

If the proposal involves expense that it must not exceed the amount voted by the Assembly—If his Responsible Advisers consider the proposal to be liable to objection, that they shall have the right to protest against its adoption, and that such protest shall be forwarded for Her Majesty's consideration, but until Her Majesty's pleasure is known, the Governor's decision shall be acted on.

That Responsible Advisers shall have the right to protest against the appointment of any officer engaged in Native affairs, but that the same course shall apply, viz. ; that the Governor's decision shall be acted on until Her Majesty's pleasure is known.

That a difference of opinion between the Governor and his Responsible Advisers on Native affairs, shall not be admitted as sufficient cause for resignation on their part.

(Signed,) T. GORE BROWNE.

Government House,
28th August, 1856.

MEMORANDUM.

September 2nd, 1856.

As His Excellency the Governor sees no difficulty in meeting the views of his Responsible Ministers, relative to the administration of Native Affairs, as stated in their Minute of the 22nd August; they, on their part, are prepared at once to assume the duties and responsibilities which that arrangement imposes upon them.

The Governor's Responsible Advisers adopt the suggestions made by him in reply to that Minute, but they do not anticipate that any difficulty will arise in modifying, from time to time, any details necessary to give proper effect to the arrangement. They have, however, to observe, in reference to the last paragraph of His Excellency's reply, that although such a difference of opinion as would, in reference to an ordinary matter, be sufficient cause for tendering their resignations, shall not be so admitted in reference to Native Affairs; yet such differences might arise as would render it unbecoming in them, or detrimental to the Public Service, that they should continue to hold the position of His Excellency's Responsible Advisers. In any such case they feel assured that the Governor could have no difficulty in relieving them from their offices.

The present arrangement being necessarily of a temporary character only, the question as to what should be the permanent relations between the Governor of New Zealand and his Responsible Ministers, still remains to be considered, and His Excellency's Advisers at once admit that it is their duty to state their views on this subject frankly, for the consideration of Her Majesty's Imperial Government.

It has been stated as an axiom, that when a Colony is entrusted with the management of its own affairs, it should then provide for its Military defence. Whether this may or may not be true as a general rule, it is certain it is not applicable to the present condition of New Zealand.

It is not intended in this Minute to enter with particularity on the subject of the existing relations between the European and Native Population. It is sufficient for the present purpose to state that paragraphs 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15, of Governor Sir George Grey's Despatch, No. 121, to the Secretary of State, of the 30th August, 1851, may be taken in reference to the Northern Island, as describing those relations for the most part correctly, subject to the modification that since that time the European population has increased, and the Native population probably diminished in number.

Having regard, then, to numbers, position, and means of offence and defence of the two races, it may be taken as granted, that it would be impolitic and dangerous to withdraw the protection afforded by Her Majesty's Troops, and that such a course would not only arrest the progress, but even peril the existence of the European Settlements of the Northern Island.

The presence of a considerable Naval and Military force is at present absolutely essential for the preservation of peace, the maintenance of Her Majesty's authority, and the prevention of conflicts, which would probably only terminate with the extinction of the Native race. No doubt every year will render the danger less, and in a few years, under the action of a policy having for its object the amalgamation of the races, will probably altogether pass away; but in the meantime, physical weakness on the part of the Government would produce contempt, and invite hostility and attack. Should such a state of things unhappily be brought about, it would certainly involve a serious expenditure of blood and money to restore Her Majesty's authority to the position which it now holds, and which, with prudence, backed by a sufficient force to command respect, may in all probability be maintained.

Notwithstanding this state of things, of which Her Majesty's Imperial Government appears to have been well advised, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in his Despatch of the 8th of December, 1854, when directing that Responsible Government should be conferred on the Colony, distinctly states that Her Majesty's Government had no desire to "propose terms or to lay down restriction" on the Governor's assent to the measures which might be necessary for that object, except that of making provision for certain Officers of the Government.

The Governor, however, has thought it his duty to make reservations in reference to Native Officers, and subject to these, the relations between him and his Responsible Ministers are now settled, pending the decision of Her Majesty's Imperial Government, by their Minute of the 22nd August, and his reply thereto.

Having regard to the circumstances and necessities of the Colony, it must be assumed that the maintenance of a Military and Naval force by the Imperial Government is for the present indispensable, and the Government of the Colony must be settled upon that basis. The question is then what amount of control in Native Affairs is Her Majesty's Imperial Government willing that the Colonists of New Zealand should, during the existing state of things, be entrusted with?