

until it is adopted I do not think that any form of representative government will work satisfactorily or well. To delay its adoption, therefore, when a Constitution is first given to this colony, would not, I think, be productive of any advantage, whilst I feel quite certain that great inconveniences and disadvantages would spring from naming too high a rate of franchise.

The Right Hon. Earl Grey, &c.

I have, &c.,

G. GREY.

No. 18.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Governor GREY to the Right Hon. Earl GREY.

(No. 27.)

MY LORD,—

Government House, Auckland, 22nd March, 1849.

I have the honour to state that I have been informed that a petition to Parliament has been forwarded by some of the settlers in the southern district of this colony praying, in opposition to the views I have expressed in my despatches named in the margin,* that representative institutions may be, without any further delay whatever, introduced into New Zealand. As I have not seen this petition, and am entirely unacquainted with its contents, it is not possible for me to make any remarks upon it. But still, as the subject is one of very great importance, and my only anxiety is that a correct and just conclusion should be arrived at regarding it, I have thought it my duty to enclose, for your Lordship's information, the accompanying returns, and at the same time to state that the following facts, which, without entering into detail, may be, in general terms, stated as follows, were in my contemplation when I expressed to Her Majesty's Government my opinion as to the period of time before the expiration of which I did not think that representative institutions could be fully and safely brought into operation within these Islands. I think, also, that these facts are of such importance as to be worthy of the most careful consideration by those who are to legislate upon so important a subject.

2. It will be found from the documents above referred to, and from the Blue Book enclosed in my Despatch No. 8, of the 9th ultimo, that in the northern half of the Northern Island, or in the Province of New Ulster—as your Lordship has proposed to fix the boundaries of that province—there are, exclusive of the military and pensioners, not more than about 2,388 males of all ages, not more than 1,500 of whom can be regarded as adults; and the above number of 1,500 adult males includes all the civil officers of the Government, the police, Customhouse officers, persons employed in military works or in the supply of the troops, and aliens, who here are numerous.

3. The number of males belonging to the regiments quartered here, and to the corps of pensioners, is 1,793—that is 293 in excess of the adult European male population of all other classes. The number of Natives may perhaps be stated, for all ages and sexes, at 80,000.

4. In the southern half of the Northern Island—that is in the Province of New Munster—the number of European males above twenty-one years of age, exclusive of the military, is 1,657; and in this number are included all the civil officers of the Government, the police, Customhouse officers, persons employed in military works or in the supply of the troops, and aliens. The number of males belonging to the troops quartered there is 1,155.

5. I have no means of calculating accurately the Native population within the same district, but those in immediate contact with the Europeans at Wellington, Taranaki, and Wanganui alone amount to about 7,000 souls, and I do not think that the whole of the Native population in the district named can be taken at less than 25,000 souls. The result, therefore, for the Northern Island of New Zealand would stand as follows:—

	Civil.		Military.		Natives.
Adult males	1,500	...	1,793	...	80,000
	1,657	...	1,155	...	25,000
	3,157	...	2,948	...	105,000

And this does not include the naval force. Owing to the paucity of women and children amongst the Natives, the number of males capable of bearing arms forms a very large proportion of the above-stated Native population.

6. The first thing which is clear from the above returns is that, out of the above population of 3,157 adult males, the civil officers of the Government, Custom-house officers, police, &c., have first to be taken to fill the employments rendered necessary by the civil population, the military population, and the large Native population, which employments must necessarily be much more numerous than they would be if the colony consisted of the European population alone; and from the residue of these adult males are to be taken the members of corporations, of the legislative bodies of the provinces, and of the General Assembly, as well as the Magistrates, &c., &c., a knowledge of which circumstances must necessarily be borne in mind by those who legislate regarding the form of Government which is to be introduced into New Zealand.

7. It is perhaps also not unworthy of consideration that, after all the Government employés have been taken from these 3,157 males, there are still left amongst them the numerous disappointed applicants for employment, whose influence, from the very small number of the European population, is perhaps greater here than in almost any other community; and in the same small residue are contained the disappointed land claimants, the aliens, and various persons arriving from the islands in the Pacific and other places, who, having led a lawless life for many years, and being frequently Americans, bear no attachment to the British Government, or probably to any Government whatever.

8. It is also to be remembered that by far the greater portion of the total sum raised by taxation is contributed by the military officers and men, by the naval force, and by the large Native population; and that it may, therefore, perhaps be doubted whether the giving to the population above stated the power of governing the country and of appropriating its revenues is not, in fact, something very different from giving them the power of self-government and of appropriating funds raised from themselves.

* No. 106, of 29th Nov., 1848; No. 4, of 2nd Feb., 1849.