

country. There was to be a three-tiered system of administration. At the top was a new department and a Minister of Education (the first of whom was John Ballance, who fifteen years later would become the first Liberal Premier). Below that were district education boards, which largely corresponded to those that existed under the provincial system. At the grass roots were school committees elected by local householders and responsible for management of schools in their own communities. This last element was the weakest in the system, particularly in rural areas where communities were often scattered and communications still primitive. Secondary education, which would not be free until the election of the first Labour Government in the 1930s, was provided by high schools established under separate Acts of Parliament.

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The Atkinson premierships – five of them between 1876 and 1891 – coincided with what came to be called the 'Long Depression'. It began with falling wool prices in 1877 and merged into a period of worldwide recession in which the New Zealand economy did not grow for around sixteen years. It led to regional

King, 2003

unemployment, a deterioration in working conditions and a tendency among urban employers to take on women and children rather than men, so that they could be paid at lower rates. Atkinson, as Colonial Treasurer for ten of the depression years, refused to countenance Vogel-type responses. As Judith Bassett writes, he saw 'hard work, thrift and moderation' as the keys to eventual recovery. This was hardly a message calculated to enthuse Parliament or the wider electorate. But Atkinson continued to move into and out of office as politicians with more radical proposals, such as George Grey, were tried and in their turn found wanting.

Former Governor Grey became Premier in 1877. He had entered Parliament two years earlier while holding office as Superintendent of Auckland Province. One of his aims in entering national politics was to save the provincial system, but in this he failed. When Atkinson lost the confidence of the House on unrelated issues, Grey took office with a mixed cabinet of conservatives and liberals, the latter including Robert Stout and John Ballance, both identified early in their political careers as likely Premiers of the future. Parliament turned to the by then 65-year-old statesman because of the residual mana and charisma of 'Good Governor Grey', but his premiership was not a success. The former proconsul found the transition to politician difficult. Grey was not accustomed to being challenged. He was also by this time autocratic and cantankerous, and prone to riding off on hobby-horses of his own. He became extremely hostile towards the operations of a speculative land enterprise called the New Zealand Agricultural Company in which two of his ministers, Stout and Larnach, were involved. Eventually the Government lost the 1879 election, in part because of the persistent effects of the depression.

Grey remained in Parliament as a backbencher until 1894,

(King, 2003)

When I came into the hall I was still myself:

Mr J.G. Magwort, a well-paid school inspector

Respected by many, liked by few.

'Prize Giving Speech', quoted in Kenneth Baker, *I Have No Gun but I Can Spit*, 1980: 182.

I would like to change the emotional climate of this country, make it one per cent warmer before I die.

In *The Memoirs of Millicent Baxter*, 1981: 144.

Among the European New Zealanders, an Irishman, if he did not hate himself, has seemed at times to be a Maori in disguise.

Introduction to *The Devil and Mr Mulcahy*, *Collected Plays*, 1982: 332.

Cold as a Calvinist conscience.

Dunedin in *One of the Boys?* 1988: 35.

BAXTER, MILLICENT

We never used our bidet for ordinary purposes. It was always full of flowers.

The Memoirs of Millicent Baxter, 1981: 96.

It was Archie's hands, not his thumbs, which were black and swollen. Jim was always unreliable when it came to facts. One must, I suppose, forgive poets their inaccuracies.

The Memoirs of Millicent Baxter, Queen Charlotte Sound, 1981: 143.

BAYLY, WILLIAM

These are called Poey-Birds. They are thought to be the finest eating for delicacy & richness & far to exceed the Outerlin so much esteemed by the Epicurans.

The 'poey' bird was an early name for the tui, observed 12 April 1773 by the astronomer on the *Adventure*, during Captain Cook's second voyage.

BAYLY, WILLIAM (2)

Port Underwood ... is a beautiful harbour as in the known world.

Letter 29 February 1842 from Devonshire yeoman in New Plymouth to parents. *Letters from New Plymouth from Settlers and Labouring Emigrants*, 1843: 14.

BEACH, ERIC

I didn't come to Australia, I just left New Zealand.

St Kilda Meets Hugo Bull, 1974.

BEAGLEHOLE, ERNEST

A pakeha hostess may become worried if her guests do not arrive on time. Not so the Maori hostess. The food will be ready to eat whenever anyone is ready to eat it. The first course may be served and then someone sent down to the shops to buy cake and beer for dessert. Why worry about food hot or cold? Food is food, and time is what you make of it.

Some Modern Maoris, 1946: 296.

BEAGLEHOLE, JOHN CAWTE

The map of the Pacific is his ample panegyric.

Of James Cook. *The Exploration of the Pacific*, 1934: 315.

The liberal autocrat is an antimony of which history has not yet provided the resolution: the reward which Grey's energy earned from his countrymen was

too often their resentment and distrust. Unable to tolerate his equals, he was found intolerable by them; and to such a man, however able, the conclusion of politics must be acrid with the bitterness of failure.

New Zealand: A Short History, 1936: 27.

The colonists of New Zealand come mainly from that struggling and expanding class the Respectable Poor.

New Zealand: A Short History, 1936: 48.

He was a laborious farmer and a laborious politician, successful in both roles, dividing a faith as massive as himself between the Scriptures and the British Empire. Precipitate in patriotism and inaccessible to subtlety, he was the epitome and exemplar of the country he led; and it cannot be said that that country failed him in its devotion.

William Ferguson Massey in New Zealand: A Short History, 1936: 96.

Mr George William Forbes, a Canterbury farmer who had been successful in spending a lengthy period in Parliament without giving rise to the suspicion that he would one day lead it.

New Zealand: A Short History, 1936: 89.

A Government that does not know what to do may nevertheless feel the urgency to do something.

New Zealand: A Short History, 1936: 94.

Canterbury was to be like no other historical colony; ineffably refined and pure, the ripe quintessence of Old England flourishing on virgin Antipodean plains, linked to earth by the squire, to heaven by the bishop, to the eternal but secular varieties by the local Oxford or Cambridge — a colony at once soundly English and nicely Anglican.

The University of New Zealand, 1937: 93-4.

New Zealanders are an empirical people; they have never been prone to political theory, and its statement has generally alarmed them.

New Zealand and the Statute of Westminster, 1944: 64.

The world, one is sometimes driven to reflect, has been arranged for the convenience of the inhabitants of the northern hemisphere.

The Journals of Captain James Cook Vol. 1, 1955: pxxiii.

The Maoris ... first impulse with intruders who were not readily recognisable was to knock them on the head; indeed, to invite them enthusiastically on shore for the purpose.

The Journals of Captain James Cook Vol. 1, 1955: pxxiii.

The Maori captain in the Maori canoe, at the height of Maori seamanship, before the land claimed him for its own — this was the perfect matching of element and man.

The Discovery of New Zealand, 1961: 3.

Powerful in body and voice, forceful, tireless, shrewd in his appreciation of men, a good administrator, and a consummate politician, astute without being subtle, unable to tolerate equals around him, able not merely to jump on a

.12 Tangata Tiriti

While most Europeans in the first half of the nineteenth century referred to the native inhabitants of New Zealand as 'New Zealanders', the Maori text of the Treaty of Waitangi used the expression 'tangata maori' – ordinary people – to denote them. This indicates how Maori were referring to themselves by that time – and, indeed, recorded evidence of that expression goes back as far as 1801, to the journal of the ship *Royal Admiral* in the Firth of Thames. By the 1830s the word Maori on its own was in widespread use among Maori. And by 1860 Renata Tamakihikurangi of Ngati Kahungunu would go so far as to say to the European settlers of Hawke's Bay: 'Just as you are all English . . . so we (Natives) are all one: Maori is my name.' In official usage, however, the word 'Native' was employed to describe the cabinet minister and government-department responsible for Maori matters, and the Land Court until 1946.

The Treaty also employed the term 'pakeha' to refer to Queen Victoria's non-Maori subjects in New Zealand. Use of this word in Maori to

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King, 2003

THE GREAT NEW ZEALAND MYTH

35

It was as 'Aotea' that New Zealand became known those long centuries ago. Kupe called the . . . North Island 'Aotearoa' – the Long White Cloud; and today Europeans who love to keep alive the old names will call New Zealand Aotearoa.

It is not difficult to see why the story was embraced with enthusiasm by those very Europeans directly appealed to in the *School Journal* story. It was an inspirational account of the discovery of New Zealand. It gave names, Kupe and Ngahue, to Polynesian navigators who would otherwise be nameless. In its full elaboration through a series of adventures around the New Zealand coast involving moa, greenstone and a fight with a giant octopus, the saga gifts New Zealand a founding myth every bit as majestic as the stories that Pakeha settlers carried with them from Europe (Jason and the Argonauts, the labours of Hercules). Its telling was part of a process that fitted Maori tradition into the cultural patterns of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Pakeha New Zealand, which was looking for stories of resonance and nobility to make the human occupation of the country seem more deeply rooted and worthy of pride than it might by virtue of its (at that time) rather thin European heritage.

All that is understandable and excusable. And, one might add, that same account became a source of pride for Maori and an antidote to the concurrent and widespread view that Tasman and Cook 'discovered' New Zealand. As myth, then, the Kupe story worked well and had much to commend it.

The problem that late twentieth-century scholars had with it, Maori and Pakeha, is that, as told here and as compiled by its progenitor, amateur ethnologist Stephenson Percy Smith, the story had no sound basis in Maori tradition. About half the tribes in New Zealand have Kupe stories, but they are by no means congruent and can, in fact, be divided quite distinctly into east and west coast versions. In areas where he *does* figure, Kupe is a contemporary of the ancestors of the major canoes and located about twenty-one generations ago or in the fourteenth century AD. The Kupe of authentic mythology was not always associated with the name Aotearoa, and in more than one version of the story Aotearoa was given as the name of his canoe.

The Smith version of the Kupe story and its dissemination in the *School Journal* and other literature, and the title of the first widely read general history of New Zealand, William Pember Reeves's *The Long White Cloud* (1898), all popularised and entrenched the notion that the Maori name for New Zealand had been and still was Aotearoa. After decades of repetition, Maori themselves came to believe that this was so. And, because shared mythology is ultimately more pervasive and more powerful than history, it became so.

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.3 The Great New Zealand Myth

If popular mythology is to be believed, the discoverer of New Zealand was a Polynesian voyager named Kupe. Oddly, this myth was Pakeha in origin rather than Maori. Maori came to embrace it solely as a result of its widespread publication and dissemination in New Zealand primary schools between the 1910s and the 1970s.

One version of the narrative sequence that David Simmons characterised as 'the Great New Zealand Myth' went like this:

950 AD: the Polynesian navigator Kupe discovers New Zealand.

Between 950 and 1150 AD: Moriori people arrive in New Zealand.

1150 AD: the voyages of Toi and Whatonga lead to first Maori settlement.

1350 AD: the 'Great Fleet' of seven canoes arrives in New Zealand from Island Polynesia.

After the fleet came, fighting ensued between Maori and Moriori. Some Moriori were killed, some intermarried with Maori, and the remnants escaped to the Chatham Islands.

The Kupe part of this sequence was told as follows in the Department of Education's *School Journal* in February 1916.



THE FUNERAL SERVICE, STILLWATER

THE MINING DISASTER AT BRUNNERTON.

This last element was the weakest in the system, particularly in rural areas where communities were often scattered and communications still primitive. Secondary education, which would not be free until the election of the first Labour Government in the 1930s, was provided by high schools established under separate Acts of Parliament.

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The Great New Zealand Myth as
it appeared in the School Journal
in 1916.

as sailors often see enshrouding the land. Chereed by the hope
that shone in his wife's eyes, Kupe seized the steering-paddle and
directed the prow of his canoe towards it. As he drew nearer it rose
higher and higher. Able to read the signs of the sea as they could
read the faces of their children, the voyagers now felt almost
certain that they had reached their goal, 'Aotea! Aotea!' (The white
cloud! The white cloud!) they shouted as they strained at the
paddles, forgetful of all their weariness. . . . Then beneath the fleecy
whiteness appeared a dark streak of bush-clad hill and valley, and
they knew that before them lay the land they had seen in their
dreams, and for which they had braved tempests and faced even
death itself.

THE LION CUB.
[Page 1]
THE SCHOOL JOURNAL.
PART I.

In the forest they pounce and play,
A lion mother and her cub,
They have left their den at the end of day
To romp in the tangled forest wild.
The lion cub is of tawny hue;
His mother trains him with cuff or pat.
The furry cub has a kitten's mew;
The mother purrs like a domestic cat.
The lion cub like a kitten springs
On padded paws, dancing soft and light;
He bites the tail that his mother swings
While she nibbles the bone she left last night.
"Dear cub, might I tame you and play with
you?"
"And I would love you till I larger grew—
Then I'd claw you, and gnaw you, and eat
you up!"
—MAY COLMORE-KEL.

THE LION CUB.
[Page 1]
THE SCHOOL JOURNAL.
PART I.

and over the hills. Whales played in the
near seas; and seals that had no fear, because
they had never been hunted, lay out on the
rocks and were happy in the sun.
There was no man to hunt the seals, or
to follow the giant bird, or to catch the big
eels in the rivers, or to call the trees and
flowers by the names we know. Not one
man had ever seen New Zealand, where so
many men live now. Years and years went
by; still this lovely land lay waiting, like
an empty playground before any children
came to it to play.
Then at last, from over the sea, there
came the Maori. And what land did the
Maori come from? Let us find a very old
wise chief, and say to him, "Tell the little
boys and girls about the days long ago.
Tell them how the first Maori found New
Zealand." This is the story that he will tell—
"Long ago and long ago, before I was
born—or my father, or my father's father—
all the Maoris lived in a fair land they called
Ha-wa-ki. What was the land? Ah! how
can I tell you? The Maoris have forgotten.
Only the white men say, 'Lo, it was here,'
or, 'It was there.' Wait, then, my children,
until you are many winters older. Then
the white men will tell you, in many long
words, all they know about days of old.

was to islands that they gave names. The North Island was known to them principally as Te Ika a Maui, the Fish of Maui, in recognition of the widely accepted belief that the land had been fished from the depths of the ocean by Maui-tikitiki-a-Taranga. A smaller number of tribes knew the island as Aotea (though this was also the name given to Great Barrier Island) and as Aotearoa, most commonly translated, as in the Kupe story, as Land of the Long White Cloud, but perhaps more properly rendered as Land of the Long Clear Day or the Long White World. The second Maori King, Tawhiao, from Tainui, called his Kingitanga bank Te Peeke o Aotearoa, thus favouring Aotearoa as his preferred name for the North Island.

The South Island was known variously as Te Waka-a-Aoraki, the canoe of Aoraki (the ancestor frozen in stone and ice as the highest peak in the Southern Alps), and as Te Wahi Pounamu (the place of greenstone) and Te Wai Pounamu. Stewart Island to the south was Rakiura.

... it is highly likely that there was a Maori ancestor called Kupe who sailed to New Zealand from Island Polynesia. But he certainly did not travel at the early date specified in the Smith story.

In the Maori world all these names would persist in simultaneous usage until around the middle of the nineteenth century. From that time, some Maori and Maori publications began to favour Nu Tirani and its variants, transliterations of the words New Zealand and conveniently applying to all the islands that would make up the modern nation state of New Zealand (the Treaty of Waitangi of 1840 and its 1835 predecessor, A Declaration of the Independence of New Zealand, used these forms). Apart from Tawhiao's bank, operating in Waikato in the 1880s and 1890s, few Maori opted for Aotearoa. In the early years of the twentieth century, however, with the growing circulation and popularity of Stephenson Percy Smith's version of the Kupe story, Maori use of the term Aotearoa to refer to New Zealand as a whole increased, especially in oral culture. By the twenty-first century it was entrenched as the Maori name for New Zealand, though many South Island Maori, favouring Te Wai Pounamu as the name for their own island, recognised Aotearoa as a name for the North Island only.

An examination of Smith's sources in the twentieth century revealed that the story was not derived from Maori traditions.

The conclusion that a historian might draw from the foregoing is that it is highly likely that there was a Maori ancestor called Kupe who sailed to New Zealand from Island Polynesia. But he certainly did not travel at the early date specified in the Smith story. It is also unlikely that he was the 'discoverer' of the country, but the number of place-names associated with him – particularly in the Hokianga, Mercury Bay and Cook Strait regions – make it probable that he was one of the earliest ancestors of the Maori to leave descendants and therefore memories in those parts of the country. And, finally, New Zealand was certainly not known to Maori as Aotearoa in the pre-European times. Just as certainly, it is called that now by most Maori of the modern era.

The story of Toi and Whatonga, also compiled by Stephenson Percy Smith, concerns a Tahitian chief and his daughter's husband who, in

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New Zealand would be left to its isolation by the envoys of Europe for more than a century – though Tasman's map of the country's west coast, bearing, as one historian put it, some resemblance to a ragged question mark, would now appear on charts of the world.

desert-like west coast of the North Island, sighting nowhere safe enough to risk a landing. There were harbours, including two major ones, the Manukau and the Kaipara. But Tasman was too far out to sea to recognise the entrances. Much of his map of this coast was reconstructed from sightings north and south of the features marked. Because of cloud cover, they missed Mount Taranaki, but did see Karioi south of Raglan. Gilsemans's coastal profile drawings which accompanied the ship's journal show that the crews did sight the opening of Kawhia Harbour, but failed to investigate it as a potential entrance to sheltered waters. They did see Maori again, 30 to 35 of them on the ridge of Great King Island off the northern tip of the North Island. The reported gigantic size of these figures may have resulted from the use of early Dutch telescopes, which were insufficiently refined to give an undistorted view. Again crew members were unable to land, partly because of surf and currents and partly, perhaps, because the now-gigantic inhabitants, throwing stones and shouting at the Dutchmen, had become demonised in their European imaginations.

And so they abandoned the country on 6 January 1643 without having once set foot on it. Tasman took his expedition north and 'discovered' some of the islands in the Tonga group and others in the northern sector of Fiji. He eventually returned to Batavia via the northern coast of New Guinea. Having failed to step ashore on New Zealand, Tasman had no reason to suppose that it was the cornucopia of spices, precious metals and cloths that his principals in the Dutch East India Company had been seeking. Because of the supposed absence of exploitable and tradable resources, and the apparently intransigent character of the inhabitants, New Zealand would be left to its isolation by the envoys of Europe for more than a century – though Tasman's map of the country's west coast, bearing, as one historian put it, some resemblance to a ragged question mark, would now appear on charts of the world. Its location there would tantalise navigators of the future and leave open the possibility that Terra Australis Incognita spread further east and inland from the littoral the Dutchman had traced.

Tasman called the new country *Staten Land*, because he speculated that it might be the western extremity of the *Staten Land* off the south-west coast of South America named by his countryman Jacob Le Maire in 1616. When late in 1643 this was perceived to be impossible – the South American location having been identified by Hendrik Brouwer as an island – an anonymous cartographer in the Dutch East India Company renamed Tasman's line of coast '*Nieuw Zeeland*' or, in Latin, '*Zelandia Nova*'. This was clearly intended as a matching name for '*Hollandia Nova*', by which the western coast of Australia was at that time known (Holland and Zeeland being neighbouring Dutch maritime provinces).^{*} It was over the name *Zelandia Nova* that the newly recognised country appeared on European charts of the Pacific

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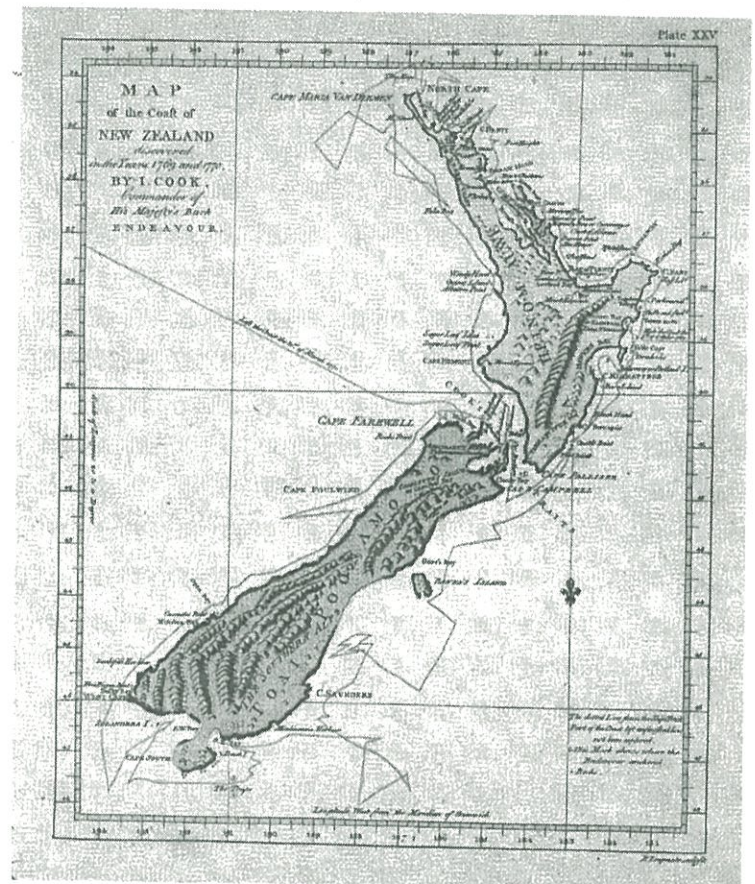
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considerable accuracy, mistaking only Banks Peninsula for an island and Stewart Island for a possible peninsula. In this manner, alongside his immediately subsequent mapping of the east coast of Australia, Cook largely disposed of the myth of Terra Australis Incognita and established that Tasman's single line of cartographic scrawl was in fact an indication of the two principal islands of New Zealand. He recognised the relationship of Maori culture to that of the Tahitians, and deduced rightly that the two peoples must share a source of origin.

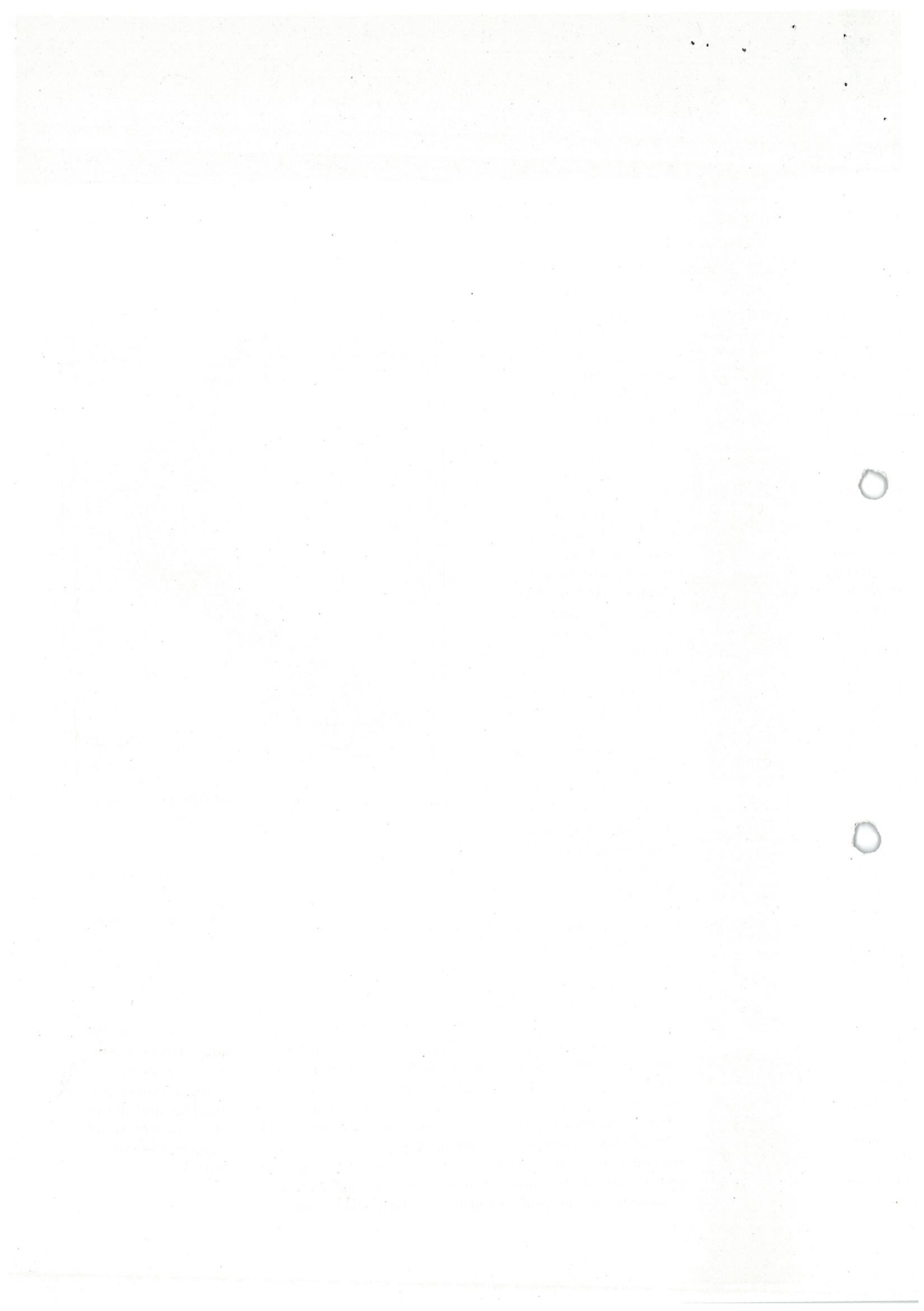
With Banks and the ship's artists, Cook began the process of documenting the language and material culture of Maori in the eighteenth century. The corpus of knowledge which he and his men assembled on all his visits to New Zealand would be a boon to scientists, historians and anthropologists for the next 200 years. Cook's sober but positive reports on the resources of the country, especially its timber and flax, its seals in the south-west and the quantity of whales in the surrounding seas, led directly to a quickening of British interest in New Zealand and to the establishment of extractive industries there in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In the course of his three voyages and four visits to the country (two in 1773-74), Cook spent a total of 328 days off or on the coast of New Zealand. For Maori, the consequences were far-reaching, although they did not immediately change the cultural pattern or the quality of day-to-day Maori life. The bartering introduced Maori to metals, especially in the form of nails, which were immediately sought after for their efficacy and long life in the form of chisels, gouges and fishhooks. Sexual encounters brought the unpleasant phenomenon of venereal disease to communities where Cook's crews stayed for longer periods, particularly in Queen Charlotte Sound. The Englishmen left vegetables, especially potatoes and turnips, which would become



James Cook was not only a master mariner, but also an expert map maker. This is his map of New Zealand, including the track of the *Endeavour* around the country. It was very accurate, apart from mistaking Banks Peninsula for an island and Stewart Island for a possible peninsula.

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.12 Tangata Tiriti

While most Europeans in the first half of the nineteenth century referred to the native inhabitants of New Zealand as 'New Zealanders', the Maori text of the Treaty of Waitangi used the expression 'tangata maori' – ordinary people – to denote them. This indicates how Maori were referring to themselves by that time – and, indeed, recorded evidence of that expression goes back as far as 1801, to the journal of the ship *Royal Admiral* in the Firth of Thames. By the 1830s the word Maori on its own was in widespread use among Maori. And by 1860 Renata Tamakihikurangi of Ngati Kahungunu would go so far as to say to the European settlers of Hawke's Bay: 'Just as you are all English . . . so we (Natives) are all one: Maori is my name.' In official usage, however, the word 'Native' was employed to describe the cabinet minister and government-department responsible for Maori matters, and the Land Court until 1946.

The Treaty also employed the term 'pakeha' to refer to Queen Victoria's non-Maori subjects in New Zealand. Use of this word in Maori to

denote Europeans when the mission to at Te Pahi of European gentlemen in early literature descriptive was came from the light-skinned Maori from the references here pora to describe spread among the main settler population would have been living in New Zealand settlers had come to escape their based timber and who had jumped States and France came largely from France (that time was a little over approximately 300 around 1840 from one side of the

The economy had not picked up. Commerce had been in a depressed state for three or more years, farmers were receiving low prices for their wool and wheat. Gold production had declined and the latest goldfields in the Thames area needed capital investment and heavy machinery. Net immigration, although recovering from a low of 860 in 1868 to 3,641 in 1869, was not encouraging. The situation presented an enormous challenge to the Government and particularly to Vogel as Colonial Treasurer.

On his return to New Zealand in February 1870 Vogel worked on a new economic policy. The year before he had promised a comprehensive plan to 'extend the benefits of regular and systematic immigration to the Colony throughout its length and breadth'.⁴¹ The British Government had promised to guarantee a loan for development and Bell and Featherston had investigated the prospects of large-scale immigration from Europe. Working largely on his own, Vogel now evolved a policy of forward planning, a development plan designed to revive the economy and provide the pre-conditions for economic growth. This policy was announced in the financial statement of 1870, delivered to an expectant House and press gallery only twelve days after the opening of Parliament in June.⁴²

Vogel's budget put forward a beguilingly simple, yet ambitious scheme to increase the population and revolutionize communications. He began with the assumption that if the economy were to grow the process of 'colonization' had to be supported by the central government. The fighting appeared to be over; the time had arrived 'when we must set ourselves afresh to the task of actively promoting the settlement of the country'. The two main aspects of settlement were public works and immigration. The entire country needed more people, the North Island needed roads to open up land for development, the South Island needed railways to transport its agricultural and pastoral products. Looking ahead Vogel considered that the country could safely be committed to an expenditure of ten million pounds on settlement over the next decade. Eight and a half million of this would go on public works and land purchases, one and a half million on immigration. Six million pounds would be borrowed and the remainder of the cost would be met from land grants and profits. In brief Vogel's proposal was to transform the country by using borrowed money to finance public works which would promote settlement and allow more land to be brought into production and to bring in immigrants who would build the roads and railways and farm the land. In ten years the Government would bring about results that would otherwise take decades to achieve.

Vogel was well aware that colonization was traditionally the function of the provincial governments and that his proposal might well alienate

his party's provincialist supporters. He did not hesitate to show where his own sympathies lay. By leaving Otago Vogel had freed himself from 'localism' and 'provincialism'. He could see a country united by railways and roads, its people working in the national rather than the provincial interest. He did not want to jeopardize the colonization scheme by posing political changes but he gave the provinces clear warning that if they obstructed the scheme and forced a choice between it and them he would infinitely prefer the total remodelling of those institutions to abandoning that stimulating aid which, as I believe, the condition of the Colony absolutely demands'. At the same time his own experience forced him to fear the power of provincial feeling. For the time being the provincial governments were to be made partners in the scheme. They would submit proposals for railways to Parliament for approval; they would inform central government of their labour needs and prepare plans for settlement and employment. Central government would construct the approved railways and share the cost of immigration with the provinces. In return for central government help the provinces were asked to give up their current share of the revenue and accept instead a capitation allowance, based on the European population, of £2, diminishing annually by two shillings until it reached thirty shillings. Provinces with a large settled Maori population were to get an additional fixed allowance. The outlying districts were to be placated by a grant of £50,000 a year to district boards for expenditure on roads and development.

Vogel touched briefly on defence expenditure, planning to ask for an appropriation for defence of £790,000 over the next five years. This money was to be borrowed as it was required. However in a sense the entire financial statement was a statement about defence. Vogel considered that the employment of Maoris on public works and the opening up and settlement of the country would 'do more to put an end to hostilities and to confirm peaceful relations, than an army of ten thousand men'. Years later, when reflecting upon his immigration and public works scheme, he explained it as an attempt to solve for once and all the Maori problem. He wrote in a statement on his policy that 'The one chance of gaining adequate control was to introduce such a system of public works and workmen into the North Island as would 1st give protection in case of need 2nd occupy to some extent the natives 3rd open up communications 4th keep the natives in touch with the colonists. . . . It was a matter of life and death to secure its adoption.'⁴³ In a paper delivered to the Imperial Institute in London in 1893 he said: 'It has often been said and written that the Public Works Policy was the outcome of a speculative desire to obtain the expenditure of a large quantity of borrowed money for the gain that expenditure would bestow, leaving to chance subsequent consequences. I will tell you the real facts. . . .