

I. W. Day

A

COMPARISON

Between The

IMMIGRATION INTO NEW ZEALAND

by the

NEW ZEALAND COMPANY

And that undertaken by the

CANTERBURY PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT.

I. W. Day
Per D. L.

PREFACE

No consecutive account of the Immigration into New Zealand, and the policy regulating it has yet been attempted; and though the subject has been treated of in more than a cursory manner by the numerous writers who have dealt with the systematic colonization of New Zealand (and to whose works I am greatly indebted) yet in regard to later years the subject has received scant attention. It is by no means unimportant or uninteresting to trace the fluctuations in the policy our early provincial legislators followed in the matter of introducing immigrants, and to compare the results they obtained with those of their predecessors in this undertaking, whether Home Government or private Company.

Dealing solely with the social and political aspects of the question I have omitted the economic side which requires more scientific treatment. Thus it has been my task to survey the principal sources from which the white population of New Zealand has been drawn; to examine the principles governing, and the circumstances attending transmigration. It was found impossible to deal consistently with one portion of New Zealand, in the endeavour to compare the methods used by Private Companies, by Colonial Office and by Provincial Government. Thus till 1850 the whole of New Zealand had to be dealt with, after that date till 1870, Canterbury alone has been considered. The fourth phase -

Immigration under the control of the General Government -
has been omitted.

The abundance of material, both documentary and published dealing with the 1840-50 period should have made my task an easy one but the land troubles which so nearly affected the course of the immigration of the period are intricate and difficult to follow without the expenditure of much time. Of the later period no records of the debates or the Papers laid before the provincial Council appear to have been kept so the course of events had to be gleaned largely from the columns of the press, - a labourious process.

The valuable collection of New Zealand literature in the Canterbury Public Library has considerably simplified the work. My thanks are due to the Staff of the Library and also to the Editor of the Lyttelton Times for the assistance they have rendered me. I am grateful also to many an early colonist friend whose accounts of personal experiences have been invaluable in clearing away obscurities.

Frederick W. Day

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CHAPTER 1.

MIGRATION.

Man is a migratory animal. His whole history has been concerned with the increase of his numbers and his gradual occupation of the waste spaces of the earth. See how the Aryan people, the cradle of whose race is conjectured to lie somewhere in central Asia, have moved out towards the West occupying almost the whole of Europe and towards the South through the great Indian Peninsula and down among many of the Southern Islands even to distant New Zealand - for the common origin of the inhabitants of all these places is borne out by physical and linguistic resemblances and habits which they have not in common with the other races - while recent centuries have seen their people branch out from the Old World to plant itself firmly in the New.

Through every age the same motives have acted in varying degrees to urge men abroad. For primitive man migration was a necessity upon which his very existence depended; though love of conquest and adventure were no doubt powerful factors in urging the young and ambitious members of the tribe to leave their home; while even the factor of civil or domestic dissension may have played its part. Man, at the pastoral stage was essentially nomadic, ever following his flocks and herds in search of "fresh Woods and pastures new". Thus was Europe sparsely peopled; and

the agricultural stage succeeded to the pastoral showing its first signs in the south and west and creeping gradually northwards and eastwards.

Love of conquest and adventure seem the chief motives urging the barbarians of ancient history to such new homes as the lack of food had been in the earlier instance. From time to time the settled agricultural communities of the south were threatened by hordes of the still nomadic barbarians, a movement lasting well on into the Mediaeval period until the spread of civilization northwards and eastwards rendered their numbers insignificant. In character as well as in motive a change is visible between the migration of this and the earlier period.. Spontaneous going forth was replaced by a systematic procedure, if Machiavelli may be believed, and there seems no reason to deny his statements with Gibbon, as they are supported by passages from Caesar and Tacitus. This, according to Machiavelli was the system among the Germans: where a district was over populated the tribe would be divided into three parts each of which would contain the same proportion of old and young, of rich and poor and then one part would be chosen by lot to depart. Whether their system was as highly developed as this or not, they at least made some provision for migrations in being careful not to encourage agriculture, a pursuit that tended to make them unwarlike; and not to allow them to occupy the same patch of land for longer than a year in case they should become settled and unwilling to move on.

Little connection is apparent between the barbaric migrations and those of the modern period. In the colonization of the Greek

states and of Rome is to be seen the true fore-runner of the modern movement with regard to its regulated and systematic nature and the small proportion of emigrants to the main body of the population contrasting with the seething masses of Gauls and Teutons and Goths who from time to time were set in motion. Yet in motive, though Imperial pride was a strong factor in urging the acquisition of territory with both the Roman and modern governments, it was still largely love of adventure, and the search for food with the factor of civil and religious dissension now looming more important that impelled the emigrant of modern times to set forth.

Roman colonization which in more respects than Greek, was akin to the modern movement, was on the part of the state a means of securing the outlying parts of the widening empire and at the same time of appeasing the vulgar mob or discharged soldiers clamouring for land. So we find Tiberius Gracchus in the second century B.C. giving arguments in favour of the foundation of colonies somewhat resembling those given by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in the sixteenth century A.D. With this man came the opening of English colonizing history less than a century after the discovery of the new land which began a new era in the history of migration. Spanish and Portugese emigration which preceeded English, and French and Dutch which began about the same time were all influenced by the same motives; the emigrants themselves were largely adventurers led on by the hope of rich discoveries or strange encounters. Gilbert claims advantages for the home land - the importance that a nation would gain by the increase of her dominions; he advocated peopling colonies with vagabonds, beggars and criminals

he considered that emigration would be a cure for the over - population of England which at that time, owing to faulty economic conditions seemed a pressing evil. Such was the opinion, generally, held in that age, with one exception. Bacon in his wisdom raises a prophetic head above his contemporaries and treats of colonies and those peopling them as having some regard due to them. "It is a shameful thing to take the scum of the people and wicked condemned men to be the people with whom you plant". How like the sentiment of an exponent of a new colonial theory two centuries later who protested against the shameful "shovelling out of paupers". But unlike the Wakefield school of whom Charles Buller was one, Bacon did not agree with the immigration of women into a new land until the colony had grown strong.

No sooner were the first colonies established than a new characteristically modern factor sprang into prominence. The desire for political and religious freedom now began to account for as many immigrants to the New World as the love of adventure and the prospect of gain by trade, planting or the discovery of precious metals. Sir Humphrey Gilbert mentioned colonies as a refuge for Roman Catholics but he was chiefly thinking of ridding the home land of mal[] contents than of making these content.

About the Restoration there was a fresh development in the general opinion regarding emigration. It was considered disadvantageous to national well being on the grounds that it diminished the population of Great Britain already insufficient from a military point of view.

During the ensuing period called by Egerton "the Period of

Trade Ascendancy" emigration was without organization except in a few isolated cases, that of Georgia for instance where a scheme was launched for peopling that place with the assistance of the state. Public interest in colonies practically ceased and the demand for labour there was supplied by negro slavery and transported convicts assigned as servants to the planters.

The loss of the American colonies is a land mark in the history of opinion regarding Colonization. In the first place it was due to this, that England, now deprived of a dumping ground for her convicts, first turned her eyes towards Australia to relieve her overflowing gaols. In the second place the immediate result was a feeling of hostility towards any scheme for colonization and an almost complete cessation of emigration. This tendency was naturally strengthened by the long period of war that followed. After 1815 in spite of the discredit that still attached to schemes for colonization, distress at home, the immediate result of flooding the labour market with discharged soldiers sent a small stream of the most venturesome or the most desperate to seek happier homes across the seas, and we find the Government even promoting this as in the case of Cape Colony where a sum of £50,000 was devoted to assisting emigrants and settling them on land about 1820.

From the thirties on, two schools of opinion with regard to the colonies persisted, each tending to the same conclusions though from different motives. The Wakefield School consulted the interests of the colony and intending colonist; the radical party maintained that colonies were a burden, - that their dropping away would be no loss; so as each party considered that the granting of

almost entire freedom was the means to their own end, the systematic colonizers were able to take advantage of party antagonism and win Government consent for some of their experiments.

The old motives prompting colonization still prevail: It was with a thirst for adventure, and a greed for gold that man rushed out to California, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand in greater numbers than ever the Spaniards had rushed out to America. But now for the first time do considerable numbers leave their home land on account of oppressive economic conditions. Gilbert and others had talked of colonies as a possible escape from such but there was no opportunity, no means devised whereby the poorer classes could readily emigrate. While, again, political unrest accounts to a large extent for the great exodus from Germany, Ireland, Italy and the Slav countries.

With regard to England, Wakefield discusses the factors urging men to seek new homes. There was, he states, a surplus of labour, and of capital in the Old Country; a crowding of all classes, - so that the sons of farmers, professional men or labourers would all find difficulty in maintaining the social position to which they were born. Hence arises his scheme for peopling new lands not with one class but with the just proportion of class to class maintained; while he arrives also at the conclusion that the successful colony will be peopled with the young and vigorous, keeping the numbers of men and women equal, for it is the young who are ambitious to provide for their families better conditions than they themselves had. According to him all

parties are benefited; the Mother Country disposes of her surplus labour and capital (and curiously enough, he omits the factor so important with earlier colonizers - that of increased prestige by the acquisition of wider dominions); the new land gains the labour and capital she needs to develop her resources and the immigrant himself better his social position.

It is held at present that the advantages gained by the parent state from emigration are almost negligible. In times of sore distress due to over-crowding the out-going of large numbers certainly acts as a temporary relief but that is all. Advantages to the new country depend upon the stage of development it has reached; its population is increased with the most energetic men and women at the most productive age; and the supply of labour is increased. If the immigrant has been carefully selected with due attention paid to his character, health and ability, and if there is a demand for the particular kind of labour he can supply, then immigration will be advantageous to the new country.

Wakefield advocates the assisted immigration of labourers, the funds for this purpose to be raised by the sale of lands. That is to say, the land owner who is especially to gain by a plentiful supply of labour indirectly pays for their passage. But he is careful to notice that long before the supply of waste land in a new country has passed from Government control, immigration from without will be unnecessary and even harmful.

It seems just to draw the conclusion that when a country is no longer actually hampered by the fewness of its numbers it can depend upon its own natural increase for a steady growth of populat-

ion recuperated by the unrestricted entry (except of the diseased, criminal or otherwise undesirable) of those who are enterprising enough to make their way to a new land unaided. It is therefore a mistaken policy to spend large sums on immigration; and seeing that it has no permanent results on the land from which the immigrants are there is no question of the Home Government taking these expenses upon itself. In truth it is evident that those are to benefit by the change, namely the immigrants themselves, who hoping to improve their conditions leave their homes ought to bear the expenses. Mrs. Knowles points out that a great deal of the present wide spread mania for migration is due to the action of Shipping Companies which make huge profits out of the transportation and so do much to advertise the merits of various overseas lands. In one respect state aided immigration will surely never be out of place. The introduction on a small scale of immigrants of all trades and professions especially chosen for their high skill and ability serves to keep up a high standard, to prevent stagnation and introduce new ideas.

CHAPTER 2.

SURVEY OF NEW ZEALAND TO 1840

(Particularly the sources of Population).

When Abel Tasman approached these shores in 1642 New Zealand was inhabited by the Maori - savages, who murdered a boat load of his men pulling for the shore.

It is held that this race, a people of Aryan stock migrated from a sunnier and more fertile island home somewhere about the eighth century A.D. Here they displaced the primitive native race, probably the Moriori whose last stand was the Chatham Island and whose numbers, at no time large within the knowledge of Europeans are now reduced to one.

From the discovery of New Zealand by Tasman in 1642 to its re-discovery by Captain James Cook in 1769 there are no records and no hint in Maori traditions of its having been visited but there is every probability that its position was known to Portuguese and Dutch navigators, so venturesome were the sailors of these lands; and was considered to be part of the great Southern Continent called by Tasman the Staatenland. After Cook other explorers visited New Zealand but it was not till nearly the end of the century that white men first sought shelter on our shores. Whalers and sealers were the forerunners of all classes of settlers who later found their way here. They put in to obtain food supplies by trading with the natives and left parties ashore to engage in bay whaling.

As early as 1791 there was a whaler in New Zealand waters, then owing to a restriction, forbidding whaling in certain seas including those washing New Zealand, no more appeared till 1799 when this restriction was removed. The appearance of the "Albion" in this year marked the beginning of the regular whaling trade. The first sealer called in at Dusky Bay in 1792; this was the "Britannia" under the command of Raven who left the second mate Leith on shore in charge of a sealing gang; these men built the first vessel made of Australasian timber during their sojourn there. And New Zealand offered yet a third commodity for trade in those first years of contact with the world. Voyages for timber began in 1794 and as a branch of this trade flax gathering played a most important part. Generally whaling gangs when left on shore for the whole year would employ themselves in this trade during the off season. Sealing as a profitable trade soon ceased but the whaling and timber trade continued to grow and gradually along the coasts tiny settlements formed. In the South Island especially, the earliest settlements were connected almost entirely with whaling. For it was bay whaling that was here so largely and profitably engaged in; so owners of whaling vessels would set up stations on shore, often purchasing large tracts of land from the natives; a store would be set up, gardens planted and the men would take native wives, such were the establishments of Weller at Otago Harbour founded 1832; of Jones who by 1839 had seven stations around the Otago coast and employed 280 men; of Hempleman at Piraki 1837. In Cook's Straits too there were several stations, Te Awaiti for instance having a population, entirely European of 100 about 1838 .

As early as 1827 whalers had stationed themselves at Cloudy Bay and Queen Charlotte Sound and as the coasts of Cook Strait became more frequented by whalers settlements grew up, some lasting only a season, some still flourishing, huts, store and grog shop all complete when New Zealand passed under British suzerainty.

The North Island did not attract a resident population of this class. Vessels engaged in open sea whaling called in for stores trafficking with the Maori but permanent settlements were not formed. It was thus that the Bay of Islands became a well known trading centre before any whites had settled here. Yet very early mention is made of Europeans found in the North Island but the fewness of their numbers makes them of little account though their lives form the material for the most romantic stories of old New Zealand. These had found their way here in various ways; some were sailors, deserters from trading vessels; some were convicts escaped from the penal settlements in New South Wales, - some came as stowaways, some escaping in a band came in vessels they had seized. This happened first in 1806, the Venus being the vessel thus piratically seized and this vessel brought the first white women known to have landed in New Zealand. "Immigrants" of this class had various fates, some dragged out a miserable existence in the bush in continual dread of falling victim to the natives whose cannibalism nevertheless was over estimated; often those who fell in with the Maoris adopted their mode of living, becoming one of the tribe, hence the Pakeha Maoris whom are such picturesque figures and though occasionally there were instances of a Europeans finding favour with a tribe and becoming its chief, in the case of escaped convicts at least the natives understood their condition

and despised them. Some of them found it profitable to run grog shops at the ports of call for traders and later when the southern whaling stations were established they found employment suited to them in this rough adventurous life.

The next element contributing to the population of New Zealand when it was ceded to the British Crown in 1840 was composed of the Missionaries. To contribute to the settling of New Zealand was the very farthest from their desires, their chief aim being the preservation of the native race.

The attention of the Missionaries was directed to New Zealand at the very first meeting of the London Missionary Society, when it was suggested as a possible place for a station; this was in 1795. Again in 1800 New Zealand was one of the places in which the Directors endeavoured to persuade Governor King to establish a mission, but without effect. In 1801 a party of missionaries on their way to Tahiti actually spent a few weeks at Thames in the North Island. No effectual step, however, was taken towards the establishment of a mission station until Samuel Marsden visited England to make arrangements for this object with the Church Missionary Society in 1807. His interest had been roused by the high standard of intelligence he had observed in Maoris visiting Sydney and he was stirred with the longing to Christianize this fine race of men. He returned to New South Wales with authority to establish a station in New Zealand, the Bay of Islands being the spot decided upon owing to the presence there of lawless men - some few settlers; but mostly sojourners - who not only ill treated but exercised a degrading influence upon the simple natives. As helpers in his work Marsden was accompanied by a

ship builder and a flax dresser Hall and King and their families; and was followed later by a school-master, Kendall and his family. Fear of the natives who were in an unsettled state about this time, and the reluctance of the Governor to transfer the control of crews to this body whereas he desired to regulate their conduct from Sydney, delayed the departure of Marsden and his tiny band till 1814 when permission was finally granted. The three missionaries were settled at Rangihoua with instructions to teach the natives the arts of civilized life and spread the teachings of the Gospels. This infant settlement Marsden visited as often as his duties in New South Wales and the permission of unsympathetic Governors allowed until his death in 1837. By degrees the station increased in numbers; in 1818 the first resident clergyman arrived, the Rev. Butler; in 1823 another, the Rev. Henry Williams took up his stand on the side of the Bay of Islands opposite Kororarika and by 1826 there were 59 persons connected with the mission of whom 10 were women and 36 children. The men followed various occupations and trades such as weaving, shoe-making, farming, carpentering which they taught the Maoris. In 1822 Samuel Lee established a Wesleyan Mission Station at Whangaroa, by 1837 this had disappeared, the work being left in the hands of native teachers. But at the time the Treaty of Waitangi was signed missionaries were settled at Hokianga, Kaipara and all along the coast in the vicinity of the Bay of Islands, as well as on the firth of the Thames.

New Zealand had thus begun to be irregularly settled by 1840 but meanwhile various attempts to found colonies systematically had been made without success. These efforts, the true precursors of the

successful "Land Company" of 1839 are therefore worthy of notice.

From the time of Cook navigators, touching at these islands had frequently considered the feasibility of colonizing them. The opinions of some of these were collected and set down in a small book published by the New Zealand Association to give publicity to their plans. Captain Cook's view was that the Thames or Bay of Islands would be most suitable for planting a colony on account of the abundance of timber for ship-building. Another in 1807 refers to the possibility of using natives to overcome the scarcity of labour difficulty in 1817 the possibility of opening up trade with South America in timber and flax is mentioned. Some testify to the reliability of the natives and the use they would be in providing labour for the young colony and Major Cruise in 1824 refers to the desire of the natives for European settlers. That this was the case is true among very many tribes at least. The tribes along the Waikato when white settlers were scarce and in Taranaki where there were none were jealous of those Northern tribes where Europeans had settled most plentifully; they desired the advantages of trade thus gained and the ease with which European commodities, food and clothing were thus acquired. The welcome, sometimes of a rather terrifying description to unaccustomed eyes, which they extended to bands of settlers, as at Port Nicholson, on the arrival of the Company's Emigrants; and the eagerness with which they disposed of their land, for mere trifles, for the sake of having Europeans in their midst testify to their general attitude towards the new comers. Again, the possibility of mineral wealth and the fertility of the soil, the mildness of the climate were all urged

by mariners as reasons for establishing an English Colony here.

In England, too, from its very discovery almost, men of importance turned their eyes towards this group of islands on the other side of the world. Benjamin Franklin in 1771 brought up a scheme for settlement but the only fruit this bore was the later voyages of Cook who was thus encouraged by the attention paid to his work. Then during an interval of twenty years the existence of New Zealand was almost forgotten, except by occasional explorers in the Southern Seas. But the placing of a penal colony in New South Wales brought her in closer contact with the peopled world and so during the next twenty years her coasts were frequented more and more by vessels engaged in whaling and the timber ; and at length isolated cases of Europeans having lived upon her shores are found recorded in the logs of ships and already before the end of this period missionary interest in her savage inhabitants was awakened. But before this interest developed into practical results men of the commercial world had fixed their eyes upon New Zealand as a field for exploitation. In 1810 a group of Sydney merchants among whom were Simeon Lord, Francis Williams and Andrew Thompson proposed a scheme which was approved by Macquarie the Governor, to found a settlement in New Zealand to collect flax. Accordingly ten men were sent out under contract to remain for three years. The time they had chosen to make the experiment was unfortunate, - the whole country was in a turmoil, the natives were disaffected towards the whites (it was shortly before this that the ill famed massacre of the crew of the "Boyd" had taken place), and distracted by wars among themselves, so after a brief sojourn the flax gatherers set sail for fairer fields. (most of them returned to England). A second attempt of the

same nature was made in 1815, connected too with the name of Simeon Lord. The New South Wales New Zealand Company was formed and twenty five men advertised for to gather flax, were sent by two vessels the "Brothers", the "Trial", but as the Crown refused to sanction this undertaking the men returned. It seemed that New Zealand was not to be a field for systematic exploitation. Then after 1815 when Europe was again at peace but faced with grievous economic problems resulting from the long period of wars many saw in the founding of colonies the solution to these problems, so New Zealand among other places was brought once more before the eyes of Englishmen, this time as a possible home for her starving surplus population. Many were the schemes prepared with this end in view, and ruthlessly rejected by those in power, as was Sugden's in 1821 by Bathurst, and Nicoll's in 1823, and his was an interesting proposal, doomed to failure from the outset on account of the class of men with whom he intended to colonize. His colony was to be military in form supporting itself by exporting raw produce, he considered disbanded soldiers and sailors as the best type of settlers. It seems true, however, as pointed out by E. G. Wakefield and shown by experience that the most successful colonists are young men and women with a long working life before them, and ambitions to prepare for their families a fairer lot than the Mother Country held out. A colony of a military character such as this would have been dire in its effects upon the natives at least. Another fruitless attempt at colonization was that of the Baron de Thierry who seems to have entertained some hopes of acquiring personal power for himself in New Zealand. This idea was given birth to at interviews he obtained with the chiefs Hongi and

Waikato while in England. Kendall, the school master at the Mission station at Rangihoua acted as his agent, purchasing for 30 axes 20⁰/₀ acres at Hokianga. But as the Baron failed to form a Company in London no more was heard of the scheme till later. Eventually he came to New Zealand to claim his land but by this time a British Resident was stationed at the Bay of Islands and his claims were treated with contempt, though for a while there was some fear that the French Government might support him and this idea was strengthened by the fact that a French warship the "Astrolabe" was suspiciously tarrying in New Zealand waters, and in fact made a survey of part of the coast.

The appointment of James Busby, as British Resident at the Bay of Islands in 1833 marked a new stage in the settlement of New Zealand. Many people now felt assured that the assumption of a protectorate was preliminary to actual possession and individuals began to come in, introducing stock and beginning agricultural farming. Of these the first recorded is John Bell, a Sydney farmer who sailed for Mana Island (in Cook Strait) with ten head of cattle and 102 sheep. Some time later, he is referred to as growing tobacco and supplying ships with wood and water, fresh meat, and vegetables. Australian speculators began to flock in; the period of the land shark had begun. Great areas of country were bought up for trifling gifts and in most cases left idle, held simply to sell when the values increased. However many of these sales were declared invalid when sovereignty actually was proclaimed. Two important acquisitions of this period were those of Captain Rhodes in Banks Peninsula when the first cattle station in Canterbury was

established in 1839; and of Jones (who already had several whaling stations) in Otago; in March 1840 (that is before the Proclamation of Sovereignty over the South Island) he landed immigrants near Waikouaiti to form an agricultural settlement.

Before proceeding to an account of the first successful scheme to land immigrants in New Zealand in the form of a chartered Company, there is yet one other attempt to notice. In 1833 when whaling in Cloudy Bay was attended with such great success interest was aroused in Australia, in Hobart Town especially in this corner of New Zealand and a settlement to be formed on a communistic basis was planned, but the enthusiasm died away and no more was heard of the plan and Cloudy Bay continued with its old irregular ungoverned life.

By the 10th June 1840 British sovereignty had been proclaimed over the whole of New Zealand. The white population at this date has been estimated at numbers varying from 1,000 to 2,000 persons who had found their way here for one of three reasons; the large class engaging in trade may be connected with those seeking adventure, and those shunning the regions of civilized men, keeping beyond the reach of the arm of the law, for most of this class runaway sailors and escaped convicts ultimately joined the whaling gangs or made their way to a port where traders called for stores, then there was the class connected with the mission stations who came from philanthropic motives, though there are instances of worldly missionaries who joined in the race for property and who sold to the natives the coveted powder and muskets; and these were the declared foes of all intruders for no matter what purpose they came; and the third was the farming class, the fewest in numbers but the direct fore-runners of the immigrants

who from 1840 were to pour steadily into the country and before whom the first two elements were soon to disappear.

CHAPTER 3.

ORIGIN AND FORMATION OF NEW ZEALAND

COMPANY

It was eventually owing to the efforts of a small body of eminent men in England that New Zealand came to be systematically colonized and actually a part of the British Empire. In their determination to preserve this jewel of the Southern Seas for Britain they fought against overwhelming odds; a Government and in particular a Colonial Office at first rather sluggish and uninterested than actively hostile but later showing active hostility in every step; and a public devoid of all interest in colonizing. The loss of the American Colonies seemed to our Statesmen to point clearly to the fact that colonies were like fruit and would when ripe drop off from the parent tree. This impression added to the fact that the word colony was connected in men's minds with negro slavery and transportation of convicts contributed to the want of sympathy for any colonizing movements, with the general public. And certainly the New Zealand of the thirties presented an uninviting prospect to the orderly law-abiding English citizen, for the tales current in England represented it as being more lawless, its natives as being more savage even than the truth warranted. The year 1831 may suitably be taken as the date marking the reawakening of an interest in colonial matters for in that year a principle of the recently formed Colonizing Society, namely the sale of waste lands,

was made the subject of an Imperial Decree. But in reality this interest had gradually been awakened for some time and with respect to New Zealand had manifested itself in the formation of a company and the attempt to found a settlement in 1825. And this it seems was the origin of the ultimate New Zealand Company.

As the result of Nicoll's proposal to found a military colony (mentioned above) the attention of several public men, among whom Lambton, later Earl of Durham, is best known, was attracted to New Zealand; a company was formed; land purchased at Hokianga and the Thames; a royal Charter promised by Huskisson (then President of the Board of Trade) if the preliminary expedition should prove successful; but unluckily the war dance of the natives performed in honour of the settlers' arrival put them to flight terror-stricken and thus the first effort of the New Zealand Company in spite of its propitiations beginning, unopposed by the Imperial Government left no mark except a few scattered settlers who undeterred by savage grimaces remained to eke out a precarious living tilling the virgin soil.

This, then, was the sole effort to produce a systematic colony having as its chief view the happiness of the settlers who were to reproduce English society in a new land. The other projected settlements of this period were all on a trade or military basis scarcely designed to attract settlers of every rank to make permanent homes there.

Not only because of the similarity of aim between the Association of 1825 and the Company of 1839 is it that the former has been left to serve an introduction to the latter but the same great

names are connected with the two schemes and the later one may in truth be said to have grown out of the earlier, whose liabilities in fact it assumed responsibility for and whose lands it claimed.

In the interval between the failure of the first attempt in 1825 and the inauguration of the second in 1837 a great step forward had been taken towards rousing popular interest in colonizing in general and to a less extent in New Zealand in particular. About 1830 Edward Gibbon Wakefield had discovered his remarkable insight into colonial difficulties and had formed his theory regarding the sale of waste lands which hitherto had been profusely and profitlessly granted away - the root of the whole evil. New Zealand had so far attracted attention in England that in 1832 the conduct of lawless British subjects rendered it necessary to appoint a British Resident; but he, James Busby, appropriately described as the Man of War without Guns, was so ineffective in his power that the deplorable state of things again called for attention; so in 1836 while the question of Aborigines was before a Committee of the House of Commons a gloomy picture of the Maori under the influence of vice and crime was brought under review. In the same year at a Committee of the House of Commons on the Disposal of waste lands, New Zealand was cited too as being favourable for making the experiment according to the new principles. In the next year a society was formed with the double object of colonizing New Zealand systematically and of placing her under British sovereignty.

These principles, which Wakefield's fertile brain had noticed, and which were adopted in their entirety by the New Zealand Association of 1837 were to the effect that all colonial land was vested in the

Crown; it should be sold, not granted away as of old, at a "sufficient price" to deter the labouring class from being able to purchase land for themselves immediately on their arrival, and yet to enable them to acquire holdings of their own after a reasonable period of labouring for hire. Thus Wakefield could avoid the much complained of colonial evil, scarcity of labour. To maintain the correct proportion between proprietary and labouring population a fixed proportion of the revenue accruing from the sale of lands was to be devoted to defraying the cost of conveying emigrants of the labouring class to the colony. Apart from these fundamental principles upon which their colonizing efforts in New Zealand were to be based the Association recognised the necessity of taking all precautions for securing the best types of settlers from a moral and a health point of view, and also of making adequate arrangements for the reception of the Immigrants. Much had been learnt by the first unsuccessful application of the Wakefield System of Colonization - in South Australia - much still remained to be learnt.

Yet it was rather the many rebuffs suffered at the hands of antagonistic and unsympathetic bodies than mis-managed or ill-conceived designs on the part of the Association that gave the Colony eventually established so different a character from that originally pictured. When the Association first applied for the sanction of the Executive to their scheme both Lord Melbourne, and Earl Grey the leaders of the Whig Party appeared to favour them - Earl Grey, who as Lord Howick had previously shown great interest in colonial affairs, probably through deep seated sympathy with the undertaking; Lord Melbourne doubtless through indifference to a

subject so unworthy of his attention.

Success having attended their efforts so far it was deemed advisable in the next place to take steps towards the establishment of friendly communication with the Church Missionary Society who alone could be considered as having introduced settlers into New Zealand on an organized basis. This body assumed immediately, a hostile attitude and not content with mere passive refusal to co-operate, they set about exciting opposition to the scheme in all quarters. In indignation they launched protests against these profit seeking colonizers who were bent on stealing from the unsuspecting natives their invaluable lands for beads and worthless trifles. In pamphlets, by means of a flow of abusive rhetoric they gave evidence of the ruinous influence that contact with white settlers had had on native races. Beecham, in a pamphlet on Colonization was careful to point out that the settlers themselves were in no way blame-worthy; they as much as the natives were the objects of deceit and fraud practised by the Company being, he assumed uninformed of the conditions prevailing in the colony, unaware of native rights, enticed solely by the exaggerated attractions of the place as advertised by the "pen and brush of the Company". The missionary view of the matter was based no doubt on honest motives; they believed that the preservation of the native race was impossible if white settlers were introduced, that the extermination of the native race before the advancing tide of settlement was inevitable. They condemned the injustice and inhumanity of the intruders and though their reasoning seems now without logic and their pictures of evils exaggerated yet their language was forcible

and rang true in those days when colonizing enthusiasm was still confined to the few.

When the Association returned for the final ratification of their plan the Government asserted, at the instance of Lord Glenelg, that owing to the absolute independence of New Zealand, no steps could be taken in the matter; and this is not surprising considering the wave of popular indignation thus created by the Missionary Society in favour of the natives, and especially seeing that, Lord Glenelg a strong supporter of the Missionaries was at the head of the Colonial Office.

On reconsideration, shortly afterwards, this decision was modified and the Association was offered a Royal Charter of Incorporation, for colonizing purposes similar to those issued in the 16th and 17th centuries. A condition of this was that a joint stock should be subscribed by the members of the Association but as they had no desire for any pecuniary interest in the undertaking the offer was refused. In 1838 after public interest had once more been awakened in New Zealand by a Select Committee of the House of Lords on the State of affairs there Sir Francis Baring brought in a Bill with the proposals of the Association amended by suggestions from Lord Melbourne and Lord Grey. This Bill was thrown out and thus ended the second attempt to found a systematic colony in New Zealand.

By this time there was a new factor to be reckoned with. The promoters of the scheme were now unable to lay aside their tasks easily and though disappointed resign themselves to their failure, and perhaps await a more favourable opportunity for again submitting their plans for Government sanction. This new factor was not easily to be

conciliated. A considerable body of intending colonists had been collected through the diligence of the officials of the Association and the wide spread system of advertisement they had used. It is easy to realise that great inconvenience was caused to many of these through the sudden expiration of the Association. They took the management of the situation into their own hands, formed themselves into the New Zealand Land Company, and declared their willingness to submit to Lord Glenelg's terms, that is, to subscribe a joint stock capital. Members of the old Association, though previously undesirous of any pecuniary advantage gave their support to the new scheme. It was undoubtedly Wakefield who was responsible for this development; and this fact coupled with the evidence provided by the names appearing among the directors of the new Company is sufficient proof that the main principles of the Wakefield School of Colonization would be followed.

Lord Normanby had now succeeded Lord Glenelg at the Colonial Office and though it is plain (from his evidence before the House of Commons Committee on New Zealand in 1840) that Wakefield considered him personally favourable to the scheme yet the influences of Stephen predominated and the tradition of hostility to Colonial schemes lived on; recognition of the Company sought once again under the terms offered the year before by Lord Glenelg was refused so the infuriated Company decided to consider New Zealand as a foreign country in accordance with the repeated assertions of the Government and prepared to emigrate thither. On 2nd May 1839 the New Zealand Colonization Company became New Zealand Company. The preliminary expedition under the command of Colonel William Wakefield commissioned to choose and

purchase a suitable site and make arrangements for the reception of the first batch of emigrants, left England on the 12th May 1939 in the Tory.

CHAPTER 4.

INSTRUCTIONS OF THE COMPANY AND WAKEFIELD'S ADHERENCE TO THEM.

Colonel William Wakefield as Principal Agent of the Company was furnished with written instructions on his departure though he was assured of the reliance placed in his judgment of the situation, and his ability to conduct the negotiations in the manner demanded by local circumstances. The instructions therefore deal solely with broad general principles. The Principal Agent was given absolute power over all the servants of the Company engaged on the expedition. All were responsible to him and his was the power of dismissal and reappointment. He was also advised to make frequent reports to the Company concerning the progress of the expedition and conduct of its servants.

The instructions fall under three headings dealing with the three objects of the preliminary expedition. With regard to the purchase of lands for the Company he had to bear in mind the dividend seeking nature of the Company and so apart from selecting merely fertile land he should bear in mind the advantages of a central position likely to become a metropolis for trade and commerce. Cook Strait was suggested owing to its lying on the shortest route from England to Australia and Port Nicholson was referred to as a suitable harbour. The correctness of their judgment and the wisdom of Wakefield's choice after careful examination, has been sufficiently

borne out by the development of later years for Wellington at once became and has since remained the metropolis of New Zealand. Besides a harbour(preferably one on either side of the Strait) large tracts of land suitable for agricultural purpose and easy of communication with the harbours were required.

Just dealing with the natives from whom purchases were being made was emphasised in the instructions. A native, Nayti was to accompany the expedition as interpreter and through him the exact intentions of the Company were to be made known and they were to be made to understand that one tenth part of the land ceded, which was to be reserved for them would have far more value after the introduction of settlers than it could ever have in its wild, unpeopled state. Wakefield's treatment of the natives was in every way above reproach.. He took the greatest care to publish his intentions among all the members of each tribe with which he had dealings; all his transactions were open and business like; and for the first time attention was given to the fact that the land of each tribe belonged to the whole tribe, that no individual members could cede any part of it, nor was the consent of the chief sufficient to make the cession legal, so on each occasion Wakefield was careful to have the agreement of all in korero to the cession. True, he used at times, with effect that power of persuasion, characteristic of the Wakefields but in no case could he be charged with the intention of deceiving the unwitting ignorant savage. Apart from just dealings with the natives in land transactions the Company showed great concern for their general welfare. Wakefield was to consider "any act of aggression from any of the Company's servants towards any

native of New Zealand as a sufficient reason for dismissal from the Company's service and that in the most public manner." The officers of the Company should set a high moral tone and every respect should be shown the natives and finally, Wakefield's attention was drawn to the fact that the respect of the natives for them would be increased by their due observance of Sunday for they under Missionary influence drew "a marked distinction between those settlers who worked on Sundays and those who did not, regarding the former as inferior people, the latter as rangitiras."

The second object of the expedition was the acquisition of general information respecting the country. Reports were required from the man of science accompanying the expedition and a warning was given against exaggeration. Wakefield saw to it that these instructions were carefully and accurately complied with. Dr. Dieffenbach the naturalist supplied copious information respecting the nature of the districts visited, their birds and plants and the meteorological conditions; Captain Chaffers of the "Tory" supplied information relative to navigation about the harbours and islands of New Zealand; while Colonel Wakefield himself in frequent reports kept the Company accurately informed of his procedure and of all he was able to discover concerning the Maoris and their habits as well as minute descriptions of picturesque spots.

The third division of his instructions concerned the actual preparations for the arrival of the settlers after the site for the first settlement had been decided for. They pointed out that this choice should be partly based on the attitude of the natives, selecting if possible where the natives were eager for intercourse

with Europeans. The advisability of employing Maoris as labourers was urged and of appointing, as assistants, Europeans already resident among the natives and on that account used to dealing with them. All these instructions he fulfilled to the letter.

The Preliminary Expedition consisted of Colonel William Wakefield, Agent of the Company, Edward Jerningham Wakefield, son of E. G. Wakefield, Dr. Dieffenbach, the naturalist; a native Naiti, the interpreter; and besides, a surgeon, a draughtsman, a store-keeper, and Colonel Wakefield's servant. This party on the "Tory" proceeded directly to Cook Strait, landing at Ship Cove on the 18th August 1839. A careful examination of Queen Charlotte Sound, Te Awaitei and Pelorus Sound was made. It was from Te Awaitei, a settlement comprising according to Colonel Wakefield's account, some forty Europeans and Americans (two being women), that he brought away with him two men who were to be of service to him in his preparations. The first of these, universally known as Dicky Barrett, but always respectfully referred to in Colonel Wakefield's correspondence as Mr. Barrett, was one of the many picturesque characters with which the early romantic years of New Zealand history are filled. E. J. Wakefield comments on his amusing appearance "ruddy and jovial of countenance short and fat, in a white jacket, blue dungaree trousers and round straw hat" he seemed perfectly round all over. He was the head of the Te Awaitei whaling establishment and had married the daughter of the chief of the Ngati Awa Tribe whose trials and dangers he had shared in their flight from Taranaki before the advancing Waikato people. It was from this circumstance that his influence and usefulness fulfilled the highest expectations that

Wakefield had of him. By means of his negotiations Wakefield concluded several arrangements for the purchase of land from the natives and ultimately he was appointed Agent for the natives - a medium between the settlers and Maoris in all disputes. The other was Smith whom on account of his knowledge of the language and habits of the natives and his ability as general workman, Wakefield was able to leave at Port Nicholson with tools and seeds as well as a few goats, a sow and her litter and some poultry. He was to instruct and superintend the natives employed in the building of houses and planting of vegetables preparatory to the approaching arrival of the first immigrant ships.

From Queen Charlotte's Sound Wakefield proceeded to Port Nicholson (on the advice of Barrett), and to Kapiti where he interviewed the mighty Te Rauparaha who knew how to drive a bargain and was with difficulty brought to agree to Wakefield's terms; then, after much traversing backwards and forwards about Cook Strait, they proceeded northwards up the West Coast examining the coast for suitable harbours and the land for its fertility as far as Hokianga. Four months had now passed since Wakefield first sighted New Zealand and the time was at hand arranged for the meeting of the Preliminary party with the first body of Immigrants so an immediate return was made to Cook Strait.

Large tracts of land on both sides of Cook Strait had been purchased: the first deed of purchase, that for the harbour and district of Port Nicholson being dated September 27th 1839; the second, dated October 25th was for Kapiti or Entry Island;

the third dated November 8th for the lands on the Southern shore of Cook's Strait and also lands on the West Coast of the North Island stretching as far as and including Taranaki. In each case the limits of the purchase and the goods to be received in payment were set out clearly to allow no room for future disputes. He also took possession of a small section at Kaipara formerly belonging to Lieutenant McDonnell who had now transferred his claims to the Company.

The selection of Port Nicholson as the site for the first settlement was based, of course, principally, following the Company's instructions on its central position, combined with the fact that the harbour was excellent, sheltered, yet easy of access; and that the adjoining land was of wide extent, accessible and fertile comparing favourably in this last respect with the land to the North of Kawhia especially that in the neighbourhood of Hokianga and Kaipara Harbours where the abundance of Kauri trees was a sure proof of unfertile land.

At Port Nicholson, moreover, even more earnestly than in other parts were the natives desirous of having white settlers in their midst. Bumby and Hobbs, the missionaries had some time before paid them a visit and had left with them native teachers. This was regarded somewhat as an insult by the Maoris who were more covetous of the trade and outward forms of civilisation brought by real white settlers than of the teaching and prayers of men of their own race who were unable to command their respect to the same extent as white missionaries.

This desire for missionaries or white settlers seems to have

been general at this time with those tribes among whom no Europeans had settled. They uttered frequent complaints of this neglect showing a child-like jealousy of their more favoured neighbours. The desires of Hongi and Waikato were couched in these terms (prior to their visit to England, that is about 1820) "They wished for a party to dig the ground in search of iron, an additional number of blacksmiths, carpenters, and preachers who will speak in the New Zealand tongue; also twenty soldiers to protect their own countrymen the settlers and three officers to keep the soldiers in order", revealing and not too favourable opinion of the behaviour of the ordinary British soldier. This plea for settlers was made twenty years before the Company's settlers arrived but the same desire lived on among the natives urged on by the same motives as those revealed by Hongi. It would be useless to pretend that Christianity and the civilizing influence of the Missionaries made no impression on this people but the material gains of civilization ranked higher in their estimation.

His choice was further well advised owing to the lack of white population. Indeed at the time of the arrival of the "Tory" in Port Nicholson there was only one white man, Joe Robinson, living there, while on the other side of the Strait there were small scattered settlements all along the coast. Hence he avoided, what would have been a serious difficulty while the enterprise was young, - the disputes with individual land claimants.

As it was speculators began to flock over in the hopes of grabbing up land near the Company's selection with the certainty

that its value would be heightened by this circumstance. (The numbers of these land speculators was subsequently greatly increased when it was definitely known that Great Britain intended to annex these Islands). Ships arrived from Australian ports, Sydney especially to Cook Strait from November 1839 in greater numbers than even before and besides a fairly large passenger list they carried some hundreds of heads of cattle and pigs, and these were indeed welcome in the new land. Most of them chose the neighbourhood of Queen Charlotte's Sound for the theatre of their speculation as the general opinion was that the first settlement would be founded in that locality. Those that found their way to Port Nicholson were able to be absorbed into the body of the Company's Immigrants owing to the comparative fewness of their numbers.

During the negotiations for the purchase of Taranaki and the southern possessions of the Ngati Awa tribe and during Wakefield's visit to the extreme north, the work of preparation at Port Nicholson had been steadily progressing under the management of Smith. He experienced no difficulty with the natives who were excellent workers and early in November he reported that seven large houses for the reception of the Immigrants were under construction as well as other necessary preparations. But the course of events was not destined to uninterrupted tranquillity. The missionaries who before the arrival of the Tory had visited Port Nicholson, had made arrangements for the purchase of land to establish a mission station and had left behind them native teachers with instructions that they were to set about building

a chapel and houses, pending the arrival of the Rev. H. Williams, an Anglican Missionary. That the natives had no desire for missionaries is attested by Wakefield in recording the enthusiastic reception he had at their hands. Constant singing and praying was by no means congenial to them though they declared that their desire was to live in peace and have white people among them. "We are growing old", said an old chief, "and want our children to have protectors in Europeans; but we don't wish for missionaries from the north. They are natives. We have been long told of vessels coming from Europe. One has at length arrived, we sell our land and harbour and live with the white people when they come to us." Further more Wharepouru spoke of their pleasure that it was the English who had come among them and of his resolution that no other people should come to interfere with them. "They are not all Englishmen who come from Europe. There is a man from Europe on the ship who is not an Englishman. I know him by his tongue," referring to the German naturalist.

So in their enthusiasm at the prospect of real settlers the Maoris completely ignored their already concluded bargain with the missionaries, and in spite of the protests of the teachers there present, made no reservation in their favour. The matter was smoothed over during Wakefield's visit to the North when he came to an agreement with Bumby.

CHAPTER 5.

ADVERTISEMENT FOR, SELECTION AND ARRIVAL OF EMIGRANTS.

The first two ships, the Aurora and the Oriental bringing together, 302 immigrants had arrived at Port Nicholson by the end of January. In a week's time the Duke of Roxburgh landed 167 containing a larger proportion of cabin passengers than the two former. A fortnight later came the Bengal Merchant numbering among her passengers a hardy band of Scotchmen from the estate of a northern nobleman. The colony now consisted of 671 persons including the officials of the preliminary expedition and the surveyors who followed them three months later by the Cuba.

To collect so considerable a body of pioneers the Company had taken great pains to advertise widely and systematically, their undertaking, adopting the mode of procedure of its ill-fated parent, the Association. Apart from the regular handbooks for intending emigrants supplying the necessary information for those already interested, the promoters endeavoured to stimulate interest, to give prominence to New Zealand for the most part by means of the pen, not that New Zealand had till this time been neglected in the realm of literature.

From the days of Cook, indeed, it might truthfully be said from the days of Tasman, New Zealand had had a place in literature. Since Cook's voyages, at least, the number of works devoted to New Zealand had gradually been increasing. "Cook's Voyages" as narrated particularly by Dalrymple served to introduce these islands to the public, while the accounts of many a sea captain and explorer kept the knowledge of its existence alive. From 1815 the missionaries joined the ranks of those helping to make New Zealand a household word: most important names are those of Nicholas, Cruise, Savage, Earle and these though they speak generally in praise of the land, extolling its beauty, its fertility and its climate painted nevertheless so gloomy a picture of the conditions there prevailing as to discourage all but the wildest spirits from desire to emigrate thither.

The mission of the New Zealand Association, then, and of the Company that grew out of it, was to banish from public opinion the idea that danger was attached to sojourn in New Zealand, to show that by proper methods of colonization apparent disadvantages would be circumvented; and besides advertising the charms of their selected field of operations, it was part of their system to set up bureaux for supplying information and station in every county an agent to carry on the Company's work. This was not an entirely new plan. Under the influence of E.C. Wakefield "Emigration Commissioners" had been appointed in 1831 but as a department of the Colonial Office managed as the latter was in the succeeding years its effect cannot be expected to have been very beneficial. Under the new system applications had to be

sent in on forms obtainable at the Company's Office, to the Secretary; they were then subject to the approval of the Board of Directors. Formerly the selection of emigrants had been left in the hands of ship-owners or controlled by charitable institutions in which case it is not difficult to believe that "the idle, the troublesome, the dissipated and the infirm were mustered from all quarters by the parochial authorities happy to be rid of such characters on any terms," as was asserted by the surgeon of an emigrant ship in 1837.

Now came a great change. It was one of the main principles of the new colonizing school that only the best materials should be used for founding a settlement. In this way the old dishonour attaching to the name of colony and colonist would be removed. Hence everything was done by means of the able pens at the command of the "New School" to attract the best type to become land-purchasers; then a strict supervision was instituted to guard against the intrusion of the undesirable. Not only character, but health, age and occupation were made the bases of selection. These precautions it seems were taken only in the case of the labouring class, those going out as steerage passengers, who were to be able to provide certificates from doctor, clergyman and previous employer; all had to be married and able to produce their certificate of marriage; all were to be under thirty years of age though in the case of middle-aged people with a large family approaching the age of usefulness this regulation could be waived; single women under a guardian, or actually in the employment of some lady emigrating, were admitted. In the event of all

these regulations being complied with the emigrant with his wife, and children under one year or over seven years were carried to the colony free of expense in accordance with that all important principle adopted by the Company whereby seventy-five per cent of the money accruing from the sale of lands was devoted to assisting emigration. Children between the ages of one year and seven years, who would prove an expense to the Company while offering no prospect of return by means of their labour for several years were conveyed for £3 each; while other persons unable to claim a free passage as being under some disqualification such as age or health, if not disqualified by character were able to secure a steerage passage for £18-15-0. From time to time intelligence was received from the colony with regard to the classes of labourers most needed and preference was then given naturally to applicants of these classes; those nominated by and under engagement to emigrants of the higher class, the land-purchasers, were also given preference.

Purchasers of land were subject to the approval of the Board of Directors, and they too were given partial assistance; passage rates were allowed to an amount not exceeding sixty per cent of the purchase money, so, the more extensive a man's purchases the more of his family and servants could he bring to the colony free. Rates for cabin passages were : first class £75: second class £50 for adults: children between the ages of nine and fourteen were charged half rates, between nine and one, third rates; and less than twelve months free.

Thus was there set up efficient machinery for promoting the chief aim of the colonizers, that is , the planting of a colony with best materials of all classes. By speech and pamphlet the originators, E.G.Wakefield and Charles Buller, for instance, had worked to dispel from the public mind the stigma attached to the name of colony; to interest leading politicians and public men in colonies in general. E.G.Wakefield was a contributor to those pages of the Spectator which in 1838 formed a separate publication known as the Colonial Gazette. Next came the advertising of the field selected for the experiment, for the most part forthcoming from Wakefield's facile pen. In 1837 came the "Statement of the Objects of the New Zealand Association", and in collaboration with Ward in the same year "British Colonization of New Zealand." And when at long last the interest of some portion of the public was roused, agents of the Association, and afterwards of the Company, were established in the leading cities of England as well as in a few of those of Scotland and Ireland and from that time on there was no lack of information ready to the hand of the intending colonist, supplied principally from 1840 onwards by the New Zealand Journal published periodically till 1850, and drawn from reliable sources.

Having paid such attention to the careful selection of their emigrants, it remained for the Company to make fitting provision for their transport. In this respect also, the Company's work was excellent. No band of emigrants before had ever been conveyed to their new homes under conditions superior to these. The food allowance was liberal considering the extreme difficulty of storage in those days and the want of space. The comfort and

cleanliness of the passengers was ensured by enforcing it that all should comply with regulations with regard to outfit.*

By September , the first batch of ships was ready to depart, to the three of these sailing from Gravesend, the Directors paid a final visit of inspection, and according to the "Morning Chronicle" found that every arrangement had been made for the passengers' comfort. As they had been forced ultimately to depart without the hoped for government sanction of their enterprise the Directors took this opportunity of making arrangements for the preservation of law and order in the new country. Of the other two ships forming part of the first expedition the Duke of Roxburgh left from Plymouth and the Bengal Merchant from Glasgow. All left amid scenes of enthusiasm, unperturbed by the want of government assurance.

* The outfit was obtainable at the office of the Company or at a specified outfitter's at fixed prices. The cost of a man's outfit was £5-17-7, for a woman's £4-0-10. This included soap, towels, plate, mug, knife, fork and spoon (and even starch) but in addition, one mattress for each couple reckoned at 11/- had to be provided. For each child under nine years of age the complete outfit was obtainable for £1; and under fourteen for £1-10-0. The detailed list is interesting in the light of modern requirements. (In addition to this outfit they were requested to take with them the tools and materials necessary for their various occupations.) A sufficient stock of underclothing and a mattress were important items on the detailed list of a required outfit- as far as their comfort was concerned.

Nor was this spirit of cheerfulness and resolution abated by the privations of a long voyage and the unavoidable hardships faced by the pioneers in spite of the careful arrangements of the Principal Agent. Winter was coming on; the dwellings were for the most part of a temporary nature; at times a shortage of provisions was suffered, as they depended for supplies upon Sydney and intercourse was infrequent and uncertain with this port. Vessels from this time on arrived in steady succession. By the time New Zealand was finally proclaimed a colony of the British Crown in June 1840, 1,079 immigrants had arrived at Wellington, as the first and principal settlement was called. Many of these had been used to a comparatively high standard of comfort in the homes they had left and advantage was taken of the space offered by the Company for carrying immigrants luggage. Cabin passengers were allowed to bring two tons by weight each; extra space was allowed for each child in proportion to the fare paid. Steerage passengers were allowed half a ton by weight of luggage each. Extra space could be had at moderate rates, 25/- per ton weight or measurement. Thus families were able to begin life in their new homes with the furniture of civilized regions, in many cases with much more than the plainest and most necessary of articles - even pianos occasionally had a place in the cargo. To show that these facilities for conveying personal luggage and household effects were taken advantage of, one ship, the Glenliervie was chartered for the sole purpose of conveying supplies and cargo belonging to the pioneers.

Of the 1,079 immigrants of the Company in Wellington by June 207 had come out as cabin passengers 872 as labourers in the steerage; and the proportion between the sexes, though not as even as desired by the theorists shows a better proportion than had been usual with young colonies; there were 629 men to 450 women. The figures also reveal a higher number of children under fifteen years than age than strict Wakefield principles would have admitted of - because as it is pointed out children of this age are an encumbrance on a young community giving expense and yielding no immediate return. A third of the total number of immigrants were children. Apart from settlers brought under the auspices of the New Zealand Company 44 were brought out by a private ship.

By the end of 1840, the settlement numbered 1,747 persons. The tendencies noticeable towards the close of the year were that the number of passengers per ship increased; the disproportion between the sexes tended slightly to diminish - whereas in June the proportion was 629; 450 it was in December 999; 748. Steerage passengers especially were accompanied by large families of children and moreover the proportion of labourers to immigrants travelling in the first and second cabins was high, warranting a steady supply of labour for those purchasing land and thus avoiding an evil which had been so prevalent in the Australian and other colonies.

The year 1841 saw the population of the principal settlement increased by 1,596 with practically the same disproportion maintained between the sexes and showing an even larger proportion

of children to adults than in the previous year. The next two years saw a disastrous falling off in the hitherto steady flow of immigrants; scarcely more than a thousand all told came while of these less than a hundred had ventured in 1843. And yet the rates for cabin passengers had been reduced - an inducement for small capitalists to emigrate. By the middle of 1842 it was as cheap to migrate to New Zealand as to Canada. This sudden decrease may partly be accounted for by the fact that the Company had now widened its field of operations and had two settlements besides the Principal one at Wellington; but mainly the reason for this diminishing stream which in the next year was to cease from flowing entirely, was to be found in the unsatisfactory condition of the Company's affairs.

When, through the obstinacy of the Colonial Office, the New Zealand Association had been forced to become a Joint Stock Company under the necessity of getting dividends, the original promoters lost interest in the scheme; they saw their hopes and plans for an ideal colony used in furthering a money making venture. Hence in the first place, though the adventure was inspired by the new colonizing spirit and actually directed and watched over by the theorists who had planned it, yet in many respects owing to the new character it had assumed strict Wakefield principles could not be adhered to. But this, unfortunate as it was that his ideal colony was doomed never to have a fair trial, would not in itself have come near to shattering entirely the young colony.

The real evil lay in the tardiness of the Government in settling the land claims and giving to the Company a grant for the

lands it had already sold to its immigrants. The question of the land settlement dependent on the fact that shortly after the establishment of the Company's settlement at Port Nicholson, New Zealand had been annexed by the British Crown while the Home Government still refused recognition of the Company; and the Local Government regarded its settlement with hostility.

Persuaded at last by Lord Durham's insistence Lord Normanby had reluctantly decided in August 1839 that the necessity for the interposition of the Government had become too evident to admit of any further inaction. Accordingly arrangements were set on foot for the annexation of New Zealand and the establishment there of British law and order. After negotiations prolonged over several weeks Captain Hobson R.N. was despatched with somewhat vague instructions, in command of the H.M.S. Rattlesnake, and arrived at the Bay of Islands on February 3rd 1840. The efforts made on the part of the Government to deal effectively with the situation in New Zealand were, I believe, sincere. But in the hope of avoiding the evils of land-jobbing, the foundations of the future conflict between the Government both Home and Local, and the Company were laid. In pursuance of a well-advised policy no grants of land were to be made and no purchases direct from the natives to be recognised. Here assuredly was abundant material for a conflict; on the one hand the Company claiming legal possession of large tracts of a country often repudiated by the British Government, recognised as foreign and independent; on the other hand the British Government now claiming possession of New Zealand by right of session and recognising no claims to land,

not based on purchase from the Crown. Yet Lord Normanby desired not to alarm the Company's immigrants and left no doubt as to the eventual grant of a title to the lands purchased by the Company. So far all was encouraging to settlers. Soon after the arrival of the Consul (as Captain Hobson was designated until by the actual proclamation of New Zealand as a Colony he could assume the title of Lieutenant-Governor) he sent Shortland to visit the settlement at Port Nicholson and with a display of authority somewhat unnecessary put an end to the provisional government set up by the colonists and forbade the military exercises they indulged in and though these imperious and hostile actions undoubtedly had an influence on the future attitude of the Company's settlers towards the local government at Auckland - whither Hobson had transferred it from the Bay of Islands - nevertheless his commands were meekly complied with in accordance with the directions issued by the Company to their Agent to "aid and abet the local government in every way." Then, little more than a year after the arrival of the first immigrants the Company was granted a Charter of Incorporation (on February 12th 1841) - through the untiring efforts of Wakefield. So still the Company's prospects seemed fair. But an award of lands had been made it by the Colonial Office and a Commissioner was appointed to look into the claims. Procrastination had been the keynote of all the Government's dealings with the Company but in this case the evil was excessive. For a time the Directors seemed hopeful; they launched out into schemes for new settlements; they regarded the concession of the Crown to acquire lands in any part of New

Zealand (1843) instead of merely in the regions originally designated, as a favourable omen. But in March 1844 in their Report to the Shareholders their tone had changed; the outlook was acknowledged to be gloomy; they admitted the inability of making a satisfactory arrangement between the Crown and the Company. It was in May 1844 that the Twelfth Report was made having appended to it the voluminous documents relating to this vexed question.

The change in prospects was complete. The Company refused to have any part in the promotion of new colonies owing to the calamitous state of things, "the title to land being unsecured by the grant of a single acre from the Crown." This state of uncertainty was put to an end in 1845 for deeds of grant were issued at the end of July of this year. But in place of the immediate recommencement of immigration, emigration to the neighbouring colonies continued throughout the year. And moreover there would be no hope of recovery as long as the public mind was impressed with the idea of the irreparable ruin of the Company's affairs.

In 1846 when Lord Grey became Secretary of State for War and Colonies greater interest was taken in colonial questions. A Committee of the House of Commons was held on New Zealand. It had long been the contention of the theorists with whom Grey as Lord Howick, had sympathized, that responsible government should be given the colonists. Buller, in particular, had formulated a plan, the year before, - a new constitution for the Company, as he declared that the powers of government ought to rest with

the body in charge of the colonizing. He would have divided New Zealand into two districts, leaving the northern part in the hands of the Missionaries and the "Company's Land" under a responsible government. The Constitution actually drawn up by Lord Grey was essentially different from this but in any case it was never brought into action as the Governor, Grey showed excellent reasons for considering it unreasonable. So though his great step towards the amelioration of affairs in New Zealand had failed, Lord Grey made an effort to repair the damage done by the negligence of the Colonial Office. On July 23rd 1847 an Act to promote the Colonization of New Zealand by the New Zealand Company was passed; and finally in February 1848 the last of the trouble passed away and a satisfactory agreement was made between the Company and the Government.

The difficulties that the Company had thus found itself in, were occasioned not entirely by the sluggishness of the Colonial Department. The antipathy of the Missionaries and of the local Government to the Company played some part in retarding its aims. From the very first the Missionaries had put obstacles in their way, directing the policy of the Colonial Office, as they did, by their influence over Lord Glenelg and Stephen the permanent Under-Secretary - both of whom were Philanthropists. Then in the Colony they had tried, with less effect in this case, to dissuade the Maoris from selling: and finally it was due to their influence no doubt that the first Governors Hobson and Fitzroy took such a keen dislike to the Southern settlements and did all in their power to thwart their prosperity. Hobson actually

decoyed from Port Nicholson a number of labourers brought out at the Company's expense. Placards were posted up offering a free passage, houses rent free and good wages to any who would accept work in the employment of the local Government at its headquarters, Auckland. There were several responses to the invitation. He resented what he considered an attempt to set up a rival Government in the South and though permitted by Lord John Russell to give the Company freedom of choice for the site of its second settlement tried to insist on their choosing the Thames district - solely on account of its proximity to Auckland though utterly unsuitable for the Company's purpose. There is no doubt, also, that the despatches of these Governors, hostile as they were to the proceedings of the Company's colonists prejudiced the Home Government.

So it was that, with the Home and Local Governments opposed to them, and their own colonists dissatisfied and inclined to turbulence owing to the long delayed settlement of land claims, the Company came near to ruin in the mid forties and immigration practically ceased.

CHAPTER 6.

THE WIDENING OF THE COMPANY'S SPHERE OF ACTIVITIES.

The New Zealand Company encountered few rivals in the colonizing field of New Zealand during its life time. One alone, in fact could be considered quite independent of it. This was the Nanto-Bordelaise Company which in August 1840 landed a small band of immigrants, only sixty in number, at Akaroa.

Captain L'Anglois had visited this Harbour which since 1833 had been occasionally visited by French and American whalers and was struck by the virgin loveliness of the place which even in these days when its hillsides have been despoiled of their verdant forests still claims the praises of all who see it. On his return to France L'Anglois' efforts were not unavailing to interest the Government in this spot whose picturesqueness had charmed him more than its wonderful fertility and suitability for farming which he only guessed at. He claimed to have made a purchase of the district from its native owners though in reality the purchase had not been completed. But at all events he succeeded in getting a Company formed which was subsidized by Louis Philippe and the handful of settlers who were gathered

together with some difficulty embarked on an old sloop the "Comte de Paris," under the command of Captain L'Angelois. Commodore Lavaud was also sent in command of the frigate "L'Aube" with instructions to take possession of the Middle Island in the name of the French Crown. However neither vessel arrived in New Zealand waters until August - nearly two months after all the islands had been proclaimed a British colony; nor was there any commotion among the French immigrants when they found that this was so. They acquiesced peacefully in the residence of an English magistrate in their midst; and in truth this officer, Robinson, had merely nominal authority for the settlement was conducted under French law administered in its early years by Commodore Lavaud.

An interesting contrast presents itself in the formation and future development of the settlements of the New Zealand Company and this one. The English Government was difficult to reconcile to a policy of expansion; the English people comparatively ready to be persuaded to emigrate in considerable numbers. The French people showed no inclination to leave their homes, even the few to whom the glories of the new land appealed were reinforced with a band of Germans; but the French Government welcomed the prospect of possessions in the South Pacific. They had in mind the establishment of a penal colony in these regions and here was an opportunity opened to them. In return for the Government support of the enterprise, a certain proportion of the lands acquired was to be set apart for this purpose. That this was their intention was acknowledged by Guizot in the Chambre des Députés 1844. The careful preparations of the English colonizers and attention

to the welfare of their emigrants had no counterpart in the French scheme. The Nanto Bordelaise Company sent no preliminary expedition on ahead to prepare habitations and acclimatize plants and animals. The French settlers landed after an unusually long and perilous journey in a crazy old craft where they were subjected to unheard of hardships - being obliged to perform the duties of a crew in many instances. But they settled down immediately and became a happy and prosperous little community though never reinforced by fresh contingents from home as were the Company's settlements, and singularly blessed with the favour of the local Government - in flagrant contrast with the treatment of its rival; for it was left in the enjoyment of its own laws suffering no interference from local authority. It, too, was affected in the general settlement of land claims but unperturbed waited the issue patiently and no ill effects are visible as in the case of the others. To show how satisfied these colonists were with their lots, they refused the offer of the French Government to transport them to Tahiti where they would have been under the French Crown.

Finally in February 1849 the New Zealand Company purchased the claims of the Nanto-Bordelaise Company.

The second rival was the Manukau Company. Its existence was short and chequered and compares unfavourably with the French Company. In origin, it was an off-shoot from the New Zealand Association of 1837. Land was purchased from Mitchell and in 1840 a very small batch of immigrants less than thirty landed at Auckland, the site of the purchase being in the neighbourhood of

the Manukau and Waitemata Harbour. Their claims were denied by Hobson and though by 1845 a settlement was arranged, the Company ceased its activities, sent forth no more colonists and the few already here were soon dispersed so that by 1850 the Company was no more and its settlement abandoned. Rusden points out that its failure was due to the want of energetic spirits with parliamentary influence such as Edward Gibbon Wakefield exercised in the interests of the New Zealand Company. For Wakefield's was not only the creative genius but the power, also, that guided and guarded the creation of his brain through its perilous course. His was the irrepressible force that working secretly in the background took advantage of party feeling and more that parliamentary backing so essential to its life.

It was due, in fact, to this vigilant care that "The Company" was not beset by more rivals. The widening of the area in which they possessed the right of pre-emption to include all lands at the disposal of the Crown, in 1843, effectively made them masters of the situation. It made them in fact the colonizing agents of the Crown and excluded, definitely all rivals.

However branch associations were encouraged. The agents of the Company in the larger towns were urged to foster the growth of dependent Companies having a subscribed capital of their own but following the New Zealand Company in its land and emigration policy. In Plymouth alone was the Agent successful. A small body of merchants formed a subordinate Company and to them was due the foundation of New Plymouth. Land was selected and purchased and preparations such as surveying the lots were

done before the arrival of the first settlers in accordance with the practice of the New Zealand Company. But this Company was weak and became involved in financial difficulties. So the wealthy parent Company amalgamated with it, undertaking the control of its emigration and appointing an agent, Captain Liardet to reside at New Plymouth, where already it had sent 352 settlers. The site of this settlement was one of the richest districts in New Zealand but though it flourished it did not grow rapidly. Here more than at any other settlement formed by the Company were the colonists harrassed by the natives; the want of a harbour was also felt in its early years when the only practicable means of communication between the settlements was by sea. The colonists for New Plymouth were drawn mainly from the South and West of England, a large body being Cornishmen. By the end of 1842 the number of Company's emigrants was 755.

The Settlement of Nelson had no history apart from the New Zealand Company as that of New Plymouth had. It began as the second settlement of the main Company, in accordance with the theory that "the only way to colonize New Zealand was by distinct settlements along the coast" because, as was pointed out, as there were no navigable rivers it was no use allowing the settlements to extend too far inland, but when the best land around any one of the excellent harbours should have been disposed of, then a settlement should be formed at another. It was the great extent of coast line and the excellence and great numbers of the harbours, that offered this scheme as the most satisfactory means of colonization.

A sure foundation had no sooner been laid for the town of Wellington than the scheme for a second colony was undertaken. By the end of April 1841 the preliminary expedition was en route for New Zealand. Lord John Russell had shown himself in favour of the scheme and had granted permission to choose a site anywhere in New Zealand at the disposal of the Crown, leaving the ultimate decision to the discretion of the Governor. Hobson proved an obstacle to their free decision. Ever jealous of the Company's settlement and eager for the advancement of his own choice, Auckland, the seat of Government he offered the Thames Valley as a suitable position refusing to sanction the establishment in the vicinity of Wanganui, Taranaki or Banks Peninsula. But the Thames Valley was not considered suitable for the agriculture settlement desired by the Company. Finally, forced to choose a position in the block already at their disposal the head of Tasman's Gulf was decided on. The proximity of this second settlement to the first was an obvious advantage as the ease of communication between the two ports lessened the likelihood of shortage of provisions in the early months of a new colony. The natives eager to gain the advantages of having Europeans in their midst as at Port Nicholson set to work at preparing houses for the pioneers, while the surveyors hurried on the division of rural and suburban land.

The emigrants were conveyed to the colony under the same conditions as those of Port Nicholson, a sum being set aside for the assistance of cabin passengers who were purchasers of land as in the former case.

The new settlement, which received the name of Nelson progressed rapidly. Less of the land funds were devoted to emigration in this case - being only 50% of the amount accruing from the sale of lands instead of 75% but within a year of its foundation the colony had received over two thousand immigrants conveyed by the Company's ships besides a considerable number who were attracted from the neighbouring Australian colonies. Captain Arthur Wakefield was appointed Resident Agent here, as Captain Lardet was at New Plymouth, both being subordinate to the Principal Agent Colonel William Wakefield.

The next settlement, at Wanganui, was formed as an off shoot from the original one at Port Nicholson. In May of 1841 Wakefield reported that settlers were choosing sections in that district and owing to its distance from any centre, in 1842 the Company gave instructions for a town of 500 acres to be laid out there. This town was not however considered as a separate settlement and immigration thither has been included with that to Wellington and the Port Nicholson district in general.

It was towards the end of 1843 that proposals were made for the last two settlements that were to be founded under the auspices of the Company. The plan to be pursued was colonization on a Church basis; whereas in the settlements hitherto formed the principle of strict equality for all religious sects had been adhered to and Jews and Roman Catholics as well as every class of Dissenters had been encouraged, thus, to emigrate; now an attempt was to be made to form a colony, the essence of which would be uniformity in religion. With this end in view preparations were

undertaken for the establishment in New Zealand of a Scotch Settlement and a Church of England Settlement. After an eventful and prolonged course these two settlements were founded; the former in 1848 the latter in 1850.

CHAPTER 7.

SETTLEMENT OF OTAGO.

The important features of this colony are that the land fund besides providing for the emigration of labourers and the carrying on of necessary public works such as wharves and roads, as had been the case in the other three settlements was now to provide also for the maintenance of the Presbyterian religion and for education. The theorists had recognised the value of religious provisions in a new colony as likely to induce a better class of colonist, more especially of women colonists for as Wakefield pointed out how many of the better type of women would be willing to forsake their homes for a place where the care of a pastor was denied them and where their children would grow up without the advantages of either secular or religious education. But though this influence had been recognised no step had been taken to secure it and, to give one example, the first comers at Port Nicholson were without any clergymen until the arrival of the Scotch immigrants by the Bengal Merchant; and later they were again left without religious attention for the clergymen were enticed away with other of the Company's immigrants to the Seat of Government, by the Governor, Hobson.

So in this case to guard against the possibility of any misfortunes, churches and schools were to be provided for out of the land-funds. This meant, naturally that the price of land would have to be higher in the proposed colonies. Rennie was the originator of the scheme. It was to be carefully prepared and planned, with all the defects of the earlier schemes remedied; for example instead of allowing the colonists to land and find the survey but partially completed and this to be forced to pass the first weeks or sometimes months in temporary shelters, all land was to be quite ready for selection as soon as the immigrants arrived. Negotiations with the Company began about the middle of 1842; but as the Company was at this time in difficulties, having the land problem as yet unsettled, a hostile Colonial Office to contend with (for Lord Stanley had now replaced Lord John Russell), and moreover a local government which disagreed with the policy of forming scattered colonies at wide intervals along the coast, no favourable eye was as yet cast upon the Rennie's suggestion.

The originator showed remarkable perseverance, and even more resolute than he were two men whose names are intimately associated with the founding of Otago, Cargill and Burns, the former of whom succeeded Rennie as Agent of the Association. Though beaten from pillar to post, undaunted they pursued their object. The Directors of the New Zealand Company when disinclined to favour a fresh settlement when three already were but insecurely established advised them to communicate directly with the Colonial Office; from here they were referred by Lord Stanley to the Commissioners

of Lands and Emigration, who in their turn transferred to Fitzroy, the newly appointed Governor of New Zealand, the power of allowing a fresh colony to be established wherever he thought fit.

Then in a moment of good fortune when the Company saw a prospect of immediate settlement, and when almost at the same time, an interview between Rennie and Fitzroy just before the departure of the latter revealed the fact that he regarded the project with favour, hopes were raised for the Scottish Settlement and a band of intending colonists began to gather together. But the promoters hopes had been but momentarily raised. In March and April of 1844 (for so long already had negotiations been dragging on) came complaints from Rennie and Cargill of the procrastination of the Company in forwarding the scheme. Captain Cargill referring to the distressing circumstances of the emigrants says "Effects being realized, possessions given up, employments relinquished, they are now in the very circumstances they had hoped to escape by emigrating;" for the Company's difficulties were thick upon them again and they had virtually suspended operations. A solution to the problem was offered that the intending settlers should be incorporated with the colonists at Auckland; but no provision would have been made there for the maintenance of the Presbyterian religion; moreover at Auckland there was no open country for the farming that was to be the basis of the new colony and the warlike character of the natives of that district was a third reason alleged against the proposal.

In the course of the long negotiations with the Company and the Colonial Office the plans of the promoters had been somewhat modified. They still expressed their desire that the site chosen should be on the East coast of the Middle Island at a sufficient distance from any other settlement to ensure them the benefit of the emigrants they carried out. They agreed to forego part of the expensive and thorough preparations they had planned and entrust the preliminary choice and survey to Wakefield's competent hands; and decided to undertake a larger colony than had originally been intended so that the Governor would have no excuse to remove the colony to Auckland on the grounds that its strength was insufficient for self-defence.

In the colony meanwhile preparations were being pushed forward. In February 1844 Wakefield had received permission from Fitzroy to select a site in the neighbourhood of Port Cooper which was the first suggestion of the Association. Tuckett, one of the Company's Surveyors in accordance with the wishes of the Directors had been appointed chief surveyor. He made a thorough examination of the coast from Banks Peninsula to Otago and thence to Milford Sound and observing that the quality of the soil was as important an asset as a good harbour he selected Otago. Colonel William Wakefield with Clarke the Protector of Aborigines, Commissioner Spain and another Government Official Symonds proceeded to Otago to arrange the purchase from the Maoris. Comments were made on the excellent position of the harbour; it faced North thus getting the sun and being

sheltered from the South winds; its hillsides were covered with timber; and the country ideal for small holdings. It was decided to have a Port Town besides the main settlement which would be laid out at the head of the long harbour which was there more shallow. In July the surveying staff arrived and the work was well advanced when news arrived in October of the suspension of the operations of the Company and therefore all preparations ceased.

It was now due to the unyielding perseverance of the Association of the Free Kirk of Scotland that the scheme lived on. A cleavage had taken place within the Established Church of Scotland over matters of civil and church jurisdiction, and a body known as the Free Kirk of Scotland had separated out. The Rev. Burns was one of this body and he with many of his followers and with Captain Cargill who though not quite "the original promoter" was nevertheless "under all discouragements the unyielding upholder of the plan", kept the flame flickering. The promotion of the settlement now rested in the hands of the Association of the Lay Members of the Free Kirk of Scotland; the Company was to give assistance with regard to emigration and the survey if necessary. It is remarkable that even after 1845 when the Company had solved its difficulties and when the survey of Otago, was being continued, it was still two years before the first band of colonists was despatched.

The position of affairs now was that the Lay Association of the Free Kirk of Scotland was the real colonizing body, the New Zealand Company from whom the above Association were to purchase

their block would act merely as its agent in the colony, and supervise the survey. Kettle the Company's chief surveyor was instructed to proceed with this work which was not completed until the middle of 1847; but in the meantime the original band of intending colonists had all dispersed with the exception of the leaders Cargill and Burns, so lengthy and uncertain had the proceedings been, so difficult even at that date were the relations between Company and Government. But McGlashan the energetic Secretary of the Otago Association was untiring in his efforts to stimulate interest, and to push on the sale of land. By November one hundred and four sections had been sold and on the 24th of this month the "John Wickliffe" sailed from Gravesend bearing among her seventy-six passengers, Captain Cargill who had received the appointment of Resident Agent of the Company. This vessel was the store-ship of the expedition, the bulk of the emigrants being carried by the Philip Laing which left Greenock three days later. They arrived at Otago Harbour in March and April 1848 respectively. Most of the two hundred and forty seven passengers on board the Philip Laing were in the steerage, and in both vessels the proportion of children to adults was large.

Barracks had not been included in the preliminary arrangements and so it was found most convenient for the women and children to remain on board while the shelters of rushes and flax were hastily constructed by the men.

These settlers however were not the pioneers and whatever hardships they encountered on disembarkation must have been slight

indeed in comparison to those endured by the McKays and the Andersons why as early as 1846, before the arrival of Kettle, the Surveyor, had come from the neighbouring colony of Nelson to gain the advantages of being first on the field when the prospective immigrants should arrive.

For two years the Otago Settlement prospered; at intervals roughly of two months, ships were despatched carrying in all during this period one thousand three hundred passengers. Actually the population increased by immigration at a greater rate than this because its prosperity attracted settlers from the neighbouring colonies. Then in October 1850 came the news that the Company had ceased to exist.

But for three years more, in spite of the decease of its parent Company the Otago Association continued to function. These last days of the Association were filled with difficulties. In the first place they were put under the control of the Commissioners of Land and Emigration and were denied the Charter of Incorporation they sought. Then they had the complaints of the colonists to deal with; the promised roads and schools and churches were long in materializing; the cost of labour and the price of land were considered too high and few land sales were effected. Though before 1850 relations between Company and Association had been strained yet in the Colony the extinction of the former was regarded as a blow. In the last report of the Director to the shareholders, passages are quoted from Resolutions adopted at a public meeting in Dunedin, October 1849 the general tone of which expressed regret at the approaching event when now for the first time since

its formation a fair field for colonizing operations productive of benefits equally for itself and the Colonists was opened to it. But nevertheless it passed away and with its passing the Otago Settlement and the control of its Immigration virtually passed into the hands of the Government until the New Zealand Constitution Act came into force when each Provincial Government had the management of its own local affairs.

CHAPTER 8.

THE CANTERBURY ASSOCIATION

In character and development the Canterbury Settlement was parallel in some respects with that of Otago. Of all the colonial experiments of H.G. Wakefield of which South Australia was the first and Canterbury the last this approximated most closely to his deals. In the case of Otago though Wakefield's influence is apparent in moulding the shape of the colony planning and promoting, as he was, in the background, for all the settlements of this period yet the Scotch colony owes but little to him when compared with the debt of Canterbury, - the pre-eminently English Colony.

In its pictured form the Church of England Settlement was to present a slice of English society, on model lines without the elements of poverty, crime and misery that played so conspicuous a part in the original. How far the reality diverged from the ideal will be apparent when it is seen that no Earl could be induced to emigrate to assume a kind of paternal headship, over the community. The failure to secure the services of a Bishop nearly wrecked the whole scheme, while the eventual appointment of one was not attended with the beneficial results anticipated; for in the first place instead of being one of the Pilgrims accompanying his flock, as it were, and giving to the undertaking the character of colonization by the Church the first Bishop arrived sometime after the Pilgrims and gave but half hearted

interest to their well being. The second Bishop showed more vigour but by the time of his appointment the settlement was established and its character fixed beyond alteration. Again the Association from lack of a sufficient number of land purchasers of the Anglican Church were forced to abolish this restriction and thus ~~for~~go a much cherished feature of the Colony. But in spite of the discrepancies from the original scheme with regard to Earl Bishop and uniformity in religion in the matters of land and emigration it was the most perfect of all attempts.

It was in July 1843 that the proposal for a Church of England Settlement came before the Company whose agents were instructed to choose a site for this as well as for the Scottish Settlement. The next year the two settlements were again referred to together with regard to the localities preferred. The Church of England Settlement was to be in the North Island Hawkes Bay or Poverty Bay being suggested while Kawhia, the suggestion of Fitzroy was declared unsuitable on account of its proximity to Auckland. Then another year passed and we see that the scheme was not yet forgotten, only submerged beneath a weight of more important matters; for in the Directors Report of October 1845 reference was made to the impending purchase of the Wairarapa District for the Church of England Settlement. This district was accordingly examined by Tiffen, an officer of the Company. But no more is heard of the scheme.

The same idea, however, was to be revived and materialized by abler and more energetic hands than those of the now sluggish

Company. Edward Gibbon Wakefield was still a Director of the Company and until the publication of his masterpiece "The Art of Colonization" he continued to hold this position though at variance with its policy. The story of his meeting in 1847 with John Robert Godley is well known. A colony corresponding in scope to the above was discussed and planned. Basically it was to be similar to the Company's earlier settlements in the matter of land and emigration policy; and similar to these last two in that it was to be a "class settlement" of the kind hated by Earl Grey, - and likewise by Governor Grey; but different in that, once again Wakefield was resolved to carry out his ideas by a pure colonizing association unconnected with any commercial interests. In spite of momentary doubts and dangers the scheme prospered. This to a greater degree than any of the preceding experiments was in the hands of Wakefield. In spite of physical weakness he lavished untiring care upon his cherished plan; conducting personally a wide correspondence, giving interviews, holding consultations, attending meetings, every thought, every minute devoted to hastening on its breathless course his darling project. The speed with which it was developed and materialized forming a contrast with the history of the parent Company, bears witness to the zealous activity and eagerness of at least one of the promoters. The names that appear among the members of the Association show in what direction lay his first activities, - the stirring up of influential people to take an interest in his plan, whereby it would be clear to the higher classes that the proposed colony

was to be of superior character and that no degradation would be suffered by being a colonist of a colony countenanced by persons of such repute and distinction. Of the sixty five members twenty were gentlemen of the cloth eight being Bishops while the Archbishop of Canterbury was President Nobles of the realm were well represented while the remainder were landed gentry and Members of Parliament. The names of several who from time to time had been connected with the formation and direction of the older Association and Company were conspicuous.

By 1st December 1849 scarcely two years after the first discussion of the plan this body of colonizers had been incorporated by Royal Charter and all preparations were so far forward as to warrant the despatch of John Robert Godley who had been appointed Agent for the Canterbury Settlement for such was the name agreed to. Upon arrival he found preparations nearly completed for in July 1848 the surveying expedition had been despatched under Thomas the chief surveyor. The early idea of choosing the Wairampa as the site for the English settlement had continued but for various reasons Thomas preferred Banks Peninsula and the Port Cooper Plains. Here operations commenced May 1849 and besides the survey, preliminary works such as roads and barracks had been carried forward to such an extent and at such great expense as to call forth the remonstrances of Godley on his arrival, more especially as he was quickly followed by bad news - the first serious disturbance since the formation of the Association; suspension of activities seemed probable. The sudden unpopularity of the Association in England was connected with the

fall of the Company (now on the point of surrendering its Charter) The opponents of the scheme, by virtue of its religious character, took advantage of the depression to urge their views as to the impossibility of success for this "Puseyite" affair; this priest ridden colony as it was variously characterized. But Wakefield's pen was never at rest. He silenced one and all; the Canterbury Papers were commenced and public enthusiasm was once more aroused. On the official side; he used his far-reaching influence to turn the tide in his favour, - a Charter was granted the Association; terms with the sinking Company were agreed to whereby, subject to certain conditions two and a half million acres were to be reserved for their use, - the Company receiving 10/- per acre. Thus the difficulty was surmounted; land was thrown open for sale in January 1850; the favourable news was despatched to Godley who concluded the arrangements for the reception of the Immigrants.

In spite of the fair prospects of the colony land purchasers did not readily come forward. Felix Wakefield had toured the South of England inviting purchasers but there seemed to prevail a lurking fear that eventually the scheme would have to be abandoned (as was provided for in the arrangements with the New Zealand Company in the event of an insufficient quantity of land being sold); but Lord Lyttelton who had replaced the somewhat incompetent John Hutt as Chairman of the Committee of Management, nobly offered to give a personal guarantee for a large sum to cover expenses. This public-spirited offer saved the Association.

With the regard to the actual immigration conducted by this

new Association lines similar to those of the earlier Company were followed. Wide-spread advertisement of the charms of New Zealand was in capable hands. A pamphlet styled by Wigram as a quaintly optimistic document was published by J.W. Parker in March 1848 containing passages from the works of such travellers in New Zealand as Dr. Dieffenbach (naturalist of the preliminary expedition by the Tory 1839); Edward Jerningham Wakefield (son of E.G. Wakefield whose book "Adventure in New Zealand" covers the period of his sojourn in New Zealand 1839-44); Kettle (chief surveyor of the Company); passages too from Bishop Selwyn's Journal and despatches from the Governor (Capt. George Grey); all of which testify to either the remarkable fertility of the soil, or the excellence of the climate, or the friendly disposition of the natives or the abundance of supplies of wood, water and coal and probable mineral wealth. Advantages of New Zealand over America as a colony, here stressed, seem somewhat groundless with respect to the proximity of ready markets in the Australian colonies, and greater ease and cheapness of communication with the Mother Country. Australia producing largely the same crops as New Zealand could at the best be but an unreliable market; though there was some truth in the second assertion on account of the harbours of Canada, ice-bound for a great part of the year. The pamphlet then goes on to describe the proposed colony and land settlement. Best advertisement of all, were the Canterbury Papers the first of which appeared early in 1850. Their object, nominally, was to keep intending colonists, and others interested, informed of the progress of the affairs of the Association of their plans and

preparations; their real aim was to encourage land purchasers whose numbers grew but slowly. Emphasis was laid at every opportunity on the high social tone of the impending settlement; on the religious advantages; on the special attractions for women. Sermons, essays and speeches bearing on the subject were here reprinted, and many a passage from the "Art of Colonization" reappeared.

As in the case of the Company's emigrants, the greatest care was bestowed on the procuring of an industrious, healthy and honest class of men. Greater reliance was placed on the attractiveness of the scheme for inviting the right class than on the machinery for selecting which was used only as a safeguard against the few possible undesirables who might be shipped off by their relations or parish. No intimation is given that purchasers of land would be subject to the approval of the Association. Presumably none but the best class would be willing to risk so large a sum (£3 per acre) in purchasing land in a far-off wild country. In point of fact the land sales proceeded so slowly that purchasers of any kind would have been welcomed. No test even was imposed on the intending purchaser of land with regard to Churchmanship. It was taken for granted that willingness to pay £3 per acre of which £1 per acre was to be devoted to religious and educational purposes was a sufficient proof of adhesion to the Principles of the Association. Strict supervision was, however, kept over the labouring classes. Of the £3 per acre payable by the land-purchaser £1 per acre was devoted to emigration purposes; 10/- per acre of this was devoted, if

necessary, to paying the passage of himself and family; the remaining 10/- per acre was used in bringing out labourers - either nominated by himself, or applying on their own behalf. Each of these was required to furnish a certificate from a physician certifying his soundness of mind and body; from the minister of his parish certifying his respectability and honesty; from a magistrate of his county asserting the truth of the statements made by doctor and minister. If proceeding to the colony in the employment of a land purchaser, then a further statement was required from him and it was this class of emigrant alone who was carried to the Colony free. In all cases the name and address of a recent employer was to be supplied.

With regard to age, strict Wakefield principles were adhered to: ages of emigrants must range between 14 and 40 years. Preference however was given to those between the ages of twenty and thirty years. Children under fourteen years could emigrate only under the protection of their parents. Preference was likewise given to young married couples; single women could emigrate only when under the care of married relatives and single men only when their number did not exceed that of the single women on any one ship. Finally they were to state, on their forms of application their trade and preference was given to rural workers. Contrary to the practice of the New Zealand Company, the Canterbury Association did not undertake to pay the full amount of the passage money under any conditions. Excepting in the case of nominees of land purchasers who had 10/- per acre of money paid for land entirely at their disposal for bringing out servants and

labourers, all the emigrants paid some portion of their own passage money. This undoubtedly guarded against that evil of "shovelling out paupers." The labourer who would expend a sum not so trifling as ^{at} the first sight it appears, on this worthy object proclaimed himself thrifty and industrious and above all eager to better the conditions for his growing family; and it was this quality that was so greatly needed in an enterprize of this nature - enthusiasm and ambition. The emigrant who by no effort of his own was brought to a new land even though he fulfilled certain conditions of health and respectability might nevertheless lack those qualities essential for the success of a rising settlement. It was more than ordinary industry that was needed; it was the spirit that forces men to activity when their personal advantage is at stake.

The rate for steerage passengers were £15: children under fourteen and over one being half price. Rural workers were required to pay one third of these rates for themselves their wives and families; single women likewise one third; but single men one half. Mechanics had to pay one half those rates for themselves their wives and their families; and single mechanics two thirds. If any were willing to pay a larger part of their passage money preference would be given them. Thus a man with a wife and three children would at the very least have to provide £17-10-0 for passage money alone and this was no insignificant sum considering the lowness of wages in the middle of the last century.

When a selection had been made the chosen emigrants were notified and ordered to forward their passage money immediately. This received, they were informed of the ship by which they were to sail and date and port of embarkation. As with the earliest bodies of colonists expenses to the port had to be borne by the emigrants themselves. The necessary outfit was less rigidly determined than had been the case in the Company's regulations but the least that would be deemed sufficient corresponded in its main articles with those required in the former case. Again it is noticeable that the passengers themselves were bound to provide their own sheets, blankets and a coverlet as well as plate, mug, knife fork and spoon; but on this occasion mattresses were supplied by the Association. Space for baggage was limited as before to 30 cubic feet, payment being exacted for extra luggage.

Instructions were carefully attended to and by the middle of the year a large body of colonists had been got together. On the 7th September 1850, 791 of these sailed from Plymouth by the first four ships, the Charlotte Jane, the Randolph, the Sbr George Seymout and the Cressy. Preparations bearing immediately upon the departure were elaborate. The New Zealand Company had farewelled emigrants with dinners and speeches but never before had such publicity been given to an enterprise of this nature. The striking feature throughout the proceedings was the marked distinction continually drawn between the "Colonists" and the "Emigrants" as purchasers and labourers were termed for the sake of distinguishing between them

This is easily justified, as such a taint had formerly attached itself to the very name of "emigrant" that the use of the more elevated term, colonist, made the colonization assume a more elevated character thus attracting the desired class. Still there is no doubt that the reports savour of snobbery. Thus, a public breakfast was held on board the "Randolph" on July 30th - somewhat more than a month before the actual departure and while the "Four Ships" were still lying in the East India Docks, Blackwall; of the 340 persons present some 160 were colonists. The report on this function appearing in the Canterbury Papers notices the absence of the labouring class usually termed emigrants who "were to be regaled separately, just before their departure on the old English fare of roast beef, plum pudding and John Barley corn". It is significant too that this latter function was passed by in silence no report of it appearing in the Canterbury Papers. Opportunity was taken at this Breakfast to stress the high social position of the "colonists" and it is indeed true that no body of emigrants before had ever reckoned among their number as many of the well born, aristocratic or otherwise eminent persons. Before departure many of the purchasers had availed themselves of the opportunity to meet and become acquainted with their future fellow citizens. At 9, Adelphi Terrace, London were the Colonists Rooms; there information was supplied; every Wednesday a public meeting was held; every day some members of the Council of the Colonists attended for answering inquiries, so in few cases were the colonists departing surrounded entirely by strangers.

With the labouring emigrants the case was different. At the date of the public breakfast these were still scattered over the country, "leave-taking winding up their little affairs, making their humble preparations". They came on board without any organisation ^{as} extinguishing them, strangers surrounded by strangers. Departure had been advertised for August the 29th but was postponed till September 7th. On Sunday September 1st a sermon from the text "The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Love of God, and the Communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all", was preached in St Pauls Cathedral by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the President of the Canterbury Association.

It is safe to claim that in no emigrant ship before this date nor in many later was such ample provision made for the comfort of the passengers. First and second cabin passengers were provided with exceptionally large cabins over five feet by seven generally; these they fitted up to suit themselves. Steerage passengers, who had previously been accommodated in one great apartment were now able to secure cabins provided they paid the whole amount of their passage money plus £2 extra. Passengers did not avail themselves of this advantage, however, to any great extent, as in all four ships only 40 of the steerage passengers paid their passages in full. In the staples of dictary all classes fared much the same the cabin passengers being favoured with a greater allowance of such luxuries as tea and sugar. For the benefit of the passengers of the first class a supply of live stock was kept on board, sheep, pigs and poultry to provide fresh meat for their table, salt meat being the unvaried fare of the others; a milch cow was also kept for the benefit of the cabin passengers. Life passed but

drearily on these long voyages for in spite of all improvements space was limited, the bulk of the passengers were still herded together and comfort compared with the present conditions on ocean going vessels was non-existent. With the exception of cooking their food steerage emigrants had to attend upon themselves. Washing was found to be one of the most difficult operations. In spite of the insistence of the Association on a sufficient outfit of clothing the six changes of underclothing were not sufficient for the journey. Each family had to have canvas bags for a small supply of clothing in use to be kept on their berths and after two or three weeks access would be given to the hold, for a fresh supply and at convenient periods washing had to be done for which purpose every woman was obliged to take with her 3 lbs of marine soap as specified in the regulations. A surgeon whose services were remunerated out of the general funds attended upon every ship and in this respect also the interests of these emigrants were better regarded than any before them.

This was not the first occasion on which plans for the greater comfort of passengers had been prepared but the commendable point in this case was that they were not permitted through slackness of administration to be ineffective. The most vigorous attention was paid by the Association to the fulfilment of its orders on the ships chartered by it and the result undoubtedly was that its emigrants came to their new home under the best conditions yet experienced by emigrants.

After a voyage of three and a half months the "First Four Ships" arrived at Lyttelton: the Charlotte Jane on the morning of

December 16th, the Randolph towards evening of the same day, the Sir George Seymour on the 17th and the Cressy ten days later. The Governor, Sir George Grey and Lady Grey had come down to welcome them and certain customs duties were graciously removed to enable the emigrants to land their possessions free of duty.

On arrival they found four large barracks ready for their temporary use, the Sumner Road begun and a road or rather track over the hills to the plains not yet formed. By means of this, the Bridle Track, the Pilgrims made their way to Christchurch - their luggage was taken by boat by way of Sumner, over the bar and up the river Avon as far as the "Bricks".

This was the name of a landing place, then on the outskirts of the town, less than a mile from the centre of the city and now marked by a simple monument. On mentioning the "Bricks" one's attention is immediately turned to "pre-Pilgrim" settlers of Canterbury, the brothers William and John Dean^s who had landed at this spot a cargo of bricks. These pioneers had emigrated to New Zealand, one to Port Nicholson in 1840, one to Nelson in 1842; were dissatisfied as were many of their fellow settlers with the delay in the land settlement and early in 1843 they made their way to what were then known as the Port Cooper Plains, where in spite of many hardships they had persevered and by 1850 had at Riccarton now a suburb of Christchurch a considerable extent of land - arable and pastoral in use; and substantial farm buildings erected. Their courage and endurance was rewarded by the recognition of their claim to 400 acres and by the prosperity which has since attended them. Even the Deans were not the earliest settlers. In 1840 an Australian firm had attempted to grow wheat on the spot

afterwards chosen by the Deans and on the failure of this firm one of its employees attempted to continue on his own account; but the task was too heavy for him to attempt single handed.

On Banks Peninsula, however, as distinct from the Plains, settlers were more numerous. An Australian here, too had taken the first steps towards drawing a profit from these waste spaces. As far back as 1839 Captain Rhodes came over by the "Eleanor" bringing cattle and so the first cattle station in Canterbury was established. In charge of it were Mr. and Mrs. Green, brought over at the same time. They settled at Akaroa and on the arrival of the French Colony by the "Comte de Paris" they became incorporated with them and were the keepers of the first public house set up. Besides the main body of French settlers, dealt with alone, who took up land at Akaroa there was an off-shoot of their band in a neighbouring inlet, German Bay so-called from the origin of its first settlers. In short, the few German families who came out with the French separated from the main body and lived a kind of community life apart from their fellow emigrants. At Pigeon Bay the Hay and Sinclair families, like the Deans, disappointed with the North Island prospects, took up land. Then Okains Bay had an early population of runaway sailors and people "who had reason for leaving the busy world for a time". They engaged themselves in timber sawing, and no real settlers came there till the Association's emigrants began purchasing lots on the Peninsula. The same may be said of many another bay for instance Robinson's. Piraki deserves special mention as it was the scene of Hempleman's whaling station and the very earliest settlement, his alleged

purchase of the Peninsula dating from 1837.

So the Canterbury Pilgrims had marked advantages over those of the previously founded settlements. Most important of all they found more extensive preparations made for them than had been the case with Wellington, New Plymouth, Nelson or Otago pioneers. Substantial wooden barracks waited to receive them, no need in their case to make shift with tents and huts of reeds and grasses. Then, on the plains was an actual farm, stocked with sheep and a part under cultivation; close at hand were several insulated establishments in full working order, and one of considerable size and flourishing (at Akaroa) while within easy reach were the four now firmly rooted settlements from which supplies could readily be drawn. They had moreover the advantage of a wide open plain bare of trees so that there was no need as was often before the case, of the laborious work of bush felling before the profitable work of planting could begin; and yet on the Peninsula, heavily wooded as it then was, was an abundant supply of timber for buildings and fire wood ready to hand. Also, the fewness of the native population removed the ever present fear of danger from this source that was felt in the northern settlements and also removed the likelihood of difficulty in land settlements.

Thus were the first settlers of Canterbury fortunate and yet there were some among them who complained. Doubtless the aspect presented by Lyttelton disheartened many. There it lay on the gentler slopes of a wall of hills that towered aloft between them and the promised plains, the sea washing right to their feet - mountains, as they were described by some of the colonists.

No wonder that until as late as 1856 the population of Lyttelton exceeded that of Christchurch - this wall of "mountains" proved an effective barrier. Then there was the house shortage difficult. Residence in the barracks was limited to a fortnight; at the end of that time the immigrants were expected to have chosen their sections and to be prepared to provide for themselves, in order to make room for new ship loads. Some houses had been brought in sections and the disembarkation proceeded slowly so that this difficulty would be felt as little as possible; but its seriousness is easily realised when it is considered that barrack accommodation was provided for 300 people at the most and nearly 800 had arrived between the 16th and 27th December. Fortunately the first summer experienced by the Pilgrims in their new home was a particularly dry and sunny one. Another grievance, of little practical seriousness, but one which changed the outward form of the colony considerably was the absence of its bishop whereby the colony lost its appearance of being formed and guided by the Church. By some trivial accident the Rev. Jackson had not been ordained in time to sail with the first colonists; and even when he did arrive he proved to be wanting in those administrative qualities so necessary for the part he was expected to play.

It was the excellence of the weather chiefly that kept up the spirits of the immigrants during their first few weeks of unavoidable roughing. All the letters quoted in the "Canterbury Papers" are brimming over with cheerfulness and praise of the country, their prospects and the excellent treatment received, but then those letters were chosen for their value as advertisers.

For two more years immigration into Canterbury was controlled by the Association, ships being chartered for this purpose and allowance on both cabin and steerage passages, drawn from the land fund, being continued.

It was recognised by the Association from the beginning that as soon as the promised responsible Government was set up in New Zealand the function of the Association should devolve upon the local government, but the control of immigration - as being necessarily attended to in England it proposed to keep in its own hands. Even this according to its proposals would have been really in the Colonists own hands as selection of emigrants was to be left to the purchasers subject to the supervision and regulations of the Association; while the regulations of the Association were to be based on suggestions of the Colonists. Within a year of its foundation great hostility had grown up between the Colonists and the Association at home due to causes with little bearing on Immigration and when in 1850 the Association lost its Charter through financial difficulties, no regret was felt in the Colony. In June of this year the Constitution Act was passed and in the next year, 1853, the Provincial System came into full working order; and the control and regulation of Immigration into New Zealand for the various Provinces passed into the hands of the separate Provincial Councils.

During its two remaining years of life, however, the Association continued to play an admirable part in its regulation of immigration. Large numbers continued to pour into the colony and as far as can be judged by the continued elevation of the tone of its society colonists of an excellence closely correspond-

ing to those of the first batch were alone selected. On February 7th the largest emigrant ship until this date which had carried passengers to New Zealand, arrived having on board the Rev. Jackson, Bishop Designate of Lyttelton (which was originally intended to be the name of the chief town). This was the Castle Eden whose registered tonnage was 930. It did not, however bring out a record number of passengers; its total of 207 was exceeded by from 4 to 9 in all of the "First Four Ships" except the Charlotte Jane. Great advancement in this respect is noticeable since the early days of the New Zealand Company. From 1839-1850 ships had been chartered by this Company and despatched to New Zealand. These varied in size exclusive of those carrying less than 50 passengers from 328 tons to 704. The former of these in 1840 carried 197 passengers to Port Nicholson, the latter, the Ajax, 195 passengers to Otago in 1848. As the tonnage of ships is reckoned by measurement it is obvious that the space per passenger available whether for the passengers or their luggage was tending to increase, not that there had been by any means a steady improvement during the years mentioned; and too many unknown influences may have brought about this tendency to claim any intentional improvement of conditions on the part of those in charge. But by the time we come to Emigration under the Canterbury Association a real improvement is noticed, not vacillating as before but almost steady even though it is borne in mind that the greater size of ships now is, to some extent, due to new regulations with regard to their registration removing abuses which have crept into the system.

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The flow of immigration continued steadily during the year, there
X- For wharfage is paid in accordance with the size of a ship and therefore various deceptions have frequently been practised to make the registered tonnage as small as possible.

being an average of more than one a month in all 15 for the year. Passengers averaged about 125 per vessel, and this considering the size of the vessels, averaging about 600 tons, seems to show more than a reasonable desire for comfort. It goes to prove the fact that the Association found it difficult to fill to their greatest capacity all the vessels they chartered. In fact land sales still proceeded tardily; many interested persons to whom the scheme appealed, cautiously delayed venturing their capital in so novel an investment. They were desirous of seeing the colony firmly fixed on a sound basis; they were awaiting the news of successful predecessors before venturing forth themselves. Yet again there were others who hesitated until the long-impending question of the granting of responsible Government to New Zealand should be settled.

In the year 1852 a great falling off is noticeable. Four ships alone were chartered, - all of a smaller size and bringing altogether no more than 350 immigrants. The local unrest, the dissension between colonists and Association, cannot be held accountable for this great and sudden decrease. By June this trouble was cleared away; the New Zealand Constitution Bill passed through both Houses, and the Constitutional future of New Zealand was satisfactorily settled. The reason must be sought in the events then happening in Australia. Towards the end of 1851 gold had been found in Victoria almost at once a rush had set in thither from all parts of the world. One ⁵ship which departed from Lyttelton for Melbourne, in December 1851 carried so unusually large a number of passengers, both steerage and cabin as to raise

comments, 54, in fact in the steerage and about 20 in the cabin. To ward off the suspicion that seemed inevitable an explanation was given in the Lyttelton Times to the effect that these were mostly Australians returning to their homes. An extraordinary coincidence! Moreover such large numbers of the steerage class were not in those days in the habit of making extensive touring trips. Undoubtedly from the time of its foundation a moderate number of immigrants from the Australian as well as other New Zealand colonies had added to the population of Canterbury; the passengers to, exceed the passengers from Lyttelton, on the whole, until this time. Then of a sudden the comparatively large number of 70 left Lyttelton for Melbourne, while the usual passenger list between these ports numbered ten or twelve and of these few were of the steerage class.

So Canterbury too joined with the rest of the world in sending forth gold seekers. No wonder then that the numbers of immigrants to Canterbury decreased so noticeably when the course of all emigrants was deflected towards Victoria. And yet this was not a logical conclusion because the type of settler that the Association was desirous of attracting to Canterbury should not have been affected by the lure of gold, but rather have seen that their true interests lay in providing produce for the Victorian market with its increasing demand.

The next year, 1853, saw likewise but four ship loads of immigrants in all about 400. Immigration was still in the hands of the Association for though this body had surrendered its Charter in 1852 and no longer controlled the land policy of Canterbury it

was considered advisable to leave the selection of emigrants in its now experienced hands until the establishment of Provincial Government in New Zealand should enable them to transfer their duties to the Province of Canterbury.

The voyages of these three years assume a more interesting aspect than those of the preceding decade. There is little to be found concerning the life on board in the early years. But the Canterbury colonists have left many accounts of their activities during the three months voyage. A weekly journal was published by the passengers of the Charlotte Jane, and others followed their example. Frequently an account of the voyage would be written up by one of the passengers and published in the Lyttelton Times. Preparations for a Fancy Dress Ball on more than one vessel passed away the time; sometimes the children of all classes were regaled with good things to eat. The visit of Father Neptune on the crossing of Line was an entertainment that was never omitted. It came to be customary during 1851 for the passengers to present an address to the Captain thanking him for his attention to their welfare. All of which points to a happy and even gay time passed on board; but then this impression applies only to the cabin passengers. The Condition of the steerage passengers had not greatly improved. Few availed themselves of the opportunity to have a cabin; the misery of those whose berth was the sole space they could have for their own private use must have been indescribable especially when bad weather confined them below, often over 100 persons, all in the one apartment; in the day time the lowest berths formed tables, food was brought in,

in a great bowl for each mess, to be served out by one appointed to be in charge; each person produced his own table-ware. At night time curtains drawn along the sides of the berth provided all the privacy that was obtainable, within the narrow limit, under the mattress or on top of the bed, all their personal belongings had to be kept; - luxuries for their table as biscuits or jam, and little extras for the greater comfort for their journey. How great must have been the hopes for the future of those who ventured to fare forth often with large families of children under such conditions. With every vessel was a chaplain who twice a day conducted religious worship, a contrast with the voyages the earlier New Zealand Company's emigrants whose spiritual welfare was often ill-attended to. On the other hand the emigrants who sailed from Scotland under the Otago Association were kept to the most austere and strict routine; they attended divine services three times a day. No gaiety at all marked their voyage, every day was alike, each hour set apart for its particular duty, but cleanliness and healthfulness resulted from this rigid discipline to an extent that had never been experienced before. The Canterbury Association too looked after the physical as well as the spiritual welfare of their emigrants: a surgeon was in attendance on every ship engaged for a certain stipend - £85 - with the curious arrangement that it should be increased for every birth, reduced for every death occurring on the voyage. The fewness of deaths - four was the greatest number of any ship between 1850 - 53 - testifies to the care with which the Association chose its emigrants from a health point of view, and also to the

vigilance that was kept to prevent the breaking out or spreading of disease to which the unhealthy and badly ventilated quarters might have been expected to give rise readily. The cases of mortality that did occur were mostly of infants or sickly children for whose frames the exigencies of a sea voyage proved too severe.

CHAPTER 9.

ACTIVITIES OF THE EMIGRATION COMMISSIONERS.

The Colonization of New Zealand during the fifth decade had not been conducted entirely by Companies and Associations. The Land and Emigration Commission which has already been referred to was the instrument of the Government by means of which state emigration was carried on; and though it was of little importance when the numbers brought to New Zealand by its agency are considered yet a survey of its functions and the manner in which it discharged its duties serves to show that a private organisation was capable of attaining greater results - far from ideal though they were - than a Government Department, ignorant of local conditions and sluggish, stirred by no ambition to see the realization of a great idea.

This Commission was in charge of all Emigration from the United Kingdom; in theory emigrants proceeding under the Company's regulations were under their superintendence. The official machinery with which they carried on their work consisted in the first place of an Act - the Passengers Act which provided for limiting the number of persons on each ship and providing for accommodation; ensuring sufficient water and provisions; seeing that vessels were sea-worthy; protecting passengers against frauds; and to ensure the observation of this act Government Emigration Agents were placed at the chief

ports of the United Kingdom. With this machinery the Land and Emigration Commissioners undertook to protect the emigrants proceeding at their own expense; to superintend those under the control of colonizing companies; to manage the conveyance of persons proceeding at public expense such as surveyors and convicts; and finally to carry on colonization on lines similar to those of the New Zealand Company; land purchasers nominated labourers, the Government Emigration Agents selected, the Commissioners gave their approval and the persons thus chosen proceeded -X- to the colony in ship chartered and regulated by the Commissioners. Such was the admirable theory, in practice, as regards New Zealand at least their colonizing activities were almost imperceptible; but, the existence of a law such as the Passengers' Act, with adequate machinery for its enforcement supplied a much felt need. The dangers to which unsuspecting passengers were exposed by the frauds practised on them were tremendous and if the Emigration Commissioners by guarding against the despatch of unseaworthy vessels prevented untold calamities their existence was not in vain. But legislation of this nature rarely prevails at first, ways and means of eluding the regulations are easily conceived and enforcement is often relaxed. So, frequently unseaworthy vessels or vessels over-crowded and badly provisioned still carried the wretched emigrants across the sea, but the efforts of the Commissioners with regard to transport are not to be decried; they had taken a step in the right direction. It was in their actual colonizing -X- The cost of the transporting of such emigrants was provided by a portion of the funds rising from the sale of Crown Lands in the colony to which they were proceeding.

endeavours that they fared so poorly when their efforts are compared with those of a colonizing company directed by an enlightened enthusiastic band of colonizers.

It was to Auckland that these "Commissioners' Emigrants" were despatched. When Captain Hobson landed in New Zealand in 1839, the Bay of Islands was the most populous district; here had the first missionary Station been established; here had the earliest depot for whalers and traders been established; here consequently had the British Resident, James Busby had his headquarters. So here too the Consul took his first stand. Less than a year after his arrival in September 1840 when New Zealand had already been proclaimed a British possession - a dependency of New South Wales - the Lieutenant Governor chose as the capital of the colony a site on the South side of Waitemata Harbour which he named Auckland. At once immigrants flocked in, spontaneously, chiefly from Australia speculators who considered that land purchased at the seat of Government would be a profitable investment. Then in 1842 came the Immigrants sent out by the Commissioners. The Colonial Office authorized the expenditure on Emigration of a large sum of money accruing from Government land sales. Emigrants were selected, mainly from Scotland, to relieve the distress in a certain part of that country but the two fairly large ships the "Duchess of Argyle" and the "Jane Gifford" were with difficulty filled because "many of the applicants were unfit and few who were eligible were willing to go." However 555 immigrants were brought to Auckland by these two ships. At the end of the same year a third ship, the

Westminster was despatched with 219 passengers, this time mainly English. The large number of deaths occurring, 37 out of 555 emigrants on the first two ships compares unfavourably with the results obtained by the New Zealand Company at this period. The Commissioners themselves in their Report to Lord Stanley remarked this high rate of deaths and considered it partly to be accounted for because the "people were drawn from a district where distress was prevalent", they pointed out also that the deaths were mostly among young children, who would be most affected by this circumstance. The truth of this assumption seems to be borne out by the fact that of the 219 passengers on the Westminster only 3 died.

The jealousy of the official class at Auckland of the prosperity of the Company's settlements was for a long time felt. Continued efforts were made to induce the Company to establish a colony in the vicinity of the Capital. Governor Hobson, in need of labourers had offered inducements in the way of free passages, free houses, high wages and good conditions, to entice away from Port Nicholson the labourers brought there at the Company's expense. No more than fifty were attracted but such an Act embittered the feeling in the Settlement towards the Government. In 1842 the demand for labour was no longer urgent but according to the Report the continuation of the same rate was deemed necessary.

Actually these were the only three ships that ever brought emigrants to New Zealand under the sole control of the Commissioners. But as the enforcement of the Passengers' Act was in the hands of this Department, and as this law applied to all vessels carrying more than 29 passengers, the greater part of the irregular immigrat-

ion into New Zealand may be considered as under their superintendence. This was specially so because by an amendment of 1842 this law applied to vessels from any port of the British Empire and at times considerable numbers from the Australian Colonies came to New Zealand.

Much in the same manner as the New Zealand Company and the Canterbury Association after them the Commissioners had drawn up regulations for the treatment and conduct of emigrants, to which even those on private vessels were subject. Prosecutions for the infringement of the law were frequent but it is possible that many frauds were still practised. From time to time the law was amended aiming at the improvement of conditions for the passengers. In reality the comfort of the passengers rested in the hands of the Captain depending on his strict observance or negligence of the rules. The ventilation of the ship, for instance, by means of the open hatchways, and the compulsory airing of bedding were left at his discretion, when the weather permitted. Unless these provisions were insisted on by a strict Captain conditions would soon have become disagreeable. These emigrants had not only to attend to the cleaning of their berths and decks but also to do their own cooking, a practice that was not followed on the ships chartered by the New Zealand Company. Every ship was required to carry a surgeon; and in the event of no minister being among the passengers some person capable of giving instruction to the children had to be on board.

After 1841 the number of these emigrants in private vessels under the superintendence of the Commissioners (for all ships carry-

ing more than a certain number of passengers were subject to their supervision) was extremely few. The attractiveness of the Company's scheme prevailed and with few exceptions those who desired to emigrate to New Zealand took advantage of their offer. The monopoly of immigration that the Company had, is illustrated by the fact during the troublous times of the Company immigration into New Zealand as a whole virtually ceased.

The irregular emigration from the United Kingdom to New Zealand was at no time during the fifth decade extensive. Comparison of the figures given in the Commissioners' Reports for each year, with those of the Company's Emigrants shows that the Company practically monopolized the emigration. Thus in 1841 passengers emigrating in ships chartered by the Company or under the Company's supervision numbered 3,750. The total number proceeding to New Zealand under the Passengers' Act was 3,900 leaving only about 150 who came independently of the Company. In the next year besides the 2,300, whom the Company despatched (and of this number 140 were Germans sailing from Hamburg and therefore not included in the Commissioners' total) the three ships under the direct management of the Commissioners carried nearly 800 emigrants to Auckland; and in the same year a ship load of 92 pardoned boys from the Parkhurst Penitentiary was sent also to Auckland, - an experiment that was never repeated. These groups give approximately 3050 the number given as the total emigration for the year in the Commissioners Report. In 1843 a sudden decrease occurred; of the total 340 the Company had conveyed 220. During the next three years discrepancies occur; in 1844 the Company's immigrants were 279 of whom 140 were

again from Hamburg but even with this deduction the total remains more than that estimated in the Report, - 68. The same is true of 1845 and 1846 in each of which years 40 passengers travelled to New Zealand in ships under the supervision of the Company whereas the figures shown in the Report are 14 and 6. This is possibly to be accounted for by the fact that ships with less than thirty passengers did not come under the Passengers' Act therefore frequently no account would be kept of them. As the revival of emigration to New Zealand did not begin till November of 1847 the same may account for the discrepancy in this year, there being only 315 accounted for by the Commissioners whereas the passengers carried out under Company's regulations was 415. The next year saw the return of normal conditions; in addition to the 650 immigrants of the Company about 100 came spontaneously and in 1849 there were 700 more immigrants than those belonging to the Company. But more than 500 of these are to be accounted for by a step taken by Earl Grey, - the establishment of a military colony in New Zealand.

When Earl Grey succeeded to office he took the opportunity of experimenting with a scheme he had long considered feasible. He held that the failure of previous attempts to form military colonies was due to the fact that men accustomed all their lives to being disciplined and directed by superiors were in the colonies thrown on their own resources. Hence Lord Grey's plan was to establish the men in villages and keep them still under the control of officers. In all eight companies of these "New Zealand Fencibles" as they were called, were taken to New Zealand

with their wives and families. They were drawn from the bodies of soldiers discharged either with or without pensions who had been in the various districts of the United Kingdom; and to be eligible had to be less than forty eight years of age, to be strong and healthy and of good character, moreover their families were not to consist of more than four persons. Their pensions were to be continued, and a free passage granted them and their families; on twelve days a year they were to muster for military exercise in addition to Church Parade on Sundays; additional pay would be due to them in the event of their being called out for further military service. The term of their service was to be seven years during which time they were to be provided rent free with a two roomed cottage and one acre of land which would become their own at the end of their service. Under these conditions, then, six companies, over 600 persons came to New Zealand in 1848. They were established in four villages at a distance of from six to nine and a half miles from Auckland occupying an excellent strategic position shutting Auckland in from all attack according to Grey though according to Fox as a defence they were utterly useless and in case of a well directed attack would have offered no resistance whatever. Grey also referred to the effect that the establishment of these villages had in raising the price of land. In March and May of 1849 two more ship loads of Pensioners arrived bringing in all more than 500 persons. The experiment was not continued though Lord Grey retained his belief in the efficacy of his scheme and Governor Grey was enthusiast in his praise but in truth it seems that

Fox's account is correct. In "Six New Zealand Colonies" he points out the failure of the scheme, the absence of the industry and energy which the Governor praised, the lack of care which they expended on their own plot, and the burden they were to the colony financially. The fact that they would have provided a substantial military force in case of need and that they were "bringing up healthy children to be better colonists than their fathers were" does not seem adequate compensation for great cost they were to the Government. They were not of a suitable class for colonizing. The very recognition of the fact that they were incapable of being left to depend upon themselves proves this; self-reliance and ambition are the two chief characteristics of the successful colonist. They were expected to work on the roads or for private employers besides cultivating their own plots. This was always the case among the Company's labourers but according to Fox, the Pensioners entirely neglected their own allotments.

One other experiment of the Government with regard to the Colonization of New Zealand remains to be considered, - the introduction of Parkhurst Prison boys referred to above in passing.

To the credit of Lord Normanby let it be said that he laid it down, in his instructions to Captain Hobson, 14th August 1839, as "a fundamental principle of the new colony that no convict was ever to be sent there to undergo his punishment". Hobson remonstrated, pointing out that the demand for labour would be such that he despaired "of ever getting roads made without the

aid of convicts". But Normanby's opposition to it was "fixed and unalterable" he considered the conversion of New Zealand into a Penal Colony would be a short sighted policy mainly on the grounds of its effect on the aborigines. As it was New Zealand barely escaped this fate for but for the prompt action of the New Zealand Company the South Island at least would have fallen into the hands of the French Government whose intention, as revealed in the "Debats" of the "Chambre des Deputes" May 1844, was to send convicts thither.

The introduction of the Parkhurst Prison boys was the only occasion on which this principle was ever evaded; and in this case the granting of pardons to all, prior to landing, to keep within the letter of the law, was only increasing the evil. The experiment according to all contemporary accounts was an utter failure. The boys did not work well, were, naturally not sought after by private employers as long as the supply of a better class of labourer was available and raised the percentage of criminals in Auckland.

When Lord Grey came to the Colonial Office he attempted to promote another of his cherished theories with regard to colonization - transportation of convicts; he urged on Governor Grey and likewise on the Otago Association, the advantages of ticket of leave men to ensure a supply of labour, but the Governor with characteristic resolution refused on the grounds of native welfare, and also because "the benefit of the additional labour" would be more than counterbalanced by the obstruction to free immigration which would be raised thereby." The New Zealand

Company, too, were determined to resist this policy, for Parliament had given the Colonial Office the right to disperse convicts over other colonies than those hitherto considered as Penitentiaries; and owing to the former evasion of Lord Normanby's declaration and the fact that Earl Grey considered New Zealand a suitable place to be included among these new Penal Colonies as long as the Convicts were transported with conditional pardons the Company had fears for its settlements; but there was a clause stating that any hitherto "unpenal" colony, at its earnest request might be exempt and so New Zealand remained immune. The white population of New Zealand was too small to allow of the absorption of even a few number of criminals in their effect on a native race was undoubtedly harmful and the evil of their presence can be estimated when the criminal statistics are considered. The number of convictions per hundred of population was very much greater in Auckland than in the Southern or New Munster colonies the population of Auckland being largely recruited from Australian and Van Diemen's Land settlers whereas the Company's settlers were carefully selected, law abiding citizens among whom the numbers of convictions were swelled by the presence of a small proportion of Australians and by the presence of troops. At Otago where neither troops nor Australians or convict extraction marred the even tenour of their way not a single commital even occurred for many years. New Zealand had taken a firm stand against convict transportation and when in the sixties the discovery of gold here attracted men of this class the "Victorian Convicts Prevention Act" was passed to guard against the evil

and when in 1871, 8 convicts with conditional pardons arrived in Lyttelton they were immediately retransported and the last of New Zealand's troubles with regard to convicts was over.

With the despatch of the three emigrant ships, the Parkhurst boys and the Pensioners, the active attempts of the Home Government to promote the Colonization of New Zealand ended. With the surrender of its Charters in June 1850 the activities of the New Zealand Company in the same direction also ended. So the Otago and Canterbury Associations alone remained to conduct the systematic immigration into their respective districts. Suggestions for promoting immigration were from time to time considered and rejected on various grounds by Earl Grey. Such were, the proposal that the relatives and friends of colonists should be assisted to the colony, rejected on the plea of lack of funds; and the proposal that the dependents of deceased gentlemen - left in destitute circumstances should be encouraged and aided to emigrate, to become governesses or hold other positions suitable to their superior rank, rejected on the extremely satisfactory ground that very few such positions were available. There was however abundance of work for domestic servants and young women accustomed to farm work.

During the years between 1850 and 1853 when at last Provincial Governments were set up and each took into its own hands the control of its own immigration, the population was augmented by irregular means subjected to no control but that provided by the Passengers Act and this had but little effect over ships proceeding from one colony to another and it was from Australia that the

largest influx poured, and of these the greater numbers flocked to Auckland. This settlement however was the least stable of all; from it, in greater numbers than from any other settlement did gold seekers rush to California in 1849 and Victoria in 1851.

The Home Government refused to give any assistance to emigrants. In a despatch to the Governor in answer to his request that certain persons should be sent out to the Colony, the Secretary of Colonies stated that "there was no fund in that country from which a moiety of the passage money could be paid", though the Emigration Commissioners would see to the despatch of any persons sent for on the understanding that all expense would be borne by the Colony, - so it is clear, considering the unsettled state of the colony pending its new constitutions why immigration languished.

CHAPTER 10.

IMMIGRATION IN CANTERBURY UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT 1853-1857.

Long before the Canterbury Association actually ceased to exist its labours with regard to the fostering of emigration came to an end. It has been noticed, how after the first year in the history of the colony the number of immigrants decreased significantly, from almost 3,000 in 1851 to little more than 350 in each of the years 1852, 1853. This was of course due in a great measure to the discovery of gold in Victoria but the lack of fixed machinery and energetic administration for the promotion of emigration played its part.

It was arranged that when the Association should have handed over its duties to the Provincial Government, the conveyance of emigrants should still be in the hands of the late superintendent of Shipping and Emigration for the Association. This official, Aylmer, in conjunction with the firm Money, Wigram & Sons had his headquarters at the "Colonists Rooms" Adelphi Terrace, as of old, and was to control the emigration to all the Provinces of New Zealand continuing the policy of the Association. Before the end of 1853 this agency was transferred to Fred. Young & Co., who carried on their business at the same Rooms. The conveyance of

emigrants to all the Provinces of New Zealand was left in their hands. The first of their line of ships was the John Taylor which arrived in Lyttelton October 13th 1853.

The Provincial Council met for the first time in October 1853. The necessity of maintaining a steady supply of labour presented itself as a pressing question. Progress was hindered by the unsettled state of affairs resulting from the introduction of the new constitution and by the fact that for some months yet the General Assembly failed to meet. In September the question had been the subject of a public meeting where a committee had been set up to consider the best means of importing labour. Those settlers who were in need of labourers were asked to state the numbers they required to obtain some idea of the number for whom immediate employment could be found. The result of this enquiry was that fewer labourers were required than had been expected and so there was considered to be no justification in expending a large amount on immigration; but so general was the feeling that the prosperity of the province depended on an increased supply of labourers that it was decided to advertise in the Sydney and Melbourne papers the capabilities of Canterbury and the prospects it offered to the labourer. The emigrants from Australia to Canterbury were, however, at no time, many. Inter-course between the two places was regular and fairly steady, showing a slightly larger number of passengers to Canterbury than from there. The heaviest influx incurred in the months April, May, June of 1854 when over fifty immigrants from Australia landed at Lyttelton. This was an exception and can be traced to

the policy of advertising Canterbury's possibilities.

The Superintendent anxiously awaited news from the General Government as to the funds which would be applicable to immigration; but no news came. The Council resolved that the fund from the land sales applicable to immigration should be under their own control, but no steps were taken towards organizing a system owing mainly to the disorder that prevailed before the summoning of the General Assembly. This absence of a definite scheme resulted in a still further decrease in the immigration figures greatly reduced though they were in the last two years of the Association's life.

During 1854 no more than 150 of the passengers brought to New Zealand were for the Canterbury settlement. Nearly half of these were cabin passengers - a good indication of the fact that they came either as land purchasers, or hoping to continue in the new land the professions they had practised in the old - a class that the new country could ill afford to support; at least not as labourers, for whom there was naturally the greatest demand. For the opinion of the time strongly supports this view and the truth of it is evident from the arguments that were put forth. The original land owners were increasing their holdings, new townships, were springing up as centres for the widening districts creating the need not only for labourers on the land but for making roads and bridges in the employment of the Government. The original labourers had in many instances, been enabled, by the high rate of wages, to become land owners themselves and thus also a scarcity was created in the labour market.

During the second session of the Provincial Council - in March 1854 - an Immigration Ordinance was brought in and received the sanction of the Governor making it lawful for the Superintendent to appoint Emigration Agents in England or elsewhere and to make regulations for the proper conduct of emigration, with the consent of the Council. An agent, Harman was at once appointed and sailed for England with little delay. In the same session an Appropriation Ordinance providing £10,000 for Immigration purposes likewise attained the Governor's consent.

The system to employ with regard to providing assistance was laid down in Regulations issued by the Superintendent under this Ordinance. This matter had already been the subject of some controversy. The Editor of the Lyttelton Times took up the attitude that a uniform system should be established; it was unadvisable to afford assistance to some while others were bound to repay their passage money. The immigrants themselves began with a sense of injustice; to him, the repayment of the whole of the passage money, suggested itself as the best scheme. The Superintendent in his opening speech for the second session expressed the opinion that it would be best to employ the Immigration Fund in establishing a regular line of passenger ships, the need of which had been much felt in the early months of the Colony. This seemed a scarcely adequate provision to ensure that stream of immigrants and of that class requisite to the prosperity of the province. The careful selection of emigrants was an important factor; here again the Lyttelton Times gave expression to a sound theory; emigrants who sought out the Agent were judged to be of

greater worth than those sought out by the Agent. The wisdom of this is proved by the issue of the New Zealand Company's practice. The material with which this Company had colonized was not of such great worth as that of the Canterbury Association who had not followed the practice of the former in paying their Agents so much per emigrant but allowed them a fixed salary. It is easily seen that an Agent on the former basis would not consider it his interest to accept none but the best and fittest persons. The suggestions offered were that settlers already in the province should send for their friends and relatives, or that those in need of employees should send for labourers they knew stating the terms upon which they would engage them and offering to advance their passage money. A third method of obtaining labourers that was suggested was that boys from the Reformatories for Juvenile Vagrants should be sent out. This method it was argued had been tried at Cape Colony with success; but then New Zealand had also had experience with this class of emigrant - the boys from Parkhurst Prison sent to Auckland where they were useless as workers, had an evil influence upon the Maori and helped to keep busy the criminal court. Boys from Reformatories for Vagrants may have been of better class than Parkhurst Boys, not irremediably criminal, but at the best they were the indolent, unprogressive section of the population whom a young province of few numbers would have had difficulty in absorbing; none but the most energetic, the most earnest and eager for advancement was of use in Canterbury. This suggestion happily was never adopted by the Provincial Council.

The newly appointed Emigration Officer, Harman, was given instructions to select and approve of those persons applying for assisted passages and make arrangements for sending without delay labourers to be employed by the Government in that great undertaking, begun before the "First Four Ships" arrived, soon to be abandoned for seventy years - the road between the Port and Plains. Facilities were offered by which those already in the Province could assist their friends in England to join them. A bill could be drawn to the order of The Provincial Treasurer, endorsed by a substantial householder and approved by the Superintendent. Such a bill submitted to the friends in England would be accepted by the Shipping Agents in lieu of cash payment. But the Council did not undertake to give part payment of passage money to assist emigrants. Their assistance was limited to placing an agent in England for their guidance and in making every arrangement to facilitate their undertaking, by setting up a system whereby they could come out with only half their passage money paid in cash - or by a bill transmitted from friends in the colony as above.

This was not a system calculated to draw large numbers of emigrants, though the precautions taken in selection should have ensured good quality. The provision enabling settlers to assist friends in the first place should have had the effect of strengthening the Province with men in equal character with those already there, of supplying employers with labourers whose capability they knew. These Regulations laid it down that only bona fide labouring men, mechanics, and domestic servants could be afforded this assistance - that is the payment of half the passage money before

going on board, the balance, when an interval had elapsed after arrival. Persons - of other classes, however, would be permitted to emigrate by pre-paying the whole passage money. All were subject to the approval of the Agent. The age limit had been raised; the above assistance would be rendered to persons up to fifty years of age, while even beyond this age persons undertaking the whole of the payment immediately might emigrate. The apparent evil of this measure, allowing those for whom few years of toil remained, to come to a young province, soon to be a burden on those whose utmost energy would be needed to win for themselves a livelihood, must be weighed against its justice; the inability to leave behind an aged dependent may alone have kept back men of youth and vigour. No restrictions either were now placed on the number of the emigrant's family; nor was there any need for such. It was in the first few months, alone, when "makeshift" was the order of the day that young children would have been an encumbrance. Now that all the appurtenances of civilized life were obtainable, now that order reigned now that commodities were not so difficult to obtain that none but those who served might be provided for, there was every reason for inducing people to bring young families. Children adapt themselves to new ways of life and new conditions more readily than their elders and it was of the greatest advantage to the Province that its new comers should cast off that "new chum" attitude so hostile to the best interests of the community - so resented by those inured to colonial ways. The writings of the time all reflect this spirit, this - feeling of mutual contempt which soon

sprang up between the new and the old colonists.

Apart from the fact that the assistance offered to emigrants was not likely to attract large numbers, the results of these first Immigration Regulations were slight owing to the inability on the part of the Provincial Government to forward the funds necessary for the project. On two occasions those benefactors of the Province, John Robert Godley and Henry Selfe Selfe, advanced sums from their private accounts for meeting the demands of Shipping Companies.

At the end of 1854 the General Government conceded to the Provincial Government, the right to dispose of their own land fund; but owing to petty difficulties and delays certain sums due to Canterbury were with-held and the business of immigration thus, still proceeded but slowly. In fact it was May 1855 before the first batch of 94 assisted Immigrants under the new regulations (Mar. 1854) arrived in Lyttelton by the Grasmere. Early in this year an agreement was entered into with the Shipping Company of H.H. Willis largely through the aid of Godley & Selfe. In May the Council voted £2,100 for Immigration purposes but difficulties with regard to the transmission of this sum to secure the Shipping Company still caused delay until an agreement was come to with the Union Bank of Australia. However only 429 emigrants were assisted out in the year 1855 and in this, no doubt the effect of the

Crimean War may be seen, while some fifty others came to the Province as Cabin Passengers or by Fred. Young and Company's Line of Ships which still brought passengers to all the Provinces. The reports of the newspaper of the day and of the Superintendent attest to the excellent quality of the immigrants, the ease and quickness with which they settled down into their new life, all of which testified to the diligence of Harman the Emigration Agent in England, and to the wisdom of the policy of bringing out those who had friends and relatives already in the Province.

The four ships of H.H. Willis & Co's Line arriving in 1856 brought 650 assisted immigrants, and about 60 more travelling in the Cabin. Of these the "Egmont" the last for the year carried 40 and exceptionally large number of Cabin passengers chief of whom was the long awaited Bishop of Christchurch; by this ship, too, Harman returned to New Zealand. As before a comparatively small number of Cabin and Steerage passengers - considerably less than 100 - reached the Province by means of F. Young & Co's Line. It is noticeable that few of those over age, or outside the classes to whom assistance was rendered ventured to emigrate. Either they wisely realised that the youth of the Province rendered it unable to absorb more than a limited number of shop keepers, clerks, or milliners or they found the regulations easy of evasion by false declarations.

The nature of the assistance rendered to immigrants of the labouring class under the Provincial Government is thus seen to differ from that under the Association, though the difference is less marked in the case of the Canterbury Association where choice

of Immigrants largely rested upon the amount of passage money they were willing to pay, than in the case of the older New Zealand Company where the Immigrant's only expenses were for his outfit. Under the Association too, a certain refund of passage money had been allowed the Cabin Passengers, dependent on the amount of land purchased. Now, too, an inducement was offered to Cabin passengers, in effect the same as before but differing in form. Half the sum expended on Cabin passages for himself and family provided this amount was not more than £20 for each adult and £10 for each child, or if from the Australian Colonies £8 for each adult and £4 for each child, was received by every passenger in money scrip transferable by endorsement in payment for land sold under the Provincial Regulations. These were regulations of the general Government and by these too steerage and intermediate passengers were likewise entitled, with the same provision as to the amount, to receive scrip to the value of the whole sum expended on the passage money of themselves their families and dependents.

The influx from Australia until the end of 1856 had at no time been great. In any case the proximity of these neighbouring colonies makes it probable that many of the travellers between the Ports of Australia and New Zealand were bent on pleasure or business, sojourners rather than settlers. However during this period, the first three years of Provincial Administration the total number of those coming in exceeds that of those going out. The same may be said with regards the other Provinces of New Zealand. The stability and early prosperity of Canterbury

its freedom from native troubles and land difficulties, its open, unwooded plains attracted more from than it cast off to the other Provinces.

The steady though meagre flow of incomers ceased during the first half of 1857. No fund but a portion of that accruing from the sale of waste lands was available to meet the expenses of immigration, the General Government was tardy in handing over to Canterbury what was due to her, the arrangements with the Union Bank of Australia ^{-X-} for a loan had failed to be completed, the Agent Harman, as was noticed before, had returned to the Province; therefore did immigration languish.

But an improvement was at hand. In May £20,000 was voted for the purpose of promoting Immigration, and certain resolutions were passed in Council with a view to regulating the employment of this sum. One member, Samuel Bealey, a future Superintendent, desired it to be divided over three years, £10,000 to be spent the first year £6,000 the second; and £4,000 the third, and though by the Ordinance of 1854 the making of regulations had been reserved for the Superintendent, this privilege was now invaded by the Council. The Editor of the "Lyttelton Times" observes upon this point that though the Council offered their retiring Superintendent the office of Emigration Agent of the Province in England they offered at the same time an insult in attempting to hedge it round with new limitations. This was especially vexatious to Fitzgerald ^{-X-} Superintendent was dissatisfied with the terms they offered. Bank desired to charge same commission on money raised in England and spent there, as on money raised in England and transmitted to New Zealand. Bank refused to deduct cost of Transmission.

who had held the position of Emigrant Officer in the days of the Canterbury Association, and who prided himself on the success with which his activity in this capacity was attended. (On this point we have E.G. Wakefield's criticism, stated in a letter of August 17th 1850 to J.R. Godley in which he summed up briefly the characters of several of those who were among the first body of colonists. Fitzgerald, he said, shows "A perfect incapacity for doing business. He is immensely presumptuous, believing himself that he can do everything better than any body; and when it comes to the doing he is a very child." Wakefield attributed the delay in the collection of emigrants in 1850 to Fitzgerald's lack of businesslike qualities and referred to the shipping clerks refusing to work under his "wild and changeful orders" when it came to the matter of receiving the passengers). The truth of the matter seems to be that a feeling of bitterness existed during this last session of the first Council where relations between certain of its members and the Superintendent had been strained almost from the beginning and the latter according to "his truly Irish nature, to use again Wakefield's words hotly resented any appearance of insult.

The excuse which he himself gave for refusing the office that was offered him, was however a plausible one. He considered that the sum voted, if adequate at that date would not be so in three years time; that it was a disproportioned policy which provided for engaging an Agent at £400 a year, paying all expenses in addition, while the whole sum for the purpose was so trifling. So he refused the office offered to him while he bent his efforts

to furthering the establishment of permanent Agencies in Melbourne and Sydney at the cost of £250 for each town. But by this means only land purchasers were sought - here was no plan for giving assisted passages to the labourers of whom the Province really stood in need.

That this need existed was not altogether uncontested. Some members of the Council pleaded for a stilted Immigration policy arguing that the Provincial funds were unequal to the burden; that the Province itself was unable to absorb more labourers. These arguments however lose weight when it is considered that large tracts of easily accessible land were gradually being bought up and could never yield their full measure of usefulness until worked by a ready stream of labourers; then too in these early days the Government had great Public Works on hand, and as long as fresh country was being opened up, labourers would be absorbed for the making of roads and the bridging of rivers, while even those Works in the neighbourhood of the Town and Harbour had long been progressing but slowly from the very lack of a supply of labour. So as long as there was fresh land to be opened up and worked, there was no doubt but that the Province could absorb a far greater increase of population than would result by natural means.

In point of fact there was no conflict over the question of the necessity of immigration - the difficulty ultimately resolved itself into a question as to whether the Provincial Council, after voting a sum for Immigration should further have the right to pass resolutions concerning the spending of it. The Government won the day. The resolutions of the Council were disallowed and quietly

on July 13th, after the closing of the last session of the first Provincial Council, the Superintendent issued new Immigration Regulations. These embodied the main ideas formulated in the resolutions excepting the restriction dividing the amount voted, over three years.

In contrast with the principle set forth in the Regulations of 1854 the Immigrants were now genuinely assisted. The Provincial Government paid a portion of the passage money equal in amount to that paid in cash by the Emigrant. The balance would be advanced by the Government too; and this was payable on easy terms - £5 every three months, the first instalment being due six months after landing. Facilities as before were made for enabling those already in the Province to render assistance to their friends, but in this case the amount of Government assistance was equal only to one half the amount for which the bill was drawn. The age limit was now raised even higher no single man over forty years of age was to be given assistance, nor married man over fifty unless a member of a large family in which case the limit was raised to sixty. As before this assistance was offered only to certain classes of immigrants, - labourers mechanics and domestic servants.

Fitzgerald was appointed Emigration Officer, as on the plea of ill health he refused to stand for Superintendent again; and prepared to leave for England.

CHAPTER 11.

IMMIGRATION INTO CANTERBURY 1857-1870

On the departure of Fitzgerald, to take up his duties in England all difficulties preventing the pursuance of a vigorous immigration had been cleared away. The loan for the purpose - after the negotiations with the Union Bank of Australia had failed - was to be raised in England; the Province had a zealous agent to conduct their business; the policy was such as to entice larger numbers of emigrants by reason of the reduction of the cost of emigrating. All these factors combined to produce a flow of emigrants in numbers far exceeding that of the three preceding years; it will be interesting to note how these later emigrants compare with those of the earlier years in quality.

After the departure of Harman for New Zealand, Selfe, that devoted friend of the Province had undertaken gratuitously the duties of Migration Agent. No funds were available - it was for this reason that Harman had been forced to abandon his post- and Selfe had again undertaken to advance from his own resources the necessary money to enable the few who applied to him, to proceed to Canterbury. He paid tribute to the loyal co-operation with him of Willis and Company who brought immigrants to the Province relying on payment by the Government after arrival.

During the whole of 1857 only about 150 labouring emigrants came to Canterbury. These came by the Glentanner arriving in September; This ship met with an accident saved almost miraculously from being fatal; and it is recorded that this is the first mishap to occur in all the eight years of the history of the shipping between England and Canterbury. Besides these less than 100 Cabin passengers arrived at Lyttelton from England during this year. Until the end of August 1858, all emigrants were obliged to pay the full passage money so it is somewhat surprising to find nearly 500 passengers were carried only about 70 of them being in the Cabin. F. Young and Company's line of ships had again the monopoly of the carrying trade.

Then in September, the Zealandia arrived, the first ship to be despatched under Fitzgerald's supervision. The 399 passengers which she carried in all classes, comprised the longest passenger list of any vessel yet arriving at Lyttelton. From this time on, more than one vessel a month brought immigrants to the Province. Their passengers were divided into four classes now, - the Chief Cabin, the Intermediate, and the Steerage Passengers, besides whom were the assisted Immigrants composing generally the greater number of the passengers. Before the end of the year one more ship load of 315 Government Emigrants arrived in Lyttelton.

J.E. Fitzgerald returned to Canterbury by the Matoaka December 1st 1860 having held the position of Emigration Agent for two years and during this time a larger number of immigrants per annum poured in than during the first years even of the colony

-K-

In 1859 they numbered 2,498; in 1860, 1344. Besides these, in the other three classes 309 and 369 passengers were brought to Canterbury, while on 10 ships sailing hither, not under contract with the Government about 300 more came. Fitzgerald had indeed been an energetic agent. He had revized the publication of the Canterbury Papers to disseminate information concerning the Province; but only two of the new series ever appeared the first in March the second in October 1859.

The mode of procedure in the selecting and conveyance of emigrants had altered but slightly during the past ten years. The emigrant's form of application was still to be accompanied by certificates from physician, clergyman and previous employer, though nothing was now said, of course, concerning the necessity of belonging to the Anglican Church. The outfit, described as the least that would be approved of, was the same as before and was reckoned at about £4 for an adult; the scale of dietary, to be posted up in the emigrants' quarters, had not improved; the passengers had to provide bedding and mattresses, plates, knives, forks, mugs for themselves as before; the amount of space due to each person was laid down; the amount of luggage each could take free of charge was stated. The emigrants travelled in three apartments, the single men, the married couples with their children, and the single women under the charge of the matron. The officer mainly responsible for the good conduct

-K- In 1859 was the first immigration into Timaru. 108 of the passengers by the Strathallan were landed at this Port.

and the welfare of the emigrants was the Surgeon-Superintendent; the Captain and other ship's officers and even the school-master were also held up for praise or blame in the event of mis-conduct on board. These regulations conform closely with those provided by the Passengers' Act, so as, far as the comfort of the voyage was concerned, there was no advantage in being a Provincial Government Emigrant. Of the minor changes that had been made one was that 12 years instead of 14 was now taken as the dividing line between child and adult. Cooking, too, at this time was done free of charge whereas at one period the emigrants themselves had to cook their own meals though this does not seem to have been a universal practice at any time, but varied with ships.

One great difference that is noticeable since the days of the Association was that only the assisted emigrants sailed under the Provincial Government Regulations. The Cabin, Intermediate and Steerage passengers paying full fare had no connection with the Provincial Government and were solely under the protection of the Passengers' Act. The vessels were chartered only for the conveyance of the assisted emigrants & any space that remained was filled up with independent passengers. This was not a new principle. Indeed it had been the usual practice in earlier times. In the shipping regulations of the New Zealand Company a special section dealt with the treatment of Cabin Passengers and there, for the first time probably, was a discrimination made

-X- Generally the cooking was done for emigrants of the New Zealand Company and Canterbury Association, but those despatched under the Land and Emigration Commissioners had to cook for themselves.

between the first and second cabins; but even then the vessels were chartered to convey steerage passengers alone at so much a head for the colonizing body, while the Cabin passengers dealt directly with the Shipping Agents. Really the cabin passengers who, as a class, were the land purchasers, were as essential a part of the colony as the labourers and should have been afforded an equal amount of protection from the frauds of the Shipping Agents; and this was the view of the colonizers of Canterbury. As the Province grew in numbers the immigration of land purchasers became less necessary than that of labourers, for this class gradually grew up internally and the very prosperity of the place was sufficient to attract men with capital.

In spite of all efforts to maintain the high standard of the early immigrants, deterioration was apparent. Not only does the class of immigrant, on the whole, seem to have been less satisfactory than in earlier times, but the treatment meted out on board, the accommodation, the provisions were from time to time attacked, and this is quite a new feature. It may not be that conditions were worse than before but only that the passengers were less patient of discomfort. It was impossible that discomfort should be avoided in the small, slow travelling vessels of the time. Those who uttered complaints were in the minority, certainly; and not infrequently were the cudgels taken up by a more patient sufferer, in defence of those who were complained of; but the mere fact that complaints were uttered shows that at least a section of the immigrants now arriving were not of that earlier resolute stock; they bear the character rather of men who have

been pressed and cajoled into leaving home, a fact that reflects somewhat on the method of selecting. Again, the fact that complaints, even if not general, were at times made reflects to some extent on the management of the business. There must have been at least the grounds for complaint, unless under strict supervision the Shipping Agents were bound to attempt to evade the regulations, and so effect economies. With regard to these points, the importance of the Surgeon-Superintendent on the vessels is obvious, for he was the chief officer on board in the pay of the Government while the Captain and his officers would naturally work in the interests of the ship-owners, so it was all important in the interests of the Government Immigrants that the Surgeon-Superintendent should be capable of fulfilling his double duty of preserving order, cleanliness and good discipline for the safety of all, and in the interests of the emigrants, of guarding against fraud on the part of ship-owners.

The complaints became so numerous that at last in 1861 permanent Commissioners were appointed to report on the condition of every ship carrying Government Immigrants to Canterbury. This was not a new idea. On former occasions special commissions had been set up to enquire into the case of special ships, the earliest instance being that of the "Isabella Hercules" on which typhoid had been prevalent though only four deaths had resulted.

It cannot be held that the fear of an enquiry at the end of the voyage had any restraining effect on the behaviour of the passengers, or inspired the Emigration Officers in England to fulfil their duty in a more diligent manner, or forced the Shipping

Companies to a closer attention to regulations, for in the reports the same faults were pointed out again and again. Though the greater number of the ships were passed as satisfactory there were singularly few which escaped all criticism. It must be borne in mind, too, that much depended on the men who acted as commissioners and whether an official visit, half an hour in the Captain's cabin, and a glance at the freshly washed down decks assured the gentlemen the conditions were satisfactory; or whether a thorough examination, inspection and questioning revealed the shortage of provisions, the limited hospital arrangements, the inconvenience and consequent uncleanness of the fixed berths.

Another factor, too suggests the possible unreliability of the reports. Whatever the state of the emigrants' quarters during the voyage it would have been no difficult matter to effect an improvement preparatory to the Commissioners' visit; and this is borne out by the fact that of all the faults recurring again and again uncleanness is least often mentioned.

According to regulations the daily sweeping and bi-weekly washing of the compartments devolved upon the men who took turns at this task but where the passengers proved unruly and this was frequently the case especially with the single men, the officers had no means of enforcing the regulations.

The wisdom of Wakefield is indeed borne out by the emigration of this period, in one respect at least. He had, in his Art of Colonization, insisted on the necessity of planting with young married couples and spoke at length on the disadvantages of conveying single men to a colony. He, certainly, was thinking of their

unsettling influence when actually in the colony but here it is seen actually on the voyage. In all the reports not a single complaint is made against disorderly conduct in the married peoples' quarters, while they are full of charges against the single men and women whose conduct was not above reproach.

The charges, against the passengers may be laid at the door of the Agent in England. Careful attention to the business of selection should have provided a better class of immigrant; but the truth is that while it was the policy of the Government to demand a rapid increase of population the Agents found it difficult to obtain the supply. While Fitzgerald was Agent he alluded to the difficulty of procuring persons of the type required, agricultural labourers needed greater assistance than the Provincial Government was prepared to give. At one time we find the Agent negotiating with the Poor Law Board for the despatch of Paupers (nothing came of the matter owing to the refusal of either party to meet the wishes of the other over a trifling question); a proof it seems of the difficulty attaching to the collecting of emigrants. There is every reason to give some credit at least to the alleged practice of the agents in gathering up persons of any calling and classifying them as agricultural labourers shepherds or domestic servants.

Yet another complaint that also was the concern of the Agent, was that against the officers in charge. The Surgeon-Superintendent, the Matron, the School-master and any assistants that these might require were entitled to a gratuity payable at the end of the voyage, at the discretion of the Commissioners. Occasionally

these gentlemen regretted that they could not recommend these officers for the usual gratuity. Surely the appointment of persons who were incapable, or who were wanting in the strict performance of their duties, was the fault of those in charge in England. This was assuredly a difficult matter for they were, (even the Surgeon sometimes) themselves emigrants so it was impossible for the Agent to appoint to these positions persons whose worth was known by experience.

The second class of complaints that were made were against the Shipping Company, this being, the greater part of the time the Willis, Gann Company. Theirs was the fault when ships were badly arranged, badly lighted and ventilated; when the Captain and the ship's officers were wanting in their duty; when the crew invaded the single women's quarters; when provisions were scarce or bad; and when bathing facilities were unprovided. Again and again did such complaints appear in the report but without permanent effect; again and again did the Commissioners protest against the placing of the hospital for single women in the midst of the married peoples quarters for in that part were the greatest numbers and above all the children among whom diseases are so infectious; but only in a very few cases did the Commissioners note with satisfaction that the hospitals were sufficiently spacious, and placed in deck houses according to their recommendation.

During the first few years of the Colony sickness on board the emigrant ships was rare, testifying to the careful examination the emigrants were subjected to prior to embarkation but later it was no rare thing for measles, whooping cough or some fever to

rage through a ship - often to be traced to some person who was already suffering when brought on board. So the need of a quarantine ground, at first unnecessary, was felt. After the affair of the Isabella Hercus (mentioned above) the Colonial Surgeon pointed this want out: there were only two alternatives, one of which, - leaving all persons on board the quarantined ship, endangered all the passengers; the other - removing the sick to the Hospital, endangered the general population. This was remedied when Camp Bay - close to the entrance of the Harbour and far removed from Lyttelton was set aside as Quarantine Ground; regulations were issued forbidding intercourse or the interchange of goods with the immigrants thus confined.

With regard to the reception of the immigrants, barracks were provided, as before, where all were entitled to be maintained free of charge for one week. At first no regular officer was in charge, as naturally the duties were not continuous. Later, agitation was made for the appointment of a permanent officer and regulations to govern the conduct of the inmates. The barracks were described by Mr. Ollivier, a member of the Council who was bringing forward a Bill for this purpose, as "the scene of depredations of licentiousness and other enormities." The Bill was not a popular one; it was protested against as being unnecessary expense, though in reality no fresh office was being created but only additional power being given to an officer already there; then it was alleged to be unnecessary as the Superintendent could make regulations without an Ordinance. However it passed through the Council and became an Ordinance but failed to secure the Governor's assent. In 1862,

four years later, when a vigorous immigration policy was being pursued the need for efficient Government in the Barracks was felt and the Ordinance brought up again, was this time assented to. An overseer and a matron were appointed to take charge of the Barracks now situated on Lincoln Road, Christchurch being by now a more important town than Lyttelton. The rules laid down concerned the cleaning of the barracks, the hours of rising and of retiring. Provision was made for enforcing the observance of these rules. Any person smoking, or found intoxicated on the premises or holding intercourse with outsiders after the hour of retiring could be forcibly ejected. No person was entitled to more than a week after landing, or 48 hours after finding employment, on government rations.

All due care was taken to protect the new comers against the sharp practices of employers. While they were not permitted to remain in the barracks if they refused a reasonable offer (for there seems to have been a tendency to expect abnormally good conditions, an idea probably fostered in England, - and to consider it the duty of the Government to keep them until they found suitable employment); on the other hand every precaution was taken to protect the immigrant; the prospective employer had to be known to the overseer; and agreement between the two parties entered into and a record of it kept, thus protecting both. Those in need of employees had to apply to the overseer or matron whose duty was to select the immigrant most suitable to his requirements.

The immigration policy of the Canterbury Provincial Govern-

ment was conducted under the regulations issued in 1857, until it ceased to have control of immigration; that is the Government maintained an agency in England, partial assistance was given to immigrants, and provision was made for the nomination and further assistance by colonists, of their friends. On the whole during this last period under the Provisional Government a vigorous immigration policy was pursued. Occasional fluctuations can be traced to external causes generally and not to the deliberate action of the Government.

The liberal grants, varying from £10,000 to £20,000 voted for Immigration purposes yearly, prove that the opinion in the Council was in favour of an extensive scheme for the introduction of labour. The Council elected on a property franchise, could not be considered representative of public opinion. It was the land owning section of the community of which it was representative; hence its desire for an increased supply of labourers, for while there was a great demand for this class and consequently no competition wages remained exorbitantly high. Among the people at large the same enthusiasm for a thorough immigration policy, did not exist. Labour benefited, immediately, by the high wages caused from scarcity in the labour market; and yet it cannot be doubted that, with her resources undeveloped a stilted immigration policy must have meant stagnation for Canterbury. Prosperity depended on a forward policy.

On the return, in December 1860, of Fitzgerald, his advice with regard to the maintenance of the Agency in England was followed and John Marshman was appointed his successor. The

result of the absence of an Agent in England is seen in the decrease in the number of immigrants - 696 being Government immigrants - only about half the number of the previous year and 160 paying for their passages. In 1862 the desired rate was restored, the number receiving assistance being 2,400.

A change of policy may reasonably have been looked for in 1863 the first year of the Superintendency of Samuel Bealey who had earlier shown himself, if not the opponent of systematic immigration at least the advocate for a very cautious and inexpensive policy. But no slackening is noticeable; the population of the Province was increased by over 3,300 assisted immigrants. It was during this year that a hitherto untried class of emigrant came to our shores. These were the Lancashire operatives. To relieve the distress which had fallen on this district as a result of the American Civil War all parts of the Empire contributed. Canterbury voted £10,000 for the despatch of emigrants thence. Two ship loads by the "British Crown" and the "Victory" came under the arrangement and regulations of the Crown Emigration Commissioners and on arrival were singularly favourably reported on by the Commissioners in the Province. Though in the description accompanying them there were said to be but few operatives the bulk being accustomed to farm work, yet many allusions were made by the employers to whom they came, of their "greenness" and of the difficulties they experienced at first in their unaccustomed labours. It would appear that the English Emigration Commissioners were unscrupulous in the matter of exact definition, though in truth the former training of an emigrant matters little

it is zeal that counts, for the keen man readily adapts himself to new tasks.

In October of this year it was found necessary to institute Government Works to facilitate the immediate absorption of the Immigrants, for though there was a great demand for labourers yet delays were bound to occur in finding for all places for which they were adapted. So temporary settlements sprang up along the route to the West Coast and the formation of this road was begun.

On account of the experiment of leaving the control of emigration in the hands of the Crown Emigration Commissioners a committee was set up to consider whether it would be advisable to make this arrangement permanent. Bealey considered that a mixture of the two systems might prove advantageous, the Provincial Agent selecting and the Commissioners managing the Shipping. But the result of the Committee's deliberations was that the continuation of the present system - entirely under the management of Provincial Officers was most satisfactory; so John Marshman was reappointed Emigration Agent in England.

In 1864 of the 3,000 immigrants who came to Canterbury more than half were unassisted. This unusual feature is accounted for by the fact that for part of this year the flow of immigration was directed towards Auckland by the extraordinarily good conditions that were offered by the "New Zealand Government Immigration Board", and as the Canterbury Agent pointed out, it was useless to expect emigrants to pay to come to Canterbury when a free passage to Auckland was being offered. However by January 1865 this competition was at an end but by this time the situation

in the Province was becoming precarious. A gold rush to Otago had begun in 1861 and to Westland in 1865; the effects soon became apparent in Canterbury.

The Government became wary and though admitting the need for domestic servants and labourers yet emphasized the necessity of being cautious and the advisability of despatching only those for whom friends had sent and for whom the Government would not therefore be responsible. Of the thousands who made their way into Westland, chiefly from Australia, for the next few years many ultimately strayed into the neighbouring Provinces in search of more steady work thus causing a superfluity of males; therefore the continual demand during 1865-6-7 was for female immigrants. But the cautious policy with regard to the resumption of a general immigration was maintained: only 972, 845, and 346 assisted passages were given in the years 1865-6-7 respectively; but in each of these years the population was increased by over 1,000 free immigrants.

A change occurred in 1868. Moorhouse who had been again Superintendent after Bealey's resignation in 1866 had continued his cautious policy. Then in 1868 William Rolleston, the last of the Superintendents, came into office. He recommenced the former forward policy. By the Immigration Act, just passed in the General Assembly Provinces were enabled to make permanent provision out of the Land Fund for immigration purposes and the power of each Provincial Superintendent to make regulations was confirmed. He

-X- Thus number does not include those coming into Westland, which till 1868 was part of the Canterbury Province, for much of the population obtained by this means was transitory.

dwelt on the necessity of increased population for the prosperity of the Province; and urged the Council to make liberal use of the Act. The Council showed themselves enthusiastic supporters of the policy he advocated; a new Agent, Ottywell, was sent to England, as Marshman had resigned, and a liberal sum was put aside for the promotion of Immigration; in each of the years 1868, 1869 nearly 1,000 immigrants received assistance.

"The Immigration and Public Works Act" of 1870 instituted a new policy. In that year Julius Vogel became Prime Minister and began upon his famous borrowing scheme for the promotion of the above policy. Power was granted to the General Government by the "Immigration and Public Works Loan Act" of the same year to raise £4,000,000 of which £1,000,000 was to be devoted to furthering settlement.

The Act provided that the Governor, with the approval of Parliament could make regulations relating to the selection and introduction of immigrants and the nomination of immigrants by persons residing in New Zealand; that half the expenditure, at a rate not exceeding 30/- per head was payable by the Province in which the immigrants were settled; that an Agent general, Agents and Sub-Agents were to be appointed for New Zealand in England, and in New Zealand; that the Governor, to give speedy effect to the provisions, could make contracts for the selection, conveyance to or settlement in any Province of such classes of immigrants and in such numbers as the Superintendent of that Province should advise. Hence by this Act the Provincial Governments ceased to control their own immigration policies; it meant

the establishment of a uniform system for the whole of New Zealand and one set of officials; one set of regulations. Yet this was a disadvantage for actually the Provinces maintained the right of advising the General Government as to the numbers and classes of immigrants necessary for their purposes and this alone was of importance to them.

In Conclusion, it remains to review the main factors which have promoted immigration into this country

The social and political unrest in Europe from the middle of the 19th century has not been a factor influencing the history of New Zealand Immigration. The main flow from Britain from this cause set in soon after 1815 long before immigration into New Zealand began; from Ireland emigrants began to come in large numbers in the forties; but the number of Irish in New Zealand was almost negligible until the sixties while the Irish element in the population has never reached more than 8 per cent of the whole. In the late forties the stream of Germans followed by Scandinavians and later by Italians and Slavs, began - movements traceable to this cause, but the effect on New Zealand was negligible. New Zealand has been almost entirely colonized by the English and Scotch; for the United States offered the readiest asylum for these European emigrants. Hence external factors have been of little importance in the promotion of New Zealand Immigration.

The improvement in communications, such as the establishment of regular lines of passenger ships - notably in 1873 of the New Zealand Shipping Company; and the introduction of steam ship service - by the same Company in 1878 had an apparent effect on

the promotion of immigration, but in reality as communication became easier it was the number of passengers both to and from New Zealand that increased travellers merely, not settlers.

It is the internal factors that have been important; population has been introduced into New Zealand by the deliberate policy of the body in control, whether Company, Provincial Government or General Government; or has been attracted hither by the prevailing conditions in the country. Thus we see the main stream during the sixties directed to the South Island partly because of the discovery of gold in Otago and Westland, partly because the North was troubled with Maori Wars while the scanty native population of the South Island made no stir. This factor, the social and economic conditions prevailing in the country seem ultimately to be more important than the political factor. The importance of a sound immigration policy during the years of establishment cannot be denied; but once the colony was firmly established then the maintenance of stability, the adjustment of conditions to allow for the absorption of immigrants was found to be as effective as an active immigration policy. For instance immigrants in vast numbers and at vast expense were introduced into the country during the seventies under Sir Julius Vogel's administration. In the nineties under Seddon's administration there was no expenditure on immigration, but adjustments were made in the distribution of land facilitating closer settlement, and of its own accord a healthy flow of immigration persisted whereas in the eighties when neither funds were available nor conditions favourable a decrease is apparent.

The obvious disadvantages of a system of free, uncontrolled immigration are that, though inexpensive at the outset, yet the class of immigrants resulting may be undesirable when the machinery for selecting is swept away. But the later history of the Canterbury Immigration shows that even when such machinery is provided the results are not faultless. In any case except in special instances such as gold rushes it is more probable that those immigrants who come to a new land unassisted will be of a better class than those who are hunted down by diligent agents and enticed by unheard of promises to venture at small or no cost across the seas. This assertion is borne out to a certain extent by a comparison of the results attained by the New Zealand Company and the Canterbury Association.

So, it appears that immigration into New Zealand has been influenced almost entirely by internal factors and of these, direct political control was advantageous as long as there remained vast unoccupied and accessible spaces; for thus alone could rapid occupation be promoted and labour and capital kept in just proportion. But as soon as land was widely occupied and none remained except such as was difficult of access and of cultivation then social and economic factors became all important in the business of immigration. Let adjustments be made, - land made available for closer settlement; industries for which the country is economically fitted, encouraged; and immigration proceeds steadily and naturally.

APPENDIX A.

IMMIGRATION OF FOREIGNERS INTO NEW ZEALAND

While Immigration lay in the hands of Colonizing Companies or Associations New Zealand was kept almost entirely for the subjects of the British Empire, not from any design on the part of these bodies but because the impetus driving forth the Germanic, Italian and Slav races was largely the unrest at the end of the fifth decade, while the direction they took was chiefly to the United States. The Otago and Canterbury Associations which were then operating in New Zealand took no steps to encourage aliens aiming as they did at one class settlements. The New Zealand Company had been as eager to encourage as the former were to discourage such immigration.

The presence of some 60 French and German settlers at Akaroa and German Bay, Bank's Peninsula has already been noticed. The only other settlement of foreigners was in a valley between Nelson and Motueka. This had been formed in connection with the second settlement of the New Zealand Company, that at Nelson. An Agency in the hands of Messrs. Chappeaunrouge & Co., had been established at Hamburg. A German Count, Rantzau became interested in the scheme and endeavoured to promote it, but after two batches of emigrants had been sent out the enterprize came to an end. About 270 Germans were brought to Nelson by this scheme. A certain

number of acres of the Nelson block were reserved for sale through this Hamburg Agency who were responsible for the conveying and victualling of their emigrants. Half the proceeds of the land sales was refunded for passage money and after four years the Company were to give an endowment for a School and Church; but long before the expiration of the four years the Germans, disillusioned in their hopes of being able to cultivate the vine, had scattered and their distinct settlement was broken up. Still they added a valuable element to the population as they were for the most part agricultural labourers. Naturalization ordinances were issued for these Germans in 1845 and 1846 and from this time till 1850 but twenty one aliens were naturalized not that this necessarily coincides with the actual numbers of aliens immigrating to New Zealand but it is a guide and shows, at least, that no large band made its way here during those years.

APPENDIX B.

EFFECT OF IMMIGRATION ON THE NATIVE POPULATION .

There was one aspect of the subject of immigration which had no bearing on the question in the Southern Settlements but was of the greatest importance in the Northern ones especially at Nelson and New Plymouth. This was the effect of the introduction of Europeans into New Zealand on the native population.

The dire results that were foretold provided one of the most important factors in prolonging the antagonism of men to schemes of colonization. The great argument of the missionaries in the opposition to Wakefield and his schemes was that the interests of the Maori were at stake, that their race would be exterminated. The Missionaries voiced public opinion in the matter *

The main points in their attack on the principles of the New Zealand Association were that the natives were unfairly dealt with in the transference of their lands, and that no provision was made for the introduction of Christianity among them.

The first point may be briefly dismissed. It was part of the policy of the Association to reserve for the natives large blocks of land; these after the introduction of white population would be infinitely more valuable to them than the possession of the

Dandison Coates, John Beecham and Ellis, secretaries of the Church, Wesleyan and London missionary Societies, were examined before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Aborigines and spoke in condemnation of the New Zealand Association's plans.

whole of their original territory; or than large sums of money or goods to the full value of the land surrendered. The natives were not deprived of their lands, their means of providing for themselves and thus left to face utter ruin.

With regard to the second point the Rev. John Beecham brought up many arguments to prove the connection between civilization and Christianity, by making no provision for the teaching of Christianity among the natives no sure foundation for civilizing there could be laid and without this they could never be brought to realise their own rights and respect the rights of others. More humane treatment, he contended, was not enough. The Association had made this omission in drawing up their plans. and more over they did not understand native character sufficiently to avoid serious conflicts with them but these two points urged by the Missionaries were not the main injuries which the natives received at the hands of the whites .

The Maori were not a degenerate people and so there is no other reason but that of contact with Europeans to be given for the rapid decrease in their numbers for several decades after introduction of white people among them. The Missionaries themselves contributed to the evil.

The introduction of fire-arms and the too rapid assumption of food, clothing and habits to which they were unaccustomed, were the main causes of their ruin. Civilization brings in its train, trade and intercourse with foreign nations, and above all improved weapons of war, the adjunct of so-called civilization.

It would have been hoping for the unattainable to expect that the Missionaries - however ideal the conditions under which they worked, - could keep out the implements of warfare or easily induce a race of warriors to lay aside their war-like character. Similarly the use of tight clothing and of refined foods and alcohol brought among them new diseases but these were not so effective in the slaughter they wrought as the fire-arms for by aid of them tribal warfare became more deadly and the natives shot each other down in thousands.

Therefore it may fairly be contended that systematic immigration into New Zealand had no evil effect on the natives. By 1840 the greatest mischief had already been done and for that which was to follow the seeds had already been sown. Whatever influence the immigrants did have was rather of a beneficial nature by reason of the example set them by the law-abiding settlers of the Company who contrasted in this respect with the lawless sojourners of earlier years.

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Government 1853-70.

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These are the chief sources of information for the subject.

The voluminous material they contain is for the most part
readily selected. A notable exception, however, is the
twenty seven Reports of the New Zealand Company which have not
been indexed.

b. Accounts of New Zealand prior to 1840 throw some light on the
conditions prevailing then. Among these are works by

Cook "Voyages" published 1773 and 1777.

Savage "Some Account of New Zealand" (1807)

Nicholas "Voyage to New Zealand" (1817)

Cruise "Journal of Ten Months' Residence in New Zealand
(1824)

Earle "Nine Months' Residence in New Zealand" (1827)

Polack "Residence in New Zealand" (1831-37)

Accounts belonging to the same class, but of a later period proved more valuable for the present subject and though slight give an idea of the general conditions. Such were those by

Edward Verningham Wakefield "Adventure in New Zealand"
(1833-1844)

Pratt "Colonial Experiences in New Zealand" (1844-50)

Fox "Six Colonies of New Zealand" (1851)

Adams "A Spring in the Canterbury Settlement" (1853).

c. Hand-books were issued at intervals from 1837-70, the greatest numbers appearing in the forties under the auspices of the New Zealand Company. The object of their publishers was advertisement, and they present a more favourable view than Cruise, Polack etc. Some of these are :

"The Present State of New Zealand" (1837)

"British Colonization of New Zealand" (1838) (Wakefield and Ward)

"Information for Intending Colonists" (1839) (Ward)

"New Zealand 1840" (Ward)

"Emigrants Guide to New Zealand" (1848) (Earp)

"Handbook for New Zealand" (1848) (E.J. Wakefield)

"Canterbury Papers" (1850-52) (1859) (Canterbury Association)

"Handbook for Intending Colonists" (1859) (Canterbury Provincial Government)

d. Other contemporary Publications useful for their criticism or explanation of the policy pursued are those of Wakefield

England and America.

Beecham; Colonization and examination of the proposals of the New Zealand Association (1838). This presents the missionary view of the question; a severe criticism of the policy of the Wakefield School.

Wakefield ; Art of Colonizing (1849)

Founders of Canterbury; a collection of the correspondence between E.G. Wakefield and other members of the Canterbury Association during the years 1848-50 revealing the leading part played by E.G. Wakefield.

The Files of the Lyttelton Times 1861-1870.

RECENT ACCOUNTS

McNab; From Tasman to Marsden.

The Old Whaling Days.

Historical Records of New Zealand.

J.B. Marsden. Life of Samuel Marsden.

Hocken; History of Otago.

Barr; History of Auckland.

Wigram; Story of Christchurch.

Jacobson; Tales of Banks Peninsula.

Rusden; History of New Zealand.

Hight and Bamford; Constitutional History and Law of New Zealand.

Reeves; Long White Cloud.

Harrop; England and New Zealand.

Karais; Colonization of New Zealand.

Hocken; Bibliography of New Zealand.

Works dealing with the theory of Immigration and Colonization.

Malthus: Essay on Population.

Mill: Principles of Political Economy.

Sidgwick: Political Economy.

Knowles: Industrial and Commercial Revolution.

Egerton: British Colonization Policy.

Encyclopaedia Britannica.