

MEMORANDUM

ON

ROADS AND MILITARY SETTLEMENTS

IN THE

NORTHERN ISLAND OF NEW ZEALAND.

[The following Memorandum of a proposed system of Roads and Settlements for the Defence of the Provinces of the Northern Island of New Zealand, under consideration of the Ministers at the time of their resignation, is presented to both Houses of the General Assembly, by command of His Excellency.—ALFRED DOMETT.]

AUCKLAND:

1863.



MEMORANDUM ON ROADS AND MILITARY SETTLEMENTS IN THE NORTHERN ISLAND OF NEW ZEALAND.

The Colonial Government having succeeded in making a considerable addition to the Armed Forces of the Country, by the introduction of Volunteer Militiamen from Australia and Otago, and taken such other steps demanded by the immediate necessities of the crisis, as lay within its power, for aiding in the prosecution of the Native war, it seems to be incumbent upon it to mature some plans for the future security of the settlers and the permanent preservation of peace, which may be put into execution as soon as the success of the merely military operations will permit.

The object Government has in view, as stated in the Minute of Ministers of the 31st of July, 1863, is to make the present war, if possible, the last that ever shall be waged with the Native Tribes. No opportunity of renewing it with any chance of success must be left them. This is the demand of the Colony—a demand as natural and reasonable as it is urgent. It may not be practicable fully to satisfy this demand at present, but as much as can be done in that way must be done.

In the Minute alluded to, Ministers expressed their hope that a victory over the Waikato—the conquest of the most powerful Tribe in New Zealand—would be sufficient to deter any other Tribes from rebelling against British authority. That this would be the case is probable enough. On the other hand, they stated their opinion that it is possible that even such a conquest might not entirely prevent future outbreaks among a people whose whole history has been a series of wars of extermination. Defeats may be forgotten, and plausible reasons invented by the vanity natural to barbarians to account for our victories, without precluding the hope of better luck for themselves on another trial. The gradual withdrawal of the Troops which would follow any re-establishment of peace, would greatly help to do away with the moral effect of bygone military chastisements, especially with a people so difficult to convince as the Maoris are of the truth of any report or record of facts which go to wound their self esteem, and destroy that fancy of their own superiority which it must be allowed our proceedings towards them have so long fostered.

If the moral effect of one or two decisive victories is not to be relied upon as a sufficient guarantee for future peace without measures which will constitute a *material* guarantee, much more will such measures be necessary if the evasive tactics of the Maori should prevent such decisive victories, and the war should degenerate from a contest between large Tribes into a guerilla warfare, carried on by the Natives from and among their mountain fastnesses.

2. The most obvious material guarantees for the prevention of future wars are the making of roads that could be used by the Military everywhere throughout the Country; and the introduction of such an amount of armed population, formed into defensive settlements, as would overawe the Native Tribes, or if not overawe them, at least be always ready and able to check or punish their incursions and depredations. Both these measures have been commenced. It is now proposed to extend and continue them as far as appears to be practicable in the present circumstances of the Colony.

ROADS AND SETTLEMENTS.

3. The first consideration is—What lines of road to make, and where to place the settlements? Speaking in general terms, the Northern Island may be described as one entire expanse of forests and mountains, with the following exceptions:—*

A broad belt of country, generally open, stretching from the Waikato river mouth on the one side and the mouth of the Thames river on the other, and running all the way to Napier, between the Thames, the Lake Country, and an irregular line towards Mohaka (Hawke's Bay) on the North and East; and the Sea Coast, the Pirongia and Rangitoto ranges, Lake Taupo, and the end of the Ruahine ranges, on the South and West. This belt of generally open land, forty or fifty miles wide at the end of the last named ranges, then narrows gradually Southwards down to the coast at Cape Turnagain.

All round from Cape Turnagain to Wairapara, and up the West Coast from Porirua to Whanganui, and so round Mount Egmont to New Plymouth and Mokau, runs a comparatively narrow belt of open land, running up occasionally some distance into the interior, as at Manawatu, Rangitikei, &c., and forming rich valleys fit for settlement.

Near to the shores of Lake Taupo, on the West, East, and due South are plateaux or terraces of some extent, wooded or grassy, which form a sort of elevated table land in the middle of the island, interspersed with clusters of high mountains; but soon descending, except on the Hawke's Bay

* Vide plan attached.

side, into rougher ranges and gullies, forming, especially on the West, from Kawhia to the upper part of Whanganui river, broad tracts of difficult country separating these central terraces from the available valleys and flats round the coast.

We omit the open land on the shores of the Bay of Plenty, as at present there is no occasion to deal with that part of the country.

4. Now, the most ready way of overcoming this country, by means of roads and settlements, at first sight would appear to be to strike right through the centre of the island, from Auckland to Napier, and from the Bay of Plenty to Whanganui or Rangitikei, with branches through the heart of the tracts intervening. The first of these lines we propose at least to take a road along; but we doubt the expediency of making others of these central roads at first. At present the Colony could not bear the enormous expense of their construction in addition to others, which must be made to connect the settled portions of the country; nor if it could, would it perhaps be worth while to incur this expense, unless these roads, if made, could be permanently held and commanded by settlements and military posts. This again would require a larger amount of population than we think the Colony could introduce at present. There is no doubt that were these great trunk lines bordered and commanded effectually by chains of settlements, the bulk of the Native population would be so severed and split up, that any combination of a great number of them would, for the future, be rendered impossible. But effectually to do this would require a vast population, as will easily be believed when it is recollected what amount of forces is requisite to keep open the communication along the small length of road between Drury and Pokeno, and to prevent Natives in the country on the one side of the road coming over to that on the other to carry on offensive warfare. But even were these great lines so commanded, they would be so far away from the present settlements, and such wide tracts of rugged and difficult country would be left between the two, that bands of hostile Natives might attack and annoy the old settlements continually, and do great mischief before they could be reached by the population of the central lines, or of the old settlements themselves, as is the case at present; unless, as before said, all these intermediate tracts were thoroughly cut up and permeated everywhere by roads.

It seems better, then, to make roads and plant settlers through and about the frontiers of the present settlements, than on the lines indicated above. It is true by so doing we should be dealing with those parts of the country which are liable to become the scenes of attack and depredation, rather than with the enemy's districts, from which the danger comes. We should be dealing with a wide circumference of assailable districts, rather than with the centres wherein the assailants gather in their strongholds. But while the other plan is, we believe, impracticable at present, there is this advantage in that recommended—namely, that we take as the sites of our settlements either the plains and valleys, however far stretching into the interior, still connected with and continuous from those already settled, and thus capable of being included with them within one ring of defence; or the open land along the coasts, avoiding the narrow inland gullies or isolated plains of the more central parts of the country, in which it would be so much more difficult to plant settlements, and for the settlers to support themselves when once planted there.

Notwithstanding this, the roads we propose would still run through the heart of the country up to Taupo, and if thought advisable hereafter, from thence down to Rangitikei; while the settlements would reach as far as Rangiawhia, and the upper parts of the great Waikato basin.

5. Before giving particulars of the roads proposed, let us indicate those postponed for the present, which we have been considering as central roads. These are—

1. The road from Lake Taupo to Taumatamahoe Hill, in that neighbourhood, at the upper part of Whanganui River, and thence to New Plymouth, by Waitara.
 2. From Taumatamahoe Hill to Whanganui.
 3. From Lake Taupo to Maketu (Bay of Plenty), by way of the Lake country.
 4. From Napier to Turangarere, which would connect Napier with New Plymouth.
 5. From Lake Taupo to Rangitikei by Turangarere and Otara (if not included in the list below).
- And the roads proposed to be made are the following:—

| | Miles. |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| From Auckland to Taupo, through Waikato | 114 |
| “ Taupo to Napier | 96 |
| “ Raglan to Otawhao | 35 |
| “ Otawhao to Tauranga | 60 |
| “ Otawhao to top of Waipa (Hangatiki) | 50 |
| “ Pukearahe to New Plymouth | 30 |
| “ New Plymouth to Whanganui | 106 |
| “ Waitara, by way of Mount Egmont, to the sea coast at Waimate | 50 |
| “ Whanganui to Wellington | 110 |
| “ North Coast of Hawke's Bay Province to the Ruahine Ranges, at the gorge of the Tutaekuri River | 70 |
| “ Manawatu River mouth to gorge of the Manawatu | 56 |
| “ Wairarapa (Featherston) to Clive (Napier), by the 40-mile Bush; or | |
| “ Lake Taupo to Rangitikei, by Turangarere and Otara | 150 |
| Total miles | 927 |

The distances above given are from measurements carefully scaled by the Government Surveyors from the best maps at their command. Allowing for some alterations and additions, if necessary, in the above, let the whole distance be called 1000 miles.

DISTRIBUTION OF SETTLEMENTS.

5. To make these roads and form the settlements, twenty thousand men would be quite sufficient. Let us now consider how they would be distributed in settlements. Take the Provinces *seriatim*.

Auckland.

The tract of country to be settled so as to form a barrier for the rest of the Province against incursions from the South may be considered as stretching from Raglan, on the West Coast, to Tauranga, on the East—dipping in the centre Southwards, so as to include some of the Upper Waipa country. This tract would be bounded on the West by the Pirongia Ranges (south of Raglan); on the South by those of Rangitoto; on the South-west it would stretch across the open land to Maungautatari, and on the East be bounded by the Thames or the wooded ranges running parallel and a mile or two from its western bank, with a branch down to Tauranga itself. The frontier line defended should not merely be a line direct across the island from Raglan to Tauranga, but would have to run irregularly a considerable distance to the southward, within thirty miles of Taupo; and to the northward, both at its eastern and western extremities, to make the inner country embraced by it thoroughly secure. On a rough calculation this line would be in length about 120 miles. It is proposed to place upon this frontier not fewer than 10,000 men. They would be formed into about 100 settlements, varying in number of inhabitants and distance from each other according to the requirements of the country—the average of each settlement being 100 men, and their average distance apart little more than a mile. Under the Regulations for Volunteer Settlers already issued, and those it is proposed to issue, the land required for this purpose would be 500,000 acres; that is, for 2,000 men at fifty acres each, 100,000 acres; for 8,000 men at forty, 320,000 acres; and for officers, say 80,000 acres. This would amount to 781 square miles, and would form a belt along the whole frontier of 120 miles in length, by an average of six and a-half miles in breadth.

There is ample land in Waikato and the Thames for these purposes—after leaving enough for the Natives and a large residue for sale—as will be shewn presently.

Taranaki.

Taranaki is cut off from Waikato by the exceedingly rugged and densely wooded country stretching from Kawhia and Mokau on the North across to Ruapeho and the centre of the Island. But the Waikato and Taupo Natives can get round the country either coastwise through Mokau on the West, or eastward by Lake Taupo, and the Taumatamahoe path from the Upper Whanganui River. The Northern road could be, by all accounts, completely commanded by possession of Pukearuhe a pass on the Coast, fourteen miles North of Waitara, which cannot be avoided by any Natives taking that road. It could be held by 200 men in a stockade (or less) against any Native force whatever; and would be easily provisioned by sea, there being a good landing place there. A road thence should be made to New Plymouth. The Taumatamahoe quarter must be guarded against by establishing settlements from the neighbourhood of Waitara on the North, along the path which runs behind Mount Egmont to Waimate on the South Coast. This line is practicable for road-making the whole way. From Waimate northward for ten or twelve miles the country is rich and level; then for about twenty miles intersected by gullies in the Mount Egmont slopes; the last ten level or undulating down to Mataitawa. The Natives owning the land on the North of these gullies are now in arms against us. South of the gullies the land belonged to the Ngatiruanui and may be considered ready for settlement.

Along the coast from Omata to Waimate and thence to Waitotara and on the Waimate path just described there should be located say 4,000 men; 1,000 on the North from New Plymouth to the Waimate path; another 1,000 on the Ngatiruanui land about the Southern portion of that path, and 2,000 along the coast-belt. They would be distributed as before in about forty settlements averaging 100 men each and requiring from 190,000 to 200,000 acres of land.

Wellington.

Whanganui appears the most difficult of all the settlements to defend. Taumatamahoe Hill, or some point on the Upper Whanganui River, may be looked upon as a gateway attainable by the Waikato or Taupo tribes, whence by radiating paths they can reach the coast from the mouth of the Waitara to that of the Whanganui River, the latter point by the river itself. No doubt the conclusive measure when possible would be to seize this central point and command all the radiating paths. For the present the command of several miles of the River (Whanganui) might be taken by occupying a point a few miles up it where it makes a great loop to the North and doubles back on itself almost to the same point. There a military post might be established when necessary. In the mean time it is proposed to settle 1,000 men just North of Whanganui, say at Waitotara, if the land can be obtained for the purpose, and another as near Whanganui on the South as possible.

Then with the additional 3,000 men about Waimate and along the Taranaki coast belt (and this is one of the principal reasons for settling so many there), ready and able, at a short notice, to pour down to the assistance of Whanganui, we think the latter place might be considered safe; always considering that for some years, till the central country behind Whanganui is commanded, it must rely greatly for its immediate protection on the military force stationed, or to be stationed, there.

The coast between Whanganui and Manuwatu would, perhaps, not require much defence, if the Natives that might reach it by Whanganui are cut off by the military posts and settlements in the last named district. It may, however, be reached from Taupo by the native track by Turangarere and Otara—by Taupo and Whanganui Natives. At a future day the country along this track will doubtless be covered with numerous settlements, as much of it consists of tolerably level forest land and open grassy valleys, up to the central Taupo terraces of grass land, interrupted by a considerable tract of broken forest land, between Turangarere and Otara. Were this line so settled and commanded, no doubt all this coast would be effectually protected from any Natives in the interior. At present we do not know any better plan than to place here and at Manawatu, 1,000 or 1,500 men, and to consider the Manawatu, from the sea-coast to the gorges, a line of defence from the sea to the great Tarirua and Ruahine Ranges, shutting the Natives on the West side and centre of the Island from all approach to the settled districts about Wellington. The Native males, above fourteen, resident from Rangitikei inclusive to Wellington, comprising those in the Hutt Valley, are given in the last Census as 938 in number. It is proposed to settle about 2,000 men along this coast.—Some more, if thought necessary, could be placed here, taken from Auckland or Taranaki.

The Eastern side of Wellington Province contains very few Natives. 500 or 1,000 settlers might be located in different places, so as to command the Upper Wairarapa and the road from the Manawatu Gorge pass by the Forty Mile Bush. The Tarirua Ranges form an effectual barrier against the West, especially with the Manawatu Gorge pass commanded; and if the settlements were placed on some very fine land for such purposes, which lies at the entrance of the Forty Mile Bush, the approach to Wairarapa would be effectually cut off for any Natives from the bush. The great difficulty in settling this part of the country is the distance the settlers would be from a market or shipping place. But with Hawke's Bay protected, as is proposed, it would scarcely be necessary to place any here.

Hawke's Bay.

The defence of the Province of Hawke's Bay is, geographically speaking, comparatively a simple matter. The forested Ruahine Ranges run like a great impassable wall parallel to the seacoast from North to South on its West side, leaving only the openings (besides that of the Manawatu Gorge, already provided for, and through which indeed there are no Natives near enough ever to be likely to come) by the Gorge of the Tutaekure River, a little north of the latitude of Napier. This, and the Northern end of the mountain barrier, should be connected by settlements with the seacoast towards the North of the Province. As along this line the Province would be open to the Waikato and the numerous natives on the great tongue of land between Hawke's Bay and the Bay of Plenty (the point of which is the East Cape), it is proposed that at least 2,000 men should be stationed along it, in (say) twenty settlements, averaging 100 men each. This number is small considering the numbers of the Native tribes who might reach the Province from that quarter; but the country is fortunately very open and, therefore, less likely to be invaded, as more easily defensible.

The distribution of the 20,000 men would then be as follows :—

| | Men. |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| From Waikato Mouth and Raglan to Tauranga and Thames | 10,000 |
| New Plymouth to Waimate path (on the North) | 1,000 |
| Waimate path, South | 1,000 |
| Coast from New Plymouth to Waitotara | 2,000 |
| Whanganui | 2,000 |
| Manawatu to Pauahatanui | 1,000 |
| Upper Wairarapa to Forty Mile Bush | 1,000 |
| North side of Hawke's Bay Province | 2,000 |
| | 20,000 |

Of course this distribution would be altered wherever its practical appliance in detail showed such alteration to be advantageous.

Probably the number set down for Waikato is somewhat larger than would be required. In that case the excess might be given to Whanganui and the coast South of it, could land be got for the purpose.

The above is a general sketch of a scheme of defence by settlement of the country. It seems to show that 20,000 men are not too great a number for the objects to be attained, and perhaps may be quite sufficient, with the Military aid that must be continued for some years.

THE IMMIGRANTS.

We want 20,000 men for settlement, and we want 1,000 miles of road made.

The men would be employed upon the roads, say for nine months of working days after arrival. The work then to be done would be one mile of road in nine months by twenty men, giving little more than one foot a day for each man. This would leave ample margin for deep cuttings, embankments, ditches, bush-felling, &c. Probably they could do much more in the time; if so, as there are plenty more roads to make, it would be so much clear gain to the Colony.

About 2,000 men have already been introduced from Australia and Otago. They are to serve as Militia while required, and to receive fifty acres of land and rations for one year after they are placed upon the land. These men could be employed at road making like the rest, if they preferred it, for nine months, as they probably would.

It is proposed now to make up the 20,000 men by introducing 18,000 from England and elsewhere. We want them fit for road-work and the use of arms. Ordinary field labourers, of good character, and a good proportion of 'navvies' would do. Arms and accoutrements would be provided for them on board ship, and a drill-sergeant for each shipload, who would drill and train them by turns to the use of the rifle during the voyage.

A large proportion of these immigrants, say at least four-fifths, should be young married men. They should be *all* so, but possibly the circumstances of the country, while attractive to single men, might make it more difficult to procure married ones. If possible, the number of children should not average more than one to each couple. Their wives and children would be brought out with them, and should remain in the nearest town to the part of the roads their husbands were working upon. A special condition should be made that a certain portion of the weekly or monthly pay to be received by the men should be paid direct to their wives in the towns. They would thus be in the position of ordinary road-parties throughout the Colony, except that Government would have a guarantee that their families would not become a burden to the public.

The nine months of working days the men would have employment guaranteed them would not be necessarily consecutive, but would be extended over a year or eighteen months if they pleased, allowing for intervals of work upon their own lands where they could go upon them at once, at the proper periods for clearing, getting in crops, &c.

The above arrangements are based on the supposition that peace may have been established when the immigrants arrive, or at least that the localities wherein it is proposed to place them shall be so far in our possession that they can proceed with road-making operations without danger of very frequent interruptions from the enemy. Should the war, however, unhappily continue, then the men introduced would have to be paid and treated altogether as the Militia Volunteers already introduced, that is, they would receive pay and allowances (of clothing, rations, &c.) as the latter do, and be stationed temporarily wherever they might be most required to hold Military posts in connection with the movements of the regular troops, occupying from time to time the positions in the rear of the latter which might be found necessary to enable the former to advance or more effectually carry out their offensive operations against the Natives. Some of these positions might be permanently maintained, and the land laid out for settlement around them, not so much interfering with, as assisting in the execution of the plan proposed, of constituting these settlements in the main a defence along the frontiers.

Of course, if the immigrants have to be employed in this manner (really as regular troops in garrisons), it would be necessary to keep them in pay for a longer period, and entail a much greater expenditure. Consequently the number to be introduced would have to be proportionably reduced.

In all cases, the men for their pay would be required, whenever practicable, to work upon any roads nearest to their stations which Government might direct to be made. And whether stationed in the settlements ultimately and permanently to be occupied or not, they would be during the whole time, until they received their grants of land, in the legal position of Militiamen called out for active service.

As passages from England would be given to these men and no repayment required, as well as grants of land and wages guaranteed for the time just stated, it would be sufficient to grant forty acres of land to each.

The other terms would be similar to those on which the Australian settlers are engaged; and if paid wages as labourers, Government should supply rations when necessary, deducting the cost from the wages.

 COST OF THE SCHEME.

The next thing is the cost of the scheme.

1. Introduction of Immigrants.—The usual cost of steerage passage from England is under £15, two children under twelve years counted as one adult, under twelve months no charge. There are firms at this moment in Auckland who will undertake to collect and bring out emigrants, subject to approval, at the rate of £6, and even £5 per head, getting from the emigrants themselves the balance of the passage money. Probably we might calculate with much security on getting them at £10 per head; but it is preferable, in an estimate, to take the price it is certain they could be

imported for, viz., £15 a head. The cost of an Enfield rifle, with accoutrements complete, is £5 in England. We have then—

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------|----------|
| 18,000 men | £270,000 |
| 14,400 women (four-fifths) | 216,000 |
| 14,400 children | 108,000 |
| Arms and Accoutrements for 18,000 men | 90,000 |
| | £684,000 |

COST OF ROADS.

The cost of the 1,000 miles of road proposed may be taken at an average of £1,500 a mile or £1,500,000.

This is sufficient, as a great part of the lines proposed run through open country. The Waikato District above Meremere, consists of level and undulating lands, easily traversed, and from Taupo towards Hawke's Bay occur barren plains, a considerable portion of them covered with pumice stone, over which roads will cost little making.

Again, we have seen that 20,000 men employed for nine months of working days might easily make the amount of road proposed. Say they would be paid the usual rate of wages, or five shillings a day; this would amount to £1,170,000. If paid as Militia, the total would be something less.

Allow then for bridges, culverts, tools, and other expenses £330,000, and it may safely be estimated that £1,500,000 would be sufficient to cover the whole expense.

MODE OF RAISING THE REQUISITE FUNDS.

The next point is, how to procure the money? It is not necessary, and certainly it is not desirable, to raise any of this by additional taxation, whether the Colony could bear it or not. It is not right that the present generation should bear the whole expense of measures the benefit of which is to be reaped principally by their successors. To borrow on an Estate so rich in undeveloped resources, and so easily and rapidly improvable, as is a young Colony like New Zealand, and to borrow for the purpose of developing these resources and improving such an Estate, is not only prudent, but the simple duty of those who have the management of it. Ten or twenty years hence, the burdens now required to be taken up would scarcely be felt by the Colony. That is certain. Let, then, the power and prosperity, the material wealth that the Colony would necessarily grow into in the course of twenty or thirty years, be, as far as practicable, forestalled and realized at once. It would crush us to take the burden on ourselves alone; place it on the future; and while *we* are saved—nay incalculably strengthened by the proceeding—the very future we shift the burden to is equally enriched and benefited. For if near 50,000 souls can be introduced and settled in the Northern Island at present, and the debt caused by their introduction be got rid of say in twenty years, will not the Colony be to an altogether incalculable degree richer and more powerful than if the twenty years had gone by and no such amount of population had been introduced, and the debt never incurred?

The population *can* be introduced and the debt *can* be paid off as supposed.

AMOUNT OF LOAN REQUIRED.

The introduction and settlement of Immigrants, and the making of roads, as above proposed, would cost in all about £2,300,000. But, as money will be wanted for the heavy expenses of the war during the present and possibly the next year, which cannot be safely estimated at less than a million, it is proposed to add this sum to the Loan. This will be paid for out of the proceeds of the Lands of the Tribes at open war with us. Thus, with other expenses, to be presently alluded to, the total cost of the present scheme will be £3,500,000.

While on this subject of a Loan, it is to be remembered that as the Loan of £500,000 authorized by Act of General Assembly last Session has not been raised, the expenses intended to be covered by that Loan will still have to be met. The £100,000 for roads will merge in the present Loan for the same objects. The £200,000 for Taranaki re-instatement may be reduced to £140,000 thus. By the arrangement with the Government of that Province on this subject (detailed in printed Papers), the Province of Taranaki was to raise £50,000, and the General Government to pay out of the Re-instatement Fund £90,000. But, as the Provincial Loan could scarcely be raised, except on the security of Lands to become sooner or later the property of the Province, and as it is now proposed to apply the proceeds of these Lands to payment of the new Loan, it will only be fair to charge the amount of £50,000 upon the present Loan, making, with the £90,000 already agreed upon, £140,000, as just stated. Out of the lapsed Loan of £500,000 was also to be paid the £200,000 which the Imperial Government has since offered to take as a discharge in full of all former debts of the Colony to itself. We have thus £340,000 to add to the Loan. There are some other outlays, such as £150,000 for the proposed Electric Telegraph, which it is highly desirable

No. 1.

COMPARATIVE TABLE SHOWING (AS FAR AS CAN BE ASCERTAINED) THE EUROPEAN POPULATION OF THE SEVERAL PROVINCES OF NEW ZEALAND IN THE YEARS 1854 TO 1862 : ALSO THE ORDINARY REVENUE OF NEW ZEALAND FOR THE SAME YEARS RESPECTIVELY.

| PROVINCES. | 1854. | | 1855. | | 1856. | | 1857. | | 1858. | | 1859. | | 1860. | | 1861. | | 1862. | |
|---------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| | Total Population. | Ordinary Revenue | Total Population. | Ordinary Revenue | Total Population. | Ordinary Revenue | Total Population. | Ordinary Revenue | Total Population. | Ordinary Revenue | Total Population. | Ordinary Revenue | Total Population. | Ordinary Revenue | Total Population. | Ordinary Revenue | Total Population. | Ordinary Revenue |
| AUCKLAND | 11,919 | £ 49,719 | 12,091 | £ 53,084 | 15,335 | £ 48,180 | 16,315 | £ 57,367 | 18,177 | £ 61,082 | 21,686 | £ 68,429 | 23,732 | £ 72,365 | 24,420 | £ 90,836 | 27,644 | £ 103,518 |
| TARANAKI | 2,094 | £ 4,536 | 2,113 | £ 5,440 | 2,488 | £ 4,718 | 2,618 | £ 5,636 | 2,650 | £ 5,811 | 2,726 | £ 5,878 | 1,239 | £ 9,135 | 2,044 | £ 11,296 | 2,211 | £ 11,167 |
| WELLINGTON (Including Hawke's Bay until 1859) | 6,231 | £ 32,630 | 8,124 | £ 27,560 | 10,252 | £ 27,349 | 10,997 | £ 40,913 | 11,753 | £ 49,414 | 13,044 | £ 43,543 | 13,837 | £ 39,043 | 12,566 | £ 43,280 | 13,643 | £ 48,570 |
| HAWKE'S BAY | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,514 | ... | 2,028 | £ 6,963 | 2,351 | £ 9,092 | 2,611 | £ 10,784 | 2,605 | £ 11,541 |
| NELSON (Including Marlborough until 1860) | 5,858 | £ 10,024 | 6,665 | £ 11,188 | 7,509 | £ 10,164 | 8,465 | £ 18,768 | 9,272 | £ 21,193 | 10,178 | £ 21,167 | 12,000 | £ 22,127 | 9,952 | £ 27,232 | 11,091 | £ 31,257 |
| MARLBOROUGH | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,748 | £ 2,299 | 2,801 | £ 2,386 | 4,203 | £ 4,203 |
| CANTERBURY | 3,895 | £ 7,792 | 5,347 | £ 9,485 | 6,160 | £ 11,361 | 6,712 | £ 21,951 | 8,967 | £ 27,775 | 12,784 | £ 36,941 | 15,370 | £ 41,160 | 16,040 | £ 47,014 | 20,432 | £ 71,058 |
| OTAGO (Including Southland until 1862) | 2,557 | £ 5,889 | 2,852 | £ 4,477 | 3,796 | £ 5,826 | 4,631 | £ 9,612 | 6,944 | £ 13,770 | 9,010 | £ 25,503 | 12,691 | £ 38,378 | 27,163 | £ 90,877 | 45,588 | £ 211,205 |
| SOUTHLAND | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,820 | ... | 3,455 | £ 15,641 | ... |
| CHATHAM & STEWART'S ISLANDS | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 203 | £ 149 | 136 | £ 136 | 281 | £ 137 | 22 | £ 139 | 60 | £ 106 | 26 | £ 109 | 172 |

JOHN B. BENNETT,
Registrar-General.

September 18th, 1863.

No. 2.

COMPARATIVE TABLE SHOWING THE AMOUNT PER HEAD CONTRIBUTED TO THE ORDINARY REVENUE OF NEW ZEALAND BY THE POPULATION OF THE SEVERAL PROVINCES IN EACH YEAR FROM 1854 TO 1862 INCLUSIVE.

| PROVINCES. | 1854. | 1855. | 1856. | 1857. | 1858. | 1859. | 1860. | 1861. | 1862. | Average of 9 years. |
|------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|---------------------|
| | £ s. | £ s. | £ s. | £ s. | £ s. | £ s. | £ s. | £ s. | £ s. | £ s. |
| AUCKLAND | 4 7 | 4 9 | 3 3 | 3 8 | 3 7 | 3 3 | 3 1 | 3 14 | 3 16 | 3 12 |
| TARANAKI | 2 3 | 2 11 | 1 18 | 2 3 | 2 4 | 2 3 | 7 8 | 5 10 | 5 1 | 3 8 |
| WELLINGTON (as above) | 5 4 | 3 4 | 2 13 | 3 15 | 4 4 | 3 7 | 2 16 | 3 9 | 3 11 | 3 13 |
| HAWKE'S BAY | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 9 | 4 0 | 4 11 | 4 8 | 4 2 |
| NELSON (as above) | 1 14 | 1 13 | 1 7 | 2 4 | 2 5 | 2 1 | 1 19 | 2 15 | 2 17 | 2 0 |
| MARLBOROUGH | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 4 | 1 15 | 1 9 |
| CANTERBURY | 2 0 | 1 15 | 1 16 | 3 5 | 3 2 | 2 19 | 2 13 | 2 18 | 3 9 | 2 15 |
| OTAGO (as above) | 2 6 | 1 11 | 1 10 | 2 10 | 1 19 | 2 16 | 3 0 | 3 7 | 4 12 | 2 12 |
| SOUTHLAND | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 10 | ... |

Average of the Northern Island Provinces for nine years, £3 13s. per head, or, omitting Hawke's Bay, £3 11s.
Average of the Middle Island Provinces for nine years, omitting Southland £2 9s.
Population increased during the period from 32,554 souls to 129,167 souls.

should be made. To provide for all these expenses by one transaction, Government proposes a total Loan of £4,000,000.

It is confidently trusted that the guarantee of the Imperial Government may be procured for at least £3,800,000 of this amount. That Government has already offered to propose to Parliament to guarantee the last-named Loan of £500,000, although the arrangement was not concluded. The same amount for the same objects precisely, we may presume, the Imperial Government would guarantee; and if it be considered that the expenditure of the remainder of the sum, as now proposed, will afford the best guarantee against any future war, and, consequently, stave off the enormous expenses that would be thereby entailed on the mother country, as well as on the Colony; and, further, when the certainty is shewn (as we hope presently to be able to do) of the expenditure itself being not only a safe but a profitable one, we say, there seems no reason whatever to doubt that the Imperial Government will give its guarantee to the remainder of the debt, and thus contribute so considerably, by the mere allowance of the use of its name, to the reduction of a very large amount of the required interest, and to the advantages to be reaped by both countries from the transaction.

RE-PAYMENT OF DEBT.

But we have now only to shew how the Colony can meet the principal of a debt of £3,500,000, the amount required for the present scheme, and the interest, at 6 per cent. (allowing 2 per cent. for a sinking fund).

Perhaps it will be considered quite sufficient to shew that the portion of the debt to be incurred for the settlement of the Waikato and Taranaki districts alone, and for the whole expenses of the war, can be met by the probable results of the scheme, as applied to those two districts; the inference being fairly to be drawn that the cost of the settlement, whenever necessary, of other portions of the country, without the addition of any such large item as the war expenditure, would certainly be attended with equally satisfactory proportionate results.

There are two branches of Revenue out of the increase to which, by the proposed scheme, the Loan and interest in question must be paid. 1st. The increase to the Customs and Ordinary Revenue by the addition to the population. 2nd. The increase to the Territorial Revenue by the additional land to be sold by Government.

1. Increase to Customs Revenue.—A comparison of the totals of European population, and of the Customs and Ordinary Revenue in each of the Provinces of the Northern Island, at the end of each of the last nine consecutive years, will give as an average the sum of £3 12s. paid by every man, woman, and child to the above branches of Revenue during the whole period. The population in each Province has been during the whole time regularly increasing; yet the amount paid per head has fluctuated only by a few shillings from the beginning to the end of the period. A similar comparison gives £2 12s. as the average paid per head by the population of the different Provinces of the Middle Island during the same period, exactly £1 per head less than that paid in the Northern Island—a difference, most probably, owing as much to contribution by the Natives towards the Northern Island Revenue, as to any difference in the habits of the European populations, (the Military element in the Northern Island,) and the consequent greater consumption of spirits and duty-paying articles by the latter.*

Allowing 12s. a-head as a set-off against the probable diminution in the Maori contributions to the Revenue to be caused by the war, it may fairly be assumed that the increase to the Customs Revenue, when the additional population is introduced, will be at the rate of £3 per head.

2. Increase to the Land Revenue.—This will be produced by the sale of the lands forfeited by the Natives at war against us. From such land, however, must be deducted—

1. The amount required for the Natives themselves.
2. The amount required for free grants to the settlers to be introduced.

Now it would certainly be only just and reasonable that all the lands of the Waikato and Taranaki tribes that are best adapted for European settlement should be taken for that purpose, leaving them the valleys and plains further up in the interior. These tribes have wantonly and altogether without provocation murdered our soldiers and settlers, including old men and boys. They have most unequivocally, through their mouth-piece, William Thompson, declared in writing their intention to kill all Europeans they can, whether armed or unarmed. They have literally declared a war of extermination against us. But we do not advise extreme measures of retaliation, however justifiable. It is not consistent with generosity or good policy, however much so it may be with justice, to inflict upon these Natives the full measure of punishment that is strictly their due, or exact from them the full measure of redress that is rightly ours. We have no desire to drive them to desperation and the mountains. It is right and fair—nay, we are forced by the necessity of self-preservation, to occupy so much of their land with settlements as will render our own people secure from them for the future. It is equally right and fair to take for sale and settlement so much of their lands, utterly waste and useless for the most part in their own hands, as will to some extent indemnify us for the losses their wilfulness and barbarity have entailed and are entailing upon us. What other plan can be devised to prevent them making the Colony uninhabitable for peaceable settlers? In what other way can a Colony consisting of 125,000 souls, by the latest and most accurate computation (by the Registrar-General, Dr. Bennett), be enabled to take upon itself the entire burden of a portion of the expenses of the wars, the present and the past, comparatively so enormous as £1,340,000 as is now

* Mr. Richmond's estimates of the contributions of the Maori population to the Customs' Revenue of the Northern Island shew, as the amount of such contributions, from a *fifth* up to a *third* of the whole Customs Revenue—much the same proportionate amount as assumed above, viz., from one-fourth to one-third of the whole Customs Revenue of the Northern Island.

proposed?—more than £10 per head for every European man, woman, and child in the country. It is difficult to conceive how this expense can otherwise be prevented falling upon the mother country. But security and indemnification attained, it is best to locate the Natives on what may be considered the plains outside our boundaries rather than up among the mountains.

There are in the Upper Waikato, Waipa, and Thames districts above Ngaruawahia, according to the computation of the Government Surveyors, about 1,392,000 acres of land, described as some of the richest in New Zealand. In Lower Waikato and the Lower Thames districts, a very moderate estimate gives 900,000 acres more—this not so good as the former.

The whole number of Natives of the male sex, above fourteen years of age, actually resident in the above districts, is 3,355—by Mr. Fenton's census, which took each individual's name, and is specially reliable with respect to these districts. This includes all the Natives—well disposed or rebellious.

Say that to leave for these Natives out of the above lands, half a million acres—a quantity far beyond all that they have ever cultivated (which Mr. Fenton estimates at one and a quarter acre per head of the whole population—12 or 15,000 acres), and more than three times the amount for each individual that would be considered sufficient or is proposed to be given to each military settler.

But further, to provide a fund for the purchase, if necessary, of any lands required from friendly Native chiefs, or for settling perpetual annuities on them and their descendants, sufficient to place them permanently in a position, as to circumstances, far better than they have ever been in, we propose to set aside a sum of £200,000—included in the above loan of £3,500,000.

For the European settlers would be required, as above stated, 500,000 acres.

At Taranaki the land from the Omata Block to Waimate, and thence to Waitotara, forms a rich belt along the coast, eighty miles long, by an average of seven broad—perhaps much more in breadth, and certainly so on the South of Mount Egnont. We may consider this as giving 500,000 acres. The male natives above fourteen, resident on this land, amount, by the same careful census, to no more than 704. Say 100,000 acres were left for these Natives.

For the European settlements, as above, would be required 200,000 acres.

This then is the account of land :—

| | | | |
|----------------------------------|---|--------|-----------|
| In Waikato and Thames Districts | . | Acres. | 2,292,000 |
| In Taranaki | . | | 500,000 |
| | | Total | 2,792,000 |
| Deduct for Natives—Waikato, &c., | . | | 500,000 |
| " " Settlers " " | . | | 500,000 |
| " " Natives—Taranaki | . | | 100,000 |
| " " Settlers " " | . | | 200,000 |
| | | Total | 1,300,000 |
| Leaving for sale | . | | 1,492,000 |

Of this land all the Taranaki and say a million acres of the Waikato land should sell at least for £2 an acre. The Tataraimaka settlers, when Government thought of buying their land, wanted £6 an acre for much of it in a state of nature, and no better than great part of that we are considering. Then we have—supposing the land required for the Natives and the Military Settlements to be taken in equal amounts from the best and second best land :

| | | |
|------------------------------|---|------------|
| 700,000 acres at £2 per acre | . | £1,400,000 |
| 792,000 acres at £1 per acre | . | 792,000 |
| | | £2,192,000 |

This is undoubtedly an under estimate of the value of the Waikato and Taranaki Lands.

The following table will shew the application of the Customs and Land Revenue above estimated to the liquidation of the portion of the debt proposed. It has been assumed in making it—

1. That the Land would not be all sold in less than fifteen years—a longer time than necessary, judging from other Provinces.
2. That none would be sold the first year; that £50,000 worth might be sold the second; and the proceeds go on increasing by £25,000 annually for five years more, and that for the remaining eight the average yearly Land Fund would be £190,000. The total in fifteen years would amount to £2,195,000—near enough to the above estimate for our present purpose.
3. That the Immigrants would be brought in in three years in equal numbers each year, the total being 12,000 men (besides the 2,000 from Australia), and 9,600 women, and 9,600 children, in the proportions above proposed, viz., four-fifths of the men to be married, with children, averaging one to each couple.

COST OF THE PROPOSED ROADS AND SETTLEMENTS IN WAIKATO AND TARANAKI DISTRICTS, &c.

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|----------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------------------|
| ROADS— | Seven hundred miles, at £1,500 per mile | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | £ 1,050,000 |
| IMMIGRANTS— | Twelve thousand Men | ... | £180,000 | } | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 396,000 |
| | Nine thousand six hundred Women | ... | 144,000 | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| | Nine thousand six hundred Children | ... | 72,000 | | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | |
| SURVEYS— | Settlers' Lands and Lands for Sale—Two millions three hundred and ninety-two thousand Acres, at 6d. per Acre, £59,800, (say) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 60,000 |
| PURCHASE OF LAND from, or Annuities, for Loyal Native Chiefs | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 200,000 |
| EXPENSES OF PRESENT WAR | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1,000,000 |
| CONTINGENCIES | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 34,000 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | <u>2,800,000</u> |

Loan to be raised over three years :—1st year £1,100,000 } As the War expenses would be
 2nd year 1,100,000 } incurred in these two years.
 3rd year 600,000 }
£2,800,000

Immigrants introduced in three years in equal numbers :—
 4,000 Men }
 3,200 Women } in each year.
 3,200 Children }
 2,000 Men already introduced.

| Interest. | Yearly. | Revenue. | Increase. | Deficiency. | Surplus. |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|---------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|-------------|----------|
| | £ | | £ | £ | £ |
| First year (say) six months on £1,100,000 | 33,000 | Customs Revenue, increase :— Men, 2,000, at £3 per head | 6,000 | 27,000 | |
| Second year—Twelve months on £1,100,000 and six on £1,100,000 | 99,000 | Customs Revenue :— Men ... 6,000 Women and Children... 6,400 Land Revenue (say) ... 12,400 | 87,200 | 11,800 | |
| Third Year—Twelve months on £2,200,000, and six on £600,000 | 150,000 | Customs Revenue :— Men ... 10,000 Women and Children... 12,800 Land Revenue (say) ... 28,800 | 143,400 | 6,600 | |
| Fourth year—Twelve months on £2,800,040 | 168,000 | Customs Revenue :— Men ... 14,000 Women and Children... 19,200 Land Revenue (say) ... 33,200 | 199,600 | | 31,600 |
| Fifth year—Twelve months on £2,800,000 | 168,000 | Customs Revenue :— Men ... 14,000 Women and Children... 19,000 Land Revenue (say) ... 33,200 | 224,600 | | 56,600 |
| Sixth year—Twelve months on £2,800,000 | 168,000 | Customs Revenue ... 14,000 Land Revenue (say) ... 150,000 | 249,600 | | 81,600 |
| Seventh year—Twelve months on £2,800,000 | 168,000 | Customs Revenue ... 14,000 Land Revenue (say) ... 175,000 | 274,600 | | 106,600 |
| Eighth to fifteenth years, each year on £2,800,000 | 168,000 | Customs Revenue ... 14,000 Land Revenue (say) ... 190,000 Ditto ditto for eight years | 289,600 | | 121,600 |

| | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| | Total Deficiencies. | Total Surplus. |
| | £27,000 | £31,600 |
| | 11,800 | 56,600 |
| | 6,600 | 81,600 |
| | <u>£45,400</u> | 106,600 |
| | | 121,600 |
| | | <u>398,000</u> |
| Eight last years, each £121,600 | | 972,800 |
| | | <u>1,370,800</u> |
| Deduct deficiency repaid | | 45,400 |
| Nett Surplus | | <u>£1,325,400</u> |

| | |
|----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| Total original Debt | £2,800,000 |
| Pay off and deduct | 1,325,400 at end of 15 years, land fund having ceased. |
| Debt reduced to | <u>1,474,600</u> |
| Yearly interest, 6 per cent. on reduced debt | 88,476 |
| Annual increase of Customs Revenue | 99,600 |
| Annual Surplus from Customs Revenue | <u>11,124</u> |

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It will be seen from the foregoing table that at the end of the fifteenth year the nett surplus of Revenue to accrue from these transactions would be £1,325,400, with which the debt of £2,800,000 would be reduced to £1,474,600; the annual interest on which at six per cent. would be £88,476— or less than the annual increase of Customs Revenue by £11,124.

But the surplus as it accrued yearly, after repaying deficiencies, might be invested at five per cent., compound interest, increasing the Fund wherewith to reduce the debt at the end of the fifteen years, when the Land Fund as supposed would cease.

The above calculations of Receipts are, it is believed, all within the mark. But if any doubt remain as to the financial soundness of the scheme, let the following Savings and Returns, some certain, all probable, for which no credit has been taken in the foregoing account, be considered:—

1. A considerable saving in the passage money of the immigrants noticed above.
2. The probable increase of Ordinary Revenue for the broken periods of the years in which the immigrants necessarily arrive.
3. The nine years' estimate of Ordinary Revenue, establishing the average of £3 per head, includes every man, woman, and child in the country. But in the tabular estimate of increased Revenue, taken credit for above, the probable number of all children, born in the Colony for fifteen years after the arrival of their parents (the immigrants), is altogether omitted. This may be taken as more than a set-off against any decrease in Revenue from diminution of Maori trade, if the 12s. per head above allowed is not sufficient.
6. The Land Revenue is understated, especially by the omission of the proceeds of Town Lands. Towns would be laid out at Ngaruawahia, Otawhao, Matamata, &c., &c., and in the Taranaki Block, which would realise large prices.
7. No account is taken of the increase to the Revenue by the introduction of the numbers of immigrants which would necessarily follow the opening up for settlement of the large blocks of land, to be sold under the scheme.
8. No account is taken of the very great increase that would accrue to the Revenue from the mere expenditure of three millions of money, even were it not spent in the introduction of immigrants.

The fair conclusion seems to be that the raising of a large Loan for the above purposes is not only prudent, but profitable. But were it neither one nor the other, financially speaking, it is an absolute necessity, unless some other plan can be devised for confronting and crushing the Maori difficulty.

The Loan should be made a first charge on the Ordinary and Territorial Revenues of the Colony, after the 1856 debt of £500,000. It would of course be ultimately paid out of the Territorial and Ordinary Revenue of the Provinces of the Northern Island, in proportion to the number of immigrants introduced into each, and the amount of money spent on road-making in each.

The Debentures to be issued should be made payable at the option of Government, any time after ten years from the date of their issue.

It may be objected to the foregoing plans that they are based solely on the idea of force; and it is true that physical power is the main element of the conception. But the adoption of this plan does not by any means preclude the employment of moral methods for acquiring influence over the Natives or ameliorating their condition, bodily or mental. On the contrary, we are firmly persuaded that this basis of physical power is the best and only one on which to rear the superstructure of moral sway. The want of it has been the one great cause of failure of all the attempts of Government to raise and civilise the Natives. Let respect for its power be once firmly established, and its plans for the introduction of "law and order" among the Natives, and for their investment with political powers and rights, will have some chance of success. All the more chance when these efforts are no longer liable to the suspicion of being prompted by interest or fear, nor to the danger of being contemptuously rejected without trial, or found wanting and discarded, because not duly supported by physical force.

Power first—as the only thing that naturally commands the respect of these undisciplined men; after it, the humanising institutions; after it, every wise and mild contrivance to elevate and improve them. This is the natural order of things. Until you get rid of the rank growths of savagery, how can you rear the plants of civilisation? The axe and the fire are wanted before the plough and the seed-corn. Cut down the towering notions of savage independence so long nursed by the Maoris—stately, imposing, even attractive though they be—root up their ill-concealed passion for lawless self-indulgence. Then you will have clear space and a free soil for the culture of the gentler and more useful products of the heart and the intellect.

In conclusion, it may be fairly said in favour of this scheme that—

It will commence and carry to a considerable extent a system of roads which will eventually traverse and render accessible all parts of the Northern Island.

It will introduce an armed population numerous enough to be capable of defending itself, as well as previous and subsequent settlers, against all attacks of the Natives.

It will locate this population in such positions as to render possible and safe the colonization and settlement of large tracts of country lands, besides those they inhabit themselves.

MILITARY SETTLEMENTS.

It will expend the funds derived from the sales of land in the districts it affects on their most legitimate objects—the improvement and settlement of the country by immigration and road-making.

It will take nothing from the Revenue of the Northern Island, but greatly increase it in the long run—and it will leave entirely untouched the present and future Revenues of the Middle Island.

It will go a great way towards the speedy relief of the Imperial Government from the obligation of bestowing the costly Military protection and assistance it is now so generously giving.

It will remove the heavy burdens caused by the war from the Europeans, who suffer by it, to the Maoris, who have wantonly provoked it.

It will introduce and establish the permanent presence of a power sufficient to create and keep alive in the minds of the Natives that respect without which all attempts to civilise them are hopeless.

It will pave the way to their reduction beneath the sway of law and order, and give them a chance of escaping a doom otherwise inevitable.

And thus it will render possible the co-existence in New Zealand of both races in peace and prosperity.

October 5th, 1863.

ALFRED DOMETT.