlements must be, the demand having been at once glutted, that no sales of any consequence will take place probably for several years, or at least until sufficient time shall have elapsed to have brought the first sales into actual occupation, a very gradual process; whilst, should the company be liberal in their expenditure upon public improvements during that time, they must repay themselves by advanced prices at their future sales; on the other hand, should it not be deemed expedient by them to exercise this liberality, the necessity will soon shew itself for heavy assessments upon the colonists.

It is to be remarked that each individual purchaser will receive under the proposed plan, a proportional benefit by the local expenditure; the rule being, that the amount of purchase, represents his proportional capital and interest in the settlement; and the whole of the purchase money, excepting the small portion contributed in aid of the colonial revenue, being expended by the colonists themselves in providing labourers, and effecting local improvements.

The next advantage to be considered under the arrangement, would be a continuance of the benefit of first occupation; viz., the payment of only the original price, to all colonists who should join the settlement during the first five years – in other words, it would hold out the greatest possible attraction, (supposing the site of the colony were well selected,) for capitalists to resort to it, and so enable it to maintain a legitimate competition with other settlements.

Again, the mode of sale, by providing for a regular and gradual supply of the market at a moderate scale of prices, would, it is thought, greatly militate against the

operations of the land-jobbing fraternity; whilst it would secure one of the greatest inducements for, and advantages of colonization

to the real colonist – that is, the improvement of his property by investment in fresh land.

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Minor presumed advantages of the plan need scarcely be pointed out; such as each purchaser being free to purchase the description of land that best suited his purpose, without being compelled to buy town land, if he wanted only rural, or suburban, or vice versa. And also, by making his purchase from the sale register, and his choice not being left to a chance, he can ensure the power of selecting adjacent and coterminous sections; and may therefore acquire a united property, or determine the extent of his farm, at his own discretion.

By opening the sale of sections only within certain parts of the town, and not generally, at one time, as is provided, the town will probably, from the first, be built up in a better style (no unimportant matter); the land taken into occupation lying more compact, whilst the unseemly appearance of irregular vacant spaces will be in a great degree avoided.

It remains to be considered what would be the best kind of agency to employ, in that part of the business of the association necessarily conducted in England. It is to be observed that there are two branches of such business – the first the sale of land; and the second, the selection and shipment of laborers; with which we would propose to combine another object, – that of providing for the employing class of colonists, cabin passages at the cheapest rates.

With regard to the sale of land, let the conditions once be agreed upon, and fixed by the contract with the government, (alterable only by consent of both parties,) and the business is one of the most simple routine possible. We conceive the Bank of England would be the best agency for the management of it, and see no difficulty in the way. The land-

orders, each one expressing the price and particulars of the purchase, agreeably to the register, might be attached to the receipt given for the money, or might form a part of the receipt. And whether money were received for absolute purchase, or in advance for intended purchase to be completed in the settlement, the arrangement might be equally simple.

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With regard to the other department of the business, we think it had best be intrusted to a private individual agency, (or possibly to a mercantile firm); – the trust would not materially differ in its nature, and in its pecuniary extent, would fall far below very ordinary commercial confidences.

By certain fixed regulations, defining the mode of chartering ships, and contracting for their supplies; and by requiring accounts to be completed upon the despatch of each ship; the association's interests might be sufficiently protected, and an economical expenditure on its account secured. But there would be an additional and perfectly sufficient check; the expenditure being almost entirely limited to the free emigration contracted for with the government – the accounts would have to be submitted to her Majesty's emigration commissioners, and approved by them, before being placed to the credit of the association in the purchase of land.

The emigration agent of the association would be substantially its representative in England; and since upon him would devolve the duty of making known the objects of the association, with the advantages secured by their mode of colonizing, and the natural advantages and attractions of the district selected by them; – it would require, in addition to such an officer's general business experience, and respectability of standing, that he should be versed in colonial matters, and well informed upon the subject of New Zealand itself. The most important of the agent's duties would be the selection of free emigrants; but since they would, under present regulations, have to be passed by the commissioners, a sufficient check upon the due performance of this duty is also provided.

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We have hinted at a means of providing cabin passages at the cheapest rate – the plan is simply that of registering the applications of intending colonists, desirous of joining the associated settlers; and when the applications shall have become sufficiently numerous, taking up a ship for their conveyance out; and so apportioning the expenses of freight supplies, &c, as to afford first, second, and third (for those who pay for them) class passages, at the cheapest rates. The power of doing this would lie in the fact of the ship being taken up, and fitted, on account of the association; and consequently, in their not requiring the usual profit of the passenger-trade, as it is termed. It may be remarked that this passenger-trade as at present carried on, from the uncertainty of getting passengers, and ships' losses by delay, is a very speculative business; and as such, its supporters (the passengers) have to pay a premium upon the risks incurred by the ship-owner. This is done of course in the form of unnecessarily high rates of passage – as those customers who pay fashionable tailors' bills, pay in addition to the fair price of their own clothes, a share of the tailor's losses by those who make no payments; so do the occupiers of ships' cabins pay for them, with a bonus in addition, to make up the owners' losses by the empty ones.

If objection be made, that this plan would not leave the passenger the choice of a ship; it is thought that on the contrary, in comparison with the present mode of putting on ships for the colonies, and taking passages, a greater satisfaction could be given; viz., that of allowing the intending passengers the right of choosing their own ship, to be laid on for their purpose – this under certain necessary and predetermined limitations. The wishes and opinions of families as to the suitability of a surgeon, might also, to some extent,

be consulted with propriety;¹² and in short the very spirit that should pervade the regulations and *modus operandi*, should be that of calling forth mutual assistance and co-operation, wherever good could be promoted by it. It is not deemed necessary at present to go further into the details of the plan of passage registration.

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Recurring to the principle that we have laid down, that colonization is essentially a private commercial enterprise; and should as such be conducted by the capitalist colonists, the associated land purchasers, themselves; it should devolve upon these to regulate the supply of labor which should be imported, and this supply would of course be made proportionate to the extent to which they could profitably employ it. Now surely it cannot be pretended that any other party would be better qualified to perform this function, for what other party could possibly possess a knowledge of the wants, whether present or prospective, equal to that of a committee of the colonists, agriculturists and others, in the settlement.

It would always be the direct interest of the colonist employers of labor, to obtain it on the cheapest terms, and consequently to import it largely; but against their exceeding in this way, there would be found to be efficient checks; the first, is the competition of neighbouring settlements quickly drawing off any superabundant labor from a settlement where it should be too cheaply remunerated, to those where the wages were higher, and means of supply more limited; the next, is the necessity that must always exist for high rates of wages, to induce the immigration of laborers; as well as a high rate of profit, to induce the import of capital. Leave commercial enterprise free in this, as in all other

branches, and it will best regulate itself; – there would be no fear of an association working this business against the interests of the laboring class – it could

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not be done.

In devising the scheme for the re-sale of land, and making provision for public improvements in the settlement, we have also contemplated a considerable balance of the funds set apart for this purpose, to be applied by the colonists in "additional grants" for free emigration; it being always left to the decision of the colonists to appropriate the funds accruing from the re-sale of land at improved prices, or rather all the surplus above the cost price of £1 per acre, either to the carrying out improvements (road making, &c.) or to emigration grants; as at the particular time the circumstances of the settlement might require.

Having explained the mode in which the supply of labor would be regulated, and shewn the provision made for its employment; we would now suggest that free emigration itself could with advantage be placed upon a new footing – that of actual engagement of services.

At present there is much that is unsatisfactory in the way that laborers are selected for free passages; there is in fact too little selection, and it is the constantly recurring complaint in the colonies, that useless persons are sent out to them, and so, that their emigration funds are worse than wasted. But how is this? – It is necessarily proved, either that there is a difficulty in procuring emigrants of a good class; or that the agency is not efficient, or that it is careless about the matter; or that unfair influences are at work to palm off upon the colonists "parish encumbrances" and the unfortunate outcasts of manufacturing and other town trades. Colonists cannot too jealously watch their interests in this important matter; parish boards of guardians are too apt to think that "any thing is good enough for a colony;" and numbers of the reduced and distressed, of all kinds of unsuitable trades and pursuits, perhaps

only temporarily depressed, are too apt to form most erroneous opinions of the advantages of emigration, overlooking their own unfitness for it, and not making the discovery till too late; and then the colony is not only burdened, but its reputation is likely to suffer in consequence. Paisley weavers may doubtless benefit from emigration, but not when they are themselves the subjects of it.

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As to the difficulty of obtaining bona fide agricultural laborers, it is only occasionally felt; and if really efficient means were taken to make known the advantages offered by the colonies to the class in question, all difficulty would disappear; but there is a real objection in the way free passages are offered. John Ploughman cannot be expected to readily comprehend the principle of "systematic colonization;" and when free passages are offered as matter of favor, he is slow to believe that any parties can be so disinterested; and apt to be suspicious of the strong inducements held out, and of the consequences of his yielding to them. In short, he thinks there may be a great deal of fudge in the stories he is told about the good fare, and high wages, that are to be got on the other side the globe, and he is therefore unwilling to take the risk of going to seek them.

But getting rid of the "favor" of a free passage mystification (in reality it is no such thing, any more than it is a favor for a country gentleman to pay the coach-hire of a party of mechanics and artisans, whom he sends for from London to come down and repair his mansion), there can be no question that the facility of selecting proper laborers would be greatly increased, if direct terms of engagement were offered to them; say at a rate of wages just below the current rate in the colony, and for the term of twelve months.

The mode of managing this business would be simple enough, instructions would from time to time have to be sent home from the colony, for the engagement of so many laborers, excavators, wood cutters, quarrymen, sawyers,

masons, bricklayers, &c, as the public works might require; the instructions, perhaps, being conditional, according to the progress of the land sales in England; and the agent would proceed to select and ship them accordingly.

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The terms of the contract should leave the emigrants perfectly free to accept service from individual colonists, thereupon waiving the agreement of course, and should simply contain conditions binding on the association. A contract binding on the emigrants would indeed be unproductive of the desired effect, of ensuring the full supply of really efficient laborers, both for public works and private engagement; besides that, any attempt to bind them to service, would in practice prove perfectly nugatory.

With regard to the class of handicraft trades, such as shoemakers, tailors, coopers, wheelwrights, harness-makers, bakers, butchers, &c. who would, upon the principle laid down, be excluded from the benefits of free passage; it is thought advantage would be gained, by making provision for allowing limited numbers of this class of persons to take passages, either wholly or in part, upon credit, for which repayments should be made to the association after arrival. A system of acknowledgements of the obligation, upon coupons progressively payable, might perhaps be devised for the purpose. It is to be observed, in reference to this class, that paying for themselves they would have the advantage, under the arrangements of the association, of the cheapest possible passages.

Looking at the whole subject of selection of laborers, it would perhaps be best to adopt the engagement system only partially in the first instance, until it had been proved in practice. One apparent objection to it is, that it would involve the association in great pecuniary responsibilities; but this objection must, upon examination, be admitted to be much more apparent than real. A sufficient guarantee against the personal responsibility of the individual members

of the association, in this as well as in other respects, ought, and of course could be, properly provided for in the charter, or other instrument, furnished to the association by the government.

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We have now submitted our opinions upon the past course of New Zealand Colonization, and suggested improvements for adoption in its future progress; it is only necessary to say, that this pamphlet has been written at the instance of several "intending colonists," and will be published with their concurrence. One of their number, a gentleman of considerable property, has already embarked for the colony; with the intention of visiting the present settlements, making observations on the country, and collecting useful information; and it is expected that the extensive exploration, which it is this gentleman's intention to make, will well qualify him to give valuable counsel, and render important assistance to persons sent out charged with the selection of a site for a new settlement, for an association of "United Colonists." But in order to carry out this object, it is necessary that the plan of operations, the principles of which have been here discussed, should meet with extensive approbation; and therefore parties who approve, and to whose circumstances they may appear adapted, and who may be desirous of making further enquiry with the view of joining the proposed association, are invited to open communications with the writer.

It is considered that what may be called the "emigrating strength" of no one particular locality, would be sufficient alone to accomplish the object, and that if it were sufficient, no advantage would be gained by making the association in any degree exclusive; but on the contrary, that there would be some obvious advantages, and others could be maintained by sound reasoning, in making the range of its emigrating con-

nection and operations as wide as possible. It would be quite within the compass of the plan, to fit out ships from London, Glasgow, Cork, Liverpool, or

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elsewhere, as the circumstances of the different parties of "United Colonists" might render most convenient.

A few words may be added in anticipative answer to the questions – why project another new settlement? would it not be sounder policy that emigration should be directed to, and in this way support afforded, those already established? – and, are not the advantages offered by settlements, where some progress has already been made, greater than can be held out in the foundation of a new one, and also free from the attendant difficulties to be encountered? The answers that we submit, are, that it was incumbent upon those who devised the plans of the earlier settlements, to provide the means for ensuring their advancement; and, if there has been neglect, the parties interested have only themselves to blame, and have no right to call upon the assistance of others; but, according to present appearances, there will not be the need of it – the last intelligence representing the company's settlements as prosperous; and surely the governor will be able to take care of his own Auckland. Again, older settlements, in consequence of their already acquired population, will always attract settlers whose pursuits and trades require a larger connection – the establishment of Nelson has not greatly checked the resort of colonists to Wellington; – but the agriculturist has clearly the decided advantage in joining a new enterprise; since the most valuable land of the settlement, fertility and proximity being combined, falls to his share at once, instead of his having to make a repurchase of such land, at probably a greatly advanced price.

It is an admitted principle in political economy, that the greater profit of the individual, the greater good to the community; and this principle governs in colonizing, the most productive land ought to be, and is, first occupied, it is the

interest of the colonist, and that of the public. Besides in New Zealand, the very character of the country – its generally mountainous interior – its want of large navigable rivers, usually the high roads for the spread of population and settlement – its extensive coasts and numerous fine harbors – determine that the natural law of its colonization shall be obeyed, by the planting of a number of independent settlements; there being no spot where a great central root of population could be planted and nurtured, so as to be able to send out offshoots spreading through the land.

This view was, we believe, first advanced in Mr. Bryan Duppa's letter to the company, applying for the formation of the second colony; from which we make the following extract; –

"The form and character of New Zealand are such as to prevent the colonization of the country from one point, according to the method pursued in wider regions, where the progress of settlement has usually been directed by the course of a navigable river. In New Zealand there are no navigable rivers properly speaking; but, on the other hand, the narrowness of the Islands, and their division into two equal parts, by Cook's Strait, render the extent of sea coast singularly large in proportion to the rest of the country. Facilities of intercommunication by water are thus provided for the future inhabitants of a long, not to say wide, region of land. The intersection of the country lengthwise by ranges of high mountains, together with the number and excellence of the harbours, further points out that the natural course of colonization in New Zealand is by planting distinct settlements on the coast, and leaving the interior, as well as the coast line, to be filled up when all these most convenient places shall be sufficiently peopled. The physical geography of New Zealand so far resembles that of Sicily, as to suggest the probability of its being colonized as that island was, by the early establishment of towns on the coast, such as Syracuse, Augusta, Catana, Messina, Palermo, Marsala, &c, without any large town in the interior. This we believe, will be the character of the progress of settlement in New Zealand, whatever may be the course adopted by the company. If the company should not establish distinct settlements on the coast, other people will do so; and, therefore, whatever the first colony may have to fear from the rivalry of other settlements, the danger is wholly independent of the proceedings of the company. But, for our part, we perceive nothing like danger for the first colony, but, on the contrary, great advantage, in the establishment of other colonies. The very plan of a new colony, with its selected site, its town and accommodation lands, its combination of energy and wealth for a common object, and its prospect of soon placing a community of emigrants in a condition of social maturity, has a tendency to attract to New Zealand numbers who would not otherwise think of emigrating at

all. The progress of general colonization in New Zealand will therefore, we think, depend on the number of plans of this sort that may be successfully carried into effect."

And Governor Hobson, in his speech at the close of the second legislative session, makes the following remarks upon the corporation ordinance; –

"In a political point of view, the most important measure of the session remains to be noticed. If her Majesty's government had not pointed out the expediency of doing so, the physical character of the country would have suggested the necessity of investing the inhabitants of the various settlements in this colony with ample powers of local self-government. While it grants to every body corporate the power of undertaking, at the cost of the borough, any works that may be required to promote the good order, health, and convenience of its inhabitants, and to render the navigation of its harbors safe, easy, and commodious, the bill to provide for the establishment of municipal corporations makes no requirements which may not readily be complied with. By leaving to the various settlements the management of their own local affairs, the general government will be relieved of a duty it could but ill perform. The inhabitants of each of them will be interested in developing its resources, and in making it as attractive as possible to the emigrant; and by this means an honourable rivalry will be created, and the prosperity of the colony at large ultimately promoted."

It would indeed be impossible for the government to succeed in maintaining a narrow restrictive policy in this respect; whilst the attempt could only be defended by the necessity for limiting the public expenditure on account of the colony; but there is a ready alternative, viz., that of giving due encouragement to every party of emigrants possessing the requisite means, for establishing a new settlement, and adequately contributing to the revenue for its share of expenditure. Looking at the average rate of emigration to the colony, probably a new enterprise in each year might be safely undertaken. In this way an outlet would be afforded for the superabundant energy of the more restless spirits already in the colony, or proceeding out, and immense dissatisfaction prevented; whilst the dignity of the government would be saved from incessant contests with straggling parties of settlers, squatting upon public domain, wherever great natural

advantages of situation, or facilities of trade with the native tribes allured them.

We now commit our plan to the candid consideration of all persons contemplating emigration to New Zealand; leaving them to judge by comparison, whether it affords the best means of their securing to themselves the greatest advantages of colonization, which their enterprise impels them to seek, and rightfully entitles them to claim.

36, Old Broad Street,
January 10th, 1843.

J. Unwin, Printer, 31, Bucklersbury, London.

¹ A gentleman, whose name and influence were much used as a leader of the company's first colony, (the son of one of the most respected directors), soon furnished a notorious example of the land speculating tribe of colonists; within a few months after his arrival, with the first party of settlers at Wellington, he sold his land, one section fetching. £1400, and (as was currently reported) sacking 5000 sovereigns, an abstraction of cash which must have been a great loss to the settlement in its then weak state, he proceeded forthwith to the governor's auction at Auckland, where he became one of the largest purchasers. With what effect he turned his "acuteness" to account may be judged from his speech at a public meeting some time after, in which he says "I am not

ashamed to own that I am a land jobber, you all know it; for I think it as legitimate to invest my capital in land as in any thing else; and I defy the governor to prevent capital having its legitimate influence in the purchase of land. As a land-jobber I thank the governor for his mode of selling lands, it has been the making of the so called land sharks." Legitimate influence of capital! it may be, and that this gentleman was a fair trader, doubtless, but the question is whether it be expedient for the colony that there should be facilities afforded for it. It is certainly not possible to prevent speculating in land, and neither do we imagine it to differ in its principles, from corn, or cotton, or stock-jobbing; it may indeed be justifiable upon the common principles of business between man and man, as it certainly may also be one of the grossest forms in which the sin of covetousness can shew itself. Looking to the serious mischiefs of which it is the occasion in a new colony, it undoubtedly should be discouraged; and it is not below the dignified attention of public authority, in providing and sanctioning the laws which regulate the first disposal, and future transfer of possession of land, to devise means for diminishing the evil, since it cannot altogether be prevented.

Referring to the gentleman above indicated, and others, regret may be expressed that amongst the number of young men (the "Orientals") who went out in the first party of settlers, so few have taken as respectable a course as Mr. Francis Molesworth and the Hon. Henry Petre, whose conduct proves them to have been worthy of their leadership. We think that some undue preference is given under the company's management to one class of settlers, it may be valuable as taking out capital with them, we mean the "younger sons;" whilst the class, by whom unquestionably the most encouragement is every way needed, the farmers of moderate and small means, are comparatively neglected, – witness the scheme of the second colony exacting the payment of £300 for the smallest quantity of land purchasable. We fear the loose state of morals at Wellington, may be partly traced to too large a proportion of "younger sons;" There is a little too much nonsense about "society complete in all its parts," &c. &c. – steady farmers, and their industrious families, are the true colonists.

2 The consequences anticipated, which one would suppose could not have required much sagacity in any one, even at Auckland, to foresee, have already arrived; for by the Auckland Standard of the 4th April, received since the above was put into the printer's hands, we find the Report of a large public meeting of the colonists, convened to consider of the governor's refusal to reduce the minimum price of land from 20s. to 5s. an acre, as he had been petitioned. The Petition stating, that "notwithstanding the superior natural advantages of this colony, your petitioner's hopes of emigrants and capital have been hitherto altogether disappointed; both have been deterred from coming here for various reasons; among others, from the very high price of land generally, particularly town land, the allotments of the first sale having been sold for the enormous sum of. £200 to £1,600 per acre; the evil effects of which have not merely been to deter capital and emigrants from this settlement, but have completely impoverished the first settlers themselves." The reduction was sought for a limited period, as a temporary "relief from present distress," and the settlers from "fast approaching ruin." We suspect the manoeuvring of the speculators had something to do with the petition, and subsequent meeting, but the evils arising from a bad system of managing the very important matter of disposing of lands, are made apparent enough. The meeting passed resolutions confirmatory of the statements of the petition, and adopted a memorial praying for the immediate removal of the governor and his advisers.

3 We are contending for the rule of colonization; and, certainly should not dare to intercept the bread from the starving operatives of Paisley, from whatever quarter it might come. Let it be admitted that the distress of the labouring classes in some districts has reached such a pitch, that at home there is no occupation for them, and their labor is worthless; and then the question assumes another form, and it may be determined upon the principle of economy, whether it be not cheaper to open the public purse for the shipment and settlement in a colony, of a portion of the destitute population; rather than continue to bear the burthen of their gratuitous support at home. But has not the extreme destitution here spoken of, been already reached in Ireland, and the north-west of Scotland? and as for reasons that will be given, and for the fair trial of any government plan, it would be desirable that the present course of emigration should not be interfered with, it might be suggested that the Falkland Islands would be a proper colony for an experiment. These islands are fertile, with a climate not inferior to our own, and of sufficient extent to support a population of half a million; and who can doubt of the immense advantages to Britain, of placing such a colony upon them; and that the colonists with the rich ports of Brazil and Chili almost within hail, would greatly thrive; this might be done, and each Highland or Irish family be provided with a happy home, and an allotment of ten or twenty acres; by a careful expenditure of £100,000 a year for the next twenty years.

4 A most legitimate object for a company, furnishing excellent opportunity for secure and profitable investments to home capitalists, with a corresponding great benefit to the colonists.

5 In July last, a proposal to found another colony was made to the New Zealand Company, by Mr. George Rennie, on behalf of himself and other gentlemen associated with him; the distinguishing feature of Mr. Rennie's plan was, that greater preparations should be made for the reception of the settlers, than had been attended to in the earlier undertakings. The preparations included, the surveying and laying out of a town; construction of a landing-place, erection of buildings for the first reception of emigrants, and of a church and school-house; and also, the clearing and stocking of a large farm; all previous to the arrival of the first party of colonists.

The proposed mode of raising funds for the purpose, was similar to what had been before successful; viz. allotments of town, suburban, and country land, in all 100,000 acres, with a lottery to decide the order of choice. Of the £140,000 thus proposed to be raised, £40,000 were to be the company's share for management, (query, inclusive of the cost of the land to them,) and after deduction of expenses of survey, &c. from the remainder; one-half was to be applied to the "preparations" and to public works, and the other half to free emigration.

It was the object of Mr. Rennie and his friends to locate their colony in the middle (south) island, and of this the company had expressed their "willingness" to entertain the proposal, conditional upon her Majesty's government giving consent; but Mr. Rennie was informed in reply to his application to Lord Stanley, that his lordship was not disposed at present to hold out any encouragement to more extensive settlement on the middle island. Query, did his lordship also perceive objections to giving further employment to the company, as the "national instrument" for colonizing the islands – would not the grant of another harbor ensure them the monopoly of all the surrounding land?

6 We speak of course of Mr. Marshall's management so far as the interests of the colony were concerned.

7 The practice of the company has been to contract for the conveyance of their free passengers only, and not to charter ships. Under this plan the ship-owner has been free to make his own terms with cabin passengers, and the rates charged have usually been from sixty to eighty pounds, and even occasionally higher. But things getting very slack in Broad Street Buildings, the board determined to try an experiment of cheap cabin passages, and accordingly chartered the Phoebe, to sail in November, and take first-class passengers at thirty guineas each, or married couples at fifty guineas. Mr. Chapman in the New Zealand Portfolio, informs us how the experiment succeeded. "One of the most conspicuous results of the first trial of the economical system, is the large number of persons who have availed themselves thereof, who would not have emigrated at all unless under the new system. The Thomas Sparkes sailed with three or four cabin passengers only; the Indus had only two; the Phoebe on the other hand, had twenty-five adults, besides twenty-three in the fore-cabin, with ten or eleven children to each class. Does any one pretend to say that half, or even a quarter of these could have emigrated at all under the old system? and yet they constitute in every sense of the word a valuable body of settlers." Encouraged by the great success of their experiment with this excellent plan, it would naturally be thought the directors would follow it up; for even supposing that they had committed an error in setting the rates of passage too low, as some have thought, it could easily have been amended, by explaining, and raising them a little to cover their expenses, this however does not appear to have been the case; – hut alas, the credit that the directors gained by the step, was quickly scattered to the winds; for after actually advertising another fine ship, (the Mary,) as chartered and put on by them to follow the Phoebe on the same terms, it was most mysteriously withdrawn.

8 Referring to our strictures upon the New Zealand Company, it may be as well to disclaim, as we are perfectly free and able to do, any private cause of hostility; we are happy to say we have none, either against the company, or that we know of, against any individual member of it. Much business experience connected with the colony, and frequent dealings with the company itself, have gradually convinced us of the inapplicability of the machinery of a public company, for the work of colonization, and this pamphlet is the result. The writer knows full well the strong feeling that exists amongst the more capable class of colonists, against submitting to the dry-nursing of the company, but as disunited emigrants they cannot help themselves. We have lately been amused with a notice of a memorial from a public meeting at Nelson, to the London directors, to represent the opinion of the colonists, that a portion of the funds appropriated for a college, should be applied to the support of elementary schools!

Truly it would appear, that with the growing discontent both in the colony and at home, the company had need in future to manage its affairs with a most rare honesty, a most unaccustomed liberality, and with no less vigilant discretion, to save itself from the reputation of being the very leviathan amongst the land sharks.

9 Objections have recently been taken to the large scale on which colonial town plans have been laid out; but these objections in great part will not apply in the present case, the mode of distribution being so entirely different; it must be recollected that a gradual disposal of the land is here proposed, and that provision is made from the first for concentrating the buildings. Whilst it is unknown what direction may prove most convenient for the extension of the town, it is desirable to retain a rather large district in the power of the association, so much dependence being placed upon the sale of the town land for raising revenue. Should it be found at the end of the five years, (the period of establishment, as it may be called,) that there was a surplusage of land in the town district, it is probable it might then be very advantageously disposed of, in lots of two, four, or six acres, for villas; whilst in the meantime it might be cleared and rented for gardens and stock-yards, &c.

In a recent official report, it is stated that "the area within the township (town) of Sydney is 1778 acres, whilst the suburbs of the town without these limits, are on all sides rapidly extending;" the population of Sydney, 1841, was 29,973 persons, and the number of houses 4,523.

[10](#) We deem the fixed price in England essential to the plan; it is the regulator of the land market. One great advantage of it also is, that it enables the colonist to make his calculations, and to fix the scale of his outlay, previous to his embarkation, a consideration of great moment.

[11](#) The applying of a portion of funds thus raised, to the promoting of steam navigation, and also to the purchase of farming stock, (as has by other parties been proposed,) would be a diversion of such funds from their proper objects. Steam navigation is doubtless of very great importance to the New Zealand settlements; but the object is strictly commercial, and one in which the colonists individually have by no means an equal interest; it could be best provided for by small local companies, for hiring vessels of proper construction from capitalists in England.

The obtaining a good supply of the best breeds of cattle of all kinds, of the best poultry, &c, and of plants, vegetables, seed-corn, &c., is a matter which should engage the earliest attention from the founders of a new settlement; the plan we suggest is that of raising a few thousand pounds (say three or five) amongst the intending colonists, by shares of £20 each; to be controlled by a committee of the most experienced, with a paid manager, selected for his knowledge and skill; who should be despatched with the preliminary expedition, to select stock from the adjacent colonies, and clear a farm in preparation for the settlers. The plan of distribution should be invariably that of public auction, the proceeds going to the shareholders, but giving all the settlers an equal opportunity of procuring the best stock. Private enterprise would go on simultaneously with the proceedings of the stock company, but keeping in view the benefit of the colony, we cannot but think great advantages would attend this plan; there are numerous persons in England who take great interest in colonies, who are always ready to make suggestions and render assistance of the kind here needed; and an establishment such as here devised (which would be a general benefit, at the same time probably very profitable to the shareholders,) would afford such persons the best opportunity for correspondence, and the carrying out their good intentions; and be the means in all likelihood of introducing the most valuable productions, for which the settlement might be found adapted.

[12](#) The Immigration Board at Sydney have recommended that no surgeons should be allowed to take charge of emigrant ships, unless they have passed examination of the medical department of the Admiralty. This would be a most desirable regulation. Further protective measures of this kind are much needed.

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