**A HISTORY OF THE NEW ZEALAND CIVIL SERVICE
1840-1866**

**Being a thesis presented for Honours by
"Agree".**

B. D. Zohrab.

EXHIBITIONS OF PIONEER RELICS.

From time to time the Centennial Branch of the Department of Internal Affairs receives letters from correspondents in all parts of the Dominion, indicating the whereabouts of interesting pioneer relics, and suggesting that they be utilised for local exhibitions during the period of the Centennial celebrations. A good deal of thought has been given to this matter, and, in view of the widespread interest which is being evinced, I am writing to suggest that your organisation might consider arranging such exhibitions during Centennial year.

It is known that in many countries overseas there are permanent collections, which are on display in cottages or houses of the period when the furniture, etc., was in use. One can well imagine the interest which would be taken by the younger folk in the inspection of the out-of-date furniture, medical instruments, costumes, tools and implements which were used by their ancestors, and of early pictures, documents, etc. Such displays have a direct appeal much more personal and universal than the academic interest which is evoked by the display of exhibits in a museum or ancient volumes in a library, or even rare pictures. For instance, the heavy and clumsy sewing-machine used by our great-grandmother would certainly be examined with interest by the modern young miss.

The articles to be displayed would be those in common use, the ideal collection being those which would represent exhibits of historic interest and the worldly possessions of a pioneer family in the Province or town where they lived. One doubts whether a complete collection could be got together at this date, but at any rate the effort entailed would assuredly be worth while, and with later discoveries, might conceivably form the nucleus of permanent collections in which posterity would delight.

The foregoing notes are in the nature of a suggestion and this Branch would be pleased to learn in due course to what extent such exhibitions are being promoted throughout New Zealand.

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DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

NATIONAL HISTORICAL COMMITTEE.

P.O. BOX 7, GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS.

WELLINGTON, C.I.

31st March, 1939.

Dear Sir,

Attached is a copy of a letter received from Mr. L.E. Strachan, programme organiser, 2ZB, suggesting that he be appointed to prepare a survey of entertainment in New Zealand during the past century.

The matter is to be considered by the Standing Committee at its meeting on Wednesday next, 5th April, 1939.

Yours faithfully,

Secretary.

Mr. A.W. Mulligan,

ABBREVIATIONS USED

A. to J.

Appendices to the Journals
of the House of Representatives.

P.P. New Zealand

House of Commons Papers on
New Zealand.

N.Z.D.D.

New Zealand Duplicate Dispatches.

Centennial Branch,
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS,

P.O. BOX 7, GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS,

WELLINGTON, C. 1.

17th June, 1941.

Dear Sir,

I have pleasure in advising that I have despatched to-day by Parcels Post your copy of Volume II of "Making New Zealand", and trust you will receive this safely.

Yours faithfully,

(A.K. Brady)
Business Manager,
Centennial Publications.

FOREWORD

For so pretentious a thing as a preface there is no excuse in such a work as this; but neither is it possible for me to neglect to thank for their kindness those who have placed material, otherwise unobtainable, at my disposal. I must thank especially the Under-Secretary of Internal Affairs, Mr. J.W. Heenan, C.M.G., for giving me access to the records of his department, and the Canterbury branch of the New Zealand Institute of Public Administration, who generously allowed me to use in this work the results of their investigations into the Royal Commission of 1866.

The history of the New Zealand Civil Service has never yet been written; nor, as far as I know, has there been published any work on any particular aspect of its growth, with the exception of one slim volume on the history of the Post Office. There is very little material available on the subject, and much of what exists is incidental; the task of trying to weave a connected fabric from such insubstantial threads has not been easy.

Centennial Branch,
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Dear Sir,

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INTRODUCTION

The New Zealand Civil Service is a typically British growth; it has developed from an inchoate, unregulated aggregation of disorganised departments along no settled line of growth, following no definite policy, aiming at nothing in particular; it sprang in the first instance rather from an imitation of English models than from a real local need; it has been the prey of Governor after Governor, and Ministry after Ministry, and has changed its form and even to some extent its functions according to the ideas of the country's rulers every few years; not until the adoption of the recommendations of the Hunt Commission in 1912 did the service emerge into the regulated atmosphere that is essential to the smooth working of a modern administrative system.

It can therefore be said that not until the twentieth century was the New Zealand Civil Service a modern institution; not until 1908 did the Government realise how far New Zealand then lagged behind Great Britain; even now, when we still lag behind, there are few signs of improvement. From the establishment of British sovereignty over New Zealand in 1840 until the passing of the Civil Service Act twenty-six years later there was no system either in the departments themselves or in the service as a whole; if indeed, it may be considered a whole during that time. From 1866 until 1912 the service drifted back towards chaos, as the authorities either did not carry

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Under-Secretary.

out the provisions of the 1866 Act, or avoided its provisions and winked at its implications. The basic provisions of the Act, indeed, could not be ignored; but loopholes were many, and several of its most beneficial reforms were vitiated by systematic evasion.

The period here treated is that of the earliest days, from 1840 to the passing of the first comprehensive reforms in 1866. Material is scanty even on essential points; perhaps the authorities just did not know.

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I. HOBSON AND THE BEGINNINGS

The first duty of a government establishing itself in a new country is to establish order, administer justice, and collect revenue to attain these ends. When Captain Hobson arrived as lieutenant-governor in 1840 he tried at once to set up some administrative system, where previously there had been none. The Governor of New South Wales, Sir George Gipps, had indeed appointed some magistrates in the principal settlements, but they were few and unable to enforce their decisions. He had also set up a Customs Department to collect revenue, though the settlers could justly maintain that they obtained no return for the tax they paid and the extent of smuggling rendered the revenue small and the long coastline made the expenses of collection great. Even when Hobson was appointed the Home Government steadily refused to allow him sufficient authority or military force to enable him to establish order; his dispatches are loud in complaints of the inadequate powers with which he had been vested. Having the rank only of lieutenant-governor he could not pardon criminals, alter the salaries of civil servants, or appoint magistrates without reference to New South Wales. "In the present case", he wrote to the Marquess of Normanby in 1840, "considerable inconvenience to the public service will be experienced." (1) In emergencies, and there was every sign that there would be emergencies, he could do nothing.

(1) P.P: New Zealand, 1840. No. 311 p 13.

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With Hobson came George Cooper, controller of Customs at Sydney, who was appointed Controller of Customs and Treasurer, and also acted as Colonial Secretary; Felton Mathew, of the Sydney Surveyor-General's Department, to be acting Surveyor-General; and Willoughby Shortland, to be Police Magistrate.

Cooper was hopelessly inefficient and Hobson needed an efficient colonial secretary, who would be the virtual head of the Civil Service; but it was only after repeated appeals that the Home Government allowed him one, and Shortland was appointed on March 7. Scholefield says of Shortland that he was "an outspoken naval officer, vain and overbearing, lacking both tact and experience".(2) He was, on the other hand, one of the few civil servants of the time who had sound ideas on the administration of the organisation, and was not so foolish and barren of ideas, at least as regards the service, as is generally asserted. Cooper, says Dr Scholefield, "was even less satisfactory than Shortland".(3) It was his incompetence as colonial secretary as much as his preoccupation with his other duties that made it necessary for Hobson to appoint another. In November Francis Fisher was appointed Attorney-General. He was a good lawyer, but suffered from illhealth, and he was replaced in the following year by Swainson.

(2) Scholefield: Captain William Hobson, p.16.

(3) Ibid., p. 16.

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Dear Sir,

I am pleased to enclose some extracts from
the "New Zealand Centennial News" for which I hope you
will be able to spare space.

The pieces which I have selected are of a
kind which, I believe, will interest many of your readers.

Yours faithfully,

Leo Fanning

Editor,
"New Zealand Centennial News".

The Editor,

In 1840, then, Hobson had to erect a civil service in conditions of abnormal difficulty. Not only were the officials that surrounded him inexperienced and inefficient, but there were naturally few men who were capable of filling any kind of administrative position in the country. Swainson remarked that "it appears to have been thought that British authority might easily be established ... by moral influence alone; ... it was not considered that a few individuals composing the staff of the civil government must be powerless to govern and control not only our own countrymen, but nearly a hundred thousand of the most barbarous and warlike people on the face of the earth."(4)

While the officials he had were incompetent, of judicial and legal functionaries (until the arrival of Fisher at the end of the year) he had none.

There was certainly no doubt of the unpopularity of these officers in the colony itself. Dr. S.M.D. Martin, a member of the Legislative Council, remarked that Shortland "is likely to discharge this duty (that of Police Magistrate) in the most obnoxious manner"(5) and later - "The settlers at Kororarika and the Bay of Islands are already getting tired of the Government, at all events of the Government officers, who appear

(4) Swainson: New Zealand and its colonization, p. 173.

(5) S.M.D. Martin: New Zealand, p. 95-96.

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to conduct themselves in a very insolent and overbearing manner"(6). "Governor Hobson," he says, "complained to me sadly of the manner in which he was left by the Governor of New South Wales without a single officer who knew anything about public business, or in whom he could place any confidence."(7)

And again: "While we had so many idle, useless, and expensive government officers in the colony already, I regret to say that they have recently received a large addition by an importation from England.... A Chief Justice (Martin) at £1,000, a Chief Commissioner of Lands (Spain) at £1,000, a Surveyor-General, at £600, several assistant surveyors, at from £200 to £300, an Attorney-General at £400, and a Registrar of the Supreme Court, at £300."(8) "I think", he says, "that poor Hobson would do well, but he is led by the nose by that bull-headed and ignorant man Shortland".(9) Although Dr Martin was referred to by Hobson himself as a "gentleman of integrity and reputation", (10) his statement of the case is evidently greatly exaggerated and is certainly highly-coloured. It is unlikely that Hobson was "led by the nose" by Shortland, and it

(6) Ibid., p. 102.

(7) Ibid., p. 118.

(8) Ibid., p. 134.

(9) Ibid., p. 140.

(10) Hobson to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 15 October, 1840.

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The Editor,

is certainly untrue that Shortland was "bull-headed and ignorant".

The attitude and policy of Hobson towards the civil service were to be guided by a dispatch written by Lord John Russell to him on December 9, 1840: "Between the two extremes of an unbounded confidence in subordinate officers, and an habitual distrust of them, you will, I trust, find a middle point, at which you may ... take your stand.... The great mass of society will look to the government for direction or assistance on all matters of general, or even of local concern.... To give a large and liberal confidence to the heads of the several departments, and to combine this with a vigilant and punctual superintendence of each should be the rule of your conduct." (11) Unfortunately, however, the departments were so scattered in the various settlements as to render any superintendence from the head of the department, let alone the governor, inoperative; and the officers which Hobson had been given did not inspire "large and liberal confidence". His instructions contained enjoinders that the appointment of officers "must be fixed with the most anxious regard to frugality in the expenditure of public resources. The selection of the individuals ... must be made by yourself ... upon the full and distinct understanding

(11) P.P. No. 311, P. 25, Lord John Russell to Hobson, 9 Dec., 1840,

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that their tenure of office and even the existence of the offices which they are to hold must be provisional and dependent upon the future pleasure of the Crown. Amongst the offices thus to be created, the most evidently indispensable are those of a judge, a Public Prosecutor, a Protector of Aborigines, a Colonial Secretary, a Treasurer, a Surveyor-General of Lands, and a Superintendent of Police."

In spite, however, of the difficult circumstances, Hobson was successful in establishing at least the forms of a civil service. The Treasury and the Customs Department were controlled - if the word is applicable - by Cooper, and branches of the Customs Department were established in all the large settlements. The Post Office was set up in the same year; its developments will be discussed later. In the same year came the appointment of George Clarke senior as Protector of Aborigines, a colonial surgeon was appointed, a harbourmaster at Auckland, and in the following year one at Port Nicholson. Police Magistrates were appointed in extraordinarily large numbers, a Colonial Storekeeper, mounted police, and two Commissioners of Crown Lands, a third arriving from England in 1841. The Survey Department was set up under Felton Mathew and later G.W. Ligar. In 1841 the Public Works Department was set up, the judicial system organised, Commissioners of Audit and a Registrar of Deeds appointed. It is true that these departments functioned badly, that the lack of system was abnormal, that the officers of the departments were often only half-educated and less than half efficient, but

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in the peculiarly difficult circumstances in which the service came into being little more could be expected.

By the end of 1840 there were established thirteen Government Departments in the Colony, of which the Customs was the largest and in many respects the least efficient. The practice of uniting the Treasury and the Customs under one head, especially when the head was Cooper, was not likely to lead to efficiency or to give satisfaction, and when the local officers of the Customs Department acted, as they often did, as postmasters too, it was evident that the business of both departments would suffer. Hobson himself was not in favour of the arrangement, but as there was no possibility of obtaining other men for the positions there was no alternative. In 1841, however, Shepherd arrived to take up the position of Colonial Treasurer, and Cooper was able to give his undivided attention, such as it was, to the affairs of the Customs Department.

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II. THE PERSONALITIES

The year 1841 brought signs of better times for the colonial civil service; several men of outstanding ability and qualifications arrived from England to take up important positions in the service.

Martin, who was appointed Chief Justice at a salary of £1,000, was "a man of high attainments; able as a lawyer, distinguished as a scholar and linguist, endowed with a mind of great power, and possessed of a large fund of information. He had moral qualities of a high order.... As a judge he was beyond praise; he was patient, just, sagacious, and firm. He gave invaluable aid in preparing the first legislation of the colony".⁽¹⁾ He had also an enormous capacity for hard work, but he was too idealistic, too apt to be carried away by his enthusiasm and his attachment to abstract principles, and with this came a disregard and neglect of practical questions.

"An able lawyer but an indifferent politician" is Gisborne's judgement on Swainson, the Attorney-General. In the Supreme Court he conducted cases admirably, and was especially skilful in drafting laws in simple and effective language. "But as a statesman he was not a success. He had a prudish horror of

(1) Gisborne: New Zealand Rulers and Statesmen, p. 12. Gisborne had a long and distinguished career in the civil service in New Zealand and in Parliament. He is almost the only important authoritative contemporary source of biographical material for the years 1840-1885, and his close connection with the civil service enabled him to write with authority on its leading members.

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publicity and of the profane crowd. He liked to sit behind the throne and pull the strings. Sinuous and secretive by nature, he worked underground. He prided himself on being a safe man, and yet he was often a dangerous counsellor in public affairs".(2) Certainly his legal opinions were risky. He almost persuaded Shortland to renounce British sovereignty over a part of New Zealand; he allowed Fitzroy to waive illegally the Crown's right of pre-emption, and he "induced Wynyard to play fast and loose with responsible government" after its introduction into the country. "As a rule", says Gisborne, "Mr Swainson, I think, was rather vague in legal opinions on public matters. He could not, like the Delphic Oracle, be read in two different ways, but he was rather addicted to mysterious language".(3) On occasions, also, his secretive nature led him to take steps that appeared inconsistent with his position and even with personal dignity.

Cooper was remarkable for nothing except his incompetence. Shortland was a man of greater ability than is generally admitted; he had sound ideas on administration and general internal policy, but, either from mistrust of the Home Government, or from a feeling that there was no probability of anything he did being permanent owing to the temporary nature of his office when acting-governor, or to a lack of will power and decision, he did not carry his ideas into effect; most of Hobson's problems still remain for Fitzroy, generally in a more acute form.

(2) Ibid., p. 14.

(3) Ibid., p. 15.

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Felton Mathew, the Surveyor-General, was exceptionally able and energetic; the fact that his department accomplished comparatively little under his control was due to causes bearing no relation to him. When in 1841 Mathew was superseded by Ligar Hobson remarked that for the first year after his arrival Mathew was without any assistance whatever, even that of a clerk or a draughtsman, and paid a high tribute to the work that he had accomplished under such conditions.

Of exceptional qualities too was George Clarke, senior, the Protector of Aborigines, whose reputation has been so blackened by the settlers of the New Zealand Company, who resented the fairness with which he treated the Maoris in land disputes, and by Governor Grey, whose domineering and intolerant temper would not tolerate a rival in the sphere of native affairs, that the value of his work has long been unrecognised. His work will be discussed more fully, however, in a later chapter.

With men of such calibre at the head of the principal departments of the administration, one would expect to find the Civil Service progressing steadily towards efficiency; but on the contrary, the years from 1841 till 1848, and in a lesser degree till 1858, show the service as a whole disintegrating, becoming totally disorganised as successive changes in the forms of administration and the policies of Governors lead to chaos and disruption.

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III. PRINCIPLES AND ORGANISATION

From 1842 until the grant of responsible government the service was governed in general by regulations drafted by Stanley, in a circular dispatch dated June 14 1842. (1) All offices under the executive government, the dispatch states, are to be regarded as held during the pleasure of the Queen, except in a few cases where offices had been granted during good behaviour or for life. Appointments to the service were to be made either by the Governor or by the Governor in Council. In regard to positions "of considerable rank, trust, and emolument", the Home Government might make appointments and in any case the Governor's appointment must be subject to the consent of the British Government. In order to define which offices were considered important, and which were thought inconsiderable, Stanley divided the officers of the Colonial civil service into three classes: those being paid less than £100 per annum, those receiving between £100 and £200, and those whose salaries exceeded £300. In regard to appointments to positions in the first class, the Governor had "absolute disposal", subject only to the condition of reporting every appointment to the Home Government. Officers of the second class were appointed by the Home Government on the recommendation of the Governor, while appointments to the highest class were subject to elaborate regulations. The Governor was to make a special report on the grounds of his appointment to be submitted to the Home Government, and the officer appointed was to be informed that his

(1) This document is printed in Appendix IV.

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appointment was provisional and subject to confirmation from England. "It is of course impossible," the dispatch continues, "to lay down any general rule for deciding in which cases the recommendation of a Governor will, or will not be ultimately sanctioned and confirmed by the Queen; but in general it will be stated that Her Majesty will be advised to regard more favourably appointments which are in the nature of promotions of meritorious public servants, than appointments made in favour of persons new to the Public Service, and that whenever any new office has been created, the Governor's recommendation for filling it up will carry less weight than in the case of offices which the Governor may have found already established. In the case of such new offices there will always be more than usual reason to anticipate that an appointment will be made directly from this country." The principle of promotions within the service here laid down is of course admirable and indeed essential to the maintenance of a good spirit in the service; but the principle was by no means always carried out; it was not fully established in practice until seventy years later. In the selection of officers, moreover, "great weight must always be attached to local services and experience". The Governor of the colony was to prepare each year a confidential report on the qualifications of applicants for positions in the service, and of public servants themselves, so that "when a vacancy or an opportunity for promotion occurs, the Secretary of State may have before him the means of judging how far the particular candidate recommended by the Governor is on the whole best qualified, and whether a candidate of proper qualifications is to be found in

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the Colony or in any adjacent Colony. Such reports ... will also afford to the Secretary of State ... more effectual means than he at present possesses of judging of the merits generally of Officers employed in subordinate situations throughout Her Majesty's Colonial Possessions; and will materially increase the prospects of advancement and encouragement to meritorious Officers in such situations, by enlarging the range within which they may hope to obtain promotion as a reward for active and efficient service."

The dispatch shows that an enlightened view of the conditions necessary to the smooth working of a civil service was possessed by the Colonial Office, and that it was by no means intended that the growth of the Civil Service in New Zealand should be as haphazard and chaotic as it was; but the fact that the scope of the dispatch was so limited and that many of its provisions were not strictly observed by Governors militated against the service developing along the lines it laid down, and in the direction of a living, united organisation. Moreover, the Home Government displayed a reluctance to take a firm stand and institute a regular system of promotions, and annual salary increases.

In 1843 Shortland wrote to Stanley suggesting uniform rates of pay for civil servants and a rudimentary classification of officers. There had been, he said, no strict rule for the payment of government officers - - - there was, in fact, a quite bewildering variety in the salaries paid for similar work in different departments. "The different establishments under the Government being now, however, nearly complete," he continues, "I

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conceive that the rules which have been adopted in New South Wales with reference to this subject, may, with certain modifications, be beneficially applied to this colony."(2) He forwarded a schedule of salaries which he thought would be suitable:-

SALARIES		ANNUAL INCREASE	MAXIMUM
	£	£	£
Class I:	300	10	400
Class II:	200	10	300
Class III:	150	10	200

Extra assistant clerks were to be paid three shillings a day if under twenty years of age, and those over that age were to be paid five shillings, rising to six shillings. Such a scale of salaries cannot be called munificent though it was moderately good under the conditions; but the important point was that it was an attempt at regulation and a step in the direction of order. Nothing, however, was done to apply the scheme consistently to the service; Shortland was replaced by Fitzroy before anything could be done, and Fitzroy, fortunately, did not devote much attention to the Civil Service.

(2) N.Z.D.D. 1843, No. 28.

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IV. THE PROTECTORATE

A natural outcome of humanitarianism and missionary enthusiasm in England was the mention in Hobson's Instructions of the appointment of a Protector of Aborigines; there was to be "an officer expressly appointed to watch over the interests of the aborigines as their protector." These Instructions were reinforced by Instructions from Lord Normanby which expressed the admirable aims of the Home Government on the manner in which the Maoris were to be treated, insisted on fairness and consideration for them, while making it perfectly clear that the Home Government did not intend to make it possible for these principles to be carried into effect. Consequently, the Protectorate Department pleased neither the natives nor the settlers. As Swainson pointed out, "the Local Government were directed to organise a special department for 'protecting' the natives in their persons and property, not realising that the settlers rather than the natives needed protection.... It soon became painfully obvious, however, that the department, maintained at considerable expense for the protection of the natives, was unnecessary; and would, if not speedily abolished, have proved fatally injurious to the cause it was to serve." (1)

Swainson's statement that the Protectorate was useless, however, needs important qualification, and his conclusion that it was "unnecessary" is not borne out by the facts of the New Zealand Company's land dealings. It was certainly true that the settlers

(1) Swainson: op. cit. p. 183.

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needed protection against the natives; but this was military protection; Swainson is apt to be carried away by his love of a good phrase.

George Clarke Senior, the Chief Protector of Aborigines, was one of the many civil servants of the time whose task was far too big for him to handle. In a letter to the Colonial Secretary in 1843 he refers to the "inadequacy of the department ... to meet either the wants of the natives or the views of Her Majesty's Government" and to "the very anomalous position in which the protectors are placed by the variety and contradictory nature of their duties, sometimes employed as interpreters and protectors in the Land Commissioners' and Police Courts, sometimes seeking compensation for injury on European property; at other times they are the bearers of Her Majesty's expression of displeasure on account of aggressions committed by one tribe upon another.... In consequence of the Protector's appearing in these diversified characters, the natives scarcely know whether he is a protector or an exactor, whether he will not be employed to coerce rather than to advocate and befriend them." (2) In his half-yearly report dated June 15, 1843, he complains of the "inadequacy of five protectors ... to fulfill the various important duties devolving upon them." (3) In 1843 Shortland twice suggested to Stanley that the Protectorate Department should be separated from the immediate

(2) P.P. Report of select committee on New Zealand, 1844. Appendix, p. 345.

(3) Ibid., p. 345.

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control of the executive government and united with the trust for native land reserves, but although in the following year a Board of Trustees was set up for the management of property to be set apart for the education and advancement of the native races, the Protectorate Department still remained under the control of the central government. It is worth noticing that Shortland said that the work done by the Protectors was valuable; and there can be no doubt, in spite of the assertions of Swainson and the New Zealand Company and the deliberate misstatements of Grey, that the defects in the department were due not to the incapability or inefficiency of the officers concerned, but to the unwillingness of the Home Government to spend money, or even to spend it in the right way.

In 1842 the salaries of the Protectors were fixed at £150 per annum, except the Chief Protector, who received £400; and the unfavourable light in which the position was regarded in the colony was shown by the fact that when Forsaith was offered a protectorship he refused it in favour of a clerkship in the office at a smaller salary - £125 per annum. The select committee of the House of Commons recommended in 1844 the employment of natives in the Civil Service; they certainly should have employed them in the Protectorate department as, apart from the obvious advantages to the system and to the natives that would result, the salaries were too miserable to attract Europeans. The settlers, on the other hand, never ceased to complain of the expense of the Department. Their main grievance

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was that the salaries of the Protectors, which were supposed to be paid out of the revenue from the sale of Crown Lands, was usually paid out of the general revenue. But there were numerous outbursts against the waste of money in having a department at all; to the settlers, the department was an obstacle preventing them from exploiting the natives. "The money spent on Protectors might as well have been thrown into the fire" complained one memorialist. This was absurd, if considered as an indictment of the department itself, and it cannot be said to be altogether true as a general statement.

Grey did not like the department and was too conscious of the ability of the Chief Protector; his domineering and narrow spirit could not tolerate the existence of a rival in the sphere of native affairs; he abolished the department, denounced it as useless to the Home Government, and embarked on a long campaign of defamation against Clarke. He wrote to Stanley on May 10, 1846, that "when I arrived here, I found that a department termed that of the Protector of Aborigines, was maintained at an annual cost of about two thousand and five hundred pounds, of which sum about one thousand pounds (4) was appropriated to the salaries of Mr Clarke and two of his sons, and that not a single hospital, school, or institution of any kind, supported by the Government was in operation for the benefit of the natives.... I found that

(4) The actual figures for 1845 are not available; in 1844 the total amount paid in salaries to the three Clarks was £661.10.6; George Clarke Senior received £400, George Clarke Junior £170, and H. Tacy Clarke £91.10.0. The total expenditure of the department in 1844 was £1,255.6.8.

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Mr Clarke and his son (George) were equally disliked by the natives and the settlers; (5) I ascertained from the colonial secretary that ... he had always been left in the most complete ignorance of what was going on in the Protector's Department, and in reference to the natives generally; and I found that a series of injudicious proceedings had been adopted towards the natives, which had plunged the country into distrust, anarchy, and rebellion."(6)

..... This passage is a series of misstatements and his complaints are, where justified by fact, beside the point in reality. Grey says that "not a single hospital, school, or institution of any kind" had been established by the Government; and the blame is apparently laid on the Protectorate department. It must be. Because otherwise would it not be possible to construct the schools and hospitals with the Protectorate department assisting, co-operating, and doing it? No. There are two points to be stressed: first, it should have been plain to Grey that the multifarious duties of the Protectors prevented them from taking part in building schools and educational work, and that it was only the unwillingness of the Government to provide funds (the salaries of the Protectors were inadequate, not excessive) that prevented the building of schools and hospitals; and secondly, either he did see this, and therefore his abolition of the department is an admission that the Protectors were far from being "useless" but in reality were overworked, and his argument for its abolition

(5) This is not borne out by the evidence of Rusden, and it is actually contradicted by Wilson in her "Land problems of the 'Forties".

(6) Grey to Stanley, May 10, 1846. N.Z. D.D. 1846, No. 45.

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thus falls down, or it is evident that Grey was actuated purely by personal motives.

As to his implication that the Protectors were negligent in not keeping in touch with the colonial secretary, that is absurd on the face of it. When they were travelling all over the country, where communications were lacking (even the Government's mail often went astray), giving evidence in Courts, mediating in disputes between settlers and natives, trying to pacify warring tribes, how could even Governor Grey expect them to keep in constant touch with the colonial secretary, who in any case was completely ignorant of native customs and indifferent to native welfare? Moreover, if there was no contact between the central government and the Protectorate, the responsibility lay with the Governor; Hobson was instructed to "give a large and liberal confidence to the heads of the several departments, and to combine this with a vigilant and punctual superintendence of each...." If the Colonial Secretary knew nothing about the workings of the department he should have found out, not muttered to Grey in an undertone.

Grey's "series of injudicious undertakings" can be construed to mean only Fitzroy's proceedings; and how the blame for these can be laid at the door of the Protectorate department only Grey's tortuous intellect can explain.

The fact is that the Protectors in their half-yearly and annual reports never fail to urge on the Government the necessity for providing educational and medical facilities for the natives.

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There is scarcely one of these documents which does not mention the subject; the fault lay throughout with the Home Government and the Local Government, and could under no satisfactory grounds whatsoever be placed with the Protectorate.

However, Grey "determined therefore to bring the Protectorate Department under the control of the Colonial Secretary (i.e. under the control of the Governor) through whose hands all reports and letters would pass.... I hoped at the same time to make considerable reductions in this department, and thus obtain funds which might confer really practical and lasting benefits upon the natives." (7) This "reform" was effected in 1846. The cost of native administration rose.

The Clarkes, father and son, are ably defended by Mrs. Wilson. (George Clarke junior was appointed a protector, in which position, as the complaints of the Port Nicholson settlers testify, he was remarkably successful.)

"George Clarke senior's reputation," Wilson says, "was so blackened by the New Zealand Company by means of its Journal and the Wellington papers and also by Governor Grey's despatches, that it is little wonder that even so conscientious a man as the Rev. Octavius Hadfield believed him to be the Colony's evil genius.... It was almost entirely upon the knowledge of native

(7) Grey to Stanley, May 10, 1846. N.Z.D.D. 1846, No. 45.

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law and custom possessed by George Clarke, junior, that Mr Commissioner Spain relied when engaged in his difficult task of disentangling the land dealings of the New Zealand Company with the natives in the Wellington and Taranaki districts." (8)

And again: "If it had not been for Grey's antipathy to the Protectorate Department, Clarke's valuable services as a native officer would probably have received some recognition; but Grey himself came to New Zealand with a reputation as an expert on native affairs, and his was not a nature to brook a rival in the same field. He felt himself to be quite capable of managing the Maoris without any assistance from the 'useless Protectorate Department'." (9) It could only be Grey's intolerance of rivalry that led him to conduct his virulent campaign of unfounded allegations against the Clarkes' efficiency and even honesty after their dismissal; it could only be his desire to justify the dismissal of officers whom he knew to be capable and efficient that made him attempt to justify his actions to the Home Government by making accusations against the Clarkes that they were able effectively and conclusively to refute.

Of George Clarke, junior, Wilson says: "Notwithstanding his lack of years, he had exceptional qualifications for the position. He had had an excellent education, and he was thoroughly

(8) Wilson: "Land Problems of the 'Forties." p. 116-7.

(9) Ibid., p. 12.

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well versed in native ways. He had spoken Maori from his earliest childhood, ... was in close contact with the natives ... and learned to understand their minds." (10) He was appointed on the recommendation of the Chief Justice, a lover of the Maoris, and the Attorney-General, and neither they nor Commissioner Spain, with whom he worked, ever complained of his inefficiency.

In short, the accusations of the New Zealand Company and of Governor Grey were false and undeserved; and their assertions that the Department and its officers were useless and incapable were due to their realisation that the Clarkes did their work too well for a land-grabbing company and an autocratic, bigoted governor.

(10) Ibid., p. 117-8.

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V. THE POST OFFICE

Hobson secured the establishment of a Post Office independent of the British Office in 1840. According to the Blue Book for that year the duties at the various stations, which were established at all the main settlements, "were conducted by clerks to the Magistrates at the various Stations, who were remunerated by an allowance of 20 per cent on collections."

Mr W.C. Hayes was appointed Postmaster for New Zealand, stationed at Kororareka. "On the dismissal of Mr Hayes from that position," continues the footnote in the Blue Book, "... the conduct of the whole Department was entrusted to Mr S.E. Grimstone, a clerk in the office of the Colonial Secretary, who continued to discharge the duties of Postmaster until the end of the year." Mr Robertson, the author of "A Short History of the New Zealand Post Office", says that it would be well "not to name the first Postmaster" (Hayes), and gives a description of his faults which can be compressed into the words disorderly, drunken, inefficient, and dishonest. He remarks that "During his term of service the dignity of his office of Postmaster was contemptuously set aside by the principal Government officers, who frequently opened the mail-bags, and even distributed the contents, without the knowledge of the Postmaster ... a proceeding against which he feebly protested." (1) Although such an officer must have suited the government offices admirably, it was felt necessary to dismiss him when it was discovered that he had kept the money given him as postage and not sent letters to their destination. On being

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informed that his dishonesty had been discovered, he replied in a letter that is an interesting commentary on the conditions of the civil service at the time. "Will pay in the amount for these letters," he wrote, "in a day or two. Am obliged to look a good many ways for money, not having received pay for so long." When Grimstone was appointed, the office moved to Russell, where the other Government offices now were, and "the Post Office bid fair to settle down into the sluggishness of a department which the residents had little respect for, and, if figures are to be relied on, little intention of using except under dire necessity." (2) Robertson complains that there was no sign of the New Zealand Government's following Britain's example and instituting penny postage; "it was sufficient for the colonial bureaucracy," he says, "that there was a substantial profit on the year's transactions". "The newly-established Government Post Office at Kororaraka," he adds, "met with scant favour at the hands of the settlers, and ... that it was justly mistrusted is only too clear from the scanty records which have come down to us. The postages were vexatiously heavy, and were so far in excess of an equivalent for services rendered as to appear an obnoxious tax to the ordinary colonist who had been accustomed to have his letters faithfully delivered by some obliging ship-captain without charge.... It was speedily found that postages were not always applied to the purpose of sending letters to their destination." (3)

(2) p. 6.

(3) p. 2.

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In the management of the department "there was an unusual lack of system ... alike as regarded the rates of postages and the authority under which they were levied." (4) For the first few months after the establishment of the office at Kororarakea the only communication was between the Bay of Islands and Sydney, the postage being fourpence for a single letter from Russell to Sydney. From Sydney the postage was threepence, but a surtax was payable on arrival amounting to fourpence. As stamps were not then in use, cash payments were made to the Postmaster, and this process made possible wholesale fraud as well as necessitating voluminous and elaborate accounts, which were quite beyond the capabilities of the average clerk of the time. The illicit conveyance of letters flourished, and postages were everywhere evaded, a process in which the Government participated.

Grimstone, who had done valuable work as Postmaster, was succeeded in May 1841 by Thomas Paton, who had been acting as postmaster at Port Nicholson. He was the first to be allowed a salary - of £160 a year - but this did not tempt him to stay more than a month. After a short interval William Connell, also of Port Nicholson, was appointed to the office. Consternation was carried into the department by the news that in the preceding year the English Treasury Commissioners had issued a proclamation bringing the New Zealand postal service under the control of the English Postmaster-General. The New Zealand officials hoped that

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the fact that a local ordinance had been passed establishing post offices would invalidate the Proclamation, and Swainson actually gave an opinion to that effect. (5) Cooper, the Collector of Customs, was instructed by the Treasury Commissioners to establish post offices, on the assumption that none had been established in the country, but he took no action to unite the Post Office with the department under his control. In 1843, however, the New Zealand Government was informed that the Home Government had disallowed the New Zealand Postal Ordinance, and that the new postal rates fixed by it were in force. Mr Cooper, therefore, assumed the office of Postmaster, and the offices at the various towns were placed under the control of the sub-collectors of customs.

The first effect of the new system was the abolition of the privilege of franking letters hitherto held by the Governor, the Colonial Secretary, and the private secretary to the Governor; but the Government successfully evaded this provision by using the colonial brig "Victoria" to collect letters as she visited the various ports.

Dissatisfaction with the postal service grew continually, and there were violent campaigns in the Press against the inadequate and irregular deliveries, the excessive charges, the Government's evasion of postage, and the lack of organisation. In 1844 a committee of inquiry was held to investigate the conduct of the department, and strongly condemned the practice of the Government officials in evading postage. The Government was incorrigible,

(5) Robertson, op. cit., p. 11.

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however, and the practice continued until Mr Felton Mathew, who later in the year became Deputy Postmaster-General, protested strongly, and a general order was issued prohibiting the officials from continuing the evasion.

Grey's attention was soon drawn to the inequalities of the postal charges and the inefficiency of the system, and in 1848 a Postage Ordinance was passed which empowered the Governor to appoint officers and establish post offices, to fix and alter postal rates, and to make regulations for the carriage of mails. This ordinance had immediately beneficial results: it substituted for the lax control of an authority thousands of miles distant the active and vigorous supervision of the Governor; it established rates of postage that were distinctly more rational and systematic; and it laid the foundation for a more regular and reliable mail service. Two years later the rates of postage were definitively fixed by a Proclamation of Sir George Grey, and the use of postage stamps provided for.

In 1853 H.W. Petre was appointed Postmaster-General, with headquarters at Wellington, in spite of the fact that Auckland was still the capital. The reason for this was never apparent, and it led to acrimonious discussion in Parliament and the compulsory retirement of Petre.

The Local Posts Act of 1856 empowered the Postmaster at the principal town in each province to fix the rates of postage payable in the province, and Otago, Canterbury, Nelson, and Auckland took

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advantage of this provision to fix their own rates. The reason for such a measure is not easy to imagine; surely by that time New Zealand politicians would have realised the value of having a centralised, co-ordinated post office. As a result of the new system a letter, for example, from an inland town in the Auckland province was chargeable, for each half-ounce, with (1) the Auckland rate of twopence, (2) the General Government rate of 2d, (3) the General Government delivery rate of twopence, (4) the Otago local rate of twopence. (6)

Stafford's Ministry, however, was convinced of the necessity for centralisation of the administration, and determined to produce efficiency in the civil service, wherever Provincial feeling would make it possible. The New Zealand Post Office Act of 1858 reformed and regulated the Post Office, swept away the cobwebs of the past, and established it on a modern and efficient basis. The tax on delivery, which was everywhere resented, was abolished, and the postal rates were fixed at twopence inland and sixpence foreign for every half-ounce; all the special provincial rates were swept away. Stringent regulations were embodied in the Act to ensure the safe delivery of mails. In the Postal Report of 1860 the advantages of the Act were summed up in substance as follows:-

(6) Robertson: op. cit. p. 49.

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- (1) The abolition of the various special rates levied under the Local Posts Act.
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Under the Act the Post Office continued to be managed until after the period with which this work deals. In 1862 George Eliott Eliott was appointed as the first secretary of the Post Office, and under his able administration the department progressed rapidly towards efficiency.

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VI. CHANGE AND DECAY

By the end of 1842 most of the main Government Departments had been set up, and the outlines of their organisation defined. From this time until 1858 the changes that took place were mainly regroupings of departments according to the ideas of different governors or owing to changes in the administrative organisation of the country.

As judicial officers cannot properly, according to the Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, be classified as civil servants, it is not proposed to enter into the judicial systems or the organisation of the courts or officials which took place in the early years of the colony. Courts of General and Quarter Sessions and Courts of Requests were set up in 1841, as was also the Supreme Court, and in the following year the County Courts were established. Crown Prosecutors were appointed at Port Nicholson and Auckland in 1841 and 1842, and at Nelson in the following year. Coroners, sheriffs, and minor officials were also established in the main towns during these years.

In a new country it is plain that certain functions must be undertaken by the State which can safely be left to private enterprise in a land more advanced in social and political structure. Thus in the first few months of Hobson's governorship various departments were set up to deal with matters which have now been delegated to local bodies or left to private enterprise. In 1840 the Harbourmaster's department was set up, with a harbourmaster at Auckland and another at Russell. In the same year a colonial surgeon

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was appointed, and in 1842 one was stationed at Port Nicholson. In a somewhat different category was the colonial chaplain, also appointed by Hobson.

The Colonial Secretary's department was the focal point of the administrative system. All correspondence between the Governor and the departmental heads passed through this office, and at various times it controlled other departments, such as the Native Department, the Government Printing Department, and the Registration Department. In 1853 the office of the Colonial Under-Secretary was created, and William Gisborne, who was at the time Commissioner of Crown Lands, was appointed to the position.

Alexander Shepherd's appointment as Colonial Treasurer took the control of the Treasury out of the hands of the Collector of Customs; but he was promptly given the control of the Post Office in its stead; the Home Government was apparently determined to run the Civil Service cheaply, at whatever cost to efficiency. In 1844 the Collector of Customs (Hogg) told Fitzroy that he could no longer carry out the duties of both offices satisfactorily. Fitzroy wrote to Stanley that he was "quite aware that the duties of the Post Office had been hitherto done since it's (sic) connection with the Customs ... principally by a clerk, and that the acting-Collector of Customs had only been able to exercise a nominal control ... and that in consequence there had been, and could hardly be expected to be, any improvement in the arrangement so necessary to be closely watched." (1) Fitzroy was convinced

(1) Fitzroy to Stanley Sept. 16, 1844. N.Z.D.D. 1844 No. 32.

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of the inapplicability of the Customs system to New Zealand, and he decided to abolish the department, apparently without much consideration for its officers. "The Abolition of Customs," he wrote to Stanley, "has now become the only measure which can avert extreme misery and save the Colony from Utter ruin.... At whatever loss of revenue ... at whatever reduction of salaries or diminution in the number of Officers employed by the Government ... the ports must be thrown open to numerous shipping now frequenting any place rather than New Zealand." (2) In another dispatch Fitzroy refers to the extent of smuggling along the coast, the expenses ... £14,000 in the previous year ... and the small yield ... £10,000 in 1843. (3) The Department, however, and the system were re-established six months later.

The Police Magistrates, a large number of whom were appointed by Hobson, played an important part in the administration of the country; the magistrate in early New Zealand, like the Justice of the Peace in Tudor times, was the factotum of the central government, which would otherwise have been powerless to control effectively the scattered settlements of the country.

The Government's realisation that its control over the settlers in the southern part of the North Island and in the South

(2) Ibid.

(3) The 1852 Year Book gives the Customs Revenue for 1843 as £16,241.

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Island was of the slightest led in 1844 to the division of the country into two administrative areas, by creating a Southern Division, Major Matthew Richmond being appointed Superintendent. His district as Superintendent included Cook Strait and all places south of a line drawn from Mount Egmont to Mount Tongariro and the Wairoa River. Richmond's duties were defined in Instructions issued to him by Fitzroy. He was to supervise the actions of the Police Magistrates, "and will consider them the Representatives of Local Government, when neither he, nor the Governor, is in the neighbourhood." (4) In native dealings he was to play the part of a mediator. He controlled the militia, and his powers were in theory very wide. Actually, however, they were limited by the inadequate military force at his disposal. Fitzroy enjoined him to be "slow to employ forcible measures even when he is tolerably sure of effecting his lawful purpose" (5) - an instruction that seems hardly necessary when the unfortunate superintendent had only a handful of men at his disposal. Richmond was stationed first at Port Nicholson, with a salary of £500 a year, and when the country was divided for administrative purposes into New Ulster and New Munster in 1847 he was appointed resident magistrate at Nelson.

In several ways Grey's arrival as Governor brought improvements in the Civil Service. By 1845 its condition was chaotic. When Sinclair told Grey that he was kept in complete ignorance of

(4) N.Z.D.D. 1844 encl. 20.

(5) Ibid.

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the conduct of the Protectorate, he might have told him that a similar condition of affairs existed with regard to almost all other departments. Actually the tendency for departments to become almost wholly independent of control from the central authority and almost completely out of contact with other departments which became so marked a feature of the service in later years, had already become apparent. There was little or no supervision of departmental activity either by the head of the department, when the stations were scattered, as with the Customs and Post Office, or by the Colonial Secretary, or by the Governor. Correspondence between the heads of departments and the Governor, as we have seen, was supposed to pass through the Colonial Secretary's office; actually correspondence was as often as not carried on direct, and the departments often went their own way untrammelled by that "vigilant and punctual superintendence" which Lord John Russell had enjoined on Hobson.

The vicious habit of economising by giving one man the work of two was continued; the survey department and the Public Works Department were united under one head. "Finding it impossible to secure the services of a gentleman properly qualified to be placed at the head of the department of Public Works - three superintendents had resigned during the previous year - for the small salary which has been attached to that office," Shortland wrote to Stanley in 1843, "the Surveyor-General has at my request consented to undertake the management of the Department, together with the superintendence of the formation of Streets and Roads,

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and the erection of Piers and Bridges, works necessary to be performed in order to give an exchangeable value to land ... I do not consider that the Department in question need be made a distinct one for some time to come."⁽⁶⁾ The unfortunate surveyor-general had enough on his hands already.

Grey commented on the bad spirit that existed in the Service. "I cannot forbear remarking," he wrote to Stanley in 1846, "that I have never been in any Colony in which so bad a spirit appeared to pervade the Public Service, as in this. Almost every transaction which takes place, and which ought not to pass beyond the department connected with it, becomes publicly known, and is commented on in the newspapers." ⁽⁷⁾

Nor was the condition of the service from the officials' point of view any more satisfactory. At the end of 1843 their salaries were four months in arrears, most of the departments were inadequately staffed, and their rates of pay, though they varied extraordinarily, did not vary on the side of munificence. But the worst part of the system from their point of view was the uncertainty of tenure of their positions; the departments were reshuffled so frequently that in many instances officers were dismissed at short notice without any compensation as a result of these alterations.

The recruitment of civil servants was haphazard. The

(6) Shortland to Stanley, Feb. 7, 1846. N.Z.D.D. 1846, No. 20.

(7) Grey to Stanley, Feb. 7, 1846, N.Z.D.D. 1846, No. 20.

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method would have met with Melbourne's approval; there was "no damned merit about it". Hobson was too harassed and Fitzroy too incompetent for any real attention to be paid to the type of person in the service and the conditions in it, though Hobson was genuinely concerned about the Service and did his utmost to secure the best men possible. Shortland was interested in it, and would probably have done valuable work had not his term of office been so short. Grey was always on the look-out for men of enterprise and ability, and his insistent demand for efficiency and economy led to a strengthening of the service internally and externally.

To the colonists, however, the conditions of the officials in the service mattered little. Then, as ever, the cry was that the revenue was being squandered on useless officers and departments, that the cost of the service was too high, that therefore wages should be reduced and expenditure curtailed.

As early as 1843 there were complaints from the settlers at Port Nicholson: "The Court of Directors (of the New Zealand Company) most respectfully, but earnestly beg to impress upon your Lordship the serious evils that have arisen in all the settlements from the profuse scale upon which the public expenditure has been conducted by the local government ... while in order to support it, heavy taxation has been imposed, the expenditure on public objects useful to the colony has been too much neglected in the settlements in question." The police and judicial departments were felt to be unnecessarily expensive, and the

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institution of paid police magistrates was considered a "most unnecessary expense".

A memorial from the citizens of Auckland in 1849 remarked that "among the causes of their present want of prosperity may be noticed the very gross and wasteful expenditure of public revenue. Useless offices are created to a great extent, and money largely applied to worthless objects; and even when devoted to works of a class likely to forward the advancement of the colony it is most wastefully and lavishly expended." (8)

"The colonists complain," wrote Fox to Peel in 1852, "that year by year, that (sic) expenditure has grown without reference to any greater necessity for outlay.... It is wasted in the maintenance of establishments and offices not infrequently created for the express purpose of making provision for political friends and dependents. I allude to one case in particular; viz., the case of a judge appointed at Otago, with a salary of £800 a year whose sole business in the first year of his filling the office has been not even to try a single case or a single prisoner, but only to issue letters of administration to one small intestate estate." "The revenue of New Munster for the year 1851-52 was," he said, "£29,735 and, of this, £21,744 was appropriated for official establishments, excluding police, while only £950 was allowed for building roads "in a province larger than England". This money, he said, was "lavished" on 118 officials, administering

(8) P.P.: N.Z. 1849, vol. 3 in No. 56.

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government over 17,000 Europeans and about 11,000 natives." (9)

Yet Shortland continually complains of the meagreness of the salaries paid to civil servants; no man, he says, would be willing to take a responsible public position entailing a large amount of work for the "ridiculously small" salaries offered. The actual trouble was not that the service was too prodigal in spending money so much as that the civil servants of the time were incapable, and that the organisation was slack, inefficient, and chaotic.

The division of New Zealand for administrative purposes into New Ulster and New Munster meant an increase in the number of civil servants and increased expenditure. The experiment was successful from no point of view. The system did not work in practice; it increased the confusion already existing in the service; it caused expenditure to rise; and it did not make the administration any more effective. The estimated expenditure of New Ulster for 1849-50 was £26,126-13-6 and that of New Munster £20,156-10-0.

The expenditure of the central government, £8,344-5-0, brought the total administrative costs of the colony to the figure of £54,627-8-6; as compared with the 1840 figure of less than £20,000. Some complained in 1843 that the government cost the colonist £4-12-6½ a year a head, a figure which does not seem to us, when taxation per head of population is nearing £20, to warrant complaint. The increase between 1840 and 1850 would not

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have been burdensome, if only it had brought with it efficiency and active administration; but in spite of the great ability of Domett and the less brilliant gifts of Lieutenant-Governor Eyre, all that the southern colonists gained from the division of the country into the two provinces was an administrative muddle and more debts.

When Grey abolished the Protectorate Department H.T. Kemp, one of the Protectors, was appointed native secretary, but in 1848 C.A. Dillon, the Colonial Secretary, assumed control of native affairs. With the introduction of responsible government the Governor, Sir Thomas Gore Browne, decided, with the approval of the Home Government, to retain control of native affairs, instead of leaving the subject to the control of a responsible minister. (10) This procedure, however, caused so much irritation that when Grey returned to his second term of office as Governor he agreed to place native affairs under ministerial control.

(10) In a minute of the Governor's on the relations between him and his ministers dated April 15, 1856, the Governor's view is set out: "On matters affecting the Queen's prerogative, and the Imperial interests generally, the Governor will be happy to receive their advice, but when he differs from them in opinion he will (if they desire it) submit their views to the consideration of Her Majesty's Secretary of State, adhering to his own until an answer is received.

Among Imperial subjects the Governor includes all dealings with Native tribes, more especially in the negotiation of purchases of land. He will receive and act on the advice of his responsible advisers in reference to the amount of money they may desire to have expended in any one year in the purchase of Land, but beyond this he considers himself bound to act on his own responsibility." Votes and Proceedings, 1856. A-13.

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The system of union of the native department and the colonial secretary's department was, on the whole, unsuccessful. It worked well enough while Grey was governor, as he was able and willing to give up a large part of his time to native problems, but Wynyard, who administered the country from 1854 until the arrival of Gore Browne in the following year, had insufficient knowledge of the questions involved, and his disputes with the ministers did not tend to a more efficient working of the department.

When the New Zealand Company surrendered its charter in 1850 large numbers of its officers were absorbed into the civil service. A notable example of this was F. Dillon Bell, the Company's agent at Nelson, who was appointed a Commissioner of Crown Land.

Alfred Domett, who was appointed civil secretary of New Munster in 1848 and civil secretary of New Zealand in 1851, on C.A. Dillon's appointment as Commissioner of Crown Lands, and held these offices conjointly until the introduction of responsible government, was one of the outstanding personalities of New Zealand's early history. He was a "man of large mind, of intellect highly cultivated, and of great literary accomplishments." Although, as Gisborne says, he was more a poet than a politician, he was a very successful administrator, a better civil servant, in fact, than member of Parliament. He drew up the petition for Fitzroy's recall in 1845, which Buller remarked was a masterly document, drawn up with singular ability and industry, giving a

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sound and wise view of the past history and actual conditions of the colony. Though no one could have made New Munster function satisfactorily under the conditions prevailing, Domett almost succeeded, and as Resident Magistrate in Hawkes Bay, as Commissioner of Crown Lands in Nelson, and later as Secretary for Crown Lands, he did admirable work, showing throughout a great capacity for the fulfilment of very difficult duties. His letterbooks show a keen realisation of the difficulties of the administration of New Munster, and a grasp of detail and a breadth of view that are truly remarkable.

With the grant of responsible government the Customs Department became independent of Her Majesty's Customs, and in 1858 was passed the Customs Regulation Act, which was almost a transcript of the English Act giving a comprehensive code of regulations. No definition of the duties of each officer was given by the Act. The Commissioners of 1866 thought this desirable, especially as it was impossible to send properly qualified and experienced officers to the new posts which had been established on the West Coast of the South Island. At seven ports the resident Magistrates were the collectors of customs; this might be economical, but certainly not efficient.

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VII. REFORM

The period from 1858 to 1866 marks an awakening, gradual but real, to the need for the reorganisation of a civil service that was disintegrating and disordered. Faced by the need for centralisation, by the obvious disorganisation of Government departments, by an insistent demand from the Press and the colonists, the Government was content no longer to let matters slide. A large amount of the credit for the reforms in the civil service is due to the energy and ability of Stafford, who was Colonial Secretary from 1856 to 1861, and Prime Minister and Colonial Secretary from 1865 to 1869. He was a firm believer in the value of a strongly centralised administration, and it will be seen that it was during his term of office that the first steps were taken to place the Civil Service on a sound, systematic and modern basis. His first bill to reform the whole organisation, in 1860, was too progressive for his contemporaries; but six years later, with the recommendations of a Royal Commission behind him, he was able to give effect to most of the valuable ideas which he possessed.

The first steps came in 1858. The Civil Service Superannuation Act of that year, which established superannuation as a permanent and definite feature of the service, was cautious. Any officer of the Government, or his widow or children, who desired to benefit by a retiring allowance was to write to the Colonial Secretary forwarding a medical certificate, signed by two medical practitioners, to the effect that he was unable to work because of ill health; or if the officer had served the Government

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for thirty years the certificate would be dispensed with. (As the New Zealand Civil Service had been in existence for only eighteen years there could not have been many who would benefit immediately from this provision.) The allowance would be granted only if the head of the department in which the officer worked or the Colonial Secretary himself, if the applicant were himself a departmental head, certified that the officer had performed his work satisfactorily. A civil servant who had served from ten to seventeen years received one quarter of the average salary he had received during the previous three years; service of from seventeen to forty-five years entitled him to an allowance of one-third of that average; with one eighty-fourth of the average for every year's service above seventeen; an officer who had served for forty-five years was to receive an allowance equal to three-quarters of his average salary during the previous three years. In 1861 the Act was amended to allow officers appointed before the passing of the Act to draw the allowance without a medical certificate if they had served for fifteen years and were more than fifty years old. This was clearly more reasonable.

The first attempt at comprehensive reform came in 1860, when Stafford introduced a Bill into the House of Representatives, apparently drawn up on the lines of the English reforms of 1853. The Bill, in a manner that surely must be peculiar to New Zealand records, has disappeared, and no record of its provisions appears to exist. Hansard merely records its introduction, first and second readings, and its withdrawal. The "New Zealander", however,

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of October 13, 1860, refers to the Bill, which was withdrawn, the newspaper states, because it was not thought that the system it proposed would work smoothly, "owing to the break-up of the Government departments all over the colony." According to the same source, a Mr Gillies opposed the measure because he thought it better that the matter of reform should be left to the departmental heads. As this is exactly what had been done for the past twenty years, either Mr Gillies had an exalted opinion of the worth of departmental heads at the time or he did not want the service reformed at all. He objected also to the competitive examination system proposed, as examinations, he thought, were not reliable tests of ability, and disliked the proposal to increase salaries by $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent each year. From these meagre details it appears that the measure deserved a better fate than it received; it was apparently just as advanced a measure as the reforms of 1866, and it would certainly have been no more difficult to put it into operation in 1860, than it was in 1866, when six more years of disintegration had been eating away the service and the Maori Wars had made its organisation more chaotic than ever.

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th February, 1940.

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VIII. THE SERVICE IN 1866

There were twenty-two separate departments in 1866, when the Civil Service Commission which was set up to investigate the working of the service opened its sittings. Numbers of these were small and comparatively unimportant offices which had sprung up in the fifties and early sixties or had separated from larger departments of which they were originally branches. The greatest defect in the organisation of the service was that the departments were too independent one of the other; there was no cohesion. It would be more correct to say that there were twenty-two civil services in the country. Added to this was the further disorganisation caused by the Provincial system. As the Commissioners pointed out there were ten civil services in the country, one general and nine provincial. The withdrawal of Stafford's Bill in 1860 had marked the failure of an attempt not only at regulation, but at centralisation and stricter control from above, and the old disintegrating tendencies, which had been operating since the time of Fitzroy, had full play.

The Colonial Secretary's Department controlled the general business of the Government, and dealt especially with the Provincial Governments. It was concerned also with the preparation of Instruments under the Seal of the Colony, the publication of the Gazette, the administration of electoral laws and the arrangement of public contracts. The under-secretary at the head of the department received a salary of £600 a year, and he was also secretary to Cabinet. The Department also supervised and

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corresponded with the Law Department, the Registration Department, the Printing Department, and the Geological Survey Department. The Commission recommended that the Native Department and the Defence Department should also be transferred to the Colonial Secretary's Department, which should be divided into branches to handle its business more efficiently.

The Native Department, as has already been noticed, was at this stage again separated from the Colonial Secretary's Department. There was an Under-secretary with a salary of £600 and an assistant secretary receiving £500. The Department, besides having the general supervision of native welfare, supervised the Native Land Courts, the Native Resident Magistrates' Courts, the Civil Commissioners, the Native Medical Officers, Native education, and Native Reserves.

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IX. THE CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

The Report of the Commission of 1866 on the reorganisation of the Service marks the beginning of an organised modern Civil Service in New Zealand; it is, if we exclude Stafford's Bill of 1860, the first attempt to attack the question thoroughly and as a whole. That it was to a considerable extent the result of English and Australian ideas current at the time, that it embodied many of the principles that guided the British reforms and the Victorian Commission of the 'fifties cannot be doubted; but that does not lessen the value of the Commission's work, and the 1866 Act, which embodied its recommendations, was in certain respects in advance of both the English and the Australian measures.

The Commission was composed of the Auditor of Public Accounts, Charles Knight; the Colonial Under-Secretary, William Gisborne; the Collector of Customs at Wellington, William Seed; and an officer of the Victorian Civil Service, James Major Spence. It was to "inquire generally into the clerical strength and efficiency of the several departments of the Civil Service: And especially as to the numbers, age of admission, rules of advancement and promotion, and remuneration of the several Clerks and higher Officers of the said departments: And to report such improvements in the organisation of the same, by way of consolidation or otherwise, as may, in the opinion of you, the Commissioners hereinafter named, promote efficiency and economy: Also to inquire and report on the subject of retiring and other allowances and

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pensions: And especially whether the same should be provided by a contribution from the clerks in the nature of a Benefit Society; and if so, whether the said contribution shall be compulsory and therefore general, or only voluntary."

"The Constitution and Laws of the Colony of New Zealand," states the Report, "render the civil administration of affairs in it in many essential respects dissimilar to any other Colony, and this organic difference presents at the outset various anomalies. There are actually ten Civil Services (one Colonial and nine Provincial), each entirely independent of the other in those executive functions which the law absolutely imposes on it. Nor are those functions of the nine Provincial Executives of that minor kind the exercise of which requires only a small and unimportant staff in each province, for they include the conduct of immigration, the construction of Public Works, and the preservation of life and property in settled districts. In none of these services has, so far as we are aware, any systematic organisation been established. Moreover, while the general relation of a Provincial Executive to the Executive of the Colony is one of independence, Provincial Governments have, under delegated authority or by mutual arrangement, acted as the representative of the General Government in important branches of administration,... It has been often necessary, both for the sake of economy and of efficiency, that an officer of the General Government should also be a Provincial Officer." (1)

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The Commissioners were strongly influenced by the report of the Victorian Commission of the previous year, from which they make a lengthy quotation, with the remark that it applied generally to New Zealand:-

"The radical defect of the present condition of the Civil Service," state the Victorian Commissioners, "is the total absence of any general rules. There is no rule as to appointments; no rule as to promotion; no rule as to dismissals; no rule as to leave of absence; no rule as to superannuation. There are few defined degrees of rank; there is no uniform correspondence between salary and duty; and there are variations of salary between officers of equal rank who perform similar duties ... from the absence of any formal regulations the service has practically become fragmentary and is split up into small departmental subdivisions, each of which regards itself as distinct from even kindred offices." (2) It should be noted, however, that New Zealand conditions were better than those which the Report indicates existed in Victoria. In the first place, there was to a certain extent a correspondence between rank, duty, and salary in New Zealand. There were surprising variations, it is true, and there was nothing even approaching a classification of officers, but there was a certain uniformity in these matters. Moreover, the 1858 Superannuation Act had made provision for superannuation which though not liberal was at least a step in the right direction.

(2) A to J, 1866, D-7 p.2.

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The Commissioners condemn the tendency for small departments to spring up under the wing of a larger department, separate from it, and lead an independent existence; also the related evil of their absorbing more of the public money than their work would justify. Every head of a department likes to think that his department is the most important in the Government service; and if he succeeds in making the Government think so too, he probably receives a larger salary, and certainly more prestige. In this he is supported by his staff, who are urged on by the same aims of ambition and pride. This, the Commission thinks, is one reason for the inchoate condition of the service. In making this point, however, the Commission does not seem to stress enough the evils of the opposite course, which had also been prevalent; that of uniting large and important departments under one head; the Commission appears to lose sight of the fact that separation of the important departments plus effective control from above is the essential requisite for efficiency.

"The peculiar position of the service," continues the Report, "the number of widely separated settlements over which it is spread, and the Native disturbances during the last five years, which have imposed on the Government military duties of no ordinary magnitude, fully account for that condition (of disintegration) but they have also aggravated its evils." (3)

The results of the lack of organisation in the service had been confusion and irregularity. There were no fixed

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principles to "harmonise and cement the structure of the service"; the "twofold spirit of emulation and independence"(4) arising from reasonable security of tenure and the probability of preferment was lacking. Appointment, pay, and promotion were a matter of chance.

There were 1062 civil servants in the Colony when the Commission commenced its sittings, and their total salaries amounted to £193,404. There were thirty-five chief clerks, with an average salary of £284-8-0, and 308 other clerks, with an average salary of £175-17-0. The Commission inquired into the salaries paid by private firms for work of a similar nature to that performed by the various classes of civil servants, and found that the private concerns paid larger salaries in both higher and lower positions than did the Government.

The First Report of the Commission concludes with a statement of the general principles on which they consider a reform of the civil service should be based - a classification of officers, promotion from one class to another with annual salary increases, the formulation of rules and discipline, and retiring and other allowances to officers. "We hope that by this means public servants may be enabled to feel that they are officers not of a department, but of a government in which they have a definite status; and that efficiency and length of service will uniformly lead to preferment." (5)

(4) Ibid., p.2.

(5) A to J 1866, D-7, p.3.

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"In the adoption of our recommendations," states the second Report, "sudden and extensive changes should be avoided.... The diminution of useless offices, the consolidation of departments, and the substitution of a few able officers for a large number of less qualified persons are results which it only requires the cordial cooperation of the Executive and Legislature to secure, but the attainment of these results must be by a cautious and gradual process." (6)

The Commissioners proposed the creation of five classes of civil servants. Class V was to receive a salary of £80, rising by annual increases to £140; class IV was to be paid from £150 to £240; class III £250-£370; and class II £390-£600. The Report did not state the salaries and personnel of officers in the first class, the Commissioners contenting themselves with a recommendation that such officers should be very limited in number.

The idea of establishing a benefit society was rejected. The system of compulsory deductions, the Commissioners thought, would be a fictitious and inconvenient mode of paying less salary than that assigned to an office, and would complicate the relations of the Government with its officers and lead to embarrassing questions being asked that would be prejudicial to the good atmosphere of the service. The Legislature should fix the amounts of retiring allowances.

The Commission considered, as had been maintained by opponents of Governor Grey from the first, that the Resident

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Magistrates (7) were too expensive an institution. They should be appointed only in the main towns and some native districts.(8) If their recommendations as to the reorganisation of the service were carried out, however, the Commissioners thought that the country would be saved an expenditure of £70,720-17-0; while besides making the service more efficient in itself it would make it more attractive to candidates of ability.

Local officers should be strictly limited to their separate functions, each being responsible to the head of his department at the capital, and through him to the Minister in charge of the department. "This system," the Commissioners state, "preserves responsibility in all its stages, and fixes it distinctly, leaving to the Minister the final discretion to be exercised through an experienced officer vested with such control over his department as to make him properly responsible for its working."

Candidates wishing to enter the service had to pass a non-competitive examination, a Civil Service Examination Board being

(7) Resident Magistrates had been set up by Grey in 1848 to deal especially with native cases; but the Magistrates had considerable jurisdiction in cases in which Europeans were involved.

(8) In 1856 a Committee of the House of Representatives appointed to report on the working of the Resident Magistrates Ordinance and on the advisability of establishing new provincial courts, reported that (i) the Ordinance was in many respects defective, (ii) the powers of the Resident Magistrates over Europeans in criminal cases should be curtailed, (iii) District courts should be established with civil and criminal jurisdiction.

These recommendations were embodied in the District Courts Act 1858, and the Resident Magistrates were thus left to deal almost entirely with native cases.

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set up to frame regulations for the examination. Stafford himself favoured a competitive examination, if one may judge from the contents of his Bill of 1860; apparently the popular reverence for Royal Commissions would not permit him to ignore its recommendations in this respect. Vacancies were to be filled by rotation of the list, and all promotions should be made from within the service.

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X. CONCLUSION

Perhaps the most striking features of the Civil Service in New Zealand from 1840 until 1866 are its disorganisation and its disunity. Hobson's frail structure was dismantled by a series of factors all operating against the establishment of a strong centralised organisation. The scattered nature of the settlements in early years, which made supervision and control from the centre most difficult if not impossible; the apparent lack of enthusiasm and energy of many of the departmental heads which deprived him of the means of making his plans effective; the administrative division of the country first into two provinces and then into nine; and the two factors mentioned by the Commission itself, the desire of each departmental head to increase his own importance and therefore that of his department, and the protracted struggle with the Maoris which absorbed the attention of the whole country. There had been little prospect by 1845 of the service amalgamating into a cohesive and ordered whole in the near future, and these successive blows completely destroyed any hope that might justifiably have existed.

Hobson did his work well in the circumstances; with no able men, insufficient money, and broken communications he erected a civil service that in ordinary times would have been strong enough to survive. The personality of Grey was a potent factor in restoring to the service something of the vigour which it had lost under Fitzroy, and his punctual superintendence of every department combined with his strong sense of the practical was a valuable

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influence; but more than this was needed.

The 1866 Commissioners reached nearly to the heart of the matter when they spoke of the absence of "twofold spirit of emulation and independence" from the service. The lack of any fixed principles in the management of the Service, the absence of any real control or supervision over the Departments, and the consequent disintegration in morale and machinery in it were the root causes of its decay.

The Commission recommended the regulation of conditions, appointments, promotions, and salaries, and the establishment of a superannuation scheme. It attacked all the most obvious and most vital defects that existed at the time; and subsequent alterations were necessary not so much because the Commission had failed in its diagnosis or in its remedies, as because the Government neglected to make effective its recommendations, and new conditions arose with the development and expansion of the service and revealed questions which the Commissioners of 1866 had no reason to contemplate and no means of foreseeing.

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APPENDIX I

LIST OF OFFICERS OF THE GOVERNMENT IN 1840
(Compiled from Blue Book of 1840)

Beckham, Thomas	Police Magistrate, Bay of Islands.
Carkeek, Stephen	Commander of Cutter.
Chappell, Charles	Clerk in Colonial Secretary's Office.
Clarke, George	Protector of Aborigines.
Coates, James	Clerk in Colonial Secretary's Office.
Cretnay, Henry	Clerk to Magistrate, Bay of Islands.
Cooper, George	Colonial Treasurer and Collector of Customs.
Dawson, G.F.	Police Magistrate, Cook's Straits.
Fisher, F.	Commissioner of Land Claims.
Freeman, J.S.	Chief Clerk, Colonial Secretary's Office.
Galloway, J.J.	Assistant surveyor.
Godfrey, E.L.	Commissioner of Land Claims.
Grimstone, S.E.	Clerk, in Colonial Secretary's Office.
Hayes, W.C.	Clerk to Police Magistrate, Bay of Islands.
Johnson, J.	Colonial Surgeon.
Kemp, H.T.	Clerk and interpreter, Colonial Secretary's office.
Kendall, W.	Superintendent of Stock.
Logie, C.	Stores Clerk.
Mason, W.	Superintendent of Works.
McCarthy, J.	Tide Surveyor.
McDonagh, A.E.	Police Magistrate, Hokianga.

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Mathew, Felton	Surveyor-General
Mitford, G.M.	Clerk in Colonial Treasurer's Office.
Moore, C.	Clerk in Colonial Secretary's Office.
Murphy, M.	Police Magistrate, Port Nicholson.
Palmer, J.M.	Probationer clerk, Colonial Secretary's office.
Paton, T.	Clerk to Magistrates, Port Nicholson.
Perry, F.	Clerk in Colonial Treasurer's Office.
Richmond, M.	Commissioner of Crown Lands.
Robinson, C.B.	Police Magistrate, Akaroa.
Rough, David	Harbourmaster, (Auckland).
Shortland, W.	Colonial Secretary.
Smart, H.D.	Lieutenant Commanding Mounted Police.
Sutton, R.M.	Clerk, Colonial Secretary's Office.
Symonds, W.C.	Police Magistrate, Auckland.
Symonds, J.J.	Assistant-surveyor.
Tapper, H.	Signal master, Bay of Islands.
Tucker, H.	Colonial Storekeeper.
Williams, E.M.	Clerk and interpreter to Police Magistrates, Auckland.

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APPENDIX II

Expenditure on the Government Departments
in 1840

(Compiled from Blue Book 1840)

	<i>£</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>
Governor's Establishment	794	9	1
Colonial Secretary's Department	616	10	8
Colonial Treasurer's Department	89	13	0
Customs Department	869	8	2
Survey Department	982	3	11
Aborigines Department	218	10	6
Harbourmaster's Depart- ment	903	17	0
Colonial Surgeon's Department	200	1	11
Post Office	29	6	2
Colonial Storekeeper	7	10	5
Public Works Department	2,804	4	3
Coroner	8	7	0
Police and Gaols	<u>1,619</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>
Total	9,143	9	8

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APPENDIX III

Salaries of Principal Officers in 1840

(Compiled from Blue Book 1840)

Officer	£
Colonial Secretary	400
Commissioner of Land Claims (Chief)	730
(second)	547-10-0
(third)	547-10-0
Surveyor-General	400
Police Magistrates	250
Protector of Aborigines	450
Superintendent of Public Works	180
Treasurer and Collector of Customs	600

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APPENDIX IV

REGULATIONS RELATIVE TO

Appointments to Public Offices in the Colonies.

(Stanley's Circular Dispatch June 15, 1842)

1. Throughout the British Colonies the Offices holden in the service of the Executive Government are all so holden at the pleasure of the Queen, except in the case of a very few Offices formerly granted during the lives and good behaviour of the holders, which grants cannot hereafter be revived in the same form on the occurrence of future vacancies.
2. Of Offices holden at the pleasure of the Crown, some are filled up by the Governor in his own name, or by the Governor and Council, in pursuance of special enactments authorising, in these particular cases, such a deviation from the established form. In the absence of such Enactments public Offices of inconsiderable rank and emolument are usually filled up by the Governor either in his own name or in the name of Her Majesty. All Offices of considerable rank, trust, and emolument are filled up by appointments either provisional or final, - provisional, when they are made by the Governor on any sudden emergency, subject to Her Majesty's approbation, - final, when they are made in obedience to Her Majesty's Commands.
3. The general rule is, that all public Offices of considerable rank, trust, and emolument, should be granted by an instrument under the public Seal of the Colony in Her Majesty's name. In

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the case of provisional appointments they are issued in pursuance of Her Majesty's General Instructions. In the case of final appointments they are issued in pursuance of Her Majesty's special Instructions, which special Instructions are conveyed to the Governor generally in the form of Warrants under the Royal Signet and Sign Manual, but occasionally in the form of Despatches from the Secretary of State.

4. The distinction between Offices which are, and offices which are not, of considerable rank, trust, and emolument, being in itself vague and indefinite, has been rendered as precise as the nature of the case admits by the following distinction. Offices are classed under three heads:- 1, those of which the emoluments do not exceed one hundred pounds per annum - 2, those, of which the emoluments exceed one hundred and do not exceed two hundred pounds per annum - 3, and those, of which the emoluments exceed three hundred pounds per annum.

5. In the case of Offices of the first or lowest of the three classes mentioned, the Governor as a general rule has the absolute disposal, subject only to the condition of reporting every such appointment by the first opportunity. In the case of Offices of the second, or middle class, appointments are seldom if ever made except on the Governor's recommendation. When such appointments are confirmed, the confirmation takes place in the form of a Despatch from the Secretary of State. In the case of Offices of the third or highest class, the Governor is to make a special report of the grounds of his appointment, and is

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distinctly to apprise the object of his choice that he holds the Office in the strictest sense of the word provisionally only until his appointment is confirmed by Her Majesty. In such cases the confirmation takes place in the form already mentioned, of a Warrant under the Royal Signet and Sign Manual.

6. It is of course impossible to lay down any general rule for deciding in which cases the recommendation of a Governor will, or will not be ultimately sanctioned and confirmed by the Queen; but in general it may be stated that Her Majesty will be advised to regard more favourably appointments which are in the nature of promotions of meritorious public Servants, than appointments made in favour of persons new to the public Service, and that when any new Office has been created, the Governor's recommendation for filling it will carry with it less weight than in the case of Offices which the Governor may have found already established. In the cases of such new Offices there will always be more than usual reason to anticipate that an appointment made will be made directly from this Country.

7. It is further to be understood that in determining the propriety of appointments from this Country or from the Colony, regard will probably be had to the comparatively advanced state of wealth and population in each Colony, and to the number of properly qualified candidates among whom the local authorities may have the opportunity, as vacancies occur of making a selection for Her Majesty's approval and confirmation through the Secretary of State.

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8. In the distribution of the patronage of the Government in the Colonies, great weight must always be attached to local services and experience. Every Governor will therefore make once in each year a confidential report of the claims of candidates, whether already employed in the public Service or not, whom he may consider to possess that qualification, in order that when a vacancy or an opportunity for promotion occurs, the Secretary of State may have before him the means of judging how far the particular candidate recommended by the Governor is on the whole the best qualified, and whether a candidate of proper qualifications is to be found in the Colony, or any adjacent Colony. Such reports being prepared, not in reference to any existing vacancy and an actual appointment, but on the more broad and deliberate view of the actual state of the Civil Service, and of the comparative claims and qualifications of the different candidates, will obviate some inconveniences which have arisen from the simultaneous appointment of an Officer and report on his fitness for public Office. It will also afford to the Secretary of State, who will have before him simultaneously the whole of these Reports, more effectual means than he at present possesses of judging of the merits generally of Officers employed in subordinate situations throughout Her Majesty's Colonial Possessions; and will materially increase the prospects of advancement and encouragement to meritorious Officers in such situations by enlarging the range within which they may hope to obtain promotion as a reward for active and efficient service. In cases where the means of effectively recruiting the public Service as vacancies shall arise

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shall appear not to be within the Governor's reach, the Secretary of State will think it peculiarly incumbent on himself to select proper persons in this country.

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The Dispatches are an invaluable source of information, particularly in the early years. The Blue Books afford valuable information as regards personnel, appointments, and administrative changes. I cannot trace the Blue Book for 1845. There is interesting and very useful material in the records of the Department of Internal Affairs, but it is difficult to locate.

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