

NATIVE AFFAIRS.

DESPATCHES FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE GOVERNORS OF NEW ZEALAND.

SECTION I.—DESPATCHES FROM GOVERNOR GORE BROWNE, C.B.

SECTION II.—DESPATCHES FROM GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY, K.C.B.

SECTION III.—DESPATCHES FROM HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, K.G.

DESPATCHES FROM GOVERNOR GORE BROWNE, C.B.

No. 1.

DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR BROWNE TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Government House, Auckland, New Zealand,
22nd February, 1860.

MY LORD DUKE,—

In continuation of my Despatch No. 15, of the 17th instant, I beg leave to submit to your Grace a few remarks on the Maori population in the Middle Island, and those at Poverty Bay in the Northern Island, whom I visited during my recent tour.

2. The whole number of Natives inhabiting the Middle Island is estimated at between 2000 and 3000, of whom one half dwell in the Province of Nelson. Large tracts of land, more than sufficient for their utmost wants, have been reserved for them in various parts of the different provinces, and with the exception of a few at Otago, I rejoice to say that they have in most cases profited by their intercourse with the Europeans, and are generally in a satisfactory condition.

3. The Native settlements in Canterbury are for the most part quite equal to those in the Northern Island, and I was much gratified to find that a society has been established at Otago whose special object is the improvement of the small remnant of those people which still clings to the land occupied by their fathers.

4. At every Maori settlement which I visited the same request was preferred, viz. ; that I would have their lands individualised and reconveyed to them under crown grants.

5. I enclose an address presented to me by the Maories at Lyttelton, which refers distinctly to this subject, and is somewhat remarkable as it contrasts strongly with the desultory talk which usually characterises Maori assemblies.

6. Mr. Mackay, the Native agent in this Island, recently discovered that the Native title over a tract of seven and a half millions of acres at Arahura, on the West Coast, which was supposed to have been included in former purchases had not been extinguished ; and succeeded in doing so for the almost nominal sum of £20. The Natives to whom it belonged did not exceed 100 souls, and I wished much to have given individually crown grants for part of the reserve, carefully defining them and making them inalienable ; but in the existing state of the law I was unable to do more than make a reserve for them, as a body, of 10,000 acres which I directed to be carefully selected.

7. From the Middle Island I went to Turanga or Poverty Bay, on the East Coast of the Northern Island: and I will trouble your Grace with some details of what I saw there, because I see in them an example of the effect of unauthorised settlement by Europeans in districts where it is not possible to protect them unless at an enormous expense of men and money ; and secondly, because they afford one of many proofs that the demands for the acquisition of Native land are often made in utter ignorance of all the circumstances of the case, and are too often based on the single idea that the Government is bound to furnish, not only an adequate supply of land, but of that particular land which is especially coveted, without reference to the views and inclinations of the Natives, whose claims are entirely disregarded.

8. Turanga is a valley containing about 30,000 acres of very rich land, surrounded by mountains, very difficult of access, and approached only by a harbour which is open to the South-East winds. The inhabitants consist of about 1500 Maoris, and about 60 or 70 Europeans, among whom is the family of the Bishop of Waiapu and a Resident Magistrate. The Europeans in Auckland have always coveted this valley, and complained much that no steps have been taken to purchase it; while those resident in the district, who have with one or two exceptions settled there in defiance of Sir G. Gipps's Proclamation, complain as loudly of neglect on the part of the Government in not extending its protection to them.

9. In reply to some recent complaints, I requested the Commissioner appointed under the Land Claims Settlement Acts of 1856 and 1858, to visit this place and endeavour to reconcile the differences between the Europeans and the Natives; and he had only left the settlement, after an ineffectual attempt to do so, a few days before my arrival.

10. The Natives having been advised that the purchase of Native land by Europeans after the Proclamation referred to was illegal, reclaim all that they sold subsequent to that date, and no arguments appear to have any weight with them.

11. They were much wanting in courtesy to myself, stating that previous Governors had been afraid to visit them, and wishing to know why I did so. They objected to the Union Jack hoisted at the Magistrate's residence during my stay; said they should not recognize the Queen, and that unless I visited them for the purpose of restoring the lands which the Europeans had cheated them out of, they did not wish to see me; that I might return from whence I came, and take my English Magistrate with me. The Rev. Leonard Williams (a son of the Bishop of Waiapu), who had spent the greater part of his life in this valley, acted as my interpreter: and guided by his opinion, I merely gave a short reply, saying that although the Europeans had acted contrary to

the law in purchasing their land, they, the Maoris, had not the less received a price for it, and that it was now the property of the Crown. I then took my departure, leaving Mr. Williams to explain to the Natives the folly of such misconduct, and inform them that unless they expressed their regret for it through him I should withdraw the Magistrate, and leave them to continue in that barbarism from which so large a part of their countrymen had emerged.

12. The day previous to this discussion, I had visited the Maori school superintended by the excellent Bishop of Waiapu, who has lived twenty years in this valley. The school is in its infancy, having been lately removed from a distant part of the valley; but it is in itself all that can be desired, and the Bishop and his family devote themselves entirely to it.

13. During his absence in England some years ago the Bishop's duties were performed by the Rev. Mr. Grace, whose peculiar opinions on the rights of the Maories have been the subject of correspondence previous to my arrival in the colony; and it is remarkable that since that time the Maoris in this district have openly and distinctly objected to the prayer for the Queen used in the Church of England service.

14. In conclusion, I have determined to wait until the next mail arrives from Turanga, and if I do not then receive any information which may induce me to alter my intention, I shall withdraw the Magistrate, who has expressed to me in writing his inability to perform his duties satisfactorily to himself or with adequate benefit to the community in which he resides.

15. I enclose copy of an address presented to me by the Europeans resident at Turanga, with my reply, and a report by the Commissioner for the settlement of old land claims.

I have &c.,

T. GORE BROWNE.

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle,
&c., &c.. &c.

Enclosure 1 in No. 1.

(TRANSLATION.)

ADDRESS OF THE CANTERBURY NATIVES TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR GORE BROWNE, C.B.

Port Cooper,
January 6th, 1860.

Our Friend Governor Browne, we salute you! Welcome! Welcome! Welcome!

Welcome, the head of New Zealand Assemblies, both European and Maori. We salute you. Listen to our cry of welcome, from the people of Kaiapoi, of Rapaki, of Purua, of Akaroa, of Waiwera, and of Taumutu. Give ear also to our sayings.

We come to you with our complaint, as to a doctor, that he may administer relief. It is this:—We are without either house or land in this town for the purposes of a market place.

We are like unto a cormorant sitting on a rock. The tide rises, it flows over the rock, and the bird is compelled to fly. Do you provide a dry resting place for us, that we may prosper. These are the articles of trade we propose to bring to town,—firewood, potatoes, wheat, pigs, fish, and other things. We want this place also as a landing for our boats.

Friend the Governor! We greet you as the white crane of rare appearance.

Friend, hearken! We are striving to adopt the example of the Pakeha. As an instance of this, we seek your approval of the erection of a flour mill at Port Levy; and we ask for your assistance in the same manner that you have aided the people of the Northern Island in the construction of their mills; and further, that you will send us a wise man (a millwright) to superintend the work, that it may be properly done. All the machinery has arrived, and we have paid for it the sum of £380 15s. 3d. The assistance we ask of you is to erect the house, to put up the mill, and to dig an aqueduct. And when the proceeds of the mill are sufficient, we will repay your advance. Let this be made a proof of your regard for us.

Here is another subject for us to speak of, O Governor. The voice of all the people is that our Land Reserves in various places be subdivided, so that each may have his own portion. We ask you to give to each man a title in writing to his own allotment; but we leave the matter in your hands, O Governor. Our reason for urging the subdivision of our lands is, that our difficulties and quarrels may cease, that we may live peaceably, and that Christianity and good works may thrive amongst us.

These are our farewell words to you. Depart, O Governor. Return to your home at Auckland. Farewell! Farewell! Farewell!

THE GOVERNOR'S REPLY.

My Friends,—

I am glad to see you. Our great Sovereign the Queen, who reigns over the people of many nations, loves you and cares for you. She gave orders to the Governors who came before me; she has given her orders to me; and she will give orders to those who may come after me. Her orders are always the same—"Take care of my people. Make no distinctions between the Maori and the Pakeha, unless it be for their own good. Make my people live together in peace, and teach the Maori to follow the example of their Pakeha brethren. Tell them to listen to the

Missionaries and to send their children to school. Advise them to be sober and honest, and to shun evil communications whether they be with Pakeha or with Maori."

These are the commands of our gracious Queen.

I am glad to be able to provide a "dry resting place" for you as you desire, and have directed your good friend Hamilton to purchase a place for you. There you will be able to bring your firewood, your potatoes, wheat, fish and pigs.

I am also glad that you have erected a flour mill, and when I go back to Auckland I will enquire if there is any money ready, and if so, I will send you some. You must know, however, that I have only a certain sum to lend. I have lent it all, but when those who have borrowed pay their debts (which may not be for some time), I shall be again able to lend, and will lend to you in your turn.

I regret to hear that differences exist amongst some of you respecting your timber lands. What you say about subdividing these lands and apportioning them in fair proportions to families and individuals, is good. To assist you in effecting such a subdivision of the land as the Chiefs and owners thereof may cordially agree to, I will direct an Officer of the Native Department to accompany you to the places in dispute, and to witness the fixing of such boundaries as you yourselves may decide upon; but you must distinctly understand in making you this offer that you are not to have any quarrels among yourselves in settling the boundaries.

If I find that you agree in this arrangement, I shall then recommend to the Queen that titles similar to those of the Europeans should be issued to such individuals or families.

It will always afford me the greatest pleasure to hear from time to time that you are making good use of your Reserves, which are now become valuable by the settlement of Europeans; and I trust that you will by industry and perseverance, farm them to good advantage.

You should also build comfortable and substantial houses to live in, as some few of you have already done. This will tend very much to promote your own health and comfort. All people acquire wealth by being frugal and industrious, and you have the means at your disposal, by having a ready market for your produce, to become a prosperous people; and I trust the time is not far distant when you will more fully appreciate and recognize the advantages of living under the protection of the good and wise laws of the Queen of England.

Farewell, my friends. Live in peace with each other, and remember that the Bible tells us to "do unto others as we would they should do unto us."

[NOTE.—*The Turanga Address does not appear to be recorded.*]

Enclosure 2 in No. 1.

MEMORANDUM BY THE LAND CLAIMS COMMISSIONER.

In obedience to the Governor's commands that I should state in an official form the substance of a private letter I recently addressed to His Excellency from Poverty Bay, I have to make the following remarks on the land claims there under purchase from the Natives.

These claims are few in number, and do not comprise together more than 2200 acres. Only six are for land bought prior to Governor Sir G. Gipps' proclamation of 14th January, 1840. The others relate to transactions entered into contrary to law, at various periods from 1840 to 1854 or 1855.

When Governor Fitzroy introduced what is called the penny-an-acre proclamation, the Turanga settlers asked him to waive the right of pre-emption, so as to enable them to complete their purchases: but he refused. With the exception of these transactions, of a small piece of land sold to the Government not long ago as a place for the Resident Magistrate, and of the land set apart for the Bishop's Industrial School, the Native title has not been extinguished, and the District remains in the hands of the Natives.

Mr. McLean was to have enquired into the claims at Turanga some years ago, but was prevented from doing so, chiefly, I believe, on account of so many of them being illegal, while, in his position towards the Natives, it would have been almost impossible for him to avoid going into them. The same difficulty was in my way; for while the Land Claims Acts gave me no authority formally to "investigate" cases in which land was bought without the sanction of Government since 1840, the Natives were anxious to have all enquired into, if any.

For some time past there has been growing up a desire on their part to repossess themselves of the lands they had sold; and before I got to Poverty Bay, there were discussions among them as to whether they should appear before me at all, lest by doing so they should compromise the position they had assumed towards the settlers. However, they determined to come, and several meetings took place between us in the last week of December, 1859.

They opened the discussion by a very decided intimation of their intention to resume all the land; but in order to strengthen their position, they adopted a course quite novel, namely that of repudiating their sales; commencing with the claim of the Bishop of Waiapu, which I had always understood to be disputed by nobody.

During the meetings, I explained to them that there were three classes of claims at Turanga: 1st. Those arising prior to 1840; 2nd. Those arising out of the setting apart of land for the maintenance of half-caste children; and 3rd. Those arising out of purchases after Sir G. Gipps' proclamation.

The only real difficulty attached to the last class. I took pains to explain the grounds of the doctrine that wherever they had actually parted with their title it passed to the Crown; and that, therefore, they should give up the land sold, irrespective of the date of purchase. Further, that they had nothing to do with any regulations as between the Crown and its subjects of European race, regarding the ultimate disposal of the land. The principal seller had been a chief named Kahutia; and thereupon he confessed to having sold the land wrongfully, confirmed the allegation of the Natives that they had an equal right to it, which has never been satisfied, and admitted that they talked of sending him off to another part of the East Coast as a kind of punishment. Of course, this last was an unmeaning threat; but the end of it was that they united in the declaration that they would repossess themselves of the land. To this, I objected that they had permitted the settlers to live there for years, and to incur a good deal of expense in building and cultivating, and that it would be unjust to take the land and not pay for the improvements. They admitted the justice of paying for these, and requested me to value them; which, however, I had no power to do. Most of the settlers, seeing the course things were taking, got alarmed and decided not to bring forward their claims at all, lest, when the evidence came before me, their own witnesses should, as Kahutia had done, repudiate the sales. Even in a case where the evidence seemed to establish the claim, the claimant considered it would be hazardous to make a survey; and though (in accordance with the rule I have pursued from the first) I refused to allow young men to annul transactions of the older chiefs, I think it would be difficult in any case to make such a survey as I require before issuing a grant. The settlers then expressed a desire to abandon their claims to the Government, in the hope of some day getting a title; and I took the opportunity of pointing out, in claims arising since 1840, the absurdity of their calling upon the Governor to protect them and expecting the aid of the law to maintain their violation of it.

On the whole, I could not but arrive at an unfavourable opinion of the Natives. I never heard anywhere such language used about the Queen's authority, Law, Government, Magistrates, and the like. I think much of this state of things arises from the decline of Chieftainship in the district, instanced by the proverb among them that "at Turanga all men are equal"; and it would have been far better if the Ordinance of 1846 had been put in force, and straggling settlers prevented from occupying the land contrary to law. This is, in my opinion, the chief cause of the bad state of feeling that has grown up at Poverty Bay. Whatever may be the true reason, it has resulted in preventing the settlement of the claims, and at present I see no prospect of making such a settlement.

Auckland, 24th Feb., 1860.

F. DILLON BELL,
Land Claims Commissioner.

No. 2.

DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR GORE BROWNE TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Government House,
Auckland, New Zealand, 27th November, 1860.

MY LORD DUKE,—

Printed in Sess. pap., 1860

I have the honor to forward the Report of a Select Committee of the House of Representatives, appointed to enquire as to the circumstances under which an attempt was made in the year 1857 to introduce institutions of Civil Government amongst the Natives of the Waikato District, the practical effects of the same, and the causes which led to its discontinuance.

2. Mr. Fenton's journal having been adopted as a basis of the enquiry, I should inform your Grace that in the year 1856 I had appointed Mr. Fenton to be my Native Secretary, an appointment which was then separate from the Land Purchase Department. As a matter of economy, Ministers proposed that the offices of Land Purchase Commissioner (held by Mr. McLean) and that of Native Secretary, should be united, and I consented on condition that Mr. Fenton should be otherwise provided for. He was then appointed Magistrate at Raglan, and afterwards transferred to the Waikato.

3. At my desire, Mr. Fenton prepared a Report for which, for his zeal and ability, and for the value of his information, he received my own thanks and those of the Government expressed in strong terms.

4. I agree with the Committee in thinking that "general soundness of the views expounded in this very able paper has not been impeached." I am not, however, prepared to admit that Mr. Fenton shewed equal discretion in carrying those views into effect.

5. The Chief of Waikato (Potatau or Te Wherowhero) had been employed by Sir George Grey as his organ of communication with the Waikato, and for this purpose he was induced to live at Mangare, six miles from Auckland, on a reserve provided for him. His influence was known to be paramount on the Waikato, as he was a great warrior and a profound politician; and Sir George Grey judged very wisely that as long as Potatau was faithful to him the tribes of the Waikato would be friendly and remain quiet.

6. Just before Mr. Fenton's appointment the subject of a Maori King had been revived, and Potatau was the person indicated as likely to be raised to that dignity. In 1857 I visited the Waikato and met Potatau at Paetai, when he promised to put a stop to the subject. Mr. Fenton

was with me, and the influence of Potatau and his power were too notorious to admit of doubt or discussion. It was therefore evident that any attempt to introduce institutions of Civil Government among the Natives of the Waikato District without first gaining the assent and co-operation of Potatau, would be likely to make him view them with suspicion, and as certainly lead to failure.

7. Very soon after Mr. Fenton's appointment, Mr. McLean called my attention to the fact that Potatau and the old Chiefs had not been conciliated, and that any attempt to act in opposition to their wishes would be fruitless and probably dangerous. I spoke to Mr. Fenton at various times on the subject, but while he always professed a desire to attend to my wishes, he continued to act as before. Mr. McLean, the Native Secretary, also complained that all Mr. Fenton's correspondence was addressed to one of the Responsible Ministers; and I find, on reference to my memorandum book, that I endeavoured to reconcile this difference by directing that Letters on Native subjects should be written in duplicate, one copy being sent to the Native Office. It will be seen, however, by Mr. Richmond's answer (Evidence, Q. 996) that this change of arrangement "dried up Mr. Fenton's correspondence." I have also found the following Memorandum dated 4th February, 1858, which was intended to be sent to my Responsible Advisers, but which, after shewing it to Mr. Fenton, I withdrew.

"The leading article of the *Southern Cross* of this morning uses language identically the same with that used by Mr. Fenton. I entirely acquit that gentleman of having written it, but "it would be difficult to convince me that he did not inspire the editor or that the editor does "not inspire him. In either case the matter deserves notice: that there is misrepresentation of "facts Mr. Fenton ought to know. The attack upon the office of which he is a subordinate is "unjust, and if actually written by him would deserve dismissal. I think Mr. Fenton should be "offered the choice between Government service and that of the Press."

Mr. Fenton assured me that he would cease from communicating with the Press; but as attacks upon the Native Department were continued in the same strain, that harmony between the different members comprising it which is essential to success, became hopeless.

8. It was not however until some time after this that Potatau and his half-brother, Tamati Ngapora called on me; (and here I must observe that I never invited any expression of opinion by Potatau, as stated by Mr. Richmond in his answer, Evidence, Q. 971); the former was silent as usual when not pleased, but Ngapora informed me that Mr. Fenton had neglected Potatau and allied himself with the younger men of the country, who desired to emancipate themselves from his control, and that we should find the young men a rope of sand which would separate instantly if Potatau did but move his finger.

9. Soon after this, Potatau left Mangare against my wish; and went to reside permanently in the Waikato, where he remained till his death. The district then became more divided into parties. One party headed by Potatau was called the "King's party," and the other, patronised by Mr. Fenton, was called the "Queen's party;" a separation which was unwise and impolitic, as Potatau might have been won by a little attention, and his influence was so great that no dependence could be placed on the stability of any party opposed to him.

10. Mr. McLean, the Native Secretary, considered the state of affairs highly dangerous, and thought it his duty to recommend that Mr. Fenton should confine himself strictly to his magisterial duties, and subsequently advised that he should be withdrawn; adding that he could not answer for the peace of the district if Mr. Fenton remained. While, however, I was considering whether I could not employ Mr. Fenton, and avail myself of his talents and enthusiasm in some other district, the Attorney-General requested that I would allow him to be appointed Assistant Law Officer, to which I assented.

11. From the foregoing statements, it will be seen that I fully recognized Mr. Fenton's talents and his zeal; that I had expressed my approval of his plan in strong terms; that Mr. McLean has done the same (*vide* his statement, Evidence p. 86); but, while approving his plans, I was satisfied that Mr. Fenton had failed to conciliate those on whom its success depended. He neglected the old chiefs, whose power was and still is indisputable; and he quarrelled with those in his own department whose long experience might have guided him to success if he would have sought and followed their advice.

12. And here I must call attention to a statement signed by Mr. McLean, the Native Secretary, and Mr. Smith, his Assistant, at pages 84-87 of the Evidence. Similar views were expressed to me in conversations during the time Mr. Fenton was employed on the Waikato. I entirely agree in those opinions; but if I had not agreed with them, having been little more than two years in the country, I should have hesitated long before I could have adopted the views of a young man—comparatively a novice—in opposition to the opinion of a gentleman at the head of the Native Department, who has been 17 years in that office, who enjoyed the entire confidence of my able predecessor, and who is admitted to have more influence with the Maori race, and more knowledge of their feelings and opinions, than any one man in New Zealand.

13. I now turn to the Report of the Committee, which was formed of the members of the House of Representatives, of which a large part has always viewed the withdrawal of the Native Department from the control of Ministers with great jealousy. Some of the members of this Committee had just voted that the conduct of Native affairs should be transferred to Ministers; and about this time the whole subject was much agitated. I must also add that the Native Secretary, Mr. McLean, is one of those who are stigmatized as "old officials," having held office under my predecessor, Sir George Grey, and possessed his entire confidence.

14. The Committee, after expressing their approval of my despatch of 9th May, 1857, proceed to say that they cannot "concur in the views expressed by the Governor in his Despatch

of 19th August, 1858, and express their absolute dissent from the Memoranda of the Native Secretary." In taking this view of the case, the Committee appear not to have been aware of what had occurred in the interval which elapsed between the dates of the two Despatches. I never for a moment undervalued the importance of the King Movement, as may be seen by my constant reference to it in so many Despatches; and I hoped (as stated in my Despatch of 1857) to be able to lead and guide it. Mr. Fenton was appointed to act as Magistrate in the Waikato with that object and for that purpose; and had his practice been as wise as his maxims, I have little doubt that he would have succeeded. By the 19th August, 1858, however, I learned that he had failed, and that the movement had been accelerated, and the party strengthened. It then became necessary to adopt the only remaining alternative, and leave it alone for a time: but while I found it necessary to ignore a movement I could not prevent, I was by no means indifferent to the progress of the tribes on the Waikato, or content to leave their efforts for the introduction of law and order unaided. This is indirectly proved by my determination to have the rudiments of English Law translated into Maori, and circulated as widely as possible. It appears also that Archdeacon Maunsell, who resides in the Waikato district and is one of Mr. Fenton's strenuous supporters, holds precisely the same views as myself. In answer to Question 756, he says, "I have felt also that the true way to treat it (the King Movement) would be to let it alone, and that it would die out of itself, and give way to the better organized and more effectual arrangements initiated in the Waikato." The Rev. Mr. Ashwell, also residing in the Waikato, and another of Mr. Fenton's greatest admirers, says (Question 880), "If Mr. Fenton had not been sent to the Waikato, the King Movement would have died out: it contained the elements of its own dissolution."

15. I am satisfied that the despatches referred to never led your Grace to suppose, either that I undervalued the importance of the King Movement, or that I neglected any measure in my power to aid the Maori people in their desire for law and order. The fact is, that I saw it was not in my power to arrest the King Movement; that Mr. Fenton had failed to guide it; and nothing remained but to leave it alone, in the hope that it might die of salutary neglect.

16. The Committee go on to say that "the course taken by his Excellency in 1857, under the advice of his Ministers, was they believe a wise course," and in their first printed report they added, "it is due to Ministers to state that Mr. Fenton's withdrawal took place against their advice." Neither of these statements are true. The Committee quote the Memoranda in which the measures adopted in the Waikato in 1857 were suggested by myself, and Mr. Richmond (answer 953, p. 53, refers to it); the Committee also discovered, but not until their report had been printed and freely circulated, that, so far from Ministers having opposed Mr. Fenton's withdrawal from the Waikato, it took place at the request of the Attorney-General. The last remark has, however, been expunged from the Report now forwarded.

17. I cannot agree with the Committee in thinking Mr. Fenton's task was attended on the whole with success; nor do I think this opinion is borne out even by the Evidence before them. The Committee, however, observe, with great justice, that the continuance or removal of an officer in Mr. Fenton's position depended on facts on which the Government alone could have the means of forming a judgment.

18. The Committee comment upon the interval which was allowed to elapse between the withdrawal of Mr. Fenton and the appointment of another Magistrate, without, however, appearing to give any weight to the opinion of Potatau and his brother, T. Ngapora, as given in my Despatch of 13th June, 1859 (page 99 of the evidence.) Ngapora said, "The irritation (caused by Mr. Fenton) has not yet subsided, but it will do so in a short time, and then we shall be glad to have a judicious person to act as Magistrate among us." I may add that Mr. Turton was sent earlier than Ngapora wished, because I was very anxious to avoid delay.

19. The Committee also observe "most important defects in the arrangements which have been in force of late years for the administration of Native affairs," and "the entire want of harmonious action between the Minister and the Department of the Native Secretary." I have long entertained a similar opinion, and felt that it was absolutely necessary that Ministers should have either more or less power; and in my despatch No. 80, of September, 1859, I entered fully into the subject. The withdrawal of Mr. Fenton is a case which serves to exemplify the defects of the existing system, and the advantages which would attend a permanent Council to advise the Government in Native Affairs, as recommended in that despatch. Under the present system, Ministers, though fully aware of all that took place, did not consider themselves called on to express any distinct opinion; and, consequently, when the subject was investigated by a Parliamentary Committee, they were in no way bound to defend the course adopted, or even to attend to the proceedings of the Committee. Had the subject been brought before a Council, Mr. McLean would have been called on to give a distinct opinion: if his views had been adopted, they would have received the increased weight which necessarily attends the decision of a Council of men known to have experience in Native affairs, and enjoying public confidence: if his opinion had been over-ruled, the Council would have had to consider how the difficulty which had arisen could be best met and overcome, and there is little doubt that both the persons concerned and the public generally would have acquiesced in the decision.

No. 120. It is needless, however, that I should trouble your Grace further on this subject, as my Despatch, noted in the margin, enters into the same subject.

I have, &c.,

T. GORE BROWNE.

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle,
&c., &c., &c.

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

9 E—No. 1.

No. 3.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR GORE BROWNE TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

No. 128.

Government House,
Auckland, New Zealand,
1st December, 1860.

MY LORD DUKE,—

I observe that in the "Further Papers Relative to the Affairs of New Zealand," presented to Parliament in July 1860, there is an error at page 195, which may perhaps attract notice.

In my despatch No. 28, of 15th April, 1856, I stated that "the Maoris in the Northern Island are estimated at 77,000, of whom not less than seven-elevenths, or 59,000, are capable of bearing arms."

This unaccountable error was adverted to and corrected in my despatch No. 8 of 10th Feb., 1857; since then a Census has been taken, in which the total numbers are estimated at 56,049, and the total males at 31,667. This Census does not purport to be accurate, and the return given is probably below the actual number.

When further papers are printed, I beg your Grace to permit this despatch to be included among them.

I have, &c.,

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle,
&c., &c., &c.

T. GORE BROWNE.

No. 4.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR GORE BROWNE TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

No. 142.

Government House,
Auckland, New Zealand,
29th December, 1860.

NATIVE.

MY LORD DUKE,—

I have the honor to forward a report upon the two districts into which the Native Circuit Courts Act of 1858 has been introduced. This report is neither so full nor so satisfactory as I could wish.

D. McLean, 29th Dec., 1860. H. T. Kemp, 10th October, 1860, and Enclosures.

The Native inhabitants of the districts into which this Act has been introduced, and of the Bay of Plenty, into which I propose introducing it, are well affected, and generally speaking contented; but the operation of the Act among them has created no essential difference in their condition.

The appointment and payment of Assessors are amongst the greatest difficulties, and may have caused this want of success. Chiefs of the highest rank, who possess the greatest influence, are often unfit to be Assessors, and they look with jealousy on those who are selected; while, at the same time, the largest salary which the funds at my disposal will admit of is inadequate for the services required of the Assessors.

The Magistrates who preside over Native districts ought to be men of great experience and excellent judgment, and should undertake their duties as a labor of love. Such men are rare in any country, and their number must always be the more limited in this Colony, because a good knowledge of the Maori language is essential to success.

I believe also that the salaries given to Assessors are too small to be worth their acceptance, and that in place of the Assessors, a Chief should be selected, with the consent and approval of the *hapu* to which he belongs, and that he should be employed at a salary never less than £50 a-year, and in rare cases as high as £200 or £300; that those Chiefs should act in conjunction with the Magistrate, aiding him and being advised by him.

Such a system, however, requires much larger funds than I have at my disposal, and is a proper subject for the consideration of the Native Council, should Her Majesty be pleased to assent to the Native Council Act of 1860.

I have, &c.,

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle,
&c., &c., &c.

T. GORE BROWNE.

Enclosure 1 in No. 4.

MEMORANDUM BY THE NATIVE SECRETARY ON THE INTRODUCTION OF THE "NATIVE CIRCUIT COURTS ACT, 1858," AMONG NATIVES IN THE MANGONUI DISTRICT.

Under date 26th June, 1859, the Governor in Council decided upon the appointment of another District within which to bring into operation the "Native Circuit Courts Act, 1858," with a view to legalising the proceedings of the Native Assessors and providing for the regular administration of law in the District north of the Bay of Islands. The Order in Council dated the 21st July, 1859, proclaiming the "Native District of Mongonui," recites the following boundaries:—

"All such portion of the Colony as is situated to the northward of a line commencing at the North Head of False Hokianga, or Herekino, running thence in a straight line to summit of Maungatawhiri, and thence in a straight line to the South Head of Wangaroa Harbour, exclusive of lands

over which the Native Title has been extinguished within the meaning of the said "Native Circuit Courts' Act, 1858."

His Excellency having in contemplation to appoint W. B. White, Esq., to be a District Magistrate, that gentleman was requested to visit the Native settlements within the boundaries of the Mangonui District, with a view to ascertain the feelings of the Natives on the subject of the introduction among them of the new Act. Mr. White having reported, under date 22nd July, 1859, that the Natives were most anxious that the Act should be immediately introduced, a Warrant under the hand of the Governor was issued to Mr. White appointing him to hold Courts under the Act within the Mongonui District.

DONALD McLEAN.

Auckland, 29th December, 1860.

Enclosure 2 in No. 4.

REPORT OF DISTRICT LAND PURCHASE COMMISSIONER KEMP.

Bay of Islands,
10th October, 1860.

SIR,—

Agreeably with your request, I have the honor to report on the present state of the Native population in the district of the Bay of Islands.

1. It gives me much pleasure to be able to say, that the disposition of the Native tribes in this neighbourhood is friendly towards the Government and to the settlers, and that what little excitement originally prevailed, owing to disturbances in other parts of the country, has subsided.

2. You will already have received Native letters, reporting meetings that have taken place, at which the objects of the Native Conference recently held at Kohimarama were stated by the Chiefs who attended the Conference. The opening address of his Excellency was publicly read and freely commented on by the people present, who seemed to take great interest in it. The code of laws prepared for them by Sir W. Martin was also read and explained, and generally understood by the people.

3. Decisions which have been recently given at the Circuit Court, in certain cases, have not met the expectations of some of the parties interested. I learn that a memorial on the subject, numerously signed, has been forwarded to the Government; but, further than this, I am not able to report, as the case to which it refers transpired during my absence in Auckland.

4. The planting season now engages the whole of their time and attention, and is, generally speaking, a season of quietness and repose with the Native people here.

5. The Natives have been made aware that a new system is soon to be introduced in the management of their affairs. The *runanga* meet and discuss the new *tikanga* in its different bearings, with much interest. Assemblies of this kind I think find favor with the Natives, and might probably be made use of as an auxiliary to any scheme that the Government may have in contemplation for their benefit and improvement.

H. T. KEMP,
District Commissioner.

The Native Secretary,
&c., &c., &c.,
Auckland.

No. 5.

No. 17. COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR GORE BROWNE TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.
NATIVE.

Government House, Auckland, New Zealand,
2nd February 1861.

Report 23rd Jan., 1861. MY LORD DUKE.—
T. H. Smith, A.N.S.

I have the honour to forward a report of an interesting conversation between Mr. Smith, the assistant Native Secretary, and the Waikato Chiefs Tamati Ngapora and Patera. Tamati Ngapora was half brother to the late King Potatau, and is uncle to his successor, Matutaera. He is, however, thoroughly well affected to the English, and I believe earnestly desires that the two races shall live in peace.

The love of independence and patriotism of these men are entitled to our sympathy and respect, but they are not the less incompatible with the maintenance of the Queen's supremacy, which is quite as indispensable to the happiness and well-being of the Maoris as to that of the Europeans. Collision would be inevitable between two races inhabiting one country but acknowledging two Sovereigns, and claiming to be governed by laws antagonistic to each other: it is needless to say which race would ultimately prevail.

Anything like confiscation of land on a large scale is of course out of the question, but the murderers of Passmore, Ford, and the two boys, ought to be surrendered.

This conversation affords a full and complete corroboration of the statement in my Despatch of 22nd March, 1860, namely "that the question of the purchase of an insignificant piece of land is merged in the far greater one of nationality".

I have, &c.,

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle,
&c., &c., &c.

T. GORE BROWN.

NOTES OF A CONVERSATION WITH TAMATI NGAPORA AND PATERA, AT MANGERE, ON THE 23rd JANUARY, 1861.

Referring to the war at Taranaki and regretting its continuance, Tamati said that in the Native mind two main obstacles stood in the way of peace: one, the requirement by the Governor that the men concerned in the murders at Omata should be given up, the other, an impression which existed that land would be taken to compensate the losses of the Taranaki Settlers. He thought it impossible that the Taranaki and Ngatiruanui tribes would consent to give up any of their people, for acts which, though called murder by the Europeans, were under the circumstances (hostilities having commenced) only in accordance with Maori custom in war. Moreover, that Paratene Te Kopara, who was killed at Waireka, was held to be solely responsible for those acts, as the Chief of the party by whom they were committed. Should peace be made with Waikato and Ngatiawa, the latter would feel bound in honour to render assistance to the Taranaki or Ngatiruanui in resisting any attempt to take these men, as it was the Ngatiawa quarrel which had brought them into the difficulty. So also in the question of land, Waikato would feel bound to protect the Ngatiawa from spoliation.

I alluded to the Maori King flag which had been made the ground of Waikato interference, and suggested that there might be some difficulty about the re-establishment of peace while that flag was flying. Tamati replied that the Natives had not looked upon the question of the Maori King as standing in the way of peace. They did not assume that it would by itself be made a ground of quarrel with the Pakeha: that if the Governor intended to make the submission of the King's flag a condition of peace it would be well that this intention should be declared, as if it were understood that the suppression of the Maori King were insisted on, his supporters would know what they were prepared for. He believed that it would by them be regarded as closing the door to peace, and that the only course open to them was to die in the struggle, which they would prefer to the disgrace attending the submission or the shame of having to give up the point.

Reference was made to the fact that the promoters of the Maori King movement had long since declared their views and intentions plainly; that they claimed for their sovereign an independent authority; that he should maintain a friendly alliance with the Queen of England, but be supreme in his own territory, comprising all the unalienated lands of those tribes who joined him. It was true it had been said by some that the suppression of the Maori King was the Governor's object in the present war, but the Governor had not himself stated this. I replied that the war was not commenced with that object: that the Governor had acted on the advice of their late Chief Potatau, and refrained from making the Maori King movement a cause of quarrel while no positive mischief came of it. He had therefore confined himself to an intimation of his disapproval, and to warning its promoters. That it was the Waikatos, and not the Governor, who had connected it with the war at Taranaki, by making it their pretext for interference, and by declaring that they were fighting for the 'mana' or sovereignty of New Zealand. So that even were the Governor disposed to ignore the movement, it had been so forced upon his notice that I did not see how a peace could be concluded which did not embrace a final settlement of the question of Her Majesty's supremacy. It was replied that those who were looking for some means by which peace might be restored, had not taken this into their calculation: that if such were the Governor's wish it would add another obstacle to those previously mentioned, and one still more difficult to dispose of. That if the Queen of England, who had called herself their parent, thought it well to destroy the New Zealanders for asserting their national independence it was well, &c., &c.

The conversation occupied some hours, and turned upon several topics which were freely discussed. The views expressed were stated by Tamati Ngapora to be those which were generally entertained in Waikato; not given as his own, though he did not state that he differed from them.

The above is in substance what passed on the subject of the Maori King question and its connection with the Taranaki war.

THOS. H. SMITH.

Native Secretary's Office,
Auckland, February 2nd 1861.

No. 6.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR GORE BROWNE TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Government House,
Auckland, New Zealand,
4th February, 1861.

No. 18.

MY LORD DUKE,—

As a part of the Scheme for a Native Council, I assumed that the Members would associate with themselves three or four Native Chiefs of the highest rank for the sake of the influence they would bring, as well as for their advice.

Two out of the three gentlemen whose names I submitted to your Grace for appointment in the Council entertain the same views: the third (Colonel Nugent) being in England.

Looking, therefore, to the future as well as to the present, it occurred to me that it would be advantageous to seek the advice of three or four Native Chiefs now: and by consulting Messrs. Bell and McLean, I felt that I could do so without interfering with any future arrangements they might desire to make. I accordingly submitted the question to these gentlemen and Mr. Smith, (the very able Assistant Native Secretary), and I have now the honor to forward for your Grace's information Reports made by these Officers separately, and a Minute by my Responsible Advisers.

D. McLean, 31st January, 1861.
T. H. Smith, 1st February, 1861.
F. D. Bell, 1st February, 1861.
Colonial Secretary, 4th February, 1861.

NATIVE.

I trouble your Grace with these documents partly on account of the information they contain, and partly because they exhibit some of the many difficulties which surround every attempt to introduce improvements in the management of Native affairs.

I have, &c.,
T. GORE BROWNE.

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle,
&c., &c., &c.

Enclosure 1 in No. 6.

MEMORANDUM BY THE NATIVE SECRETARY.

In reply to Your Excellency's Memorandum of this day's date, I have the honor to state that I consider the appointment of Chiefs to assist the Government in the administration of Native affairs, very desirable.

The advice and opinions of Chiefs of rank and intelligence would be invaluable to the Government in guiding its decisions on any questions of importance affecting the Native race.

The Chiefs appointed should reside at the Seat of Government, and have comfortable residences provided for them at the public expense, with pay to each at the rate of two hundred pounds per annum. A distinguishing dress should be provided, and their office should be permanent, subject to termination only in cases of misconduct.

Their duties should be defined by clear and intelligible instructions; and the Governor, in travelling through Native Districts, should be accompanied by one or more of them, who should be present at all meetings, and take part in public discussions or deliberations with the several tribes.

The Maories, generally, would very much appreciate the fact that some of their own leading Chiefs were invited to exercise authority in connection with the Government, in matters relating to themselves; and the Government, by free consultation with those Chiefs, would be better able to judge how far any measures that might from time to time be devised for the civilization and improvement of the Natives, would be attended with success.

I submit that the Government of the country should use every possible endeavour to restore and secure the confidence of the Natives, more especially of those tribes who have not joined in the present insurrection. The appointment of some of the influential Chiefs to offices of trust, at a time when military advantages are being gained over those taking part in the existing disturbances, would tend very much to inspire them with confidence as to the humane intentions of the English nation towards them, and dispel much of the disaffection and antipathy of race which unfortunately prevails.

DONALD McLEAN.

Auckland, January 31st, 1861.

Enclosure 2 in No. 6.

MEMORANDUM BY THE ASSISTANT NATIVE SECRETARY.

Auckland, 1st February, 1861.

WITH reference to the subject of Your Excellency's Memorandum of the 30th ultimo, I have the honor to state briefly my opinion, that it is highly desirable that some of the principal Native Chiefs should assist the Executive Government with their advice in the conduct of Native affairs; and that such an arrangement, if made with the general concurrence of the Native people, would materially tend to secure their confidence in the Government.

At the same time I feel bound to express to Your Excellency my conviction that the present time is not the most opportune for initiating the new system. I fear that until the establishment of more cordial relations between the Government and the Native race generally, the acceptance by any Native Chief of such an appointment as is proposed, involving removal from among his own people, would place him in an invidious position, and that by identifying him with the Government under present circumstances it would tend to impair the influence which he might otherwise exercise.

As a means towards bringing the present war to a termination, I see no ground for anticipating any good result from an immediate carrying out of the proposed arrangement. The selection must necessarily be restricted to those Chiefs whose sympathies or professions are unequivocally on the side of the Government, and who by the declaration of their sentiments have rendered themselves more or less obnoxious to many of their countrymen. Such men would probably render better service to the Government by remaining among their own people.

As a prominent feature in a new system to be introduced when peace is restored, the proposed arrangement is calculated to produce the best results; but while so large a portion of the Native population is either disaffected or wavering, I should hesitate to recommend its initiation.

I am also of opinion, that the concurrence of the Natives in any new plans for their government is essential. To secure this, such plans should in the first place be suggested as matter for consideration, rather than announced as the determination of the Government arrived at without

consulting the wishes of the people for whose benefit they are designed. The Native Conference would afford an opportunity for bringing forward the subject, and I have little doubt that a proposal such as that contained in Your Excellency's Memorandum would there meet with general approval.

As the selection of men would be a matter of some delicacy, it might be well to invite the Conference to prepare a list of Chiefs of standing and intelligence, and enjoying the confidence of their respective tribes, to be submitted to the Governor. From such a list a certain number might be selected and appointed councillors, to hold office for a limited period, at the expiration of which another selection should be made, and from time to time repeated, so that all might hold office in turn. With these I would propose to associate a few of the principal Chiefs to be selected by the Governor, whose appointments should be considered permanent during good behaviour. A Council of twelve Chiefs might be thus constituted, who should be consulted by the Executive Government in all matters pertaining to the administration of Native affairs.

As it would be desirable that the members of such a Council should reside principally at the Seat of Government, suitable accommodation should be provided for them, and they should receive salaries sufficient to enable them to maintain a position in society befitting their rank and office.

It would be undesirable to initiate the proposed plan unless a guarantee for its permanency can be secured.

As respects the precise number or mode of selecting the Native Councillors, no strict rule need be laid down; these and similar matters of detail might be made the subject of deliberation in the Native Conference.

In the introduction of the proposed system, I submit, as important points, first, that the expressed wishes of the Natives themselves should be made the basis of all action on the part of the Government; and, secondly, that the Governor should exercise an independent discretion in the selection of not less than one-half of the members of the proposed Council to hold permanent appointments.

THOS. H. SMITH,
Assistant Native Secretary.

His Excellency
Colonel T. Gore Browne, C. B.

Enclosure 3 in No. 6.

MEMORANDUM BY THE LAND CLAIMS COMMISSIONER.

I have always been of opinion that the appointment of a number of Chiefs to advise the Governor is essential to the successful conduct of Native affairs. The Native Council proposed to be established will certainly not work well unless some Native Chiefs are to be associated with it, and I understand this has been admitted on all sides. No really permanent influence over the Native mind towards the full recognition of the Queen's authority and the establishment of British law, will ever be gained except through the agency of the Native people itself; and the present proposal is a step in the right direction.

But its value depends on whether it is intended to be a merely temporary measure in consequence of the war, or the germ of a permanent plan. Ought the position of the Chiefs to be raised, or not? The policy recommended to the Governor by Archdeacon Hadfield in 1856, was, that "the Government should do nothing towards establishing the influence of the Chiefs, but should rather endeavour to lessen this by every legitimate means." Now, the influence of the Chiefs has already sensibly diminished everywhere since the establishment of British sovereignty: we destroyed the right of the strong arm, and offered nothing in its stead. In times of danger we have often owed our safety to what remained of power among the Chiefs, but in times of peace and security we have been inclined to neglect them. I believe the policy recommended by Archdeacon Hadfield was unwise, and contrary to the natural instincts of the Polynesian races; and that the best thing we can do is to raise the character and position of the Chiefs, not certainly by remitting them to the right of the strong arm, but by encouraging them to seek European honours and a share in the Government. I think the most proper course would be to invite the Conference which will assemble this year, to consider the advisability of permanently establishing at the Seat of Government a small number of Chiefs as a recognised medium of communication and advice between the Governor and the Native Tribes. The Conference should then be asked to consider whether such Chiefs ought to be elected by the Tribes, or be chosen by the Governor out of a list of Chiefs submitted by the Conference, or be wholly or partly nominated directly by the Governor; whether their appointment should be for life or for a term of years, or a number of Chiefs be sent up by rotation to take part in the Government, and attain a practical insight into the conduct of affairs on the European system; whether part of the number should have a fixed tenure of office, and the others come in by rotation, so as to combine steadiness of action in one direction with varying suggestion and advice, and so forth. The Government would indicate the plan it preferred, but the decision should be as much as possible left to the Natives themselves, either in the Conference, or (as was done last year in the case of the Message on Individualization of Titles) in subsequent discussion by the Tribes in their own districts. Undoubtedly any such plan would require a considerable expenditure; and could not, therefore, be carried into effect

without the sanction of the Assembly. It would be absolutely useless without some guarantee of permanence, and without adequate provision for raising the Chiefs selected, not only in the estimation of their countrymen, but in that of the European settlers. To bring a number of Chiefs together in Auckland as advisers of the Governor, and leave them to shift for themselves in the Maori Hostelry, would be an absurdity. A suitable residence should be appointed for them, a moderate income (say £100 per annum) granted to each, and reasonable means afforded for their exercise of hospitality to other Chiefs from various parts of the country : who should be encouraged by the Government to visit and communicate with them. There should, in fact, be the "Assessors' House," where measures might be talked over by the most intelligent men apart from the presence and influence of Government officers ; and the Chiefs throughout the country should be invited to write freely to the Assessors direct.

With regard to the immediate appointment of four or five principal Chiefs to advise the Governor in the existing crisis, I think it would have a good effect provided a careful notification were published to the Natives, informing them that it was the Governor's wish to propose a permanent plan to the General Assembly and the Native Conference, and that the summoning of a few Chiefs in the meantime was intended to show the people that while the war was unavoidably prosecuted for the repression of insurrection, the Governor was most desirous to treat even the insurgents with lenity, and to resort to the advice of those who remained firm in their allegiance for the measures necessary for the restoration of peace. The Government would, no doubt, run some risk (by now summoning the most influential among the loyal Chiefs) of losing the very influence which is at this time being beneficially exerted by them in their own districts. They would very likely be pointed at as "Governor's men," and whatever they said misrepresented as the Governor's opinion and not theirs. Even the most loyal are obliged, in the increasing spread of disaffection, to pretend more or less of sympathy with the causes of complaint among the disaffected, in order to maintain any hold whatever on their people ; and their removal to the Seat of Government might sacrifice that hold in their own neighbourhoods, without our obtaining in exchange any influence when exercised from head-quarters. Still, if the Natives of the various tribes can be made to see the experiment as a proof of continued good-will on part of Government, and of its desire to consult their wishes and interests, it will result in very much good : on the whole, therefore, I am of opinion that it should be tried.

The Governor would then, for the present, nominate the Chiefs himself, and make temporary arrangements for their reception in Auckland, until the Assembly should decide whether (as a permanent institution) a Maori council of advice should exist, and vote the necessary funds for its maintenance.

F. DILLON BELL.

Auckland, 1st February, 1861.

Enclosure 4 in No. 6.

MEMORANDUM BY MINISTERS.

Colonial Secretary's Office,
Auckland, February 4th, 1861.

Ministers have had under their consideration three Memoranda referred to them by His Excellency embodying the respective views of the Native Secretary, the Assistant Native Secretary, and Mr. Bell, as to the desirability of constituting a Council composed of persons belonging to the Native Race to assist the Governor in the conduct of Native Affairs.

Ministers agree with those gentlemen in thinking that it would be desirable to introduce a Native element in the government of the Aborigines, and when the Native Council Act was under discussion it was understood that this should be done.

No formal enactment to this effect, however, was introduced into that Act, as it was deemed unadvisable to create a permanent machinery which after further experience might appear inconvenient.

Under these circumstances, and having regard to the objections raised to an immediate adoption of the plan proposed by two of the three gentlemen to whom the question has been referred to, it appears to Ministers that it would not be advisable to take action in the matter for the present.

HENRY JOHN TANCRED.

No. 38.

NATIVE.

No. 7.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR GORE BROWNE TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Government House,
Auckland, New Zealand,
6th March, 1861.

MY LORD DUKE,—

Minute.—Hon. F. A. Weld, 5th March, 1861.
Report.—D. McLean, 5th February, 1861.

I have the honor to forward a report which has this moment reached me from Mr. McLean, the Native Secretary, together with a memorandum by Mr. Weld, appointed to be Native Minister in place of Mr. Richmond, who resigns that office but retains the office of Treasurer.

Being in daily communication with Chiefs from all parts of New Zealand, Mr. McLean has greater opportunities of forming a correct opinion than any other person in the Colony. It would, therefore, be unwise to neglect any preparation or precaution which can be made; but I am personally inclined to take a more sanguine view of the state of affairs than he does.

I have, &c.,

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle,
&c., &c., &c.

T. GORE BROWNE.

Enclosure No. 1.

[NOTE.—*The Minute by Mr. Weld does not appear to be recorded.*]

Enclosure No. 2.

MEMORANDUM BY THE NATIVE SECRETARY.

The great mass of the Native population of the northern island of New Zealand may be considered to be in a state of disaffection. The Native tribes inhabiting the Waikato district, which, lying between Auckland and Mokau, extends inland as far as the borders of the Taupo lake, are with few exceptions determined to uphold the Maori King movement.

Their ruling idea is the preservation of a distinct nationality, and the prevention of the growth of English settlement. Notwithstanding that they have recently received reverses in their conflicts with the British troops at Taranaki, they continue to reinforce the insurgents there, and are exerting themselves to the utmost to keep them supplied with stores and ammunition.

While openly expressing their desire that the war should be confined to the Taranaki Province, as being the locality in which it originated, some of the leading chiefs of the Waikato have recently and undisguisedly urged an attack upon Auckland. They have also a design, in conjunction with other tribes whose sympathies they have enlisted, to make a simultaneous attack upon all the English settlements: but I am not prepared to say how far they are likely to act in concert in carrying out this project. They are inspired with the belief that, by attacking the British settlements, they can commit such havoc as to render the country untenable by Europeans for the purposes of peaceful occupation. They admit their inability to cope with the British troops in the open country, but feel confident that, by predatory incursions from their mountain fastnesses and naturally fortified strongholds, they can carry on a long and harassing warfare, which will eventuate in the expulsion of all those English settlers who will not acknowledge their rule.

They rely to a certain degree upon receiving the sympathy and aid of the French nation: this delusion being kept up by the assurances to that effect of a few reckless persons from that country, by Portuguese and other foreigners, and even by some English subjects, including deserters from the army, who excite the Natives by tales of imaginary and unheard of cruelties practised upon all the dark races who have yielded submission to British authority. The Natives—naturally a jealous, proud, and suspicious people—are sufficiently credulous to believe such reports, notwithstanding the efforts of the Government to assure them of their falsity. The threats, curses, and opprobrious epithets used by Europeans towards them confirm their worst suspicions. The offensive terms “bloody Maori,” “black nigger,” “treacherous savage,” are frequently applied to them; and, though uniformly kind and hospitable to all strangers, they are themselves often treated with cold indifference, and sometimes with contempt, when they visit the English towns.

The present outbreak in New Zealand is assuming wider dimensions, from the fact of there being an accumulation of small grievances which the Natives have never forgotten. War having broken out, they avail themselves of the opportunity to gratify their revengeful passions, by seeking redress according to their old customs, which I regret to find are being resuscitated.

A few of the tribes incorporated with the English, and residing within the limits of Crown territory, have so far conformed to European usages that, though not lacking grievances to resent, they prefer to observe a neutral course—neither taking an active part with nor against the Europeans. Others there are who, living remote from English settlements, and having no immediate connection with the insurgent tribes, take a more calm and impartial view of existing differences, and abstain from any interference. Even these, however, feel elated when they hear of any reverse on the part of the troops engaged against their countrymen; of which the most exaggerated statements are industriously circulated by the insurgents, in order to excite the national pride of the neutral tribes, and thus to gain more adherents to their cause.

The skill and sagacity with which the Natives select their points of attack, and the advantages afforded them by a broken and irregular country, interspersed with dense forests and luxuriant fern, and destitute of available roads, are considered by them to be fully equivalent to our larger resources and better equipment.

With a people very much guided by the influences of superstition, it is difficult to predict what phase the war may at any moment assume. This much, however, is certain: that the English settlements in New Zealand are at present in a more dangerous and precarious state than they have been at any period since the foundation of the Colony.

DONALD McLEAN.

March, 1861.

No. 8.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR GORE BROWNE TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE
OF NEWCASTLE.

Government House,
Auckland, New Zealand,
13th April, 1861.

MY LORD DUKE,—

I have the honor to forward the copy of a letter which I have addressed to Lieut.-General Cameron, C.B., together with three memoranda also forwarded to him.

These documents will explain to your Grace the present state of our relations with the Waikato, the Ngatiawa, Taranaki, and Ngatiruanui tribes, and my views and those of my Responsible Advisers, in reference to the future.

The amount of troops which would be required for a successful expedition against Waikato, should they positively refuse to acknowledge Her Majesty's supremacy, is a matter for General Cameron's consideration rather than mine; but I have no right to withhold from your Grace my own opinion on the subject. It is as follows, viz.: to protect Auckland, and make a successful attack upon the Waikatos and their allies in their own country, and to keep open the communications, the force should not be less than 5000 regular troops, exclusive of those needed for the protection of the centres of population in the South.

I have, &c.,
T. GORE BROWNE.

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle,
&c., &c.

Enclosure 1 in No. 8.

THE GOVERNOR TO LIEUT.-GENERAL CAMERON, C.B.

New Plymouth, 13th April, 1861.

SIR,

I have the honor to enclose for your information three memoranda; one by myself, another by my Responsible Advisers, and a third by the Native Secretary, upon the present state of matters with reference to the Native tribes lately engaged in hostilities against Her Majesty's troops. I have come to the conclusion that, under all the present circumstances, it is of the utmost importance that there should be a respectable force in Auckland during the negotiations I am about to undertake there. I look upon the chance of a decided success against the Taranaki and Ngatiruanui tribes as too doubtful, and, even if attained, the advantage to be derived from it too small, to justify the risk of impairing the prospect of success in the more important matter of Waikato.

With regard to the military service required at New Plymouth, I have to request that you will make such arrangements as may be necessary to secure the safety of the town and surrounding district.

I have, &c.,
T. GORE BROWNE.

The Hon. Lieut.-General Cameron, C. B.,
&c., &c.,
Waitara.

Enclosure 2 in No. 8.

MINUTE BY THE GOVERNOR.

New Plymouth,
13th April, 1861.

Waikato is the strength and back-bone of the disaffection; and although these tribes have engaged in war with us wantonly and without provocation, I could not incur the responsibility of carrying the war into their own district, and entailing all its consequences upon the North Island,—upon the Northern country,—until all hope of their submitting peacefully is at an end.

It would be easy to state distinctly all that is required from them, give them a few days to consider the terms, and if they were not accepted, appeal to arms at once. With a civilized nation such a course would be right and proper; but with the Maoris it would be equivalent to saying, that we decline to treat with them at all.

Supposing the earliest moment to be seized upon, operations against the Waikatos could not be commenced before the middle of May; the season of the year would then be so far advanced, that the difficulties would be greatly increased: swamps and rivulets, passable in summer, would require to be bridged. The roads which in summer are tracks, would become so deep as to be scarcely practicable. Supplies of all sorts, including food for sheep and cattle, would have to be sent from Auckland, as the country is covered with fern, and has little or no grass; and this would entail a vast expense and risk of loss during winter.

The troops would be exposed to much wet, and must suffer in health more or less severely. Settlers residing in the Waikato, and probably those in some of our own districts, must necessarily be called in, and the hardship would be greater in winter than in summer.

An expedition to the Waikatos, if undertaken in the winter, might not be attended with success, unless the force were very considerable.

I am also of opinion, that an occupation of Havelock and other positions bordering on the Waikato river (if an immediate advance into the district were not intended) would serve only to irritate the Waikatos, and should not be attempted until we are prepared to march at once into the heart of their country. They have already informed me that they will consider any movement in that direction as a declaration of war. They would, therefore, immediately think themselves justified in murdering and plundering wherever they could do so with impunity. They would also have time to agitate through the whole island, and would probably succeed in creating a war of races before the season would admit of our taking the field with advantage. I believe, also, that it will be found that Havelock and the north part of the Waikato is not the best place from whence an advance to the heart of the country could be made.

It should also be remembered that, whenever operations against the Waikatos are undertaken, the English settlers will be driven to take refuge in the towns : and it is very desirable that they should not be obliged to do so one moment before it is absolutely necessary, as instead of being producers of food, they would become at once consumers only. Indeed, it is not impossible that both the troops and the settlers might have to be supplied from Australia.

The foregoing remarks have been made on an assumption that the Waikatos will refuse to accept the terms about to be offered. Should they accept them, there can be little doubt that all the other malcontents will at once submit.

I consider it my duty to remark that the force at present in New Zealand is not nearly sufficient to protect the centres of population, to make a successful attack upon the Waikato district, and to keep open the communications. This is, however, a subject upon which General Cameron must be the best judge, and I only offer my opinion because he has not had time to become acquainted with the difficulties of the country.

From all the information I have been able to obtain, an expedition to the South would be attended with no advantage. The Natives have no property worth destroying : they would avoid the troops, and would very probably attack the outsettlers near Wanganui, or those near New Plymouth, if they returned to their farms. Painful as it is, therefore, to leave them unmolested, and in temporary possession of the plunder they have taken, I believe that it is only advisable to protect New Plymouth during the ensuing winter. I am the more encouraged in this view, because no settlement made with these tribes would be conclusive if hostilities are undertaken with the Waikatos ; and if the Waikatos are brought into submission, these tribes would at once succumb.

T. GORE BROWNE.

Enclosure 3 in No. 8.

MINUTE BY THE ATTORNEY GENERAL.

New Plymouth, 13th April, 1861.

The present state of affairs is as follows. In this colony four tribes, or parts of tribes, have been in arms against Her Majesty's forces ; namely, the Ngatiawa, the Taranaki, the Ngatiruanui, and the Waikato.

To the first named the Governor has proposed terms upon which he is willing to accept their submission, and grant them peace. Hapurona, who of the Ngatiawa has taken the most prominent part in the war, and his followers, have submitted ; but William King has declared his unwillingness to give in his adhesion until he has seen his Waikato allies. He is gone into that district, and his followers have retired and dispersed ; so that at Waitara, at the present time, there is no enemy to fight.

The Taranaki and Ngatiruanui have left the European district around New Plymouth : and retired to their own country ; the former about forty and the latter about eighty miles from that place. They have been informed that, if they desire peace, the Governor is willing to state the terms upon which it will be granted. To this they have returned no answer : but an intimation has been conveyed to the Government, to the effect that they propose to have a meeting on the subject, and decline entering on any terms until this meeting has been held and Waikato consulted.

Since the retirement of the Waikatos from Waitara, no communication has been had with them ; and there is no information in possession of the Government as to whether their intentions peacefully incline or are warlike.

The question is, what, under these circumstances, is the best to be done ? Is it more advisable to deal with the Taranakis and Ngatiruanuis in the first instance, or with the Waikatos ?

The proper mode of dealing with the first named tribes would, I think, be to send them the terms upon which the Governor will grant peace, and fix a day for an answer to be given. If they do not submit, an expedition would have to be sent into their country.

With the Waikatos a somewhat similar course would have to be taken : but more time for negotiation is essential, and far more extensive preparations for an expedition, if it be necessary, into their country.

My opinion is in favour of the latter alternative. First, because an expedition into the Taranaki and Ngatiruanui country, in the winter especially, would be a very difficult operation. The country is very broken, the amount of open land small, extending only from three to five miles from the sea. There is no harbour, and, as far as accounts can be relied on, but two moderately good landing places

in a very open roadstead. A mere descent on the country and a early return would be of little or no effect. It would be necessary to occupy positions for some months at least. No supplies are to be obtained in the district, and the expense, risk, and difficulties, of importing everything required would be very great. In all probability, the result would be very unsatisfactory. The enemy certainly would not meet the troops in the field, so that a serious impression could not be made on them: but the latter would be harassed by marching and watching in a broken and difficult country in a wet and cold winter. No doubt such an expedition would much harass the enemy too: but as no *decided* success could be reasonably hoped for, we should simply by our want of such lose a certain amount of prestige, and inspire them with some confidence and feeling of security. And, lastly, if we should meet with an unexpected success, and bring the Southern tribes into submission, it would not substantially affect the great question at issue between the Queen's Government and the Natives, viz., the sovereignty of these islands.

On the other hand, the Waikatos are the backbone of the resistance to the Queen's authority. Their country is much more easy of access—the most so probably of any in New Zealand—and is not so difficult to traverse when in it. Enforcing submission from them would, in all probability, secure, without much further trouble, the pacification of the whole country.

The only remaining matter to be considered is the course of proceeding with the Waikatos. Under the present circumstances, it is indispensable that the terms upon which their submission to the Queen's authority will be accepted, should be distinctly stated to them and a reasonable time afforded for the widely scattered branches of the tribe to deliberate and resolve. There is a hope that they may be willing to submit, and every consideration would dictate that a reasonable chance of this should not be thrown away. I consider that this would be the view of the Imperial Government, whose wishes we are bound, as far as possible, to consult; and it would certainly save both serious expense and bloodshed. If the terms offered be not submitted to, force would become absolutely necessary, unless Maori rule be submitted to.

The reduction of the Waikatos to submission by force would be an undertaking of magnitude, and involve consequences which cannot at present be wholly foreseen. It is to be feared that an attack on Waikato would place every settlement in the Northern Island in danger, and some provision should be made against this very probable contingency. It is, of course, out of the question to expect that outlying homesteads and settlements can be garrisoned and protected: but the centres of population in each Province, viz., the towns of Auckland, New Plymouth, Wanganui, Wellington, and Napier, should be placed in a position to resist any attack from the tribes in the immediate neighbourhood, and thus become places of refuge for the inhabitants of the surrounding districts.

An attack on Waikato must not be an invasion only. An occupation of the country for at least some months would be absolutely essential. Anything short of this would afford no hope of securing their submission. A mere raid into the country would merely enrage without subduing them, and would no doubt produce a great amount of mischief; and little or no advantage would result.

Keeping in view this object, it is a question for the General whether he possesses sufficient force for the purpose, and whether the time of year is suitable for the commencement of such operations. In considering this question, it must not be overlooked that we are now in the month of April, and that the breaking up of the autumn and the commencement of the rainy and cold season usually commences in May; that Waikato, like the rest of New Zealand, is intersected with rivers and swamps, impassable in the winter, except with a great expenditure of time and labour, but easily traversed in the summer; that the country itself will afford no supplies whatsoever for the troops, and the distance of the principal Native settlements from Auckland will render a large amount of transport necessary, and a large chain of posts to secure communication through a country for the most part without roads and clothed with luxuriant vegetation. And, lastly, that the principal service to be performed would not be meeting an enemy in the field, but carrying on a guerilla warfare of a very harassing description.

FRED. WHITAKER.

Enclosure 4 in No. 8.

THE GOVERNOR TO THE NATIVE SECRETARY.

New Plymouth, April 13th, 1861.

The Native Secretary is requested to consult such of the officers of his Department as he may think capable of assisting him by their opinions, and to advise the Governor as to the best course to pursue under present circumstances, with a view to bring about the submission of the tribes that have lately been in arms against Her Majesty's forces, and to secure the pacification of the country.

The Native Secretary is requested to give his attention and advice particularly,—

1. As to the advantages to be obtained by an expedition against the Taranaki and Ngatiruanui tribes, and whether it should be undertaken at once or at a future time, and if so, when?
2. If such an expedition be postponed, whether it would be advisable to send those tribes the specific terms which the Governor intends to propose or not?
3. Whether it is desirable or not to open negotiations at once with Waikato, or wait till the Taranaki and Ngatiruanui are settled with?
4. If such negotiations are opened and fail, whether an invasion of the Waikato is practicable?
5. What number of men it may be expected would have to be met in Waikato?
6. Whether the Waikato country is such as will admit of an expedition in the winter, with a reasonable chance of success: if not, what are the difficulties?

T. G. B.

MEMORANDUM BY THE NATIVE SECRETARY.

In conformity with the request contained in Your Excellency's minute of this day's date, I have to state that I have consulted one of the officers of my department and another gentleman of great practical experience in Native matters: and the conclusions arrived at by these gentlemen and myself on the points to which attention has been more particularly directed, may be briefly stated as follows.

1. As to the advantages to be obtained by an expedition against the Taranaki and Ngatiruanui tribes, and whether it should be undertaken at once, or at a future time; and if so, when?

It is considered that an expedition undertaken against these tribes at this season of the year would not be attended with any permanent result. The Ng tiruanui who occupy the country between Haupokonui on the North and Patea on the South have almost entirely abandoned their pas and villages on the coast, resorting to them only occasionally in summer to fish. Their settlements and cultivations are chiefly along the margin of the forest, in places not easily accessible during the winter months, owing to the entire absence of roads, and the numerous creeks and gullies that intersect the country. They have no property near the coast, nor is it considered that they would meet the troops if they landed in their country: but it is quite probable they would, as they have already done at New Plymouth, rob, plunder and take the lives of defenceless Europeans at Whanganui and elsewhere; while it would, at the same time, complicate the negotiations with the Waikato. The planting time in spring would be the best season of the year for sending an expedition to the Ngatiruanui country.

"2. If such an expedition be postponed, whether it be desirable to send to those tribes the specific terms which the Governor intends to propose, or not?"

It is submitted that the specified terms should be sent to the Taranaki and Ngatiruanui tribes.

"3. Whether it is desirable to open negotiations at once with Waikato, or wait till the Taranaki and Ngatiruanui are settled with?"

It is considered desirable that negotiations should be at once opened with the Waikato, as all the really important questions of the country have to be settled with that tribe.

"4. If such negotiations are opened and fail, whether an invasion of the Waikato is practicable?"

Full time should be allowed for negotiating with the Waikato, without relaxing in such preparations as may be necessary for the defence of the different settlements in the Northern island: all of which, except Auckland, are very much at the mercy of the Natives should they meditate simultaneous attacks upon them. The invasion of Waikato is practicable.

"5. What number of men it might be expected would have to be met in Waikato?"

The force to be at first met there would probably not exceed from 3,000 to 4,000 fighting men; but about double that number would be found to sympathize with them throughout the country. These would be ready either to join them, or to act in concert with them, in any plan they might conceive for attacking the English settlements.

"6. Whether the Waikato country is such as will admit of an expedition there in winter with a reasonable chance of success; if not, what are the difficulties?"

It is considered, from the difficulty of communication and bad roads, that an invasion of the Waikato in the winter would be attended with great inconvenience and loss, especially with a small force. From the present unsettled state of the Natives throughout the country, I do not see that it would be possible, with the force at present at your Excellency's disposal, to do more during the winter months than to defend the scattered and isolated English settlements in the Northern Island.

DONALD McLEAN.

No. 9.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR GORE BROWNE TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Government House,
Auckland, New Zealand,
3rd May, 1861.

MY LORD DUKE,—

In continuation of my Despatch, No. 51, of the 13th April, I have the honour to forward copy of a further correspondence between myself and Lieut.-General Cameron, C.B.

In his letter of the 15th April, the General observes that "he strongly recommended that they (the Waikatos) "should be called to account without loss of time," and also "that much valuable "time has already been lost in dilatory negotiations."

There can be no doubt that much valuable time is always wasted when it is necessary to negotiate with the Maoris, for they are incapable of coming to a decision as promptly as a civilized people. To refuse them time would be to refuse to negotiate at all. The *hapus* are scattered at great distances from each other, and no peace would be binding without the consent of a large majority of them. To demand an answer in a few days, would therefore be to ask for what would be worthless if given.

A part of the Waikatos have certainly attacked our people without provocation, and plundered them wantonly; if therefore we only seek to chastise them, the General's plan would, if practicable, be unobjectionable. I am, however, convinced that Her Majesty's Government will be satisfied with complete submission on the part of Her Native subjects, and would not approve of my resorting to force if the same end can be attained by means involving less serious consequences to both races, than must necessarily follow from a war in the Waikato.

I have therefore told General Cameron that I must give the Waikato tribes reasonable time to assemble their *hapus* and deliberate. I have not thought it advisable to insist on specific terms at once; but have written to the Chief Wiremu Tamehana, and have communicated personally with Tamati Ngapora, the latter of whom earnestly desires to induce his people to submit.

If the answers are not satisfactory, I shall send specific terms, and if they are not accepted shall leave the General to adopt such measures as he may think proper.

I may add that I have the less reason to regret this delay, as the Troops only reached Auckland on the 30th April, and a heavy rain set in on the 1st instant, which will fill the swamps and make the Waikato very impracticable in the winter: added to which the 70th regiment has not yet arrived from India.

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle,
&c, &c., &c.

I have, &c.,

T. GORE BROWNE.

Enclosure 1 in No. 9.

LIEUT.-GENERAL CAMERON, C. B., TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR.

Head-Quarters,
Camp, Waitara, 15th April, 1861.

SIR,—

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter, dated the 13th inst., and its enclosures. I fully concur in the opinion expressed in your Excellency's Memorandum, and in that of your Responsible Advisers, that the Native Insurrection has been chiefly fomented and supported by the Waikato tribe, and it is with them that the important question of the Queen's Supremacy has to be settled. On this account, at the first meeting of the Executive Council which I attended after my arrival in the Colony, I strongly recommended that they should be called to account without loss of time for their participation in the rebellion, and that they should not be allowed more than a few days to give in their submission. I represented that if this were done, and preparations at the same time made for an expedition into their country, I considered that if they refused to come to terms there would be sufficient time before the commencement of the heavy rains to move into, and occupy, their country; and that I believed that the force then in New Zealand was of sufficient strength to carry out such an operation with success.

These views being opposed by yourself and every member of the Executive Council, I willingly adopted the plan of a descent upon the Ngatiruanui coast, because I could see no better way in which Her Majesty's troops could be employed, and not with any idea that such an operation, however successful, could be productive of any decisive result.

Much valuable time has already been lost in dilatory negotiations, and as your Excellency has informed me that those in which you are about to enter with the Waikato are likely to occupy about six weeks, there is little hope, if they refuse to submit, of our being able to enter their country before next spring.

I will carry out your Excellency's wishes in moving all the troops that can be spared from this quarter to Auckland, as soon as I can procure the requisite transport; and I will lose no time in making arrangements for the security of New Plymouth and the surrounding district.

I shall feel obliged by your Excellency's informing me whether you wish any force to be located, as at the outset of hostilities, at the Tataraimaka Block.

I shall also be obliged by your decision as to whether this Province is to continue any longer under Martial Law, now that hostilities have for some time ceased, and so far as I can judge are not likely to be soon resumed.

I have, &c.,

D. A. CAMERON,
Major-General.

His Excellency
Colonel T. Gore Browne, C. B.,
&c., &c.

Enclosure 2 in No. 9.

THE GOVERNOR TO LIEUT.-GENERAL CAMERON, C.B.

New Plymouth,
15th April, 1861.

SIR,—

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this day's date, and in reply I have to inform you that I do not wish any force to be located at the Tataraimaka Block.

The question of the continuation of Martial Law has been carefully considered, and the conclusion arrived at is that it is not expedient at the present moment to revoke the Proclamation by which it was established.

I have, &c.,

Lieut.-General Cameron, C.B.
&c., &c., &c.,

T. GORE BROWNE.

No. 10.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR GORE BROWNE, C. B., TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Government House,
Auckland, New Zealand,
6th July, 1861.

MY LORD DUKE,—

I have the honor to forward a printed copy of the Declaration to the Waikatos, and W. Tamihana's reply to the same; a Report of a Secret Committee of both Houses of the Assembly; and an extract from the proceedings of the Executive Council on the same subject.

Tamihana's reply must convince the most sceptical that the purchase of land at the Waitara was the excuse and not the cause of the war; that its real cause was a deep-rooted longing for separate nationality, which had been growing for years, and could never have been stifled by palliatives of any sort: and there is every reason to believe that it has spread far and wide throughout the South of this Island.

All doubt, therefore, is now at an end; and it is evident that, if the Maoris will not submit, this part of the Colony must be abandoned by all who will not yield obedience to Maori Law, of which the aptest symbol is the tomahawk.

War, in a country occupied as this is by settlers and stockowners, thinly spread over its whole surface, must necessarily be disastrous to both races; property must be abandoned, houses deserted, the settlers must rally round the centres of population, and many who are in comparative wealth will be reduced to extreme poverty. Nothing can be done to alleviate that suffering which is the inseparable accompaniment of war under such circumstances, but it ought to be brought to an end in the least possible time.

Every day's prolongation of war adds to the destruction of life and property, and diminishes the means possessed by the Colony for paying its share of the expense. It follows, therefore, that a force large enough to bring the war to a conclusion in a single campaign would be less costly to the Imperial Government, and far more merciful to both races, than a very much smaller one, if that end could only be attained by a longer time.

The question is, therefore, could a war against the Waikatos and their allies be brought to an early conclusion with the force now at the disposal of General Cameron. My Responsible Advisers, and the Secret Committee of both Houses of the Assembly (which, I am informed, represents the views of the Assembly generally,) are of opinion that it cannot. Under ordinary circumstances, it would not be my duty to offer an opinion on the subject; but the lives of many and the properties of all the settlers in this Island are at stake, and I do not, therefore, hesitate to say that I agree with them, and desire to repeat the opinions expressed concisely in my despatch No. 51, of 13th April last.

In order to bring the Maoris to submission in the course of one or two seasons, I believe it is absolutely necessary that the General should have a moveable column of not less than 3000 rank and file; that he should be able to keep up a chain of communication with his advanced post, which should be in the centre of the Waikato—100 miles from Auckland. I have every reason to believe that the insurgents will only partially obstruct his course by occupying strong natural positions, and rifle pits; but while he advances they will spread over the country in small parties, attacking the settlements, (which occupy the circumference of the Island, while they inhabit the centre,) and carrying destruction far and wide.

To meet this, the settlers will have to congregate in the large towns; and the force in these towns should be such that, though unable to take the field regularly, they should be able to make sallies against any parties of moderate strength coming within their reach, and prevent the Maories from carrying off stock, which would furnish them with the means of prolonging their resistance indefinitely. If this could not be done, the Natives would consider success in the smaller settlements as compensation for any loss in the Waikato; and they would be justified in so doing, for the Waikatos have little or nothing to lose, while our settlements would be reduced to beggary.

I agree with the Committee in thinking that the garrisons in the towns in the South are not strong enough to do more than act on the defensive, and the General states that if he were now to reinforce these garrisons, he will be unable to take the field with an efficient body of men. By his letter (copies of which are forwarded by this mail) he calculates on the organization of a considerable force of Militia, and animadvert on the supineness of the local Government in this respect.

The subject is reported on in a separate despatch. I differ from the General, however, as to the practicability of organizing such a force of Militia as would be sufficient for our purposes. The constant employment of so large a portion of the male population (estimated in this Island at 8000 fighting men) would destroy the source of the revenue from which the Colony can alone pay its share of the expenses of the war, and deprive it and the troops of the service of the industrial part of the community, without which it would not be easy to subsist. I say nothing of the vast expenses of a Militia, in which the men are necessarily paid half-a-crown a day, in addition to rations and equipment when in the field.

The amount of force which may be necessary to subdue the Maories once and for all, and prevent a lingering war, is, of course, a matter of opinion: but I believe it would be the cheapest in the end, and by far the most merciful to both the Maoris and the settlers, if Her Majesty's

Declaration (see Sess. pap. 1861, E. 1.)
W. Tamihana and the Runanga (see Sess. pap. 1861, E.)
Report Secret Committee of both Houses of Assembly.
Minutes of Executive Council, 6 May, 1861.

Ante, page 16

Government would send out such a number of men as would enable General Cameron to confront the Maoris at all points, and bring this unhappy insurrection to a speedy termination.

I hope to be able to bring a number of the Ngapuhi tribe to assist, but it will not be safe to rely implicitly on their support.

I have, &c.,

T. GORE BROWNE.

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, K. G.,
&c., &c., &c.

EXTRACT OF MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL. SATURDAY, 6TH JULY, 1861.

PRESENT:—

His Excellency the Governor,

The Honourable the Officer Commanding
the Forces,
" the Colonial Secretary,
" the Attorney-General,

The Honourable the Colonial Treasurer,
" Henry John Tancred,
" F. A. Weld.

The Council met pursuant to summons.

The Minutes of the last Council were read and confirmed.

The Governor having brought before the Council the Resolutions of the Secret Committee of both Houses, adopted at a Conference on the 5th July, 1861,

It was resolved that the Council fully concur in those Resolutions;

That the Governor be requested to communicate his opinion to the Imperial Government;

That the Council does not desire to fetter the Governor in any steps that he may deem fit to take, pending a reply from the Imperial Government.

General Cameron stated to the Council what steps he had taken with a view to obtain reinforcements, and expressed his concurrence in the propriety of their being obtained, but desired to express no opinion as to the Resolutions.

Council adjourned.

T. GORE BROWNE, Governor.

No. 11.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR GORE BROWNE, C. B., TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Government House,
Auckland, New Zealand,
6th July, 1861.

MY LORD DUKE,—

I have the honor to request that a Royal Proclamation may be sent to me by the earliest opportunity, setting forth the views and ultimate determination of Her Majesty in reference to the insurrection in this Colony.

I am induced urgently to request that this course may be adopted, because it has been industriously circulated, and believed by the Maoris, that I am not acting in accordance with the views and wishes of Her Majesty's Government. It is even believed that the troops have not been sent by Her Majesty's command, but by the Governors of other Colonies.

The Natives have been encouraged to distinguish between Her Majesty's Imperial Government and the Governor of the Colony, and have been taught to regard the former as their only security against injustice and aggression. This pernicious suggestion is openly approved and defended by many of the agitators against my Government. Even Sir William Martin says that "a temporary estrangement of the Native people from the Colonial Government, would be followed by a strong and abiding attachment to the Government of England."

Under these circumstances I am satisfied that the expression of a distinct opinion by Her Majesty's Government is absolutely necessary to undeceive these misguided people.

Your Grace will observe that in my Declaration to the Waikatos, I insisted upon the right to make roads throughout Native districts: not only on account of the evident advantage they will be, but because acquiescence in this demand is almost the only material guarantee for future good conduct which the insurgents have it in their power to give.

It might also be desirable that the Natives should be informed, that those who join the insurgents and take up arms against Her Majesty must in future expect that their offence will be visited by confiscation of land.

I have, &c.,

T. GORE BROWNE.

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, K. G.
&c., &c., &c.

No. 12.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR GORE BROWNE, C.B., TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF
NEWCASTLE.

Government House,
Auckland, New Zealand,
13th July, 1861.

MY LORD DUKE,—

The statements contained in the Bishop of New Zealand's printed letter forwarded in my despatch No. 100 of the 12th instant, and the frequent reference made to the Report of the Waikato Committee, induce me to trouble your Grace again on the subject.

I should be deceiving Your Grace were I to allow you to believe that either the Report of the Committee or the statement of the Bishop gives an accurate account of the object of the King movement.

I am prepared to shew that the true character of the King movement was not an effort to obtain law and order, but an effort on the part of the Maori Chiefs to recover the power which they enjoyed before the introduction of Christianity; to separate their people from the Europeans; and to secure the recognition of a distinct nationality, with power to administer law—not in the name of the Queen, but in that of their Maori King.

Their object was to make use of the law as an instrument of power, but they had no idea of submission to it.

Walter Kukulai, one of the principal Chiefs who supported Mr. Fenton, says, "the cause of it (the King movement) was following our *mana* (power), lest it should be taken away by the Pakehas—lest the *mana* should be completely trampled on by that of the Pakehas. Their discontent was from this (fear), lest the *mana* of New Zealand should altogether go to the Queen." (See page 35, Q. 573, Evidence before Waikato Committee.) "Before the King was established the Maori laws were kindness, &c., &c., and holding the lands so as not to let them go to the Pakeha." (Q. 579, page 35.)

William Thompson in his letter to me, in reply to my declaration, dated 21st May, to the Waikato tribe, says, "Why am I or these tribes rebuked by you, and told that we must unite together under the Queen? How was it the Americans were permitted to separate themselves? Why are they not brought under the protecting shade of the Queen? for that people are of the same race as the English. Whereas I am of a different race, not nearly connected. My only connexion with you is through Christ. Were all the different islands under one sovereignty, that of the Queen, it would be quite right; no one would differ; all this island would also be united with the rest. Instead of which, each is separate, and I also, standing in my own thought, which is this, that I must have a King for myself."

Nothing can be more distinct than this assertion of a desire for distinct nationality, and there is evidence equally clear and conclusive, that the introduction of "law and order," as administered by us, was not what the leaders of the King party intended or desired.

Agreeing as I did, and still do, with Your Grace, in thinking Mr. Fenton's report of 1856 very able and suggestive, I appointed him to act as a Resident Magistrate in the Waikato, in order that he might introduce law and order, and put his own suggestions into practice.

Subsequent events, however, enlightened me as to the truth. The representative of English law and order (Mr. Fenton) was protested against by Potatau and Tamati Ngapora, in the name of the Chiefs who formed the King party; and in deference to their wishes he was withdrawn.

It is true that Mr. Fenton did not attempt to conciliate the old Chiefs, and that he was wrong in not making every effort to secure their acquiescence; but the fact that such efforts were necessary to procure toleration for his scheme, proves that no such craving for law and order existed among the leaders of the King movement as the European defenders of that agitation have sought to establish.

Mr. Whitaker, the late Attorney-General, was of opinion that Mr. Fenton might have been left in the Waikato with advantage, not because he believed that he would succeed in the mission for which he was sent, but because he had formed what was called a "Queen party"; and as he (the Attorney-General) even then thought collision inevitable, he considered it better to have a party on our side.

I believed it to be my duty to prevent collision if possible, and I had also a firm conviction that the younger men, who in general favoured the Queen's party, would abandon it at the first national cry; I therefore consented to the withdrawal of Mr. Fenton, in the hope that when the alleged cause of irritation was removed the agitation would cease, which indeed it did for some time afterwards.

That the Waikato Committee should have arrived at a different conclusion is not surprising; my Advisers, who were acquainted with the real facts, were satisfied that the Committee was not in a position to form a true estimate on the subject, and kept aloof from an enquiry which the labors of the Session prevented their having time to guide.

Mr. Domett, a member of the Committee, says, "Now, with respect to that Report, I must say I think it was rather a hurried one (No! from Mr. Fox); at all events it is not to be taken as infallible. There is, undoubtedly, a great deal of useful information in it, but it goes too far if it attributes the King movement solely to a desire in the Waikato for law and order (No! from Mr. Fox). No doubt it is quite possible that years ago the first dissatisfaction of the Waikato may have arisen from their desire for law and order; but the character of the movement very soon changed, and their desire for a King meant a great deal more than that. With regard to

Speech in the House of
Representatives, July
1861.

Mr. Fenton's removal, the Committee condemned it. But the best evidence on the other side that is, on the side of the Governor, and in favor of Mr. Fenton's removal, could not be brought before the Committee, as the principal Chiefs in favor of the King movement were either at Taranaki, engaged in the war, or so disaffected they would not have come. Both William Thompson and Potatau were opposed and objected to Mr. Fenton's proceedings. These and other great Chiefs, whose real influence is proved by subsequent events, and those now going on, believed that Mr. Fenton's proceedings would lead to a collision. Potatau, Tamati Ngapora, and others, in person urged his removal on the Governor. Mr. McLean, Mr. Ashwell, and others thought that if the exciting opposition he kept up were removed, the King movement might die out. The case was undoubtedly a difficult one, and the Governor, acting for the best, and desirous not to lose a last chance of securing peace, listened to Mr. McLean's advice, though hoping only rather than believing that the King movement, if left alone, might die out." And Mr. Weld, the late Native Minister, said, "Before resuming my seat, I wish to allude to what has been said as to my reference the other night to the Waikato Committee, and the origin of the King movement. What I then said I repeat: in my opinion had Mr. Fenton been kept there, he could not have averted a calamity arising out of profounder sources than are often attributed to it; he might have made a party for us, that is true, but in corroboration of my statement that the great Chiefs were opposed to him, I may say that Tamati Ngapora confessedly was; that though it is believed by Mr. Fenton that Potatau was not, yet that Chief, sitting with his head covered with his mat, solemnly warned His Excellency against continuing Mr. Fenton in Waikato; and as to Tamihana, I will now read you an extract from a Report by Mr. Clarke, Resident Magistrate of Tauranga, of a conversation held with him on the subject last summer. It is as follows:—"Q. by Mr. Clark, 'Do not European Magistrates visit you?' 'A. Yes; but we do not like them all.' 'Q. To whom do you refer?' 'A. Mr. Fenton, he did us great mischief, he separated us into two parties, he set up assessors without any reference to the wishes of the people, and altogether I am dissatisfied with him.'"—Let it be clear that I do not agree with Tamihana. I do not quote this to disparage Mr. Fenton, far from it, I quote this to shew that the great leader of the King party, so far from having taken the course he has taken, owing to Mr. Fenton's removal, considered Mr. Fenton's attempt to introduce law a grievance, and could not appreciate the value of that zealous and able Magistrate (hear)."

In conclusion, I may observe that there are many elements of discord which must interfere with the amalgamation of two races differing widely from each other in their state of civilization; among them few are more potent than the discontent of Chiefs, whose influence and importance are necessarily decreased by their association with Europeans.

Te Heu Heu said to me soon after I arrived in the Colony, that when an English serf visited the Maories, he was treated like a Chief; but if a Maori Chief of the highest rank visited Auckland, he was treated like a slave by all except the Governor and a few officials. To prevent this is impossible. The middle class of Englishmen will not recognise as an equal—still less as a superior—a Maori Chief, who may without loss of caste sell fish or fruit, or perhaps even beg for a shilling, as Potatau has done more than once.

M. de Tocqueville says, "*Je crois que les horribles événements de l'Inde ne sont en aucune façon un soulèvement contre l'oppression: c'est une révolte de la barbarie contre l'orgueil.*" This remark is not less applicable to New Zealand than to India.

I attach a Memorandum giving an account (chiefly collected from the Blue Books) of the growth of that impatience of the control and authority of Her Majesty's Government, which began in the year 1842, and was consummated in the establishment of a Maori King.

I have, &c.,

T. GORE BROWNE.

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, K.G.,
&c., &c., &c.

Enclosure 1 in No. 12.

MEMORANDUM.

The true origin of the King Movement has never been thoroughly examined. It is assumed to be identical with the movement which has been going on for many years among the Natives for the establishment of some system of law and order among themselves; and it is referred to by some as a Godsend which ought to be welcomed by everyone. It is not difficult to show that this view is erroneous, and that the two movements were distinct till the Waikato Tribes, by joining the insurrection, effaced the distinction and made the King Movement the one question to be politically treated.

Prior to the establishment of British sovereignty, the tribes were in reality ruled by the great chiefs: not that there was any recognition of the *right to rule*, but that of necessity (in the constant wars which occurred) the only law was the law of the strong arm, and chiefs assumed more or less individual power according to their courage and skill in war, or ability in council, rather than to their rank by birth. When the Treaty of Waitangi was offered to the people, it is quite certain that it was accepted in two different senses: the chiefs believed it would confirm their power over the tribes, the common people believed it would secure them from the ambition of the chiefs. This was the true origin of the distinction between the subsequent movements for law and order under the Queen's sovereignty, and for the establishment of a separate and independent sovereignty under a Maori King.

Governor Hobson seems to have been struck with it from the first. One of his earliest statements was, that "he knew perfectly well the chiefs would resist the execution of all awards that might be unfavourable to them in questions of land; and that it would require a strong Executive, supported by military force, to carry the decisions of the Government into effect." The chiefs believed that they still held the power of settling their internal differences in the old way. The Protector of Aborigines in July, 1842, alluded to the "general notion prevalent among the chiefs who had signed the Treaty, that in ceding the sovereignty they had reserved to themselves the right of adjudicating according to Native custom in matters purely native." Six months afterwards he again warned the Government that "the Native love of independence had been strikingly manifested on several occasions, where friend and foe had alike deprecated the interference of Government in their quarrels, expressing their determination to seek satisfaction in their own way;" and he added, "never was there a people more uneasy under the yoke of submission to authority, *and they only want a bold and enterprising leader to throw off even the name of subject.*" In a quarrel that took place about this time at Mongonui, the Chief Protector reported that he "told the chiefs very plainly that if they did not settle their matters quickly it would be the duty of Her Majesty's Government to do it for them, and that it was impossible to allow them to make war: but Nopera was inflexible, and continued to treat every intimation of the displeasure of Her Majesty's Government at his conduct with insult." In a broil that occurred at Hokianga early in 1843, when the Protector was advocating the establishment of some kind of Government, "some of the young men were very vociferous, asserting their independence of and contempt for the Government, and many of the old men more than intimated that they proposed settling their quarrels in their old way." Commissioner Godfrey about the same time (February 1843), in reporting on a case in which he had interfered, alluded to a resolution which had been come to "that the chiefs would exercise all their ancient rights and authority of every description as theretofore, and would not in future allow of any claim to interference on the part of the Government."

The right then claimed by the chiefs seems to have been admitted by the Chief Protector. In recommending the establishment of some tribunal to settle disputed land questions among the Natives themselves, Mr. Clarke said: "The Native chiefs claim as a right the adjustment of their own quarrels, such as are purely native, without any reference to the Government: *a pretension which appears to me to be borne out by the Treaty.*" And when Mr. Shortland asked him how, in the event of such a tribunal being constituted and the Natives refusing to abide by its decisions, he would advise the enforcement of respect and obedience, the Chief Protector proposed "that the Executive power be vested entirely in the chiefs, because their decision in most cases would be tantamount to the enforcement of the sentence."

In 1844, alluding to threatened disturbances in the North, Mr. Clarke referred to circumstances which, "followed by a series of injuries on the property of British settlers, fully evinced a spirit impatient of the control and authority of Her Majesty's Government," and which had "led the Natives to the perpetration of acts the objects of which were clearly to bring the British Government into contempt, *with the ultimate view of throwing off its authority.*" Indeed, he said, "opinions are professed to be entertained by them that the obligations they had contracted under the Treaty of Waitangi ceased on the death of the late Governor Hobson."

All this was happening in the North (where it is so often assumed there was always a ready obedience to the Queen's authority,) at the same time that the disturbances at Porirua and the Hutt, and the Wairau Massacre, together with the armed occupation of the settlers' farms at Taranaki, were in other parts of the Colony showing clearly the spread of the feeling among the chiefs that they were entitled to take the law into their own hands. On the occasion of a descent made by a Taupo war-party upon Wanganui, Mr. Justice Chapman spoke of "innumerable thefts having taken place, on one or two occasions of a serious character; that the Natives were also very indecent in their demeanour towards the European women, both as regarded language and actions;" but when the settlers of Wanganui pressed him to interfere, all he could do was to "impress upon them that forbearance was their proper course, and that they should keep their property within doors and observe due vigilance."

Then came the Bay of Islands insurrection, where also European women were subjected to insult even before Heke finally cut down the flagstaff in token of his repudiation of the Queen's authority. It is curious to observe that very shortly after the destruction of Kororareka, the Chief Protector should have found it necessary to "admit that the Natives had not a correct and comprehensive idea of all that was implied in ceding the sovereignty of their land; and that there was a consequent discrepancy between *their intention in the act and our view and interpretation of it;*" adding, "hence the frequent meetings at which sovereign act and rights have been discussed and claimed, such as making war and peace among themselves without reference to the Government."

The administration of Governor FitzRoy was powerless, as those of Governor Hobson and Mr. Shortland had been before, to check the growing evil. Governor Grey saw the position of affairs at once, and warned the Imperial Government of it. In one of his earliest despatches he says—"The Natives for a long period of time had driven the [European] inhabitants from land they had fairly purchased, and often robbed them; had insulted the authorities if they remonstrated with them, and after having been warned that they would be expelled from their land by force, had remained on the land, *making deliberate preparations to resist that force when brought against them.* These circumstances were likely to have made all the restless and warlike spirits little disposed to submit themselves to the control of our laws and authority. Other disturbing causes have at the same time been in operation. The younger men and the slaves have almost wholly emancipated themselves from the authority of the older chiefs; while, the Government having set up no authority in the place of that which has been destroyed, a number of reckless young chiefs have sprung up, who, together with their

"bands of followers, recognise no law but their own inclinations, and do not admit that the Government have either the right or the power to control them." And speaking of the disputed land questions he says, "Although it has been maintained by high authority that Natives will honourably allow land to be taken possession of which they have really parted with, I must hesitate to assent to this proposition until I see the fact realised. Everything that has taken place recently in the Colony and which is now taking place, negatives such an assertion: and I have invariably seen, that if the land purchased is not immediately occupied by a proportionate European population, some claimants whose interests have been overlooked invariably spring up and contest the purchase when Europeans go upon the land. This evil may slumber for years, but unless the Natives are exterminated or overpowered by an immensely superior European force, I believe that it will certainly come."

The Imperial Government however did not take the warning at that time: and in the same year (1846) and next years insurrection, broke out at the Hutt and Wanganui, which were in fact mere continuations of the disturbances of 1844. When Commissioner Spain at that time (1844) went to the Hutt to try and settle one of the many disputes then occurring, he found certain Natives cutting a line across the valley. "One of them, apparently of some authority, said, if you are come to make any remarks about our cutting this line you may as well return at once, for we will listen to nothing you have to say on that subject. We have quite made up our minds on the course we intend to pursue, nor will we be deterred from it by you, by the Governor, or by the Queen herself." Even Archdeacon Hadfield was at that time of the opinion that it was necessary to check the growing disaffection. "I had a long conversation with him," says Major Richmond, "and he, friendly as he is to the race, gave it as his opinion (from I may say his death bed) that the time had arrived for giving the check so much needed in this district since the late triumph of the Natives at Wairau, and for showing them that while we exercise forbearance and see they have strict justice, we will not suffer injustice and wrong to be committed on our own countrymen." And Commissioner Spain, speaking in 1844 of his difficulties in the South, says that the experience of the last six months had "led to the confirmation to the fullest extent of the opinion he had before expressed, as to the absolute necessity of the introduction of a naval and military force sufficiently strong to convince the Natives of our power to enforce obedience to the law, and of the utter hopelessness of any attempt on their part at resistance to its execution;" adding, that "it appeared to him *they had determined totally to disregard British law and authority*, and had come to the conclusion that we were not strong enough to enforce the one or maintain the other."

The Blue Books are indeed crowded with evidence similar to what has been above stated. It clearly shows this fact, so constantly denied of late: that from the earliest time there has in various parts of the country been a greater or less impatience of British rule on the part of the chiefs, and a determination to act independently of it. In all this time, it was the chiefs who were seeking to resume the power which they originally exercised with the strong arm. It was not the common people who wished for anarchy: they were always desirous of the exchange of civilised law for the Maori rule. The best evidence in the country, that of Mr. Hamlin, who for forty years has lived a missionary among them in various places, could be given to show, that during the last twenty years the inferior people have longed to be freed from the arbitrary will of the chiefs, and at length to obtain some individual property in their land, some right which should be respected in their women, their cattle, and personal property. There has *always* existed the same antagonism between the party who wished to cement the Maori power of the chiefs, and the party who aimed at law and order under British rule.

One of Sir George Grey's principal aims was to encourage the emancipation of the people from the Maori rule of the chiefs, while he wished to give the chiefs an *English* status. I am inclined to think there was a cardinal difference between him and the then Chief Protector on this subject, from the first moment of his assuming the Government. Mr. Clarke was strongly in favour of "the augmentation of the power and influence of the chiefs over their own people"; whereas Governor Grey "objected altogether to entering into any new treaty with [the then] rebels, as placing them somewhat in the position of sovereign Princes, and requiring them to treat for and bind others whom they had no authority or right whatever to control; and giving to those chiefs an importance and influence which they did not previously possess, and which it should be our object neither to recognize nor to confer upon them."

During the last five or six years of Sir George Grey's government, the country was quiet. He had succeeded in creating a strong feeling of personal attachment to himself among the Natives of most of the tribes, and this naturally was mistaken for a cordial attachment to the British Government and rule. But no sooner was Sir George Grey's back turned than the old feeling revived among the chiefs, and some of those who had been his best supporters were foremost in the attempt that was then made to restore their power. There is no need to refer to the mass of evidence which traces the history of that agitation from the first great meeting at Manawapou in 1854. In that meeting, was first seen the germ of what we specifically call the "King movement," though it was nothing more than a revival of the old difficulty under a new name.

Archdeacon Hadfield, immediately on his return from England after an absence of two years, said, in a letter to the Governor dated 1856, "I now understand there is a secret intention of assembling, if possible, most of the leading Chiefs of the central and southern parts of this island in the ensuing summer, *for the purpose of raising the authority of the Chiefs*. It appears to be highly important, notwithstanding a very general opinion to the contrary, that the Government should do nothing towards establishing the influence of the Chiefs, but should rather endeavour to lessen this by every legitimate means, and especially by raising the position of inferior men through the equal action of law." I do not agree with the Archdeacon, but I concur with Sir G. Grey in thinking that we should endeavour to give the Chiefs a high position under the Queen's Government, to compensate for the loss of power and rank which must

inevitably attend the adoption of law and order. But the Archdeacon was right in describing the agitation as being one for raising the authority of the Chiefs. The King movement originated with the Chiefs: the *People* would have been content with law and order, with English Magistrates and English guidance; the *Chiefs* wanted Maori rule and a separate nationality.

The work attempted in the Waikato by Mr. Fenton brought out most clearly the difference between the parties. The endeavour to establish civil institutions was frustrated by the Kingite Chiefs: they saw the danger to their agitation of allowing English institutions to be founded in their midst, and steadily resisted the attempt to introduce them. The Queen party and the King party in the Waikato represented the two sides, and were always antagonistic to each other. Only the most extraordinary misapprehension of the true character of this antagonism can explain the persistence with which the King movement (with its land league to bar the further spread of colonisation) is confounded with that other movement for peace and order. Potatau was early aware of the difference between them, and earnestly wished to unite the two under his device of "Faith, Law, and Love;" but the Chiefs were too strong for him, and the king-makers having gained their point, used him as their instrument, and determined to have a separate nation independent of the Queen.

A pretext for the open declaration of their intentions soon came. The setting up of the king's flag was "resolved upon as an act which was to be regarded as the complete establishment of the "Maori kingdom, the finishing of the pah." "The Chief Wetini Taiporutu, planting three sticks in "the ground, said, 'This represents the Queen, the middle one God, the third the *mana* of New "Zealand.' Taking a piece of flax, he tied them together to signify that they were once united; "breaking the flax, he said the union existed no longer."

In May, 1858, Archdeacon Kissling published a letter, in which he said "The recent paroxysm "that has come over a portion of the Natives is to have a responsible government, in imitation of our "own. But this is a dangerous speculation. The growth of wheat could only do them good; the "possession of vessels, though it reduced their population and wasted their property, rectified in a "manner their zeal, and cured their mania; their failure in mills left a standing warning before their "eyes to use more practical wisdom in laying out their money; the unprofitable sheep and the wild "cattle will teach them to fence in their land, and to settle down in quietness and peace. The law "mania is otherwise; it brings the steel in friction with the flint, and if our rulers and legislators are "not careful *whole forests may be set on fire by this plaything in the Natives' hands.*"

No. 14.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR GORE BROWNE, C.B., TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Government House,
Auckland, 9th August, 1861.

MY LORD DUKE,—

I have the honor to forward the copy of a valuable Memorandum on the subject of the King Movement by Mr. C. W. Richmond, lately Minister for Native Affairs.

This Memorandum did not reach me till after the departure of the English Mail on the 7th instant.

I have, &c.,

T. GORE BROWNE.

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle,
&c., &c., &c.

Enclosure 1.

Memorandum by C. W. Richmond, Esq.

Auckland, 7th August, 1861.

It is scarcely credible that at the present time, any person in New Zealand should be found to affirm so foolish a proposition as that the object of the Maori King Movement is simply the establishment of law and order amongst the Native Tribes of New Zealand. On the slightest examination of the subject it will appear that such a notion must be abandoned, that the movement really aims at nothing less than the assertion and maintenance of the separate and independent nationality of the Maori race.

Every witness of the numerous meetings which have taken place amongst the promoters of the movement, every published document upon the subject, whether official or private, distinctly states that the holding of the land, that is to say, the prohibition of any further alienation of territory to the Crown, or to individuals of European race, is a principal object of the King party. Even Sir William Martin admits this. The same writer further admits that the prohibition is regarded by the Natives in the light of a precaution to bear *against the Paheha*. The adoption of such a measure distinctly shows that the purpose of the movement is something very different from the mere introduction of some form of settled government. Whatever organisation can be observed amongst the Natives who join in the movement, is submitted to, it may safely be affirmed, less for the sake of social order than as a necessary bond of union to resist the further advance of the foreigner.

It may, however, be urged that the prohibition of land sales, though exhibiting a distinct determination to obstruct the further progress of European settlement, is not in itself evidence of

any disposition to throw off allegiance to the British Crown. This may be admitted. It is true, that many Natives who are strongly opposed to the further sale of land, do yet profess allegiance to the Queen, and a desire to be governed in accordance with the principles of English law. Waata Kukutai is a type of this class. This chief, though opposed to the sale of land, has also opposed the King party with great apparent consistency of purpose.

But it is indisputable that the true King party goes beyond the mere prohibition of land sales. Not merely do they desire to stop the further advance of colonisation, but they distinctly, in set terms, repudiate the Queen's authority. They have ostentatiously exercised many powers of government. For instance, they have set up a national flag, have appointed Native Magistrates with the distinct purpose of superseding the authority of the Native Assessors appointed by the Governor, and have established lines of mail carriers distinct from those appointed by the Governor. It is also a very significant fact that for some years past the Native teachers of the King party, in using the English liturgy, have omitted the prayer for Her Majesty the Queen.

The true character of the movement cannot any longer be considered to rest upon mere speculation. The part taken by the principal movers of the King party in the Taranaki war is decisive upon the subject. All the principal leaders who went from Waikato and Ngatimaniapoto, Wetini Taiporutu, Rewi, Epiha, Wi Kumete, Porokuru, and others, were decided supporters of the Maori King, and it was avowedly in support of their principles as king's men that they took up arms against Her Majesty's authority. "We go," they said, "to fight for our flag, and for the *mana* of New Zealand."

The recent letter of William Thompson Tarapipipi may also be referred to as a decisive proof. This letter was not the mere statement of an individual opinion, but was a manifesto adopted by the whole party assembled at Ngaruawahia. This document distinctly puts forward the right and the determination of the Natives to appoint their own Sovereign, and defends the justice of such a course by reference to the practice of European races: especially mentioning the Americans as having once been subject to the British monarchy, and as having thrown off the yoke. The writer also refers to the injunction in the Book of Deuteronomy (c. xvii. v. 15) forbidding the Hebrews to make a stranger King over them.

Finally, it may be observed, that had the King party really desired nothing beyond the establishment of a system of law, they would not have opposed Mr. Fenton's attempt to introduce the regular administration of justice into the Waikato district. Mr. Fenton was supported by the party to which Kukutai belongs, but he met from the Chiefs of the King party an opposition which finally induced the Governor to withdraw him from the district.

C. W. RICHMOND,

No. 14.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM COLONEL GORE BROWNE, C.B., TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Government House, Auckland, New Zealand,
26th September, 1861.

MY LORD DUKE,—

In surrendering the trust confided to me, it is right that I should endeavour to make your Grace acquainted with the state of feeling among the Maoris at the present time.

In my various reports to Her Majesty's Government, I have striven to give a faithful account of the views and opinions of the Natives, when they were written; and they have consequently varied from time to time, particularly during the last year.

At first, the insurgents were led to believe that our Troops were not able to cope with them, fighting in their own fastnesses and in their own way: and they fabricated reports of the wholesale slaughter of soldiers, and of the ease and safety with which it was effected. These falsehoods have been dissipated, and they now speak with great respect of both the bravery and humanity of the troops.

Last year, also, reports were circulated and generally believed, that the English Government desired to enslave the Maori race and deprive them of their lands: but the terms granted at Taranaki, and the conduct of the Government generally, have convinced those who are open to conviction, that these reports were absolutely without foundation, and were invented by ill disposed persons.

Since my visit in February last, the loyalty of the tribes in the North appears to be well established and firm: and they have volunteered to furnish a strong contingent, should it be required.

The Waikatos, as a whole, desire peace, and say they will not fight again unless the Government takes the initiative: but as yet they have shown no disposition to abandon their King and flag, give up the plunder obtained at Taranaki, or permit the formation of roads; these, however, are national guarantees for the permanence of peace, without which submission would last only during their own convenience.

It is not possible to say what decision they will arrive at when they are required to give a distinct answer: for though Tamchana's reply dated May, 1861 was distinct enough, he knew that some time must elapse before military operations could be commenced, and about the end of June he intimated a desire to visit me if I would send him a safe-conduct.

While Mr. McLean, carrying a safe-conduct, was with him, Takerei and Paora (important chiefs from the centre of the Waikato) arrived in Auckland, and arranged with me that the whole of the Waikato tribes should assemble at Tuakau about 40 miles from Auckland, where I promised to meet them.

On the 26th July, Mr. McLean returned from his visit to Tamehana, bringing with him Paora a near relative of that chief, and some other influential chiefs. Tamehana himself had been prevailed on not to accompany Mr. McLean, but he sent me word that he would come later in spite of all attempts to dissuade or prevent him. But on the 27th the English mail arrived, announcing Sir George Grey's appointment: I therefore confined myself to advising submission and acquiescence in whatever he may say. What has already taken place, however, clearly shows that the Waikatos desired to confer with me, though they were well acquainted with the terms contained in my declaration to the chiefs at Ngaruawahia, and were well aware of my determination to adhere to them. I have also learned that Tamati Ngapora (uncle to the King) recommends submission; that Tamehana believes resistance to be hopeless; and that the lower Waikatos desire to accept the terms of the declaration.

What change Sir George Grey's arrival may produce is uncertain; my removal is considered as a concession to those who were taught to draw a distinction between the local and the Imperial Governments. Having gained this, they may be more ready to submit, because they may do so with less fear of humiliation among their own people, the first concession having been made by us.

I have dwelt almost entirely on the course likely to be pursued by the Waikatos, because upon it will depend that of all the discontented tribes. The Ngatiawa and the tribes in the Province of Wellington are anxiously watching our proceedings with the Waikatos, and have been much influenced by learning the real truth as to the past, and being convinced of the firmness and fairness with which the disaffected have been treated.

At Hawke's Bay there is considerable dissatisfaction, which would be at once allayed if the Native title to land could be secured so that the owners could deal with it as they please; but this requires legislation.

The Ngatiruanui, in the South of New Plymouth, continue sulky, and will not permit any European to visit or pass through their country. If the Waikatos submit, the Ngatiruanui will be isolated and may be dealt with easily. Troops may be landed on the coast in fair weather, and, instead of following the Natives into their fastnesses, might be employed in opening up the country by making a road through it.

On the whole, I have found that during the cessation of hostilities the tone of the disaffected has been considerably altered and subdued. They appear to have a more correct view of the intentions of the Government towards them, and many of the chiefs who entertained the most unfavourable opinions of my sentiments have declared that they were misled, and expressed their regret. I attribute much of this alteration to the terms of peace dictated at the Waitara, and those offered to the chiefs at Ngaruawahia; and not a little to the Conference at Kohimarama, the good effect of which is appearing daily, and is proved by the constant enquiry as to when it will be repeated.

The real difficulty to be encountered is that of establishing a system for civilizing, protecting, and guiding—yet restraining—the Maoris, which shall be acceptable to them and not distasteful to the rapidly increasing European population. This subject, however, entails considerations it is no longer my duty to enter on: but I may observe that the Resolution of the House of Representatives, in which they requested me to circulate my views upon future Native policy, proves that the Assembly is willing to co-operate with the Governor and supply him liberally with funds.

In conclusion, I beg your Grace to accept my grateful thanks for the support I have received from Her Majesty's Government during the whole time I have been employed in New Zealand.

I enclose the copy of a Memorandum by the Assistant Native Secretary, and a report of two interviews held with important chiefs.

I have, &c.,

T. GORE BROWNE.

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, K. G.,
&c., &c., &c.

Enclosure 1 in No. 14.

Memorandum by the Assistant Native Secretary.

Native Secretary's Office,
September 26th, 1861.

The accompanying Memoranda illustrate in some degree the nature of the reaction which has for some time past been going on in Waikato. It is beyond question that the war spirit is on the decline there, and that a more moderate tone prevails. There is evidently a party among the upholders of the Maori King which inclines rather to concession than to fighting: and its influence is on the increase. Should this party ultimately prevail, there may be little difficulty in arranging terms with Waikato.

The protracted suspension of hostilities affording an opportunity for reflection, and the terms of peace granted to the Ngatiawa, have had a good effect on the Native mind. The intentions of the Government are less suspected. The frankness with which the Governor has at all times communicated with the Chiefs who have conferred with him on the subject of the war, together with the moderation and forbearance shown by him since the commencement of hostilities, have been appreciated and have won the respect and confidence of the Natives generally. The presence of so large a number of troops, with the military preparations, have also had a wholesome effect.

It would be premature to venture an opinion at present as to how far the Waikato tribes are prepared for making the concessions which are necessary; it may, however, be safely asserted that the possibility of a peaceful solution of our difficulties, so far as they are concerned, is less remote than it was a few months since. The tribes who have encountered our troops do not appear

anxious for a renewal of hostilities. Others, who have not been actually engaged, believing themselves to be more than a match for our soldiers, are quite ready to renew the quarrel, nothing loth to have an opportunity of trying their strength with the Pakeha.

THOS. H. SMITH.

NOTES OF AN INTERVIEW BETWEEN HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR AND PIRIPI,
OF NGATHIAUA, SEPTEMBER 24TH, 1861.

Present:—The Hon. the Native Minister and the Acting Native Secretary, the latter interpreting.

Piripi stated that since his last interview with His Excellency he had been engaged in trying to overcome the opposition of the most determined supporters of the Maori King, to the terms of peace offered by the Governor, and that he had succeeded in gaining over many of those who were the principal advisers of Wiremu Tamihana: that he could reckon twelve men of the Runanga who had been induced to adopt more moderate views, and who would be prepared for concession for the sake of peace; that there were others whom it would be necessary to try and win over; and that if he and his friends succeeded in their endeavours to this end, Tamihana would then be formally called upon to propose some plan for a peaceful solution of the question at issue with the Government. With reference to the old Chiefs, he believed they would be induced to agree to whatever was resolved on by the younger men who had taken the lead in the King movement. He stated that among the latter several might be reckoned on as committed to moderate and pacific counsels: naming Paora Te Ahuru and Toma Whakapo, whose visit to the Governor in July might be taken as a proof of their being favourably disposed. Tioriori might be looked on as not committed to either party, and would offer no opposition. Rewi also, since his return from Taranaki (where he saw the Governor) was anxious for peace. The Chiefs who were yet to be conciliated were Epiha and Aporo, of Waipa; Waitere and Tapihana, of Ngatimaniapoto; and some others. Those who were acting with him (Piripi) in this matter, had sought to divert the minds of the people by introducing sheep into the district. Several of the Chiefs had purchased sheep, and were turning their attention to agriculture with this object, in consequence of advice given to them by Mr. McLean when he visited the Ngatihaua in July last. The advice given by Wiremu Tamihana was to turn their thoughts to raising food for the support of schools for their children, as in his opinion the hope for the New Zealanders was in the rising generation. Piripi further stated that he was at present working in secret, and he did not wish what he was doing to be talked about until the end he had in view should be successfully accomplished; as if his plan were known he should not be able to carry it into effect; but he was anxious to see His Excellency and obtain his approval of the course he had adopted. With reference to William Tamehana himself, he had been very desirous to come into Auckland to confer with the Governor and explain his sentiments; but the Chiefs and the Runanga so determinedly opposed it, that he felt that to follow his own inclination in spite of their remonstrance would only have resulted in mischief. His conduct in this matter had not been dictated by pride, but from feeling that he was bound to respect the wishes of those who had suffered in supporting the cause which they had espoused at his bidding. He, however, had never intended to go so far as the ultra-king party had done. When Potatau was set up, he had asked him what title he wished to be given to him. The old Chief, advised by others, chose the title of King; but he, Thompson, had only thought of a Director of affairs for the Maoris. He, Tamihana, felt that he had treated the Governor with discourtesy in not accepting his invitation, but he had not felt at liberty to adopt any other course.

His Excellency replied that he was very glad Piripi had come to see him, and had heard with much satisfaction what he had now told him. It was unnecessary to repeat to him that the Queen desired the welfare of the Maori people; this had been declared times without number; but actions were better than words, and if the Maori people would look at the actions of the Government from the commencement, they could not but see that kindness and a regard for their interest and welfare had always characterized them. He was now about to leave New Zealand, and as their friend he left them his parting advice. Sir George Grey was coming here, they knew him to be their friend; let the Chiefs make up their minds at once to follow Sir George Grey's advice. Two paths were open before them, the path to life, and the path to death: it was for them to choose: if they chose the path to life they would find the Governor willing to aid them, and to meet their wishes as far as possible, with respect to the mode of government which would be most acceptable to them: they would be able to make known their wishes at the Conference, and so far as these were reasonable and practicable they would find the Governor willing to meet and aid them.

His Excellency expressed his approval of the course adopted by Piripi, and trusted that it would prove successful. It was the work of a wise man to seek to save men's lives instead of destroying them. The plan of seeking to engage the attention of the people in industrial pursuits, such as sheep-farming and cultivation, so as to divert their thoughts from war, he also highly approved. It was by this means that the Pakehas attained to wealth and prosperity. The plan of interesting the people in establishing and supporting schools for their children was also an excellent one.

With respect to Tamihana, His Excellency had always entertained a high opinion of his intelligence. He had heard of his school, and was much pleased with the accounts he had received of

it. It was his high opinion of Tamihana which had made him anxious to see him, that they might have an opportunity of conferring together; believing that by conversing freely together, a good understanding would be arrived at: that Tamihana must, of course, judge for himself as to the expediency of accepting the Governor's invitation, but that His Excellency was willing to see him or any of the Waikato Chiefs who might wish to confer with him, and would be always ready to listen to them and to answer any questions they might ask. His Excellency's advice was that they should lose no time, hesitating about the course to be followed, but make up their minds to take the path of peace, and accept the terms set forth in the declaration which was sent to the Ngaruawahia meeting.

THOS. H. SMITH.

NOTES OF AN INTERVIEW BETWEEN THE GOVERNOR AND AIHIPENE OF NGATITEATA.

At an interview with His Excellency the Governor on the 25th September, 1861, the Chief Ahipene Kaihau, of the Ngatiteata, expressed himself to the following effect:—

He hoped His Excellency would not leave New Zealand with dark forebodings for the future. He believed the time was approaching when the Waikato Chiefs would become wiser, and more amenable to reason than they had been. He had lately seen many indications of this. One thing he especially noticed, which was that the forbearance shewn by the Governor in suspending hostilities up to the present time had produced a great effect on the minds of those who had been most disaffected. Even those who were still indisposed to concession, admitted that the Governor had shewn that he was influenced by kindly feelings towards the Maories. This belief in the Governor's benevolent disposition towards them was becoming very general in Waikato; and, now that his sentiments were better understood, much regret would be felt at his departure. Ahipene also stated that at a late meeting the question was warmly discussed as to whether Waikato should again interfere, in the event of hostilities between the Europeans and any of the Southern tribes. The question was referred to Matutaera, Potatau's successor, who deprecated taking up arms under any other circumstances than that of an attack upon themselves. Even in the event of troops being stationed at Te Ia, on the Waikato, he would advise their remaining quiet. Only in the case of an attempt to take land not fairly acquired, would their interference be justifiable.

Ahipene further stated, that he had lately discussed the same question with Porokoru, and other Ngatihaua Chiefs, who had, he believed, been convinced by his arguments in favour of non-interference. He had suggested that the better course would be to employ the mediation of some neutral tribe to remonstrate with the party who might be considered to be in the wrong.

With respect to Matutaera himself, Ahipene said that he knew him to be anxious for peace. His advice to the people was to turn their thoughts to industrial pursuits, and to raising food for themselves and their children; also to behave well to the Europeans living among them. The defiant language which was held by some of the more headstrong and reckless, did not receive his countenance or approval. It was his (Ahipene's) opinion that the Waikato Chiefs were beginning to think more like men, and less like children, than they had done; and that His Excellency would hear in another land of their having forsaken their past folly, and adopted a wiser course than they had hitherto pursued. For himself, he felt affection for his people, but no sympathy with their vain projects, which were the offspring of ignorance and would be abandoned as they grew wiser. His relative Te Katipa had died professing friendship to the Europeans, and attachment to the Government; and those whom he left behind him were pledged to maintain the same friendly relations. He regretted that His Excellency was leaving the country, as he felt that the Maoris would lose a friend; and though he knew that Sir George Grey was also their friend, and came here as the representative of the same Sovereign, this did not prevent his feeling sorrow at the departure of the Governor whom they had learned to regard as a parent, and whose kindness was only now becoming generally understood and appreciated.

THOS. H. SMITH.

DESPATCHES FROM GOVERNOR SIR G. GREY, K.C.B.

E—No. 1

Sec. II.

No. 1.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF
NEWCASTLE.

H. M. S. "Cossack,"
15th August, 1861.

MY LORD DUKE,—

I have the honor to report to your Grace that, in consequence of your instructions that I should proceed with as much despatch as possible to assume the Government of New Zealand, I applied to Admiral Sir Baldwin Walker for a passage in H. M. S. "Cossack," for myself and the persons named in the margin, from the Cape of Good Hope to Auckland, in New Zealand.

2. I considered it to be my duty to avail myself of the most rapid and direct means which I could find of reaching New Zealand, for the intelligence received of the terms of peace offered to the Natives of the Waitara renders it probable that war must break out in some other part of the Islands. It is, therefore, a matter of great importance, if I am to conduct these affairs to a conclusion, that I should arrive at the scene of action as rapidly as possible. It is, also, by no means impossible that the assistance which may be given by another ship of war on the New Zealand Station, may prove of great advantage in bringing about a satisfactory solution of the disturbed state of affairs prevailing there. I, therefore, as I could obtain the assistance at the Cape, thought I ought not to throw away a chance which may prove of much benefit to Her Majesty's Service.

I have, &c.,

G. GREY.

His Grace

The Duke of Newcastle, K. G.,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 2.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF
NEWCASTLE.

Government House, Auckland,
4th October, 1861.

No. 1.

MY LORD DUKE,—

I have the honor to report to your Grace that I arrived at Auckland upon the 26th ultimo.

2. My predecessor, Colonel Gore Browne, was administering the Government at the time of my arrival. I had thus the advantage of receiving his advice and his opinion upon the present state of the country, which he gave me in great detail, with an anxious desire, in as far as possible, to aid me in the discharge of the difficult duties on which I was about to enter.

3. Colonel Browne could not leave the Colony until the 2nd instant. On that day he embarked amidst the most lively demonstrations of regard and good will from the inhabitants of Auckland; and upon the 3rd instant I took the oaths of office, and entered upon the Administration of the affairs of this Government.

I have, &c.,

G. GREY.

His Grace

The Duke of Newcastle, K. G.,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 3.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF
NEWCASTLE.

Government House, Auckland,
9th October, 1861

No. 3.

MY LORD DUKE,—

I have the honor to transmit for your Grace's information, Copies of three Papers which have been laid before me by the New Zealand Ministers since I have assumed the Government of this Colony.

2. The first details the position of the Colony at the present date; the second is a Memorandum on the machinery of this Government for Native purposes; the third, is a Memorandum to show that the existing form of Government will suffice to meet the emergency which now exists in the Colony.

3. Your Grace will, I am sure, peruse these three Papers with great interest; and will agree with me in thinking that the calmness and moderation of the views expressed in them at a time of considerable excitement are very creditable to the inhabitants of New Zealand, and afford every hope that, in as far as the European population is concerned, I may arrive at a settlement of the existing difficulties, in which they will generally heartily and cordially co-operate. Such a settlement,

Enclosure No. 1.—Memorandum, W. Fox, 8 Oct., 1861, on the present position of the colony.

Enclosure No. 2.—Memorandum, W. Fox, 8 Oct. 1861: Machinery of Government for Native purposes.

Enclosure No. 3.—Memorandum, W. Fox, 8 Oct., 1861. Applicability of present form of Government to the circumstances of the colony.

completed with their aid and with their assistance, will be much more satisfactory than any arrangement which I could carry out by my individual will.

4. Regarding the sentiments of a considerable portion of the Native population, I am not yet so well satisfied, and I fear that the views expressed in the last despatch of my predecessor on this subject may prove to have been too sanguine.

5. I have had frequent and anxious consultations with the Ministers regarding the future; and if the present crisis is got over, and peace established, I think I see my way quite clearly to the introduction of plans which will completely and lastingly set upon a proper footing the interests and mutual relations of the Native and European races. I am unwilling to speak too confidently on so extremely difficult a subject, and I desire to say nothing that seems rash or presumptuous: but if peace can be established, I really think I can shortly introduce institutions which will satisfactorily solve the whole question, and establish Her Majesty firmly in the affections of Her Native subjects in New Zealand.

6. But the re-establishment of peace will be very difficult. Two of the three parties of Natives we were treating with have arrogantly and contemptuously refused the terms proposed by my predecessor, and the third party have already broken the terms they seemed to have accepted. I have declined, at present, to offer any terms to the Waikato Natives, leaving to themselves the commencement of the matter. My main hope at present is, that if I make no demand or threats, they may possibly, from a feeling of personal regard to myself, do all we could hope for: but they are so exasperated, sullen, desperate, and anxious to avenge the death of the Chiefs they have lost, as they believe under circumstances of injustice, that I cannot now with any confidence calculate upon the Chiefs I was so intimate with being able to control the feelings of their tribes, and to lead them in the direction we should desire.

I have, &c.,

His Grace

The Duke of Newcastle, K. G.,
&c., &c., &c.

G. GREY.

Enclosures 1 and 2 in No. 3.

[Printed separately in Sessional Papers 1862, E—No. 2.]

Enclosure 3 in No. 3.

MINUTE BY MINISTERS IN REFERENCE TO THE SUSPENSION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

Auckland, 8th October, 1861.

Ministers are aware that the question has been raised, and may be raised again, how far the form of Constitutional Government bestowed upon this Colony by the Imperial Parliament in 1852, is adapted to its present circumstances, and whether a suspension of the Constitution might not facilitate the adjustment of the difficulties of the present crisis.

Before entertaining any such proposition it ought to be made clear, 1st. That the existing system of Government has in any way contributed to the present difficulties; and 2nd. That the suggested suspension would be likely to lead to their removal.

Ministers are decidedly and unanimously of opinion that neither position is tenable.

As to the first:—The difficulties referred to have arisen solely in reference to the administration of Native affairs. Now this has, partly by the operation of the Constitution Act, and partly by the action of the late Governor on the introduction of Responsible Government, been practically reserved in the hands of the Governor as the Representative of the Imperial Government: and the Colonial Government has, in fact, had little or nothing to do with it. The Colonial Government has done what it could, consistent with the limited powers vested in it, to advise and legislate in support of the Governor's Administration of Native affairs; but substantially the whole control and action has been with him; and it may be safely asserted, that the present difficulties are in no way chargeable on any exercise by the Colonists of the Constitutional powers vested in them by Parliament.

As to the second point, the proposed suspension of the Constitution:—The principal result of this would in the opinion of Ministers be this, that while at present one department of Government, the Native Administration, is in difficulty and confusion, the whole Government of the Colony would by such a course be placed in the same predicament. It must be borne in mind what are the character of the Constitution of the Colony, and the distribution of functions created by it in the hands of the General and Provincial Governments; the latter, in particular, being charged with what may be termed all the constructive work of the Colony—Immigration, Public Works, the Surveys and Sales of Land, as well as with the organization and control of the Police, and other social régime of the community. The machinery by which these functions are executed is in active operation, and nothing but the most inextricable confusion and paralysis would arise from any sudden suspension of its exercise. Even the General Government of the Colony would prove incapable of taking over the functions of the Provincial Governments; and if the General Government itself as at present constituted were suspended also, the difficulties of the Colony would be indefinitely increased.

Ministers believe that the difficulties of the present crisis are of a character which can only be met by a large and liberal policy towards the Natives, which may go to the root of the disease, and not merely remove or repress the external symptoms. Any such policy will necessarily affect not only the interests of the Natives *per se*, but their relations to the Europeans also, and must be of a permanent

and enduring character. The General Assembly of New Zealand has during several years past devoted much attention to the Native question, and is prepared to support to the utmost the action of the Governor in the creation of permanent civil institutions which may include the Native race and bring both races under one uniform system of Government. Ministers believe that the end sought can be far more surely attained by the earnest co-operation of the Colonists with the Governor through the existing institutions, than by any interference with those institutions which, while it might confer more absolute power on the Governor, would deprive him of the co-operation of the Colonists whose interests are dependent on a wise solution of the questions at issue.

WILLIAM FOX.

No. 4.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Government House,

Auckland, October 26th, 1861.

No. 8.

MY LORD DUKE,—

Upon the 13th April last (despatch No. 51) my predecessor reported to Your Grace the force that would be required, and the preliminary arrangements that had been made, for an expedition against the Waikato tribes should they positively refuse to acknowledge Her Majesty's supremacy.

2. On the 6th June (despatch No. 82) the terms were enclosed to Your Grace on which it had been offered to accept the submission of the Waikatos, and those of their allies who joined William King in attacking Her Majesty's forces at Taranaki.

3. On the 7th July (despatch No. 97) the answers of the Waikatos to these terms were transmitted, and it was made clear they did not intend to accept them.

4. On the 10th or 11th June, 1861, it was publicly made known that the terms proposed to the Waikatos would be insisted on: the troops were in advance in the front, and matters have remained in this state.

5. Upon enquiry here I found that no estimate had been made of the probable annual cost to Her Majesty's Government of the line of proceedings it was thus intended to carry out. Apart from the question of policy of these proceedings, that of the cost appears to be a very serious one, which ought not to be lost sight of, in order that preparations may be made for providing the very large sums that will be required.

Enclosure No. 1.—Extract from Governor Browne's reply to Wellington deputation, 10th June, 1861. (Already published in parliamentary papers, 1861.)

6. I therefore lost no time in requesting the Lieutenant General to have the estimates prepared, in order that the question of the proposed expenditure, which does not appear to have been yet considered or brought under review, either in this country or in England, might be fully discussed.

Enclosure No. 2.—Memorandum by General Cameron, 22nd October, 1861: with returns & estimates of military expenditure.

7. The enclosed estimates do not show a large part of the expenditure for which provision will have to be made, if the contemplated movements are gone on with; for we have been unable to obtain any estimate of the increased naval expenditure, which is very large, or of the cost of the transport corps, or of extraordinary expenditure for engineer works, or of the military stores sent out for the colony from England, or of the cost of conveyance of troops, horses, stores, &c., to and from England, the united cost of which services will add very large amounts to the estimates now enclosed.

8. The estimates have also been made for a smaller force than has been applied for as necessary for the successful conduct of the operations contemplated by my predecessor.

9. Your Grace will find, that making the deductions I have above stated, the extraordinary military expenditure incurred amounts to upwards of £500,000.

10. The rate of military expenditure now going on, allowing nothing for the cost of operations in the field, amounts to nearly £400,000 a year, and to this a sum of £260,000 will have to be added for each six months' operations in the field, or a sum of £520,000 a year; making a total of £920,000 a year if operations are continued; and I concur with the Lieutenant General in thinking that the sum actually expended would be more likely to exceed than to fall short of this sum. When to this amount are added the sums due for the services not included in the estimates, the total military expenditure will be very largely increased.

11. My predecessor thought that if the arrangement discussed in his despatch of the 6th July, 1861, No. 97, were carried out, the war might last for two campaigns. The impression I have is, that at the end of two years it might be found that little had been done to reduce the Natives, whilst it is believed that many settlers who are now in comparative wealth, would be reduced to extreme poverty. At the end of 13 months' war at Taranaki, the Natives actually occupy part of our territory, as they allege in right of conquest, whilst the European farms lie utterly wasted and desolate, and a force of 746 men holds the town.

12. From the enclosed estimate, the details of which have been furnished by the Ministers, it will be seen that the present war expenditure, which the Home Government have proposed to charge against the Colony, and which is in addition to the sums included in the estimates sent in by the Lieutenant General, amounts to about £69,000. But this expenditure will be very largely increased if operations in the field are again entered on.

Enclosure No. 3.—Estimate of present annual military expenditure, proposed by Home Government to be charged against colony.

13. The lowest estimated military expenditure for each year is thus £989,000. It may be safely predicted that if hostilities are renewed this amount will be far exceeded.

14. Before concluding this despatch, I now turn to another subject, which although not necessarily relating to any charge upon the British Treasury, will be interesting to all as involving the question of the losses probably to be incurred by those of European descent during the prosecution of the war.

15. I have no means of calculating the cost of building the blockhouses and defensive works that will be requisite at so many points for the protection of the refugees in the first instance: but Your Grace may readily suppose how large a sum must be spent on such objects.

Sec. II.

Enclosure No. 4.—Statement of expenditure on account of Taranaki Refugees.

Enclosure No. 5.—Estimate of losses of settlers at Taranaki.

Enclosure No. 6.—Statement of expenditure arising out of Native insurrection.

16. A review of the extraordinary expenditure on account of the war at Taranaki, and of the probable losses of the settlers at that place, will however, in some respects, furnish reliable grounds on which a good opinion may be formed of the probable future cost of further operations in this country.

17. The expenditure incurred in removing the women and children from Taranaki, and supporting them during the war until the present time, amounts to about £29,185.

18. From the enclosed report of the Commissioner appointed to enquire on the spot into the extent of the losses during the war, it appears that, in that small settlement, the actual loss of property sustained by the settlers amounts to £150,000, and that this is exclusive of the deterioration of the value of property from non-occupation, &c. I am told that from the farms having been necessarily allowed to lie waste, not only have the crops of successive years been lost, but they have been so over-run with weeds, and fences have been so broken down, that, even if peace is again established, it will take some years to restore them to their former state.

19. The accompanying statement of the expenditure paid by the Colony or claimed from it by the Imperial Government for military purposes arising out of the war at Taranaki, will shew Your Grace that up to the 29th October it amounted to more than £193,000.

20. The account for the war at Taranaki, therefore, stands thus in so far as has at present been ascertained.

NOTE.

It is possible that, upon an analysis of all the items, some charges included in the sum of £500,000 might again appear in the sum of £193,000.

British Extraordinary military expenditure.....	£500,000
Colonial expenditure on military objects.....	193,000
Cost of removing and aiding women and children	29,000
Losses of settlers.....	150,000
	<hr/>
	£872,000

21. If operations in the Waikato are entered upon, the losses in the other settlements will be greater than in the case of Taranaki. My predecessor's opinion on the point was as follows:—

“His Excellency said that he concurred in these sentiments, that war was not made with rose-water. That though he hoped there was no immediate danger, yet that there ought to be no misapprehension. His own impression was that on the first shot that was fired in the Waikato there would be a general rising of the tribes connected with the King movement in the several Provinces. The terms he had proposed to the Waikatos he intended should be insisted on. That 20,000 soldiers could not protect all the out settlers, and he thought the Government had a right to expect that the settlers should assist to protect themselves, which they were well able to do. In the event of an attack the out-settlers would have to take refuge in the centres of population, build blockhouses, as the settlers at Taranaki had done, and defend them.

“The blockhouses at Taranaki erected by the settlers were very excellent buildings. If the forces, at the General's disposal were to be divided up into garrisons, the General could not possibly take the field. He (the Governor) would not attempt to conceal from the deputation that war carried on in a country in which we dwell, and where our wealth and property are scattered broadcast, must be attended with great loss and very serious consequences. War was not yet certain, but he was of opinion that every exertion should be made to prepare for it, if it should be forced upon us.”

And again in despatch No. 97 of 6th January last:—“War in a country occupied as this is, by settlers and stockowners thickly spread over its whole surface, must necessarily be disastrous to both races: property must be abandoned, houses deserted, the settlers must rally round the centres of population, and many who are in comparative wealth will be reduced to extreme poverty. Nothing can be done to alleviate that suffering which is the inseparable accompaniment of war under such circumstances, but it ought to be brought to an end in the least possible time.” “In order to bring the Maories to submission in the course of one or at most two seasons, I believe that it is absolutely necessary that the General should have a moveable column of not less than 3,000 rank and file, and that he should be able to keep up a chain of communication with his advanced post, but which should be in the centre of the Waikato, 100 miles from Auckland. I have every reason to believe that the insurgents will only partially obstruct his course by occupying strong natural positions and rifle pits; but while he advances they will spread over the country in small parties, attacking the settlements (which occupy the circumference of the Island while they inhabit the centre), and carrying destruction far and wide.”

22. As the best source of information to aid my enquiries on this subject, the Ministers referred me to a speech made by Mr. Carter in the House of Representatives, from which I enclose an extract.

23. Mr Carter estimates the probable cost of removing the women and children from the threatened portions of the Provinces of Auckland, Wellington, and Hawke's Bay, and supporting them for one year at

at	£312,000
Settlers' losses in Province of Auckland at	300,000
Do. Wellington at	400,000
Do. Hawke's Bay at	300,000

Making a total of £1,312,000

—and Mr. Carter thinks that in this statement he has rather underrated than over-estimated the amount.

24. As the rulers of this country, we must weigh the miseries and losses of all classes of the population, whether European or Native, who are alike subjects of the Queen and have equal claims on Her Majesty's care. If, then, the losses which the Natives must sustain in any general war are considered as well as those I have already brought under review, they will add a very large amount to those already estimated for.

25. Your Grace will see, from the information placed before you in this despatch, that the probable expense of a war which is likely to prove so protracted, must form a very important part of any discussion regarding the proceedings which should be adopted in this country. I am endeavouring to prepare, in

Enclosure No. 7.—Extract from Mr. Carter's speech in House of Representatives, 4th July, 1831.

time for this mail, a despatch in which the whole question of the line of policy it would be most advisable to pursue shall be carefully considered; but should I fail in completing this in time for the present mail, the information now forwarded will do much to clear up the financial part of the question.

I have, &c,

G. GREY.

P.S.—I. Since this despatch was written, it was suggested to me that a mistake had been made in estimating the military operations; inasmuch as the estimate of £260,000 on account of operations in the field would not be incurred in the winter months, when the troops would be in cantonments, and that therefore the annual estimate for this branch of service should be only £260,000 and not £520,000.

II. This estimate of £260,000 represents in fact chiefly the cost of transport in a country without roads. The troops having advanced in the course of a summer's campaign in the Waikato country, cannot during the winter abandon the position they have taken some hundred miles in advance of Auckland, fall back on that place, and then repeat the same operations in the ensuing summer. We must for some considerable period, if not for years, hold the positions we gain, or no effect whatever will be produced by military operations. The cost of transport through a woody, swampy, roadless country intersected by many small rivers, will be greater in winter than in summer, and the estimate should be rather increased for the winter months than diminished.

III. I notice this because the same objection to the enclosed estimates as was made here might be made in England, and might possibly there pass without the explanation here given that the expenditure for transport in the six winter months would much exceed that of the summer months, which alone has been estimated for.

G. G.

[Enclosure No. 1 was printed in Sessional Papers of 1861.—E—No. 1D.]

Enclosure 2 in No. 4.

MINUTE BY LIEUT.-GENERAL CAMERON, C.B., RELATIVE TO MILITARY EXPENDITURE.

1. The ordinary military expenditure in New Zealand previous to the war, may be reckoned at £100,000 a year, for a garrison of about 1200 men. According to Return No. 1, the whole expenditure of the year 1860, when the average number of troops in the colony was about 1900, amounted to £198,458: the increased expenditure on account of the war being £98,458.

According to Estimate No. 2, the whole expenditure of the present year, the average number of troops having increased to £6000, will amount to £437,715: the increase of expenditure on account of the war being £337,715.

The extraordinary expenditure, therefore, in the last two years, on account of the war, will amount to £463,173: or, including the proportion of dead weight, recruiting and departmental expenses at home, to upwards of £500,000.

According to Estimate No. 3, the present rate of military expenditure (allowing nothing for operations in the field) amounts to £329,300 a year; and, including proportion of dead weight, &c. &c., to nearly £400,000: or £300,000 a year above the ordinary rate.

Returns Nos. 4 and 5 show the increase of expenditure occasioned by the late operations in the field: the largest increase in any one month having occurred in January 1861, when it amounted to £19,403.

It is impossible to deduce the probable cost of future operations in the field from the data contained in these two Returns. The operations to which they relate did not extend beyond the immediate neighbourhood of the town of New Plymouth, or of the camp of the Waitara. No part of the force engaged at the Waitara was at any time more than five miles from its dépôt at the camp, which was supplied from New Plymouth by means of a small steamer; and consequently no great amount of land transport was required to carry forward the supplies to the troops so short a distance from the camp. Operations carried on at greater distance, for instance in the Waikato country, 60 or 70 miles from Auckland, would involve a larger and more expensive transport establishment; and, as the force in the field would probably be greater than in the late operations, every other expense would be increased in proportion.

Mr. Jones, in return No. 6, estimates the probable increase of expenditure on account of operations in the field, at £260,000 for the next six months;* and I think it would be more likely to exceed than to fall short of that sum.

Auckland, 22nd October, 1861.

D. A. CAMERON.

Lieut.-General.

* This sum is over and above the £300,000 estimated as the excess above the ordinary rate.—D.A.C.

Sub-Enclosure No. 1.

MILITARY EXPENDITURE IN NEW ZEALAND DURING THE YEAR 1860.

							£	s.	d.
March Quarter	-	-	-	-	-	-	23,892	0	0
June "	-	-	-	-	-	-	33,948	10	0
September "	-	-	-	-	-	-	70,377	0	0
December "	-	-	-	-	-	-	70,240	10	0
Total	-	-	-	-	-	-	£198,458	0	0

H. STANLEY JONES,

Deputy Commissary General.

[This includes militia and the colonial steam ship Victoria.—D. A. C.]

DESPATCHES FROM GOVERNOR SIR G. GREY

Sub-Enclosure No. 2.

PROBABLE MILITARY EXPENDITURE IN NEW ZEALAND, BETWEEN THE 1ST JANUARY AND 31ST DECEMBER, 1861, IN THE EVENT OF THERE BEING NO FURTHER WAR.

No.	SERVICE.	AMOUNT.	
		£	s. d.
1	Regimental pay-	162,994	0 0
2	General Commissariat and Medical Staff -	9,719	0 0
3	Hospital Expenditure -	5,005	0 0
4	Land and Inland Water Transport -	28,998	0 0
5	Field Allowance -	1,995	0 0
6	Military Store, Barrack, and Royal Engineer Civil Department -	2,700	0 0
7	Signal Establishment -	200	0 0
8	Local Expenditure -	500	0 0
9	Lodging Money- -	8000	0 0
10	Hire of Buildings -	4,963	0 0
11	Wages and Extra Labour -	1,731	0 0
12	Clothing -	100	0 0
13	Provisions, Forage, Fuel, and Light, including Pecuniary Allowance -	110,000	0 0
14	Warlike Stores -	1,101	0 0
15	Royal Engineer Works -	36,165	0 0
16	Sea Transport -	29,544	0 0
17	Militia Expenditure -	34,000	0 0
Total		£437,715	0 0

H. STANLEY JONES,
Deputy Commissary General.

Sub-Enclosure No. 3.

ESTIMATE OF THE PROBABLE ARMY EXPENDITURE FOR ONE YEAR, FOR THE PRESENT FORCE SERVING IN NEW ZEALAND, UNDER EXISTING CIRCUMSTANCES.

No.	SERVICE.	AMOUNT.	
		£	s. d.
1	Regimental Pay -	171,000	0 0
2	General Commissariat and Medical Staff -	11,000	0 0
3	Hospital Expenditure -	5,000	0 0
4	Land and Inland Water Transport -	6,000	0 0
5	Field Allowance -	500	0 0
6	Military Store, Barrack, and Royal Engineer Civil Department -	2,700	0 0
7	Signal Establishment -	0	0 0
8	Local Expenditure -	500	0 0
9	Lodging Money -	8,000	0 0
10	Hire of Buildings -	3,000	0 0
11	Wages and Extra Labour- -	1,000	0 0
12	Clothing -	100	0 0
13	Provisions, &c., including Pecuniary Allowance -	110,000	0 0
14	Warlike Stores -	500	0 0
15	Royal Engineer Works -	5,000	0 0
16	Sea Transport -	5,000	0 0
Total		£329,300	0 0

This estimate is exclusive of all expense of the Transport Corps, and of all extraordinary expenditure for Engineer Works, &c. &c., and of advances for Militia purposes.

H. STANLEY JONES,
Deputy Commissary General.

TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

9 E—No. 1

Sec. II.

Sub-Enclosure No. 4.

ESTIMATE SHEWING THE WHOLE MILITARY EXPENDITURE DURING THE WAR FROM 1ST JANUARY TO 30TH APRIL, AND THE PROPORTION OCCASIONED BY THE WAR.

No.	SERVICE.	Actual Monthly Expenditure for four months, commencing Jan., 1861.	Increased Monthly Expenditure occasioned by the War.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1	Regimental Pay - - - - -	45,648 0 0	8,848 0 0
2	General Commissariat and Medical Staff - - - - -	2,480 0 0	480 0 0
3	Hospital Expenditure - - - - -	1,550 0 0	750 0 0
4	Land and Inland Water Transport - - - - -	5,406 0 0	3,906 0 0
5	Field Allowance and Staff - - - - -	1,475 0 0	1,475 0 0
6	Military Store, Barrack, and Royal Engineer Civil Department - - - - -	625 0 0	0 0 0
7	Signal Establishment - - - - -	170 0 0	170 0 0
8	Local Expenditure - - - - -	144 0 0	0 0 0
9	Lodging Money - - - - -	2,106 0 0	0 0 0
10	Hire of Buildings - - - - -	1,107 0 0	507 0 0
11	Wages and Extra Labour - - - - -	420 0 0	220 0 0
12	Clothing - - - - -	100 0 0	0 0 0
13	Provisions, &c., including Pecuniary Allowance - - - - -	29,000 0 0	11,000 0 0
14	Warlike Stores - - - - -	326 0 0	276 0 0
15	Royal Engineer Works - - - - -	1,255 0 0	1,255 0 0
16	Sea Transport - - - - -	19,583 0 0	16,583 0 0
Total		£ 111,395 0 0	45,470 0 0

H. STANLEY JONES,
Deputy Commissary General.

Sub-Enclosure No. 5.

TOTALS OF STATEMENTS SENT TO THE WAR OFFICE, SHEWING THE INCREASED EXPENDITURE OCCASIONED BY THE WAR IN NEW ZEALAND, FROM 1ST APRIL, 1860, TO 31ST MARCH, 1861.

		£	s.	d.
Month of April,	1860	-	3,295	2 11
" May,	"	-	7,455	10 4
" June,	"	-	3,792	5 0
" July,	"	-	8,695	3 11
" August,	"	-	15,783	5 3
" September,	"	-	14,807	10 7
" October,	"	-	13,811	15 2
" November,	"	-	14,460	17 4
" December,	"	-	11,709	10 7
" January,	1861	-	19,403	5 9
" February,	"	-	16,957	11 2
" March	"	-	12,876	17 6
Total		£143,048	15	6

H. STANLEY JONES,
Deputy Commissary General.

19th October, 1861.

[This includes Militia expenditure.—D. A. C.]

Sub-Enclosure No. 6.

TOTALS OF THE MONTHLY ESTIMATES, SHOWING THE PROBABLE INCREASED EXPENDITURE, OCCASIONED BY THE WAR IN NEW ZEALAND, DURING THE SIX FOLLOWING MONTHS:—

		£	s.	d.
1st April	to 30th September, 1860	-	28,500	0 0
1st May	" 31st October	-	36,000	0 0
1st June	" 30th November	-	45,300	0 0
1st July	" 31st December	-	68,000	0 0

1st August	to 31st January	1861	-	-	-	94,500	0	0
1st September	" 28th February	"	-	-	-	119,500	0	0
1st October	" 31st March	"	-	-	-	127,500	0	0
1st November	" 30th April	"	-	-	-	143,000	0	0
1st December	" 31st May	"	-	-	-	143,000	0	0
1st January, 1861,	" 30th June	"	-	-	-	146,000	0	0
1st February	" 31st July	"	-	-	-	118,000	0	0
1st March	" 31st August	"	-	-	-	115,000	0	0
1st April	" 30th September	"	}	-	-	None sent.		
1st May	" 31st October	"						
1st June	" 30th November	"						
1st July	" 31st December	"	-	-	-	261,000	0	0
1st August	" 31st January,	1862	-	-	-	260,000	0	0

H. STANLEY JONES,
Deputy Commissary General.

19th October, 1861.

[This includes Militia expenditure.—D. A. C.]

Enclosure 3 in No. 4.

ESTIMATE OF PRESENT ANNUAL MILITARY EXPENDITURE PROPOSED BY THE HOME GOVERNMENT TO BE CHARGED AGAINST THE COLONY OF NEW ZEALAND.

Militia Extra Expenditure	£14,000
Colonial Contribution to Troops.....	35,000
General Military Charges	20,000
	<u>£69,000</u>

NOTE.—The Militia Expenditure at present going on is stated by the Ministers to be £48,000 a year. The Estimate made by the Lieutenant-General for this head of service is only £34,000. The difference to be provided for is £14,000.

Enclosure 4 in No. 4.

STATEMENT OF EXPENDITURE BY THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT ON ACCOUNT OF TARANAKI REFUGEES TO OCTOBER 29TH, 1861.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Passages by Steamers, &c.				5,697	12	1
Rationing and Allowances—						
Auckland	493	17	11			
New Plymouth	3,608	4	2			
Nelson	12,665	0	0			
				16,767	2	1
Buildings—						
Taranaki	4,000	0	0			
Nelson	1,579	11	0			
				5,579	11	0
Miscellaneous Expenditure				1,141	8	7
				<u>£</u> 29,185	13	9

Treasury, Auckland,
28th October, 1861.

R. F. PORTER,
Assistant Treasurer.

The rate at which this expenditure is going on at present (estimated) is about £10,000 per annum.

Enclosure 5 in No. 4.

ESTIMATE OF LOSSES OF SETTLERS AT TARANAKI FROM THE LATE WAR.

The total amount of claims put in before me, as Commissioner for distributing the Taranaki Relief Fund, is £181,693, for *actual losses of property* sustained by settlers. I am now engaged in settling the claims, and I estimate the reduction which I shall make in the claims at about £25,000.

I may state that, having examined the bulk of the claims on the spot, with persons having local information, and having an interest in reducing the claims within fair limits, I believe that the total sum fairly claimable exceeds £150,000. This is exclusive of deterioration in the value of property from non-occupation of land, and from general depreciation.

Auckland, October 15th, 1861.

HENRY SEWELL,
Commissioner.

Enclosure 6 in No. 4.

STATEMENT OF EXPENDITURE ARISING OUT OF THE NATIVE INSURRECTION, TO 29TH OCTOBER, 1861.

Payments from Colonial Treasury—	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1. Militia and Volunteers, Pay and Contingent Expenditure ...				13,130	10	11
2. Barracks, Blockhouses, and other Defences				11,836	18	3
3. General Expenses—						
Arms, Accoutrements, &c.	34,015	16	0			
Extra services of Royal Mail Steamers, purchase and employment of Gun-boats and other Vessels	2,764	15	9			
Miscellaneous Expenses arising out of the War	7,937	0	2			
Bonus to Crews of Her Majesty's Ships on the Station ...	4,000	0	0			
Extra Expenses of Harbour Department at New Plymouth	3,500	0	0			
				52,217	11	11
Paid by means of sums advanced from the Commissariat Chest to the Colonial Treasury—						
Militia, New Plymouth, July to September	6,080	4	8			
Bonus to Crews of Her Majesty's Ships	5,000	0	0			
				11,080	4	8
				£	88,215	5 9
Amount claimed on behalf of the Imperial Government for Expenditure from the Commissariat Chest, to 30th June, 1861				£	104,964	19 9

Treasury, Auckland, 30th October, 1861.

R. F. PORTER,
Assistant Treasurer.

Enclosure 7 in No. 4.

EXTRACT FROM MR. CARTER'S SPEECH IN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JULY 4TH, 1861.

One most important topic seems to me to have been entirely lost sight of in the course of this debate; that is, the probable cost of the war. My hon. friend the member for Rangitikei has noticed one item of it; but the Government have hardly thought it worth their attention, and appear to me to be leading their supporters into war blindfolded. Sir, as men of business, we ought to know our liabilities; and as honest men, if we incur them, we must provide the ways and means of meeting them; and if we can arrive at the cost, or a fair approximation to it, we shall then be able to see how much we shall have saved the Colony if prudent negotiations secure an honourable peace. I believe it to be the duty of this House to prepare for war, but before we commit ourselves to war, we ought to count the cost; and I would here call the attention of Southern members in particular, who have so liberally offered to pay their quota of the expenses of the war, to a statement I am about to make, which will give them, before they finally commit themselves, some idea of the liabilities and cost of a war now imminent. In the first place I will call the attention of the House to a message sent down to this House by His Excellency, and covering a despatch from the Duke of Newcastle, which message asks us to comply with the request contained in the Duke's despatch. This request is for payment of the usual Colonial allowance to Her Majesty's troops, men and officers, and is in addition to the £5 per man, rank and file, agreed to be paid by the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Stafford, some months ago. Now this additional demand of extra pay exceeds £5 per man per annum, but, taking it at the lowest rate of £5, this, with the Colony's contribution of £5, makes £10 per annum: and as the number of troops, of all ranks, including 600 men now on their way out here, may be taken safely at 6,000 men, we shall have 6,000 men at £10 per head, which, with the £7,000 demanded for New Plymouth Barracks, amounts for this year to £67,000; and I am just informed, that a little account—a back bill—has been sent in, I believe by the Commissariat department, for about £60,000. This makes a total of £127,000 we are called upon to pay. But leaving out this arrears account of £60,000, and keeping to my own estimate of £67,000, it will be very much increased if we have two more regiments out. Of course, as I have in the course of my remarks said, the war is an Imperial one, we ought not to be called on to pay such vast sums,—and if we are called upon we have

not the means to do it. But of what the opinion of the Ministers is on this subject, most of us are entirely ignorant. Perhaps we may be told the troops will be withdrawn if we do not. Well then, there is the demand for men and money made by His Excellency the other night—and I must say on this men and money question His Excellency has adopted a straightforward and manly course, when he requested us, before we were committed to the war, to consider that we must supply men and money. I wish his Responsible Advisers were equally candid about war expenses. (Hear.) By men and money, I understand Militia men and their payment; and if we take the men in the Northern Island at 10,000 capable of bearing arms—and this is much under the true estimate—we may fairly assume, in case of a general war, that at least 4,000 Militia men will be called out to assist to defend their own districts, and also to aid, as far as possible, the operations of General Cameron. And as, by the Militia Regulations of last Session, Militia men receive 2s. 6d. per day and their rations, it is not too much to estimate their cost per diem at 3s. 6d.; and 4,000 men on duty at 3s. 6d. per day, and say 160 officers at 10s. per day, amounts to £780 a day, or per annum £284,700, or rather more than a quarter of a million of money for local defence alone. Then there is another war item—removal of women and children—a contingency that might not happen, but has occurred at Taranaki: and it must be calculated for on the same principle as a merchant who sends a ship to sea, which, if everything is in her favour, may make her voyage in six days; if contrary winds retard her, she may be twelve days; or she may be lost altogether: but these are the merchant's contingencies, on which he has calculated, and which he has provided to meet. So it is with our war; it may last three months or twelve months, or we may be worsted or ruined. This removal of women and children, say 15,000 in number, to take refuge in the cities of Auckland and Wellington, or perhaps be deported to the Middle Island, would, at 8s. per week, cost at the rate of £6,000 per week, or £312,000 for the year. I do not wish to exaggerate; I shall only be too glad to be corrected by any hon. member pointing out error in my calculations. But I have still another large item to bring before the House. My first item was the £10 per head, and Barracks, £67,000; 2nd, Militia pay, £284,700; 3rd, removal of women and children, £312,000; and my last item—destruction of settlers' property—which, taking the losses at Taranaki as a basis, may be estimated at Auckland, outside the Tamaki, at £500,000; Wellington, £400,000; Hawke's Bay, £300,000: making a grand total of expense and loss of £1,663,700. These calculations I have just made are no imaginary ones. I have information derived from a gentleman high in position at Taranaki, and well able to judge, who states his belief that the loss at Taranaki, from destruction of houses, stock, gardens, hedges, farm produce, and farming implements, cannot be much less than £150,000: and, taking that as data, and our cultivated lands in the hands of the hostile Natives, I think I have underrated rather than overrated the probable losses of outlying settlers. As regards Auckland, I am credibly informed that the Military cannot defend the country beyond the line of the Tamaki, and the settlers that live outside it must abandon their homes and a country in several parts cultivated like a garden. Sir, I heard, the other evening, the hon. member for Christchurch say, "Auckland men, don't place yourselves at the mercy of a Wellington Ministry," or words to that effect. Now, I beg to assure the hon. member, that Wellington members do not want a Wellington Ministry, and, sooner than see the present one remain in power, I think they would be content to be unrepresented in it: for no other Ministry could treat Wellington worse than, or as bad as, the present one. What Wellington members would wish to see is a New Zealand Ministry, who would foster and work in unison with the Provinces, reduce our expenditure, and increase our income,—who would negotiate fairly for an honourable peace, or, negotiations failing, carry on a vigorous war that would end in a lasting peace. (Hear, hear.) But, sir, I declare it to be my unbiassed and solemn conviction that, if the present Ministry remain in power, the fate of our Provincial institutions is sealed,—negotiations to secure the acceptance of the Governor's conditions to the Waikatos will fail,—and a war disastrous will be concluded by a patched-up peace. Sir, standing as we do on the threshold of a war likely to be ruinous, cruel, and bloody, I ask this House to pause ere it gives a vote of confidence to a Ministry whose past mismanagement of the affairs of this Colony ought to be a beacon to warn us from trusting them in the future. (Applause.)

No. 5.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

No. 14.

Government House,
Auckland, 2nd November, 1861.

MY LORD DUKE,—

The more closely I consider the state of this country, the more fully do I feel the great responsibility which rests upon Her Majesty's Government and myself in relation to it. I cannot think from some of the recent despatches, and from the discussions in Parliament, that the Home Government has ever yet fully realized the truly anomalous position of affairs here. It becomes, therefore, all important that the state of this Island should be thoroughly understood, and that the whole matter should be calmly and dispassionately considered. Perhaps, nothing will enable the Government to do this better than a statement of the kind of events which are passing in the Waikato district, which is considered to be the back-bone of the resistance to the Queen's authority. Throughout the whole of that district during the continuance of hostilities and since their cessation, no outrage of any kind has been committed; and travellers, Government officers, and others, move with as much safety as the Queen's subjects can in any other part of Her Majesty's dominions. Within the last few days, Mr. Gorst has been sent up there by the local Government to inspect, on their behalf, certain Schools. Whilst engaged on this duty he has addressed two letters to Mr. Fox, which incidentally disclose a very strange state of things, to which I would request your Grace's attention.

2. In my predecessor's despatch of 6th July last, a chief named William Thompson, was alluded to as a leader of the rebels, who had a deep-rooted longing for separate nationality; and it was added that a letter from this man had "put an end to all doubt, and made it evident that if the Maoris would not submit, this part of the Colony must be abandoned by all who will not yield obedience to the Maori law, the aptest symbol of which is the tomahawk."

3. From one of the enclosed letters it appears that William Thompson has in his own district founded, and supports, a School, and that on Thursday, the 17th of October, he was found with his son engaged in ploughing the School land, from the produce of which the children were to be supported: that they had been engaged at the work for some time, and were living in great personal discomforts to achieve so good an object. The School was found in a state of excellent order and discipline; the attainments of the children astonished the highly-educated gentleman who was sent up to inspect it, and this leader of rebels seemed much pleased when he found the Government had sent up a person to inspect the school. It is thought that William Thompson wishes to come to see me and arrange everything, but that a fear of the most violent of his countrymen will probably prevent him from doing this.

4. Your Grace will next find that there are three classes of Waikato Natives who have engaged in the war at Taranaki:—

I. The Ngatihaua tribe whom Wetini led, who suffered severely, and have no plunder.

II. The Waikato tribe, who fought fairly, and have very little plunder.

III. The Ngatimaniapoto under Rewi, who have lost very few men; did all the house-burning business, and who possess lots of plunder, which they will not give up.

5. As might naturally be expected from such a state of things, Rewi and most of the Chiefs of his part of the country, who have all the plunder from Taranaki, refuse even to be present at a great meeting which is to be held to consider what is best to be done now I have arrived. In short, Rewi and his followers set all the rest of the Waikato Chiefs at defiance; being in an inaccessible part of the country, and evidently determined to hold the booty they have.

6. Your Grace will also find that the wife of the so-called Native King, in compliance with the views of those of the Natives who wish to return to their own customs, has had her lips tattoo'd. For this her husband's own Council have fined her £10, and the Chief who did it £5; thus showing which way their views lean; whilst the Chief who tattoo'd the lady's lips, despising alike the King and his Council, refuses to pay the fine.

7. Again, in the midst of this supposed dangerous country quietly resides a Mr. Armitage, an intelligent, enterprising gentleman. English Government or Maori King (neither of whom has any power in his district) are alike to him. Not minding the English law to the contrary, he leases a piece of land direct from the Natives, puts up a notice on the old path which crosses the land so leased, warning pedestrians to go to the left; and with absolute impartiality towards all races, further notifies that he shall fine all trespassers one shilling, and that if he sees any one, whether Maori or European, upon the old path, he shall come out in person to collect the said sum. I think, if the so-called Maori King had, even upon land which was his own personal property, assumed the powers that Mr. Armitage has, it would have been considered an act of open rebellion; yet the Maoris are very imitative people, and it is quite probable they will follow the example set them.

8. I next enclose two letters from a Chief at Raglan, not distant many miles from the residence of the so-called Maori King. This Chief cares nothing for the King, and administers law based on the issue of English forms of summonses and distress warrants. But his style of administration is rude, although undoubtedly vigorous. Such as it is, it finds so much favor in the eyes of Englishmen, who can in no other way obtain justice in that district, that they petition that a salary of £30 a year may be given to this active Magistrate. These letters are well worthy of your Grace's perusal.

9. I think your Grace will find that all the facts detailed in the letters I have alluded to, show that what is really wanted in the Waikato district is the establishment of law and order; and that there is no man or body of men in it, with whom we can treat as having power to bind others.

10. The great difficulty of acting on this view of the matter will, I fear, be the spirit of race which undoubtedly prevails on both sides. It is difficult to retract without offending English prejudices, after it has been publicly declared that the terms demanded of the Waikato Natives would be enforced; and the enclosed copy of a letter from my predecessor to the General will show that there is much fear that many persons will believe I have come here to make a peace with the Natives on their own terms. Your Grace will, I know, form a calm and dispassionate judgment on this subject, after considering the present state of the country.

Enclosure No. 2.—Heta-raka to the Governor, 18th and 3rd Sept., 1861.

Enclosure No. 3.—Governor Browne to General Cameron, 29th July, 1861.

I have, &c.,

G. GREY.

P. S.—Since this despatch was written, the enclosed letter has been received from another Waikato Native, who wishes to be made an Assessor.

Enclosure No. 4.—Maori Katipa, 13th Oct., 1861.

G. G.

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, K. G.,
&c., &c., &c.

Enclosure 1 in No. 5.

Hopuhopu,
October 14th, 1861.

MY DEAR MR. FOX,—

You will like to receive a few lines from Waikato, if it is only to tell you that there is not much to say. The people on the river do not talk much about the king or flag; but those who do

express the same quiet resolution to maintain both, from which I have never heard them vary. At the same time they are ready to tell the old story about the flag being only intended to hold the land, &c., a story which they have by heart, and which serves as the formula of their political faith. Mr. Burrows and I have returned from Ngaruawahia; there were very few people there, only his Majesty, Tamati Ngapora, and a few others. Tamati said he had sent the Governor's message of love to the principal Chiefs, who would come to Ngaruawahia to consult, and that some of them would probably go down to Auckland. The Prince of Wales (Matutaera's little boy, who was lately at Mr. Ashwell's school) is very poorly, suffering, as far as I could make out, from scrofulous swellings in his feet. Mr. Ashwell was preaching there yesterday, and after service was begged to use his authority to induce the dirty, but reluctant, prince to wash; which his attendants could not persuade him to do. The King complained of being very unwell himself. We recommended that he should go to Mangere for change of air, and take the boy to see a doctor. This is all the Court news. We start to-morrow for Matamata, where Mr. Thompson is residing; they gave us a letter for him at Ngaruawahia. The schools are all very much reduced in numbers, even since I was here before, and some of the Maori schools are given up: I think there are other causes for this besides the war, but I can tell you more about it when I have seen them all. We had a rather amusing example of the happy state of liberty and freedom from law, enjoying in these parts. Mr. Armitage having leased some land from the Natives, puts up a notice on the old path which crosses the land so leased, to warn pedestrians to go to the left; stating that he should fine all trespassers one shilling, and if he sees any one, Maori or European, upon the old path, he shall come out and collect the said sum in person. It is one of the happiest instances of lawgiver, judge, jury, and executioner, united in the person of a law-breaker, that I ever met with.

J. E. GORST.

Waipa,
October 23rd, 1861.

MY DEAR MR. FOX,—

We arrived at Matamata on Thursday last. William Thompson was not there, but we found him down at the school, about two miles beyond the village, engaged in ploughing the school land. He and his son had been at work there some time, and are living in a mean little *raupo* house upon the spot. The school is very much diminished in number, but is in a state of excellent order and discipline; the attainments of the children astonished me. Mr. Burrows told Thompson that I was sent by the Government to see the school; he seemed much pleased, and told me to tell you what mischief had been caused "by the 'porangitanga' (folly) of that 'porangi' who was gone." He did not say much about Governor Grey; but he told me he was coming over to Waipa, to a place called Kaiwhaniwha, to settle a land quarrel early this week, and that he would either see me or leave a message to say whether he would go to town or not. I must say I think he wishes, himself, to go and arrange everything; but I don't think he could take such a step without a rupture with the more violent party. He expressed a strong wish that the Tauranga mail should be sent through Matamata.

I am sorry to say that I cannot see the slightest symptom of yielding on the part of the Natives; they say the same thing at every place, "If Governor Grey will let the King remain we will go and see him, but if he asks what Governor Browne did we will not go." Every man to whom I have spoken declares that the flag will never be given up. I saw William King last Sunday: he is at Kihikihi, under the care of Rewi: he asked after Sir George Grey, and enquired whether he would come to see them. I said, the children should go and see their father. He replied, that it was true; but as the children were all laid up in sickness, the father would have to come to them. There is to be a meeting at Ngaruawahia this week of Chiefs only, to consider what is to be done about Governor Grey; but Rewi and most of the men of these parts have refused even to be present at it. It is very unlikely that anything further than a letter will come of it, but you may have further intelligence from down the river. I think I told you last week that the queen had been having her lips tattooed; for this freak the runanga has fined her £10, and a Rangiahia Chief who did it £5, but he refuses to pay.

I am getting to the end of the schools, and hope to be in town next week. I have found out a most splendid case of a school literally destroyed by the injudicious meddling of the Native Office, of which you shall have full particulars. Since I have been up here, I feel very much less confidence in the restoration of peace; there is a very strong feeling of distrust of anything that comes from Europeans, and whatever Sir George Grey may propose some sinister motive will be suspected. The teachers and quieter men hold out no prospect whatever of the Natives yielding in any one point. There are three distinct classes of Waikato Natives who were engaged at Taranaki:—1. The Ngathaua whom Wetini led, who suffered most severely, and have no plunder, and did nothing but fight. 2. The Waikatos proper, under Epiha, who have very little plunder, and on the whole fought very fairly. 6. The Ngatimaniapotos, under Rewi, who have lost very few men, did all the ambuscade and house-burning business, and possess lots of plunder, which they will not give up. But all these, at present, hold so close together that it would be almost impossible to detach them from one another, and on the King and flag they have the support of most of Lower Waikato, who took no part whatever in the war.

Altogether, I must say, there is not the slightest appearance of an intention to submit to Sir G. Grey on the part of the Natives here; indeed, I have heard more than one ask, "Who fought Hone Heke and Rangihaeata?" in a very meaning and insolent manner. At the same time, they are personally most civil and hospitable, and do not in general show the slightest temper in what they say about the state of the country. But I can tell you all about it when I get to town.

J. E. GORST.

Enclosure 2 in No. 5.

Raglan, September 23rd, 1861.

FRIENDS, THE GOVERNOR AND MR. SMITH,—

I send you the money received for Court fees. I send you 10s. A great deal more, however, has been received by Wiremu Nero. I do not know whether he has sent it to you, or whether he has it still. This 10s. is only from the time that I have been acting by myself. Another thing, the Pakehas have given over to me the trial of their debt cases. This is my work every week until my back is bent. I have, also, to adjudicate upon the Maori cases. This gives me a great deal of work, so that I have no time to grow food for my five children.

This is another word of mine to you, O Governor. Consent to our having policemen for our Court to keep the laws of the Governor, and that the laws of the Court may have authority over the people, that is, the laws of Queen Victoria.

Friend, the Governor: This is another word of mine to you. The salary I receive from you per year is £6. Now, I wish you to give me an addition to this of £24, to make it up to £30; so that my back may not be bent with Government work for nothing. I ask you, therefore, to give me this £30 into my hand. The men who have agreed to my receiving this salary are those whose names are written below.

Enough. From your loving friend,

HETARAKA.

(Here follow nine European and one Maori signatures.)

Enclosure 3 in No. 5.

HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR BROWNE TO THE HON. LIEUT.-GENERAL CAMERON, C. B.

Government House,

29th July, 1861.

SIR,—

I have the honor to inform you that Sir George Grey, K. C. B., has been appointed Governor of New Zealand, and may be expected here at any time after the 20th of next month.

Sir George Grey is deservedly popular with the Maoris, and will probably receive the fullest support from those who have considered it consistent with their duty to suggest to the Maoris that I have been the real obstacle to their obtaining peace on their own terms, and that opposition to me was consistent with loyalty to the Crown. I have little doubt, therefore, that Sir George Grey will be able to re-establish peace, and I recommend you not to incur any further expense which can be avoided.

I have, &c.,

T. GORE BROWNE.

The Hon. Lieut.-General Cameron, C. B.,
&c., &c., &c.

Enclosure 4 in No. 5.

Waiuku, October 13th, 1861.

FRIENDS, MR. McLEAN AND MR. SMITH,—

Salutations to you, friends. I have arrived, and have tried a man for assaulting another; the man was not killed. I fined the defendant £5. This was the first case. The second case was, a man committed adultery with a woman. The husband brought an action against him, and I investigated the matter. The woman, however, was not married, and, therefore, I did not know what damages to award; so I fixed them at £2 10s., to dissipate the sadness of the man to whom the woman belonged.

Enough upon that.

Friends,—I am working in ignorance, as I do not know whether I am an Assessor or not, for I did not see Mr. Halse; hence my confusion.

Friends,—Make the word known that I may soon know. If you wish me to come (I will).
Enough.

HORI KATIPA.

No. 6.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Government House,

Auckland, 2nd November, 1861.

No. 15.

MY LORD DUKE,—

I have had the honor of addressing to Your Grace a Despatch (No. 8, of the 26th ultimo), regarding the probable cost of prosecuting in the Waikato country the operations contemplated by my predecessor, also a Despatch (No. 14, of even date with this) shewing in part the present social state of the inhabitants of the same territory. I hoped to have transmitted by this mail a full Report of the present state of the entire Northern Island of New Zealand, of the policy I should wish to see pursued, and of the reasons upon which I thought that policy might be shewn to be the most advantageous that had been proposed. I now fear that my other avocations will prevent my forwarding such a Report by this Mail.

2. In the meantime, I beg to inform Your Grace that the general features of the policy I propose are—not to be hurried into a renewal of military operations, if these can be advantageously avoided: to immediately introduce into all such parts of this Island as will receive them (and I hope this will embrace nearly the whole Island) Institutions suited to the present circumstances and future growth of the country, and which will supply a want of which the Maoris have long complained; and, lastly, to use the present time of intermission of military operations to secure all the friends I can, so as to reduce the number of our enemies, narrow as far as possible the territories hostile to us, and place, by the establishment of law and order in Native districts, as many out-settlements as possible in a state of security in the event of being forced, contrary to my desire, to continue the war.

3. I have so carefully considered all points connected with this proposed plan of proceeding, have discussed them with so many able persons, and have so completely met all objections they have raised, that I feel quite satisfied, when my Report reaches Your Grace, you will feel that I have done what you would desire. I have also in my project the hearty concurrence and co-operation of the New Zealand Ministry.

4. I send at once to Your Grace the plan of Institutions I propose to introduce into the country, the remarks of the Colonial Ministry on this, and my replies. You will see with pleasure that in the main we are quite of one mind, and I believe there is an almost entire concurrence on the part of all who have been consulted, that what I propose to do is the right thing. I have never known a more general concurrence in any matter. Your Grace will observe that the New Zealand General Assembly had by their legislation prepared a great part of my plan to my hand. They seem to have had the same ideas in theory, but not to have seen exactly what machinery would bring them into actual practice. Naturally the foundation they have thus laid for me has proved at the present moment of great advantage.

5. I wish that by the present mail I could put all this before Your Grace in a more perfect form; but the feeling in the Native mind seems so much improving, and the country seems so ripe for the immediate introduction of a new system, that I do not like to delay a day in securing the advantages apparently within our grasp; I therefore purpose to start on Monday, the 4th instant, with the General, the Commodore, and the Prime Minister of this Colony, to the Bay of Islands, at once to introduce into operation amongst the Ngapuhi Tribes the institutions detailed in the enclosed papers. The Chiefs are all to meet me for the purpose of receiving them on the 6th instant.

I have, &c.,

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, K.G.,

&c., &c., &c.

G. GREY.

No. 7.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Government House,
Auckland, 2nd November, 1861.

No. 16.

MY LORD DUKE,—

In relation to the Statement enclosed in my Despatch No. 8, of the 26th ultimo, regarding the probable cost of military operations in this country, I have now the honor to enclose a financial Memorandum by the New Zealand Ministers, regarding which I request your Grace's instructions.

2. It appears that, independently of the War Loan of £150,000 raised by the Colony, demands are now made on it, and liabilities have from the same cause been incurred, to the amount of upwards of £200,000, making £350,000 in all; and that an annual expenditure is now going on of £80,000 for war purposes.

It is stated that it is utterly impossible that the Colony can meet such expenses out of its Ordinary Revenue, and that if it continues much longer, and payment be exacted by the Imperial Government, the eventual end must be the ruin of the country as a British Colony.

3. Such being the view of Ministers, they submit the following arrangement as the best which can now be adopted:—

“The course which suggested itself to the Government, and which was accepted by the Legislature as the only practical plan which could at the present time and under existing circumstances be followed, was not to attempt to meet these various demands, or to provide for this excessive expenditure at present, but to wait until the existing Native difficulty was removed, to ascertain with accuracy what proportion of the expenses the Imperial Government would, after due deliberation and a full knowledge of all the facts of the case, charge the Colony with, and then to apply for a guaranteed Loan, extending over a period of years, varying of course with the amount which this country would be called upon to pay.”

I have, &c.,

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, K.G.,

&c., &c., &c.

G. GREY.

Enclosure No. 1.—Sir George Grey's minute embodying Plan of Institutions.

Enclosure No. 2.—Memorandum by Ministers, Oct. and 4th Nov., 1861, with remarks by the Governor.

[Printed separately. See Pap. 1862, E—No. 2.]

Enclosure.—Memorandum on Finance—R. Wood, Colonial Treasurer, 27th Sept., 1861.

Enclosure in No. 7.

MINUTE BY THE COLONIAL TREASURER.

The Ordinary Revenue of the Government of the Colony, from all sources, is estimated for the year ending 30th June, 1862, at £272,000; which amount is obtained thus:—

	£	s.	d.
Customs Receipts - - - - -	240,000	0	0
Post Office - - - - -	14,500	0	0
Judicial Fees and Fines - - - - -	11,000	0	0
Land Claims Court, Fees - - - - -	600	0	0
Fees on Registration of Births, Deaths, and Marriages - - - - -	1,300	0	0
Fees on issue of Crown Grants - - - - -	1,200	0	0
Miscellaneous Receipts - - - - -	400	0	0
Civil List Fund, unexpended during last year - - - - -	3,000	0	0
	<u>£272,000</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

The estimated Ordinary Expenditure is—

On account of Civil List - - - - -	19,000	0	0
Permanent Charges, which include Interest and Sinking Fund on account of the various Loans, Native School Fund of £7000, Pensions and other Charges appropriated by Special Enactment - - - - -	35,868	12	4
Appropriations by the Legislature for the various Establishments of the Executive Branch of the General Government - - - - -	4,234	5	0
Appropriations for the Legislative Branch, including all Expenses connected with the General Assembly, Elections, &c., &c. - - - - -	13,282	10	0
Supreme, District, and Resident Magistrates' Courts throughout the Colony, Expenses of Criminal Prosecutions, Coroners' Fees, &c. - - - - -	20,458	1	6
Establishments of Registrar-General of Land, and Statistical Departments - - - - -	2,860	0	0
Customs Establishments throughout the Colony - - - - -	21,845	10	0
Postal Communication, including Subsidies for Steam Service - - - - -	37,225	10	0
Militia and Volunteer Staff (Peace Establishment) - - - - -	8,031	5	0
Appropriation for Native Purposes generally, which are not provided for by the sum of £7,000 included in the Civil List and £7000 under the head Permanent Charges for Schools - - - - -	10,000	0	0
Miscellaneous Purposes, including proposed new Buildings, Expenses connected with Census, Office Rent, Printing, and General Contingencies - - - - -	19,739	5	0
	<u>£192,544</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>10</u>
Three-Eighths ($\frac{3}{8}$ ths) of Customs Receipts to be paid to Provincial Governments - - - - -	90,000	0	0
	<u>£282,544</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>10</u>

There is an apparent discrepancy of £10,544 18s. 10d. between these two Estimates: but a sum of £5000 was voted for the erection of a Custom House at Auckland, solely upon the understanding that the increase of Receipts on account of Customs over the Estimate, would bear this additional expenditure; a sum of £2,000 was also voted to enable the Government to meet any contingent or unforeseen expenses arising out of the discovery of Gold in the Middle Island, which would certainly be more than repaid by the increased Revenue which would arise from the same causes which would entail an increase in expenditure. The expenses of the various Departments are actually less by £4,000 a-year than the Appropriations of the Legislature provide, so that, practically, these two Estimates represent equality. It will be seen then that there is no surplus after defraying the expenses of the General Government, and paying that small proportion of the Customs Revenue to the Provincial Governments, which is absorbed in defraying the cost of the various Branches of Municipal Administration—such as Police, Hospitals, Sanitary arrangements for Towns, &c., &c., which are under Provincial management and control. The Land Fund is Provincial Revenue, being handed over absolutely to, and administered by, the Superintendents and their Provincial Councils. This Fund is subject only to the Interest and Sinking Fund of a portion of the Half Million Loan, and is expended in Colonization and the construction of Public Works. Thus is the whole Ordinary and Territorial Revenue of the Colony required by the General and Provincial Governments for the maintenance of the various Departments, for Immigration purposes, and for opening up the country, extending means of communication and rendering it fit for settlement.

In consequence of the War, heavy demands have been made on the resources of the Colony, and heavy liabilities have been incurred, which the Revenues are altogether unable to bear without at once putting a stop to every useful work, and so checking that steady advance which has hitherto been so remarkable. As far as can be ascertained these demands and liabilities are as follows:—A Loan for War purposes has been contracted of £150,000: of this sum there is not more than an available Balance of £20,000 left to assist in defraying the greatly increased cost of the Militia Expenses, the maintenance of the Taranaki Refugees, for purposes of local defence, and other innumerable items of expenditure due to the War.

	£	s.	d.
A demand has been made by the Imperial Government, and accepted by the Colonial Legislature of £5 per head for every Officer and Man quartered in New Zealand since 1st April, 1858. This demand to 30th June, 1861, amounts to -	39,108	0	0
The estimated annual expenditure on the above account, reckoning the Force in New Zealand at 5,000 men, is -	25,000	0	0
A further demand has been made, which has not been accepted by the Legislature, for Lodging Money and Colonial Allowance, which may be estimated at, per annum -	25,000	0	0
A Gratuity last year amounting to £4000 was given from the War Loan of £150,000 to the Naval Forces, and another Gratuity this year is to be given, the amount in the first instance to be advanced from the Commissariat Chest under guarantee of repayment by the Colony -	5,000	0	0
The Militia Expenses are now going on at the rate, per annum, of -	40,000	0	0
The expenditure incurred in the maintenance of the Taranaki Refugees amounts at the present time to -	14,234	0	0
Demands from the Commissariat for advances on account of Militia Pay, for Arms, and a variety of incidental expenses to 30th June, 1861, amount to	105,000	0	0
Upwards of £30,000 have been already paid out of the £150,000 War Loan for Rifles, and a further expenditure on the same account, but not from the same source, has been authorised of -	15,000	0	0
There are also to be taken into consideration the Losses incurred by the Taranaki Settlers, which have been estimated at £200,000, and towards the relief of whom out of the £150,000 Loan has been voted -	25,000	0	0
It will be seen, then, that independently and apart from the War Loan of £15,000, demands are made upon the Colony, and liabilities have been incurred, to the amount of upwards of £200,000; and an annual expenditure is now going of about £80,000 for War purposes; which it is utterly impossible that the Colony can meet out of its Ordinary Revenues, and which, if it continue much longer, and payment be rigidly exacted by the Imperial Government, must eventually end in the ruin of the country as a British Colony.			
It is hoped that the Imperial Government will take a broad and liberal view of the whole question; that whilst the Colony on the hand is willing to pay to its utmost whatever amount can be fairly charged upon it, and especially recognises as its duty the complete arming and training of its inhabitants; yet on the other hand the Imperial Authorities will see that so young a Colony as New Zealand cannot bear burdens beyond a certain point, without involving itself in financial difficulties which must be succeeded by a state of affairs approaching bankruptcy.			
The course which suggested itself to the Government, and which was accepted by the Legislature as the only practical plan which could at the present time and under existing circumstances be followed, was, not to attempt to meet these various demands or to provide for this excessive expenditure at present, but to wait until the existing Native difficulty was removed; to ascertain with accuracy what proportion of the expenses the Imperial Government would—after due deliberation and a full knowledge of all the facts of the case—charge the Colony with; and then to apply for a Guaranteed Loan, extending over a period of years, varying of course with the amount which this country would be called upon to pay.			

Treasury, Auckland,
27th September, 1861.

READER WOOD.

No. 3.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF
NEWCASTLE.

No. 17.

Government House,
Auckland, 2nd November, 1861.

MY LORD DUKE,—

I have the honor to enclose to Your Grace a Return of all Pensions given to Native Chiefs in this Island from the year 1846 to the present date, shewing the names of the several Chiefs, and the amount paid to each.

2. It will be found that up to the date of my formerly quitting these Islands, pensions had been paid to only six Chiefs.

3. Timotiu and Wi Waka had each been severely wounded in action in Her Majesty's service—the former of them had both eyes shot out.

4. The remaining four Chiefs—Tamati Waka Nene, of the Bay of Islands; Te Wherowhero, of Waikato; Hori Kingi, of Whanganui; and Te Puni, of Wellington; had each rendered many and faithful services to the British Crown.

5. During my former long administration of affairs here, the largest sum paid in pensions to Natives in any one year was £187 10s. 0d. In the year 1860, £755 was paid in pensions to fourteen Chiefs. I am anxious that these facts should stand on record, for during my absence from New Zealand I have frequently seen it stated that I had gained a great personal influence over the New Zealand Chiefs by giving them large pensions.

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle,, K.G.,
&c., &c., &c.

I have, &c.,
G. GREY.

Return enclose

Enclosure in No. 8.

RETURN OF ALL PENSIONS PAID TO NATIVE CHIEFS FROM THE YEAR 1840 TO THE 30TH JUNE, 1861, SHEWING THE TOTAL AMOUNT PAID TO EACH CHIEF, AND THE TOTAL AMOUNT DISBURSED ANNUALLY FOR PENSIONS.

NAME OF NATIVE CHIEF.	Financial Year 1846-47.	1847-48.	1848-49.	1849-50.	1850-51.	1851-52.	1852-53.	1853-54.	1854-55.	1855-56.	1856-57.	1857-58.	1858-59.	1859-60.	1860-61.	TOTAL.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Timotiu ...	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	10 0 0	5 0 0	100 0 0	100 0 0	100 0 0	100 0 0	100 0 0	100 0 0	100 0 0	75 0 0
Tamati Waka ...	-	30 0 0	100 0 0	100 0 0	100 0 0	100 0 0	100 0 0	100 0 0	100 0 0	100 0 0	100 0 0	100 0 0	100 0 0	100 0 0	100 0 0	1,330 0 0
Wi Waka...	-	-	-	-	16 2 0	18 6 0	3 2 0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	37 10 0
Hori Kingi ...	-	-	-	10 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	50 0 0	260 0 0
Te Wherowhero ...	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	37 10 0	50 0 0	50 0 0	50 0 0	50 0 0	50 0 0	50 0 0	-	337 10 0
Te Puni ...	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25 0 0	50 0 0	50 0 0	50 0 0	50 0 0	50 0 0	50 0 0	50 0 0	375 0 0
Taraia ...	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	20 0 0	100 0 0
Hapuku ...	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	60 0 0	60 0 0	60 0 0	60 0 0	60 0 0	300 0 0
Tamati Ngapora...	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50 0 0	50 0 0
Aiphai Te Kawanu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50 0 0	50 0 0
Tamihana Raupara	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50 0 0	50 0 0
Matene Te Whiwhi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50 0 0	50 0 0
Ihaka Te Tihi ...	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50 0 0	50 0 0
Te Keene...	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50 0 0	50 0 0
Ahipene Kaihau ...	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50 0 0	50 0 0
Wiremu Nera ...	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25 0 0	25 0 0
Hohepa Tamaihe-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100 0 0	100 0 0
ngia ...	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50 0 0	50 0 0
Total Amount Dis-																
bursements	£ 10 0 0	40 0 0	110 0 0	120 0 0	146 2 0	148 6 0	133 2 0	187 10 0	220 0 0	220 0 0	300 0 0	300 0 0	300 0 0	300 0 0	755 0 0	3,290 0 0

This is exclusive of the £100 paid annually under Tamati Waka's Nene's Ordinance, to Chiefs who aided the Government in the Northern War. The list varies from time to time.

Native Office, 31st October, 1861.

T. H. SMITH.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF
NEWCASTLE.

No. 22.

Auckland, New Zealand,
23rd November, 1861.

MY LORD DUKE,—

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Grace's Despatch No. 67 of 26th June last, informing me that Her Majesty's Government had learnt with much satisfaction of the acceptance by Wiremu Kingi's partisans of the terms which Governor Browne had dictated, the third of which was to the following effect:—"all the land in possession of Her Majesty's Forces belonging to those who have borne arms against Her Majesty, to be disposed of by me as I may think fit." And the 7th:—

"As I did not use force for the acquisition of land, but for the vindication of the law and for the protection of Her Majesty's Native subjects in the exercise of their just rights, I shall divide the land, which I have stated my intention to dispose of, amongst its former owners; but I shall reserve the sites of the block-houses and redoubts, and a small piece of land round each for the public use; and shall exercise the right of making roads through the Waikato district. In conformity with the declaration made on the 29th November, 1859, the rights of those who may prove their title to any part of the piece of land at Waitara will be respected."

2. It does not appear, however, from the records here, that Your Grace has been made aware that upon a Commissioner (Mr. Rogan) being sent down to Taranaki to adjust this question, in accordance with the terms you have approved, the Natives informed him that all the redoubts excepting Puketakauere, together with the entrenchments, were theirs, and that they had no intention of giving them up to the Governor in the way proposed; but on the contrary, they would have no interference with the property on the part of the Government; adding that if the Commissioner should return with his chain to measure the land, he would enter upon a path which leads to death.

3. The enclosed copies of Reports from Mr. Rogan, dated respectively 28th June and 15th July last, will afford Your Grace full information of the circumstances which then took place.

I have, &c.,

G. GREY.

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, K.G.

&c., &c., &c.

Enclosure 1 in No. 9.

MR. ROGAN TO THE NATIVE SECRETARY.

Taranaki, 28th June, 1861.

SIR,—

As it is probable His Excellency is desirous of being made acquainted with the disposition of the Natives generally in this district, regarding the subdivision of the land at Waitara among its former owners in accordance with the terms of peace offered to Hapurona and the Ngatiawa, I have the honor to forward the following statement of my proceedings with the Natives concerned, for the information of the Government, from the period of my arrival in Taranaki to the present time.

After conferring with Mr. Parris, I took an early opportunity of seeing Poharama of Moturoa, and told him that the "word" was the subdivision of Waitara. He replied, "Go to Hapurona, who is the principal; if he consents it will be well." Mahau, Ihaha, and other leading men of the district, were also made acquainted with the intention of the Governor, as regards the boundaries of the piece of land which is to be dealt with agreeably to the terms of peace.

In consequence of Hapurona's severe illness, I was compelled to defer visiting him until last week; when I proceeded to Matarikoriko, accompanied by Mr. Parris, and found him quite prostrate and wholly unfit to enter into a conversation on important business. After a short time I said that I merely came to see him, and should return from New Plymouth the following week, when, if he should be sufficiently recovered, I would explain fully the Governor's views in connection with the Waitara land question. Accordingly, on Tuesday last, I called at Matarikoriko and found him comparatively well. I explained fully the instructions I had received at Auckland, and described the boundaries of the land which would come within the operation of my duty. He listened with great attention to all I had to say, and complimented me on the clear manner of my description of what was to be done. I then said I was anxious to write to Auckland, and was desirous to know what his opinion was regarding the subdivision of the land, and that I expected his co-operation in carrying out hereafter the Governor's directions. He said, in reply, "It rests with the people; go and see Arapeta and the people at Matataitawa. My peace is made with the Governor, as I ceded Onukukaitara, and am now under the Queen's protection. The subdivision of the land rests with the people; the Governor's object in having the land divided is good, but there are foolish blind people who do not know what is for their benefit, who will cause it to be confused." He then said, in a complaining tone, that the Governor was as a child in precipitating this matter at the present time, before the wounds of the people were healed, exhibiting at the same time his own. He also referred to the withdrawal of the troops to Auckland, the arrival of reinforcements, and the gathering of large tribes together at Waikato, holding meetings which, in his opinion, will end in war: and under these circumstances he could not see how the Waitara question could be settled, at least for the present. In reply, I said that as he was considered one of the principal people concerned, I commenced by giving him notice first; that there were many

Warrant of appointment
of Mr. Rogan, 27th May,
1861.
[Printed in *Sess. Pap.*,
1861.]

Enclosure.—Mr. Rogan to
Mr. McLean, 28th June
and 15th July, 1861.

others to be seen on the same subject, and that he was not to run away with the idea that the survey was to be at once proceeded with. He then gave me to understand that he would carry out every thing the Governor wished, to the best of his ability, but he was doubtful of support from his own people. Hapurona appears to me to stand almost alone, as the Huirangi and Mataetawa Natives have nearly all deserted him on account (as they say) of his abandoning the Waitara cause, the Maori King, and New Zealand. He is a wily Native, difficult to understand, and although he is now firm in his determination to adhere to the Government, a mere pretext might change him unless he is treated with care and confided in; a course which I shall pursue in my intercourse with him, as I consider he is the key to the amicable settlement of the Waitara question. Subsequently I arranged to call again and go inland of Pukerangiora to meet Whatitiri and his people, to ascertain their views regarding the subdivision of their claims.

I called a meeting of the friendly Natives at Waitara in the evening, and explained the intention of the Government regarding the Waitara. Tamati Tiraurau, Ihaia, Henare, Te Retiu, Hona, Rawiri, Paranihi, Pene, Tamati Raru, Te Honiana, Te Tina, and others, spoke in the highest praise of the Governor for the manner in which His Excellency directed that the land should be dealt with, and unanimously agreed to give over their claims to be divided. Te Tiraurau dwelt at length on the fact, that according to Native custom from time immemorial, land conquered in the way Waitara had been never returned to its original owners: notwithstanding this, the Governor had consented to give it back again already subdivided, although as yet no reparation had been made by the Maori people for the vast destruction of property and loss of life sustained by the Europeans. Te Patukakariki and a few of his people were present at the meeting, but took no part whatever in it. On the following morning I sent a message through Te Teira to Patukakariki, to the effect that I should like to see him, as it was my intention to visit Mataetawa, to see him and his people. He declined an interview, giving as a reason that Wi Kingi was absent at Waikato; and advised my not going to Mataetawa, as there was no one there who would reply to what I had to say to them in King's absence, and then I might think that they were angry with me. I then told Teira to say that as he appeared to have an objection to see me at Mataitawa, I would confine my visit to the Pukerangiora, and would inform the Governor accordingly.

It would be premature in me to express an opinion as to whether it is practicable at the present time to carry out amicably the instructions which I had the honor to receive before leaving Auckland. I shall, however, be able to form a conclusion on the subject, after I have seen Whatitiri and his party, who have agreed to hold a meeting with me in the space of a few days: the result of which, together with my own views, I shall not fail to communicate to you. I beg to enclose copies of a document written by Ihaia, which is intended as a report of a meeting which took place between Hapurona and the principal Natives of Waitara pah, which bears on the subject of this letter. It will be seen that Hapurona was throughout uncommunicative.

I have, &c.,

JOHN ROGAN.

Taranaki, 15th July, 1861.

SIR,—

With reference to my letter of 28th ultimo, in which it is stated that an arrangement was made with Hapurona that I should meet the Huirangi and Pukerangiora Natives on the subject of the subdivision of their lands situated within the boundaries of the Waitara land described in my warrant of instructions, I have the honor to forward the following statement of my proceedings with the Natives above referred to, for the information of His Excellency the Governor.

On Monday evening last I proceeded to Waitara, and on the following morning communicated with Hapurona; who said that the Natives were assembled at Te Arei for the purpose of hearing what I had to convey to them, and that a messenger should be sent to them to say that I should be at Te Arei on the following day. Accordingly I arrived at the place appointed, and found about twenty of the principal Natives, including Arapeta, whose names were signed to the terms of peace. After a short time I opened the meeting by describing the nature of the duties which were entrusted to me by the Government, to which they listened very attentively throughout; when Wereta, one of the Natives of the town pa who went over with Te Waka, said, "I shall reply. Listen to our views on the matter of Waitara. Hapurona has given over Onukukaitara to the Governor, which we all assented to, and beyond that place we will not allow any interference." Aperahama then said, "You have come to inform us of the Governor's word, regarding the Waitara. Harken to mine. Onukukaitara has been given to the Governor for the wrong which has been done to the pakeha, and beyond that place the whole of the land you have described belongs to us. All the redoubts, excepting Puketakauere, together with entrenchments, are ours, and we have no intention of giving them up to the Governor in the way you propose, not at all. We are satisfied with our own title to our lands, which are inherited from our fathers, and we shall have no interference with our property by the Governor; and remember, if you should come hereafter with your chain to measure, that is a path to death." Arapeta and several other Natives spoke to the same effect, and after talking with them for a considerable time, I found they were not in a temper to receive favourably what I had to say to them. I returned, saying at the same time that I should come back again to see them, as all days were not alike; this, for instance, was a storm, the next time I came it might be a calm—when Aperahama said it was useless my returning, as they had nothing else to say to me.

Under the circumstances above stated, I am of opinion that it would be injudicious in me to proceed beyond the steps I have already taken in this matter; as I am assured on the best

authority that the Natives of Mataitawa, who have not yet accepted the terms of peace, and who have claims on the Waiongona side of the land intended to be subdivided, are not only unwilling to allow their claims to be interfered with, but will resist any survey which might be attempted, by force of arms. I have therefore given up as hopeless for the present the idea of succeeding in the duty which the Government have been pleased to assign to me, and shall, in the meantime, carry on the ordinary duties of Mr. Parris' office in his absence until I am further instructed by you, whether in the present state of feeling in the Native mind, I shall proceed to the South or return to Auckland.

I have, &c.,

JOHN ROGAN.

No. 10.

No. 23.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF
NEWCASTLE.

Auckland, New Zealand,
23rd November, 1861.

MY LORD DUKE,—

Enclosure No. 1.—Letter
from Mr. Riemenschneider
to Sir Wm. Martin,
30th Sept., 1861.

I have the honor to transmit for your Grace's information the copy of a letter from the Rev. F. Riemenschneider, of the 30th September last, which has been forwarded to me, and which gives a view of the causes which, according to the statements of the Ngatiruanui people, led to their becoming involved in the Taranaki war. Your Grace will probably be aware that these people organized a plan for stopping the road through their district, and preventing the passage through it of Her Majesty's mail and of Her European subjects. You will now find that they alleged that they were forced into this measure, inasmuch as, whilst remaining in peace in their own country, they were not permitted to enter the Taranaki settlement, and were not allowed free access to its markets; none of them being allowed to enter the settlement without having first obtained a passport from the fort nearest its border; whilst a passport was not granted to the person or persons requiring it until they had first signed a document on parchment in attestation of their allegiance to Her Majesty. They state that this proceeding led them to believe that they were not only regarded as aliens, but treated as enemies to Her Majesty and to Her Government.

Enclosure No. 2.—Mr.
Richmond to Mr. Atkin-
son 2nd March, 1860.
Mr. Richmond to Officer
commanding garrison,
New Plymouth, 10th
March, 1860.

2. Having made enquiries on this point, I find the enclosed instructions were issued to the officer commanding the garrison at New Plymouth, and to officers commanding blockhouses in that settlement.

3. It will also be found that the Taranaki tribe allege that when the late Governor visited them in 1859, they sent a message to him to give him an explicit assurance on their part that in having recently raised a Maori King's flag they meant no disloyalty to Her Majesty's Government, and no hostility towards it or to the Europeans generally: that, on the contrary, they simply meant to maintain peace and order amongst themselves, and to secure lasting and uninterrupted peace and good understanding between themselves on the one part and the Government and the settlers on the other part. To this, it appears, the Governor answered that it was a subject beneath the dignity of Her Majesty's Representative to take notice of. It appears that this reply was not given to the Natives, as it was imagined it might produce a bad effect on them: and they were merely informed that it was not for their messenger to put questions to and to ask for answers from the Governor.

4. This matter is of some importance in regard to the present state of this country, as the Natives very generally argue to this effect:—"When the Maori King movement began, we were not told that it was wrong, and that it must at once cease. It is unjust in the Government now suddenly to make this a cause of quarrel against us, and when we have become involved in an affair from which we cannot speedily retreat, to say if it does not forthwith cease we shall be attacked by troops and forced to fight for our lives, our families, and properties. Some time should be allowed for the settlement of a question which has now gone so far."

5. I simply here give the arguments as they are used. How they are to be met, and what I think should now be done, shall be discussed in a despatch upon the general state of this country.

6. But I ought at once to state that persons well acquainted with the Ngatiruanui Natives and their conduct for some years past, think that they have not by their proceedings established any claim upon our consideration, and that arguments such as they use come with less force from them than they would from other tribes.

I have, &c.,

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, K.G.,
&c., &c., &c.

G. GREY.

Enclosure 1 in No. 10.

New Plymouth, September 30th, 1861.

HONOURED AND DEAR SIR,—

Your last communication, dated August 16th, for which I beg you to accept my sincere thanks, had reached Nelson per s. s. Airedale on the 10th instant, but, unfortunately, too late to overtake me there, as I had shortly before come over here in her on her forward trip to Manukau.

In her usual course she had called here again on her way from Nelson sometime last week, and had brought your letter, but I did not receive it until a day or two after her having sailed again, in consequence of which I lost the opportunity of sending you a few lines by her in return.

In reference to Sir George Grey's reappointment to the Governorship of this unfortunate and distracted Colony, I can truly assure you that no one's feelings and sentiments can be more fully in accordance with your own, as expressed in your letter, than mine. When, a few weeks ago, it was, through mistake, reported that His Excellency Colonel Gore Browne had been reappointed Governor, I must confess that with all the high regard and esteem I most sincerely entertain for him personally, my heart almost failed me; for it seemed to me like, as it were, a last blow in a direction calculated to push the state of things past all hopes of being remedied, or even remediable. Even now as it is, with the immediate prospect before us of Sir George Grey taking the helm of affairs into his hands, I feel not as yet able to breathe as freely as I would wish. Of two things I feel certainly most assuredly confident, viz. :—

1. That had the management of the Colony, at least as far as regarded all Native questions, hitherto continued all along in the hands of a Sir George Grey, both the colonization of this island, and the civilization of its aborigines, would have been, though gradually yet steadily, advanced, by following such a course of policy as would at the same time have preserved the peace and quietness of the country, and thus would have saved us from having been drifted into all this late and present calamitous state of things.

2. That if it still remains within the reach of any human capability to rescue the country from a general outbreak of a war of races, and thus to save it from the incalculable wreck and ruin which would inevitably accrue therefrom on both sides, and that too, probably, for a long protracted period of time to come; if once more, unfortunately, the sword should come to be unsheathed; then, without doubt, Sir George Grey is the man, and perhaps the only man now living who, under God's guidance and assistance, will prove equal to the task of restoring loyalty and loyal confidence to the Native mind, and to devise and carry out such measures, and to effect such an arrangement of matters, as will not only give back to the disturbed land and its inhabitants a timely peace and a reconciliation, but also place such peace upon such a just and proper foundation as will render it secure for the future to both Europeans and the aborigines.

But, then, this is just the very difficult and critical point where the most momentous question of the present time remains until now, hanging as it were, in a very anxious and doubtful suspense: the question as to whether any such desirable arrangement, accompanied and followed by any such salutary results, will any longer be found attainable by any pacific, and at the same time, practicable ways and means? God grant it may! The reappointment of Sir George Grey appears to me, at all events, as being a signal interposition of His Providence for good. Still, I must confess withal, that the more I contemplate the existing state of things, with a due reference to all that (more especially since the year 1853) has preceded it, as having had a tendency, both of a negative and of a positive character, and as having exercised an influence to, either directly or indirectly, almost irremittably urge onward the development of matters to such a crisis and to such a state of growth and maturity, as has at length become realized, and in which things now remain before us,—I feel almost compelled to yield to the more or less positive conviction that (more especially, perhaps, here in Taranaki) the attainment to any such pacific arrangement and settlement of affairs appears to have grown now almost beyond possibility, unless that, to the most strenuous efforts of a superior wisdom and tact, be added a considerable amount of conciliatory concessions on the part of His Excellency, such as respecting whose practicability I do not feel competent to express any opinion of my own.

Perhaps in no other part of the island have the Natives, from the beginning and throughout until now, had so little opportunity afforded them as has been, all along the coast between here and Whanganui, for seeing anything of a positive character done for them or in their behalf, either on the part of the Government or the settlers, from which they would have derived any clear and definite idea or any satisfactory assurance of the true and genuine nature and design of Her Majesty's established Government, in as far as it is intended to include them, to have regard to them, and to benefit them equally with all the rest of her subjects. Yet all the while this is a matter which necessarily requires to be very palpably demonstrated before it can be rightly and sufficiently apprehended and appreciated, so as to win the confidence and affections, and to secure the real loyal attachment of a people like these aborigines.

Neither the Taranaki nor the Ngatiruanui tribes have ever had the honor and gratification of a Governor's visit among them in either of their respective districts. His Excellency Sir George Grey, certainly, when residing here for a short period during the time of his former Governorship over this Colony, had seriously contemplated an overland tour hence through those districts to Whanganui, &c., but, in consequence of a protracted and severe illness, he had been obliged to relinquish his plan. Again, in 1859, His Excellency Governor Browne had some intention of then taking a journey Southward through the Taranaki and Ngatiruanui country, but, unfortunately, he too failed in carrying his purpose into effect; and this was far more to be deplored than it may have appeared to be at the time. Not only had the Natives all along the coast heard of his intended visit, and were therefore in high expectation of seeing him among them, and of having a korero with him, but, moreover, it was just then the time when a Governor's visit was most needed and most to be desired, and when it might as yet have proved possibly of an incalculable benefit. It is true I subsequently told the Natives that the cause of his not having come was, as far as I had heard, his having been taken ill here. It soon came out, nevertheless, that they attributed his keeping aloof from them to a far different cause.

Until up to the middle of January, 1859, the Taranaki tribe had, in a firm and most decided manner, rejected all the repeated overtures which had been made them by the Waikatos during all

the previous year, or longer, to induce them to join with them (Waikato) in their Maori King movement. In the meantime, it had come out that one of their (Taranakis) second or third-rate Chiefs, Tamati Te Ngahuru, without consulting the principal Chiefs and the people generally of the tribe, had accepted a certain sum of Government money, wherewith to settle about and extinguish some Native claims which had been brought forward relating to a certain piece of land which had become disputed between the Europeans and settlers, in as far as the latter maintain that it extended beyond the boundary of the European possessions as originally defined and agreed to, and therefore trenched upon Maori territory. Both the Chiefs and the people generally considered themselves as being insulted and overreached (in their common rights and claims) by Tamati Te Ngahuru's proceeding, which, in accordance with their Maori ritenga, was regarded by them as most unjust and presumptuous. They judged that if that affair were quietly passed over, it would encourage all manner of irregular and underhand dealing being undertaken and carried on by a few individuals at the expense and to the disadvantage of the whole tribe. They had, therefore, demanded of Te Ngahuru that he should retract the transaction which he had made, and refund the money back into the hands of the Pakeha through whom he had received, and from whom he had accepted it. This, of course, could not prove otherwise than abortive; and now it began with many to be feared that sooner or later evil might grow out of that case, so that in the first instance it might originate and bring about a collision among themselves, i. e., between the Chiefs and the majority of the tribe on the one hand, and Te Ngahuru and his party on the other; and further, that possibly if not got well over in time by some peaceful means, it might tend to eventually involve them all in difficulties and troubles with the Europeans, with whom, above all things, they desired to continue in an uninterrupted peace and good understanding.

In January 1859, and whilst the foregoing affair was still pending, a Kawhia Chief, Taphana and party, arrived at Warea (Taranaki). They were Maori King emissaries, and as such they had come straightway from Waikato and were on their way to Ngatiruanui, whither they were then going to convey their Waikato flag.* They made a stay for several days at Warea and convened a runanga there, at which Te Ngahuru's case was brought forward and taken into consideration. The immediate result that followed was, that the Taranaki tribe all at once and unanimously surrendered itself with all its lands, &c., to the Maori King for protection of their rights, claims, and possessions, so that henceforth all questions and disputes relating to land and claims should be referred to him and be decided by him; and that he might be the acknowledged and sole medium of the unanimous voice of the whole tribe, who had their confidence and on whose word at the same time the Government might safely rely as to whether and what land the tribe were and were not disposed to sell. This much appeared as quite clear and certain; that that step taken by the Taranaki was not, then, in its early beginning, at all intended on their part to imply anything like disloyalty to Her Majesty's Government, much less any hostile feeling or disposition toward the latter or the Europeans generally. On the contrary, that step was taken at that time simply for the purpose of guarding and keeping their inherited, and universally among them, recognized tribal or communal laws and rights respecting land and claims, and which, until then, continued to be respected also by Her Majesty's Representative from being set aside or violated at pleasure by any individual or small fraction of their own people. That something of this kind had already actually been practised by some from among them, Tamati Te Ngahuru's case was regarded a full proof of; and they were most seriously apprehensive lest before long the next consequences of such and further similar acts would be the same among themselves in Taranaki, what they (as resulting from a similar cause) had been during all the four or five previous years in Ngatiawa, an incessant and interminable interneccine feud and shedding of each others' blood.

To forefend such apprehended dangers, and further to save them from getting eventually into confusion with the Europeans, the Taranakis, upon the urgent representation of the Waikato emissaries, placed themselves with all their tribal lands under the care of the King, so that for the future it was to devolve upon him to arbitrate between parties contending about the sale of land; yet so that, as a tribe, they reserved for themselves the right to dispose of any of their lands they might choose to do hereafter, provided it was done by the concurrence and consent of the whole tribe.†

* The Ngatiruanuis had already, some good while before, sent in their adhesion to King Potatau.

† Thus the Taranakis fell in with and joined in the Maori King movement. It was but a natural and extended sequence of their having, beforehand, all along been a party to the Taranaki land-league; and if so, then both the former and the latter must be regarded as having resulted from one common primary cause of a general import. That cause, I conceive, to have been first of all and in the main furnished by the British Government; in having conferred (perhaps too prematurely and with too little regard to the full extent of what Sir George Grey had previously expressed as his view by way of cautioning against any hurried proceeding) upon this Colony an Act, of a distinctly twofold, viz., a positive and a negative bearing: positive as respecting Her Majesty's European subjects, negative as respecting her aboriginal subjects. It is my humble opinion (and I believe I can pretty satisfactorily substantiate it by proof) that there would have been no land-league in 1854, had there not been a Constitution Act proclaimed and put into operation in 1853. That Act, such as was and has proved to be since in its tendencies and operation, has, I have every reason to believe, by its moral effect upon the Native mind, first divided and separated from each other the two different races as such, and awakened a sense of consciousness in the aborigines, that there was a marked difference and distinction made, on the part of Her Majesty, between the Pakeha and the Maori. There was an Act for the Europeans and for them only, and exclusively uniting them all throughout the country closely together, by concentrating all their combined will and power through their respective Representatives from all parts into one grand Council (Parliament) for to govern and manage themselves and their own affairs, and to make the laws for the land, requiring only the Governor's assent to pass into full effect. Was there anything of some similar kind of provision made for the Maori, with a view to unite and bring them also and likewise together for deliberation, and for consulting and being consulted about all such matters as might more especially relate to their rights, claims, their wants, and wishes of a common interest, in brief, to

A few weeks after the Waikato flag had been raised in Taranaki, His Excellency Governor Browne had arrived here (February 1859) at New Plymouth on a visit; the Taranakis were anxious that he should be informed, and rightly informed of the steps they had taken and of their motives and object in having done so. Now, although I had from the first beginning of the King movement up to the very last opposed it openly and most strenuously step after step and in every stage of its development, clearly foreseeing as I did its dangerous tendencies and the reprehensible and threatening consequences it was fraught with; and although my open and declared opposition continued unabated, still I felt it nevertheless at the same time to be my duty to comply with an urgent request made me by the Taranaki people (Natives) to the effect that I would see the Governor and lay the matter before him with an explicit assurance on their part, that by having raised King Potatau's flag they meant no disloyalty to Her Majesty's Government, no hostility whatever towards it or the pakehas generally: but, on the contrary, simply to maintain peace and order among themselves and to secure a lasting and uninterrupted peace and good understanding between themselves on the one part, and the Government and the settlers on the other part. My own private opinion was that it might be of very great importance that His Excellency should have personally every information attainable on the subject, in order to be able to form such judgment of it as might be serviceable in assisting him to realize a mastery over it (in time and whilst the Natives were still in a tractable temper), and to accommodate it in such a manner as without prejudice to the honour of the Crown might perhaps have preserved the peace of the country and attached the Maori race upon clear and definite terms, honourable and satisfactory to both, more firmly to our throne and Government.

Accordingly, as soon as I had the opportunity of waiting upon His Excellency Governor Browne, I took the liberty of mentioning the subject to him; but he told me that it was a subject beneath the dignity of Her Majesty's Representative to take notice of.

On my return home to Taranaki, the Natives were eager to learn how the Governor had received their message and what reply he had given to it; I felt it to be a most delicate point to deal with, and therefore answered with caution and rather evasively, that it was not for me to put questions to, and to ask for an answer from, the Governor. If this did not entirely satisfy them nor meet their expectations, it at any rate avoided affording a direct cause to them for prejudice against His Excellency.

A few days later, on the 8th March, 1859, the Governor held a public meeting here in town, with the Natives of this neighbourhood, on which occasion Te Teira had offered the Waitara land for sale, accompanying the offer by spreading a mat at the Governor's feet; and Wiremu Kingi had openly declared his opposition to the sale. A Taranaki Chief, Poharama Te Whakatiki had been present during the proceedings, and reported home on his return that immediately upon Te Teira's proposing the land for sale some Chief and Chiefs whom he named (but here I am at fault to recollect exactly who they had been and therefore do not give names) had interposed, cautioning Te Teira by way of good advice to relinquish the subject, as, if entered upon, it would surely bring again trouble. Finally Wiremu Kingi had put his word against the sale and then had left.

A day or two after these proceedings had taken place, a kind of proclamation, printed in Maori and signed by the Governor, and containing the sum and substance of His Excellency's speech to the Natives at the meeting of March 8th, was sent up the coast and circulated among the Taranaki and Ngatiruanui tribes. That paper made a very unfavourable impression upon the Taranaki Natives. They felt struck at once with what they took for its three leading points, and which were, the 1st, condemnatory of Katatore on account of his having killed Rawiri; 2nd, exonerative of Ihaia Te Kiri Kumara, the principal assassin of Katatore; 3rd, initiative of a new policy respecting the acquisition of Maori land by the Governor.

To further crown, as it were, all the rest that had thus far come before them, His Excellency had returned home to Auckland, and there was nothing further heard about his coming to pay a visit to the Taranakis and Ngatiruanuis.

place them side by side (though in an entirely separate and subordinate Council of an elementary and initiative character and tendency) with their white British fellow subjects in a position of national representation; although it might have at first only served them as a guarantee that there was nothing of a spirit of exclusiveness or partiality with a tendency of antagonism against them in existence; but that, on the contrary, they were recognized as a body of people who in virtue of their being Her Majesty's subjects, held a certain status in the country with a right and privilege secured to them to at least in so far participate in public affairs, as to hear all that was being done, and to be heard in reference to all that might affect them more especially and immediately. Nothing of all this. The Europeans had it all to themselves. They (the Maori) were left after, as before, to all their internal disunion and disorders. Sir George Grey had left the country before the new order of things had been inaugurated and set in motion. The expected new Governor knew nothing of them nor they of him, to afford them a sense of security; the general cry of the Europeans was, land! land! let Government urge the Maori to sell their lands, to come under and submit to British rule and law, &c. The consequences soon became apparent. The Natives took alarm, fearing coercion, expropriation, slavery, even ultimate extinction. Seeing themselves left being uncared for, they began to bethink themselves of ways and means whereby to take care of themselves. They soon conceived it to be a matter of absolute and unavoidable necessity to take steps for their self-defence and self-preservation. Quickly the first step of a hazardous tendency in that direction was taken, by the formation of an anti-land-selling league between several of the tribes along this coast; but it soon proved inefficient for securing the object aimed at. They seemed to become more and more sensible that to accomplish this they must be able to come up to and cope with the Pakeha on the same level, and that this was only attainable by imitating their example of uniting themselves closely together as one body, in the form and strength of an organized national community. Thus they have been drifted and have they been left to gradually drift, on, on, with an increasingly augmenting spirit of antagonism toward the other dominant race, until they have assumed the defiant and disastrous status of an independent *imperium in imperio*. Truly, all of us who have laboured here throughout all these past years incessantly to counteract such a dangerous course and to ward off and prevent such an issue, may well say in this respect, "We have laboured in vain and have spent our strength for naught." It was too late for to obtain any good results, to call a Native Conference at Kohimarama in 1860. Had something of that kind been thought of and done a year or two sooner, it might, perhaps, have saved the country from its recent and present calamities. At that time there was still peace, and the Native mind was more or less tractable, now it is infatuated. Then they would have more or less viewed it as an act of royal grace bestowed on them. In what light did they view it in 1860? The hostile Natives seemed very generally to regard it as an act of deception.

Perhaps a week or so later, a number of the principal Taranaki Chiefs and others of their people came to my station to hear and talk about passing events. They began with the question, how is it that the Governor has never yet come to see us if it is true what you say that we are his people and that he entertains thoughts of love and consideration for us? In reply, I pleaded His Excellency's reported ill health. As a rejoinder to this they told me that they felt very much in doubt as to whether that was indeed the true and real cause; that, on the contrary, they were under a strong impression that the real cause was nothing else or less than a frowning jealousy on his (Governor's) part against the Maori King; and a feeling of dislike and antipathy to them on account of their having joined the King. Probably, they said, the Governor might also be afraid, lest on coming among them, he should be asked by them respecting his intention in reference to the Waitara lands, and to explain the meaning of the words in his recent *niupepa* (proclamation of March 8th): they had thought that the Governor would also have proved their true friend; that he would have undertaken for them, for protecting them in their right, at all events would have respect to the latter like his predecessors had done. When they (the Natives) had found that he would not protect them, or at all events did not protect them, they had still continued to think that he at least felt for them, sympathised with them, and that he did not take nor would take any common part with those other pakeha, who for the sake of having a chance of getting possession of any bit or part of Maori land by it, cared not what evils, strifes and destruction there arose for the Maori from that cause; nay they even helped to fan it. But what (they continued) does now appear? no sooner does the Governor see that we have found a man from among ourselves, who can and will give us rest, quiet and security of and for our rights, life and peace, what he (the Governor) has failed or never cared of giving us, then he is getting at once jealous and angry about it; and why? clearly because he is afraid lest he should not get any more Maori land. Now this matter has brought this secret clear into light, viz that he is all of the same mind with all the rest of the Pakeha, and cares as little about us and our weal or woe as they do, as long as in one way or another he has a prospect of getting possession of our Maori land, the land of the Maori, that has always been the grand object of the Governor and his pakeha. We have heard it all oft and long ago from the pakeha themselves, that the Maori in all countries must fall and disappear before the English pakeha and leave the latter to possess the land. This is the thing. We see it aimed at here as regarding our own race. They then went on to say that as long as they had fought among themselves and had killed each other off about the land, the Governor had left them without interfering and without showing that he cared much about having the land; but now that they had a prospect before them for such evils to cease, and for every man and tribe to come at length to possess his lot in peace and quietness with safety, he (the Governor) was all at once starting forward declaring that he would buy land from any individual; was he (the Governor) now himself going to become the instigator and promoter of strife, war, and bloodshed among them, or to pick occasion for some pretext to enable him to go himself to war with the Maori? Had he not just now recently already ushered in something of this by the step he had taken respecting Waitara? Would it stop there? Did not his *niupepa* (Proclamation, 8th March, 1859) speak about it as a thing intended to be generally adopted and followed out anywhere? What was it meant for but a mere blind, when he printed his word that he would not buy any disputed land, and at the same time at once added an intimation that he would not allow any one to interfere with another man's selling his land? Were there among Maori any such individual rights and claims in existence, that could possibly pass undisputed and acknowledged as entitling the individual or party to sell or otherwise dispose of any part or parcel of land without the consent and sanction of the whole of the tribes concerned? They would put it frankly to me whether I could or would say and affirm that the Governor was right in entertaining such thoughts and plans; or that Te Teira and his small party had from 400 to 600 acres of land in one block all belonging to them exclusively, or that they had any land at all (unless it was some other land obtained from the Pakeha) to dispose of at their own option and on their own account? and if I did, they should certainly know and say that I was guilty of a lie against my own better knowledge of what was really true, it being a matter which they knew I had long been fully and thoroughly acquainted with as well as with themselves and all their Maori ritengas, &c. But, no, it was clear and evident that the Governor was seeking a cause for a quarrel, first to begin with Wiremu Kingi, then to proceed with the Maori, in order to get hold and claim possession of their land. They knew that the Pakehas had always hated Wiremu Kingi, and why? simply because he refused to give up his land to them. They had hated Katatore for the same reason. Through them the deadly strife between Katatore and Rawiri had come to pass. Had not they countenanced and encouraged Rawiri to overreach Katatore in his rights until Katatore had felt urged to fight? They (the Pakeha) had execrated and denounced Katatore for having killed Rawiri, which he had done in defence of his just rights and in open daylight, and they had upheld and cherished Ihaia for and after his having assassinated Katatore in the dark; and why? because Ihaia was an unprincipled and unscrupulous seller of other men's property, which he had no right to do. And the Governor had adopted and spoken forth in his paper (Proclamation, March 8th) the same tone and language of the other Pakeha, condemning Katatore, even after his death; and on the other hand exonerating Ihaia; and why? because Ihaia was the man for the Pakeha to serve their purpose by killing off all the principal and obnoxious Chiefs of the tribe. It was false to assert that Ihaia had killed Katatore in revenge of and to obtain *utu* for Rawiri's death. Had not Arama

* I need not repeat here what is my opinion on this point after having already written to you in a former letter, that I most fully, cordially, and conscientiously, concur and agree with you in all what you have stated in reference to that point in your work on the Taranaki question, first part.

Karaka, Ihaia's superior, previous to his death * made peace with Katatore? Could, after that had taken place, Ihaia have any further claim and pretensions in that way? no, but Ihaia had murdered Katatore and wanted to have Wiremu Kingi and all the other principal Chiefs killed too, in order that he might raise himself and become himself the great Chief and despoiler of his neighbours' possessions. Did they not know, had they not sufficient evidence to know, that the Pakeha were on his side? and now the Governor himself had become his advocate. However, it was well that the Governor had spoken out and told them beforehand what they had to look forward to. It was true, the Maori were but the little one and the Governor and his Pakeha were the greater one. The Maori had neither intention nor desire to quarrel with the Pakeha, their wish was peace and mutual good-will toward each other. But if the Governor chose to, and should begin to make war upon the Maori, then they knew it was no longer about a bit of land here or there, but about a general principle which aimed at and involved the destruction of their whole race. It would be a life and death conflict between the white and the dark skin. They (the Natives) would be compelled to fight in self-defence, either to conquer and live, or to be conquered and to perish. They cared no longer which of the two might prove to be eventually the result, since beyond that no other alternative was left them to choose.

All that I said and advanced by way of reply in self-defence of the Governor, his motives, object, &c., and to bear and keep separate in the Native mind the Waitara land and their King affair, and to induce them to keep aloof from the Waitara question and maintain for themselves neutrality, proved all to be of no avail. Some even went so far as to call out that I was a Governor's man. At the same time I was given to understand that they had not the slightest wish to have their thoughts and their words kept private from coming to the Governor's knowledge. However, I, on my part, did not feel disposed once more to offer, gratuitously, any information where it might not be welcome. †

Unhappily, the Government, by its subsequent acts and proceedings (shortly previous to the outbreak of the war) in reference to the Taranakis, not only tended greatly to foster and confirm them in their preconceived idea and supposition that hostilities would not be confined to Waitara only but include them also; but further also went far, at the same time, to confirm their unfortunate notion that, on the part of Government, a war was meant not about a mere bit of land, but *Sovereignty in re Regina v. Potatau*. When no war as yet had been declared and no hostilities as yet had begun at Waitara; when the Taranaki as yet remained all sitting still and quietly at home, this European settlement was closed against them, so that they were no longer allowed free ingress to and egress from it and its market. Whoever of them wished, as before, to come and to go, was required to obtain a Government passport from the fort nearest to the border, and such passports were only granted upon condition that the individual or individuals (as the case might be) first put their signature to a document on parchment in attestation of their allegiance to Her Britannic Majesty, a thing and proceeding that had never been known, never been thought of, never been required of them, before. Thus they beheld themselves regarded and treated not only as aliens but as enemies of the Queen and her Government, and in consequence of this and by it they at once conceived and carried into effect, by way of dealing out measure for measure, their plan of stopping the road through their district against Her Majesty's mail and all her European subjects. Moreover, at the same time, and before hostilities had taken place at Waitara, a printed paper was sent down to put in circulation amongst them, intended to purport and to be a Proclamation of Martial Law, but which, according to the wording of it in their Maori language, and the understanding they were able to realize of its import, amounted to something like a positive declaration of war; and against whom? Their own tribal name, Taranaki, was given. Now, although this was meant to imply the whole of this Province generally, it must be borne in mind the Province has been of our making. According to their own Maori geography and statistics, Taranaki is the district Southward of New Plymouth, inhabited by the Taranaki tribe; and Waitara is in the Ngatiawa district. Why (they wanted to know) had not the Governor sent his *niupepa* of the *ture whawhai* to Waitara, and there only, if there alone the war was to be? Such was the reply I received upon my endeavouring to explain to them and to help them to a right understanding of the matter.

Much has always been said about the Natives being under an incalculable debt of obligation to both the British Government and the body of colonists for the protection and other privileges and advan-

* This is the same A. Karaka mentioned in my letter to D. McLean, Esq. (1856.) He died of consumption toward the latter end of 1857, after having made a full and final peace about Rawiri's affair with Katatore and his party.

† A considerable time afterwards, when affairs began to thicken, and about a month or so previous to His Excellency's coming down here, and before the crisis took place, some of the Taranaki Chiefs presented to me a letter written and signed by them all and others besides, and addressed to the Governor. In that letter they memorialized His Excellency to stop his proceedings with respect to W. Kingi's affair, as if carried fully into effect it would certainly result in war between the Pakeha and Maori to the destruction of both. The reason why they showed me the letter was to obtain my opinion upon it and to have my advice whether to send it or not—perhaps they wished that I should take charge of and forward it. I begged them to have nothing to do with the Waitara question, but to let God and those who were concerned in that land dispose of it as they might. As to the sending or not sending of the letter, I told them that they must do as seemed best to them. I was afraid lest if I said, send it, it should be viewed as if I agreed with them in all its contents; and, on the other hand, if I said, send it not, I should unwarrantably deprive His Excellency of a full and timely opportunity of obtaining most authentic information as to what was the real state and feeling of the Native mind and sentiment in Taranaki. By my leaving it to them entirely I knew it would surely be forwarded, and it was forwarded accordingly, and it had also duly been received as I was afterwards told by Mr. Richmond, then Native Minister, but it appeared the Government had only viewed it as an effusion of Maori insolence, and no answer was received in return.

tages they have derived from them. This is true undoubtedly, but at the same time and unfortunately those various blessings and benefits have, on the part of those who dispensed them and from whom they were derived, always come to the Taranaki and Ngatiruanui at least too much under a negative form and appearance, as to motives and objects, to have ever come to be recognized or esteemed by them to the full value bestowed upon them with intent and purpose to do them good for their own good's sake. They have had protection, and in as far as visible to them it has been that the Government has not coerced them to sell their land, and until the Waitara affair has come to pass bought no land of theirs without the sanction and consent of their respective tribes; they have had to a certain extent the protection of our laws, but that has been the whole amount of direct and indirect benefits these tribes have hitherto received.

They have, undoubtedly, derived many valuable privileges and advantages from and through their intercourse with the body of colonists; but then this has accrued to them only and simply as more *per accidens*, than otherwise: they have received nothing for nothing. For everything they have had to give, and they have given the full value of it, at least, in exchange. And they themselves are far too shrewd and intelligent a people not to have seen, and to see, that the benefits and advantages have been and are reciprocative, and mutually balance on both sides between themselves and the Pakeha.

I must conclude to save the mail. You will see on referring to the above date of this letter, that I had commenced writing it about four weeks ago. I had then, just a few days before, returned from my station at Warea, where I had been for a week or more to see the Taranaki people, who, I find are holding out until now for adhering to the Maori King. I had brought back with me a slight inflammation on the lungs, but found no time to attend to it until I was forced to acknowledge myself ill, and to give over sitting up and stoop to writing; and pains in the chest, with sharp coughing, still trouble me sorely. But I felt I must do something to see this letter off; after all it is but a mere fragment of what can be told. I had already written a goodly number of sheets of past events whilst I was in Nelson, which, time failing me there, I had intended to have completed, and copied immediately after my return here, and to send them to you; but, unfortunately, several of the original sheets I found here afterwards had come completely to mishap through wet. I have since began the work afresh; but, perhaps, it may be too late to be of any further service by the time I shall have done. Still, I hope to send you something further by next mail steamer after this.

You expressed a wish, in your last, to have some explanation from the Natives themselves in their own writing in reference to Ford's (Poari's) death, and the stopping of the mail. They have sent me up here from Warea some statements drawn up by them relative to those points, with a view, as it appears from a note that accompanied them, that I should get them published in the newspapers, but which I have sent them word declining to do. They are three papers, and I enclose them as they have been sent to me; they give you, also, an idea of what is the present state of the Native mind in Taranaki. The paper No. 1, relating to "Pouakai," gives you the further explanation of what I have mentioned in this letter as having been the more immediate cause of the Taranaki joining the King movement. I have taken and kept no copy of the enclosed Maori papers, though I had intended to have done so. Nor have I been able to take and keep a copy of this letter, as until now my chest allows me but few scanty moments at a time, and with long intervals, to apply myself to writing. Would it be asking too much if I beg you to get a copy of it taken, and to favour me by sending me such copy to keep by me? I am exceedingly sorry to impose such a tax on you, but I feel sure you will pardon it; nor need I apprehend that you will misunderstand my motives for wishing for such a copy as attributable to anything like distrust on my part.

I have, &c.,

J. F. RIEMENSCHNEIDER,

P. S.—You are fully at liberty to show this letter.

Enclosure 2 in No. 10.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM C. W. RICHMOND, ESQ., TO MR. ATKINSON.

New Plymouth,

9th March, 1860.

SIR,—

Herewith I have the honor, by direction of His Excellency the Governor, to forward you the ingrossment of a declaration of allegiance in the Maori language, which is to lie for signature by Natives at your station.

You will please to make this generally known in the vicinity of the Bell Block, in order that loyal Natives may have an opportunity of at once declaring themselves. It may be stated by you that Poharama, Tamati, E Waka, and others, have already accepted the declaration.

I have also to convey to you the following instructions respecting the issue of passes to Natives.

Any Native desiring a pass to town, is to have tendered to him for signature the declaration above referred to, and passes are to be refused to Natives who decline to sign.

It is desirable that no Natives should come into town but those who have actually business to do there; but loyal Natives should not, without strong reason, be refused passes.

In cases where a party of Natives applying for passes is numerous, it will be generally advisable to grant passes to a few only of the party.

I forward herewith 50 passes. You will observe that they are available for one day only. Permanent papers, printed on parchment, will be issued in town to a limited number of Natives.

Each pass is to be filled up with the name of the Native to whom it is granted, and with the date of issue, and is to bear your signature.

You are to number the passes consecutively, and keep a register showing the number, date of issue, and name of bearer of every pass issued at your station.

You are to request the Natives to return their passes to you when they come back from town.

I am to impress upon you the necessity of the use of great courtesy, as well as firmness, in the execution of your duty; and you should lose no opportunity of impressing upon the Natives that the precautions taken are as necessary for their own protection, as for the safety of the European settlers.

I have, &c.,

W. S. Atkinson, Esq.,
Taranaki.

C. W. RICHMOND.

Enclosure 3 in No. 10.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM C. W. RICHMOND, ESQ., TO THE OFFICER COMMANDING THE GARRISON,
NEW PLYMOUTH.

New Plymouth,
10th March, 1860.

SIR,—

I have the honor, by direction of His Excellency the Governor, to apprise you of the arrangements which have been made by His Excellency's command and authority respecting the issue of passes to Natives resident in or visiting the town of New Plymouth; and to request that you will be good enough to cause corresponding instructions to be given to the Officers under your command.

The passes will be of two kinds:—

First—Passes available for one day only.

Secondly—Permanent passes.

The former will have printed on the face the word, "DAILY."

The permanent passes will bear the word "PERMANENT," and will be further distinguished by being printed on parchment.

I enclose herewith, for your information, a specimen form of each description of pass.

The permanent pass will be issued only to a small number of Natives resident in or near the town, and to a few friendly Chiefs. These papers will bear the signature of myself or Mr. R. Parris.

The posts for the issue of daily passes, will be the Bell Block-house and the Omata Block-house.

Daily passes will also occasionally be issued in town, under the signature of Mr. Parris, Mr. Rogan, Mr. G. W. Woon, or myself.

Mr. W. Atkinson has been appointed by His Excellency to sign passes at the Bell Block-house; and I have to request that you will be good enough to notify this appointment to the Officer in command, and to cause proper accommodation to be provided for Mr. Atkinson, and every facility to be afforded him for the execution of the duty entrusted to him.

It is proposed that the Officer in command at the Omata Block-house shall issue passes to Natives desiring to enter town from the Southwards, according to the arrangement detailed in the enclosed Memorandum; which, should you approve of it, I have to request that you will forward to the Officer in command at Omata for his guidance. A supply of blank passes will be sent to the Omata Block-house.

I have, &c.,

The Officer Commanding the Garrison,
New Plymouth.

C. W. RICHMOND.

Memorandum as to the issue of Passes to Natives entering Town from the Southwards.

1. Tickets bearing the word "Poutoko," have been supplied to Tamati Wiremu, of the Poutoko, and that chief has been instructed to issue those tickets to Natives wishing to obtain town passes, and of whose loyalty he is himself satisfied.

2. On presentation of a Poutoko ticket at the Omata Block-house, it is to be exchanged for a town pass, and the ticket itself to be destroyed.

3. Each pass is to be filled up with the name of the Native to whom it is granted, and with the date of issue, and is to bear the signature of the Officer in command.

4. The passes are to be numbered consecutively, and a register is to be kept showing the number, date of issue, and name of bearer of every pass issued at the Block-house.

5. The Natives are to be requested to return their passes to the Officer in command, as they come back from town.

6. The passes to be issued at the Omata Block-house are available for one day only.

No. 11.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

No. 24

Government House,
Auckland, 23rd November, 1861.

MY LORD DUKE,—

In continuation of my intention of endeavouring to keep Your Grace thoroughly informed of the real state of this country, I have the honor to enclose the copy of another letter I have received from William Thompson in relation to three casks of spirits which some of his people have seized.

Enclosure 1. Letter from
Wi Tamihana.

2. He states that a vessel sailed for Auckland, "and when a Pakeha named Ruia, a Frenchman, saw her, he put three kegs of spirits on board, and came on to Piako. When the Maori Runanga saw it they took away the kegs. Their reason for the seizure was his insisting on putting spirits on board. The owners of the vessel have the kegs of spirits in their possession, but have not touched them."

This letter, as others which I have transmitted to Your Grace, show how strong is the necessity for the establishment of law and order throughout the country. But it must not be thought that there are no difficulties in the way of at once doing this. It must be remembered that there are two races inhabiting this country, who are yet, as it were, in collision with one another: that one of these is a semi-barbarous race puffed up with the pride of imagined equality—if not indeed of superiority—after an actual contest of thirteen months' duration; whilst much of distrust, if not animosity, still exists between the Natives and a portion of the European population.

Enclosure 2.—Extract of
Letter from Mr. Morgan.

The enclosed extract of a Letter from the Rev. Mr. Morgan, will shew Your Grace how some persons of the one race still try to create distrust in the minds of the other race, and how strongly some must still desire the prosecution of the war.

I still hope, however, that all these obstacles will be overcome: and I have little doubt that both Europeans and the great mass of the Natives will shortly see that peace will best promote their real interests; and even if it is necessary to continue hostilities, that this may be so done as to bring them to a speedy conclusion.

I have, &c.,

G. GREY.

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, K.G.,
&c., &c., &c.

Enclosure 1 in No. 11.

LETTER FROM WI TAMIHANA TO MR. SMITH.

Peria, November 9th, 1861.

FRIEND MR. SMITH,

Salutations to you. Hearken. I wish to ask you if the law relating to spirits has been abolished, and whether spirits are permitted to be taken on board vessels. A law has been made. Hearken. The vessel belongs to the Maories, she is a vessel on board which it was decided that no spirits should be put; whether belonging to Maoris or Pakehas, it was not to be allowed; this was the arrangement as regarded that vessel. After this law had been made, that vessel sailed for Auckland, and when a Pakeha named Ruia, a Frenchman, saw her, he put three kegs of spirits on board, and came on to Piako. When the Maori Runanga saw it, they took away the kegs; their reason for this seizure was his insisting on putting spirits on board. The owners of the vessel have the kegs of spirits in their possession, but have not touched them.

Friend, will you talk with Hone Kuti, and he will tell you about this seizure of spirits. Enough upon that.

In my opinion the seizure of those spirits was quite correct; they were being brought to make the men drunk, and do all sorts of evil. If you condemn it, write; if you approve of it, write; for those Pakehas are very persevering in bringing it. Enough.

WILLIAM THOMPSON TE WAHAROA.

To Mr. Smith.

Enclosure 2 in No. 11.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE REV. MR. MORGAN, OTAWHAO, TO HIS EXCELLENCY
SIR G. GREY, K.C.B., NOVEMBER 6TH, 1861.

Having a Maori marriage at Rangiawhia to-day, I had a long conversation with Taati Te Waru, (son of old Hori Te Waru). He informed me that before Rewi and Porokoru started for Mokau, Rewi proposed to him that he and Reihana Te Huotare, of the Mania, should go down as a deputation from the Upper Waikatos to see your Excellency. Taati urged Rewiti to go himself, and the matter was to be discussed in the Hangatiki Runanga with Ngatimaniapoto. He, however, thought that Rewi, Porokoru, and the other Chiefs who had been in arms would not go to town. Shortly afterwards I met the Roman Catholic priest, Rev. Mr. Garavel, and had a long conversation with him. He said that he did not think that Hoani Papita, Rewi, &c., would accept Tamati Ngapora's invitation to town: fear would prevent them. Hoani Papita informed Mr. Garavel that they had received at Tamahere a letter from town, *without a signature*, recommending them not to go to town: that your Excellency when at the Cape had invited a number of Kaffir Chiefs to a feast, and then made them all prisoners. Hoani Papita then expressed a wish that Your Excellency should come up the Waikato. He remarked that if you remained in Auckland to make laws, they should expect war, but that if you paid them a personal visit, they should feel assured of your good will and friendly feeling towards them, and that all the Chiefs would meet you at Ngaruawahia and Rangiawhia. I requested Mr. Garavel to allow me to mention his name as having heard from Hoani Papita the statement in the anonymous letter in reference to the Cape Chiefs, as it exactly agreed with the reasons given me at Horotiu, last Sunday evening, why Ngatihaua are opposed to Wm. Thompson's journey to town. Amongst our own people we find those who trouble the minds of the Natives. The plan of sending up anonymous letters to the Waikatos was adopted some months before Colonel Browne left, and I regret to find that it is continued. I heard this tale as far back as three weeks ago. I think it better to let your Excellency know the exact reason why the Chiefs who met Tamati and the Bishop are not likely to visit town. They, however, will send a deputation. After their visit, if you consider it advisable to pay a personal visit to the Waikato, I can assure you that you will be well received, confidence will be restored, and more real good will arise from such a visit, than from any letters or deputations which your Excellency could send up. The first step to peace and goodwill will arise from the presence of your Excellency amongst the Waikato Chiefs.

No. 12.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF
NEWCASTLE.

Government House, No. 29.
Auckland, 27th November, 1861.

MY LORD DUKE,—

Your Grace is aware that, from the necessity which exists here that large numbers of Native Chiefs should resort to Auckland to consult with the Governor, it has been requisite from the first establishment of the Colony, to provide some means for supporting on a moderate scale the Chiefs and their followers whilst they are detained in Auckland on public business.

2. The Governor also, at times, subjects Native Chiefs to some expense for entertaining himself and his retinue whilst he may be travelling through the country. It has been customary to make presents to the Chiefs in return for this entertainment. Again, in the early stages of the Colony, Industrial Boarding Schools were established; it was necessary to provide these schools with carts, horses, ploughs, books, and other necessaries. As I have seen many erroneous statements published on this subject, I called for the enclosed Return, from which your Grace will see that the total sum so expended since (sixteen years ago) I assumed the Administration of the Government of this Colony, to the present date, is £16,720 2s. 0d, including the cost of entertaining the Chiefs at the Kohimarama Conference. Of which total amount the sum of £5,171 0s. 1d., was expended in seven years, under my direction; £4,399 6s. 2d. in four years, under the direction of Lieut.-General Wynyard; and the sum of £7,150 3s. 9d. in six years, under the direction of Governor Browne.

I have, &c.,

G. GREY.

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, K. G.,
&c., &c., &c.

Enclosure 1 in No. .12

RETURN SHOWING AMOUNT EXPENDED IN GIVING PRESENTS TO, OR ENTERTAINING NATIVES
FROM 1ST JANUARY, 1846, TO 30TH JUNE, 1861.

PERIOD OF EXPENDITURE.		AMOUNT EXPENDED.		
		£	s.	d.
Year ending 30th December,	1846	433	4	6
" "	1847	907	17	10
" "	1848	804	14	3
" "	1849	604	18	5
" "	1850	675	12	2
" "	1851	832	10	4
" "	1852	1,700	4	6
Nine months ending 30th September,	1853	963	2	6
" " June,	1854	1,104	0	11
Year ending 30th June,	1855	1,544	0	10
" "	1856	1,472	10	1
" "	1857	590	1	4
" "	1858	776	3	3
" "	1859	650	3	7
" "	1860	531	3	1
" "	1861	1,340	0	5
		£14,930	8	0

NOTE.—This return does not include a sum of £1,790 2s., expended during the Native Conference in 1860, in entertaining Natives; nor does it include such payments since 1st January, 1860, as have been considered incident upon the Native insurrection, nor any advances to Natives in the shape of "loans to be repaid." With regard to the amount expended in the year 1852, the particulars are given below; of the whole amount, £738 1s. 11d. were expended in Auckland, under the direction of Lieut.-Governor Wynyard.

Native Office, November 26th, 1861.

*Particulars of the sum of £1,700 4s. 6d., expended during the year 1852, in giving presents
to and entertaining Natives.*

	£	s.	d.
1. Food, tobacco, clothing, &c., supplied to Natives	532	18	10
2. Carts, horses, ploughs, millstones, &c.	339	17	
3. Expenses in connexion with Industrial Schools at Waikato, Taurarua, Otawhao, and Otaki, including also expenses of publishing Maori school books, Robinson Crusoe, &c.	836	8	2
	£1,700	4	6

No. 13.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF
NEWCASTLE.

No. 32.

Government House,
Auckland, 28th November, 1861.

MY LORD DUKE,—

I fear that when in England it is heard that an expedition has been contemplated against the so-called **Maori King** and his capital, it may be imagined that there is some town or fortified post, and some recognized and powerful Prince against whom regular operations can be undertaken. I, therefore, enclose your Grace a sketch of the Maori King's residence, which has just been made by a young lady, on the 18th instant, one of a party of visitors who has just returned from the Waikato, where they were received with the greatest kindness.

2. It will be seen that the King's house is the large ordinary reed-house of a Chief, with one small door and one window; that there are in its neighbourhood a few small reed-huts, where strangers or inferior people may reside. It is situated on the point of land which divides the two rivers, the Horotiu and the Waipa, which after here joining are called the Waikato.

3. The banks of the river from its mouth to the place where the King resides,—a distance of about 70 miles,—are every here and there studded with Native villages, without fortifications, such as is shown in the enclosed sketch, except that some of them are much larger. The male inhabitants of these villages are warlike, and thoroughly well armed. The contest, if it unfortunately takes place, will simply be one in which every swamp, stream, wood, and naturally strong position, will be defended by men completely concealed in artfully constructed rifle-pits and breast-works. Village after village will be abandoned as they retire to the forests and mountains; or

turning round our flanks, come out upon our rear, our communications with Auckland, and the outlying farms and settlements. The country affords no supplies whatever for regular troops; there are no roads, nor is there along the route we must traverse any natural forage for our pack bullocks, so that these must carry their own food as well as the supplies for the troops. Under these circumstances, your Grace can readily understand that no brilliant or decisive victory can be looked for, and that a protracted warfare is a very probable event if we are unfortunately forced into war.

I have, &c.,

G. GREY.

His Grace

The Duke of Newcastle, K. G.,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 14.

COPY OF DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF
NEWCASTLE.

Government House,
Auckland, 30th November, 1861.

No. 35.

MY LORD DUKE,—

I have the honor to state for your Grace's information that I do not at present deem it for the good of Her Majesty's Service, to carry out the publicly recorded determination of my predecessor to compel the Waikato tribes to submit to the terms a compliance with which was especially demanded from them on the 21st May last.

2. Careful enquiries, and repeated conversations with those Natives most attached to us, have convinced me that the Waikato Natives will not submit to those terms at present, and that any attempt at this time to enforce them by troops will instantly lead to that "general war" which my predecessor anticipated.

3. For such a war, as I have shewn in another despatch, no adequate preparation has yet been made; and it must, under the most favourable circumstances, be attended with results most disastrous to us.

4. I have, so long ago as 1846, stated it to be my opinion that it is useless to attempt to make general demands on a race like the New Zealanders. No Chief has power or authority to bind others; there is no paramount authority amongst them, no common bond of union between them. But to make a demand with which many of them will not comply, is at once to supply that bond of union: for, from a party of recusants who have a common sympathy amongst themselves, and who have united for a specific object and can draw others into a confederacy for a known purpose, they at once become people of importance and leaders of a party.

5. The uselessness of forcing the Natives here to accept certain terms of peace is shewn by what took place at the Waitara. Certain terms of peace were proposed by the Governor; some Natives refused to have anything to do with them, others accepted them on the 5th of April, 1861. They were warmly approved by Her Majesty's Government, a Commissioner was appointed on Her Majesty's behalf to carry out on Her part a portion of them, and he proceeded to the Waitara to execute his mission: when the very Chief who had borne the principal part in accepting the terms of peace, declared his inability to enforce them, saying "It rests with the people;" and, finally the Commissioner, amidst threats of violence, was obliged to leave the place, being satisfied that they would resist by force of arms any attempt which might be made to carry out the terms agreed on.

6. Such having been the case at the Waitara, there seems to be no reason why a similar difficulty should be created in the Waikato district.

7. Again, I do not see how I could carry out in detail the terms to be insisted on in the Waikato country. That territory is inhabited by large numbers of people friendly to us, who have never joined in the Maori King movement, mixed up with others who have done so. How are we to separate them, or to attack one party without injuring the other? How are we to compel them to recognise the Queen's sovereignty? From the enclosed extract of a letter, Your Grace will see that some of them understand this to mean that, if they have a hundred bushels of potatoes, the Queen may take fifty, and that, if they have two cows, the Queen will take one. Is there any hope that we can quickly induce a semi-barbarous people to affix their signatures to a paper when they imagine that their doing so will be followed by some such consequences as I have stated? Or would it become those who wield the power of Great Britain to put subjects of the Queen, who have strong claims on Her care, to the sword (if we could do so, which is doubtful), because they would not sign such a paper? Ought we to bring great miseries on Her Majesty's European subjects in the pursuit of such objects? Or what advantage will be gained by the Natives signing a paper, the meaning of which they do not understand, even if they could be forced to do it?

8. Again, if certain Natives will not give up plunder they have taken, should we bring the calamities of war on the whole island? The Maories are not a separate nation from ourselves. Is it not better to take precautions to prevent the repetition of such plundering, and to bring any person found with stolen property to trial whenever he may be caught, rather than to make a few troublesome individuals, whom their fellows have no power of compelling to do what is right, the cause of involving innocent and guilty alike in a terrible war?

9. I think that a consideration of these arguments will show that it is better for me to retract from a decision authoritatively expressed by the Government, rather than to follow a course in which I can see no advantages.

10. One other point appears also to require explanation on my part. My predecessor, in offering terms to the Waikatos, states that Her Majesty had been pleased to approve of a meeting of Chiefs being convened from all parts of these islands, and that it was his wish that that Conference of Natives should devise measures for the introduction of law and order, and for the establishment of useful institutions in Native districts.

11. I think it better for Her Majesty's service that this course should not be followed. When the last Conference was summoned to Kohimarama, some Natives refused to attend it; other Chiefs of importance threw, and still throw, ridicule upon the whole affair. In the case of the proposed Conference, a well disposed Waikato Chief no sooner heard of it than he intimated to the Government that it would be impossible to induce some of the Chiefs to attend the Conference.* The reason he alleged was, that they were much irritated by the speeches made at the last Conference by some of the Chiefs of the Ngatiwhakaue and Ngapuhi tribes who were formerly enemies of the Waikatos.

* See Mr. Smith's Memorandum of 30th May, 1861, forwarded in Governor Browne's Despatch No. 82, of 6th June, 1861.

12. This may have been the reason in part; but I have no doubt they knew that their attendance at a Conference called together by the Governor to legislate for New Zealand, would have been a virtual renunciation of the independence which they claim. They are quite wise enough to feel the force of this consideration.

13. I think it also admits of question, as a point of policy, whether it would be wise to call a number of semi-barbarous Natives together to frame a Constitution for themselves. Probably before so many tribes with divers interests could agree upon such a subject, even if the Governor had proposed a form of Constitution to them, it would, in order to suit the prejudices of many ignorant persons, become so altered before it was adopted as to be comparatively useless. I think, therefore, it is better for the Governor to frame the measure himself, and then, if he can, get them to adopt it as a boon conferred upon them.

14. It also seems doubtful whether, even if a Conference which fully represented the Native race could be got together, it would be judicious now to assemble it. Is not calling together in the same country a European Parliament to legislate on European affairs, and a Maori Parliament to legislate on Maori affairs, a proceeding very likely to keep alive and perpetuate the distinction now so unhappily prevailing between the two races? But in the present case we may dismiss these considerations: for it is quite certain—for the reasons I have already stated—that I could not now get together a Conference which would fairly represent all the tribes; and that there is consequently every probability that any measures for the introduction of law and order which had been devised by such a Conference as I could have assembled would, however good they might have been in themselves, have been rejected by a large part of the Native population simply because they had proceeded from such a Conference.

15. I think, therefore, on this point I am doing the best for Her Majesty's service in having devised a set of institutions I believe adapted to the Natives, and by them attempting to get the different districts to adopt them in detail. I think in this way the whole of the tribes may by degrees be led to adopt these institutions: which will then form them into a series of small district councils such as the European districts have, which councils may be composed either of Natives or of Europeans, so that they will suit the extending circumstances of the country; and will break the Native population up into small portions, instead of teaching them to look to one powerful Native Parliament as a means of legislating for the whole Native population of this island—a proceeding and machinery which might hereafter produce most embarrassing results.

16. I have been particular in entering into all these details, because it is with great unwillingness that I have felt that it would not be for the good of the Queen's service to carry out the intentions of my predecessor in regard to the Waikato tribes; and I am anxious that your Grace should see that it is a train of dispassionate reasoning which has led me to this conclusion, and not any desire of striking out some novel line of proceeding. I beg also that I may not be considered as implying that the course I am about to pursue will prevent the continuance of the war:—all I can say is, that I believe it is that course which is more likely than any other to produce so desirable a result: but the great difficulty is to bring the Native race to repose confidence in the Government, and I cannot that I have yet done this.

I have, &c,

G. GREY.

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, K.G.,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 15.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF
NEWCASTLE.

No. 36.

New Zealand,
Auckland, 30th November, 1861.

MY LORD DUKE,—

In my despatch, No. 3, of 9th October last, I transmitted the copy of a Memorandum on the machinery of Government for Native purposes, which had been forwarded to me by the New Zealand Ministers.

2. The substance of the question which has been raised on this subject may, I think, be stated to be this: that whilst the Colonial Ministers are virtually responsible for all other matters of Government in this Colony, the Governor has hitherto retained the management of Native affairs in his own hands.

3. The Ministers in their Memorandum state this in the following language :—

“The result is, that while on all other subjects the Responsible Ministers are the sole advisers of the Governor, and exercise the entire executive functions of the Government; on Native affairs, the Governor has, in addition to his Ministers, another adviser—his Native Secretary—who is not a responsible Minister, nor under the control of responsible Ministers, but who exercises (subject only to instructions from the Governor himself) all the executive functions of Government in relation to Native affairs.”

4. Under this system there would be two Governments in the Colony, which not only would not always aid one another, but which would sometimes act at cross purposes with each other.

5. At the present crisis it is quite impossible that Her Majesty's Government could be advantageously carried on under such a system. I therefore immediately arranged to consult my Responsible Ministers in relation to Native affairs, in the same manner as upon all other subjects, and in like manner to act through them in relation to all Native matters. If any serious difference takes place between us upon these subjects, I must, as in other cases, resort to other advisers, and appeal in fact to the General Assembly.

6. Your Grace will, I have no doubt, inform me if you wish me to discontinue this arrangement; but I think it would be well to leave it permanently in operation until difficulties arise under it, which I do not see any probability of.

7. If I can carry out the arrangements contemplated for introducing a machinery of local self-government into all the Native districts, but few serious questions are likely afterwards to arise between the Natives and the European Legislature, and I hope that but few more troubles will then take place with the Natives of this country. If these favorable anticipations prove correct, the system I propose to act on will certainly work well.

8. Even recently, I would remind Your Grace that that party in the General Assembly which may be said to have disapproved of war with the Natives if it could be avoided, proved the strongest; and I think it is better to shew that full confidence in the General Assembly which by its proceedings towards the Native race it has, I think, fairly merited, rather than to evince an undeserved distrust in it. Any attempt to set up either the Governor or any special body between the Natives and the General Assembly as a protective power for the Natives against the presumed hostility of that body, will, I fear, produce an ill effect upon the Native mind, as making them regard the Assembly as their admitted natural enemies; whilst it will perhaps create in the minds of the General Assembly some prejudice against the Natives and against what may be done for them, and a carelessness for their interests, with the protection of which the Assembly would be in no way charged.

9. Another disadvantage of the system of making the Governor chiefly responsible for Native affairs, is, that it will be thought that the wars which may arise under it have sprung, whether rightly or wrongly, from the acts of the Representative of the British Government, over whose proceedings the Colonial Legislature had but very imperfect control: so that it would seem difficult to call upon that body to find the means of defraying the cost of a war, for the origin, continuance, or conduct of which it was only in an indirect manner responsible.

10. Under the system I have adopted the Governor and Ministers act as mutual checks each upon the other. If either of them wishes to force on some proceeding which the other party regards as unjust to the Natives, or as injurious to their reasonable interests, it is known to both that the ultimate appeal must be made to the General Assembly, and that the justness of the intentions of each party will become a matter of public discussion. It is, therefore, reasonable to think that each of them would carefully consider the grounds on which they were acting, before incurring the risk of an appeal of this nature.

11. Certainly this plan throws a greater responsibility on the General Assembly, in regard to the expenditure on account of any war which their acts might bring on; but this would indirectly prove a great protection for Native interests: the Assembly will now know that the justness of their acts, if disturbances spring from them, will be publicly canvassed in the British Parliament: that if misfortunes and dangers have undeservedly been brought upon Her Majesty's European subjects by the misconduct of the Natives, then the General Assembly will receive from England that generous and liberal support which she has never failed to afford to British subjects under such circumstances: whilst on the other hand if—which one may hope would be impossible—the Colonial Assembly had been attempting to oppress Her Majesty's Native subjects, its unrighteous conduct would meet with that public reprobation which it would so justly deserve.

I have, &c.,

G. GREY.

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, K.G.,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 16.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY, K.C.B., TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Government House,
Auckland, 6th December, 1861.

No. 38.

MY LORD DUKE,—

Adverting to my Despatch No. 15, of 2nd November last, enclosing for Your Grace's information a Memorandum I had prepared upon a form of Native Institutions suited to the circumstances of this Colony, I have now the honor to enclose a Memorandum I drew up on the

Memorandum by Sir G. Grey, 29th Nov., 1861.

Sec. II.

Reply by Ministers, 5th
Dec., 1861.
[Printed separately in *Sess.
Pap.*, 1862, E—No. 2.]

probable cost of the proposed Institutions, and of the sources from which the funds should be derived for meeting this expenditure; as also a copy of a Paper which has been prepared by the New Zealand Ministers in relation to this subject, and expressing their concurrence in my views.

2. In order to furnish the funds requisite for the first establishment of these Institutions, it was necessary for me to make an arrangement with the New Zealand Ministers, by which, upon their taking upon themselves the responsibility of paying one-half the cost of these from the Colonial Funds, I, on behalf of the Imperial Government, undertook that the remaining half should be paid out of the sum of £35,000 which the Colony is required to provide in reduction of the expenditure incurred by Great Britain maintaining Troops in this Colony.

[* Sic in original copy,
in Despatch Book.]

3. The total sum which will in any one year be deducted from the £35,000*—and that amount will year by year be lessened as the cost of the contemplated Institutions is defrayed by local taxation.

4. In justification of the step I have in this case been compelled to take, I would remind Your Grace that the £35,000 paid annually by the Colony is a mere trifle in reference to the whole military expenditure; yet, trifling as it is, it draws from the Colony funds which properly applied might in a few years do away with all necessity for the further employment of Troops. The Colony paying however a sum of no importance to Great Britain, loses in part the means which would enable it to deal with the Native question. Your Grace will, I am sure, feel the force of these arguments—particularly when you see from the enclosed documents how large a saving I am striving ultimately to effect.

5. The enclosed Papers, which are not very voluminous, contain the whole financial part of my plan for Native Institutions. I need not therefore further allude to them in this Despatch.

I have, &c.,

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, K.G.
&c., &c., &c.

G. GREY.

No. 17.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

No. 39.

Government House,
Auckland, 6th December, 1861.

MY LORD DUKE,—

Memorandum on Native
Affairs, 26th May, 1861,
enclosed in Governor
Browne's despatch, No.
79, of 26th May, 1861.
[Printed in *Sess. Pap.*,
1861, E—No. 3d.]

My predecessor, shortly before leaving this country, reported to your Grace that the Government was, in many places, almost unknown by the Maoris; that some of the most populous districts had never been visited by a European Magistrate; and that the Native inhabitants of them have never felt that they are the subjects of the Queen of England, and have little reason to think that the Government of the colony cares at all about their welfare. It will be seen from this, that much yet remains to be done to introduce law and order amongst the Native population in the interior of this Island, and even along its coasts.

Governor Grey's Despatch
No. 121, of 30th of Aug.,
1851.

2. Ten years since, the urgent necessity of introducing simple Municipal Institutions amongst them was pointed out, and the first step taken to induce them to refer their disputes to our Courts. But, although various proposals have been made for facilitating a further advance towards these objects, the matter has been practically left nearly where it then was.

3. Although I think it will probably be admitted, that it would be hopeless to attempt to govern a country otherwise than by the sword unless its population were permitted to take some interest in its government, in the framing and execution of its laws, and unless some share were given to them in the dignity and emoluments which arise from holding office.

Enclosure 1.—Two
Memoranda, A & B.

4. So strongly do the European population in New Zealand feel this, that in the Northern Island, as will be seen from the enclosed Returns, those out of the 41,159 souls who administer the government and preserve order for the rest of their countrymen, divide between them annually salaries which, in the aggregate, amount to upwards of £100,000. If the Native subjects of Her Majesty (amounting in this Island, at a low estimate, to 54,000 souls) were provided with equally expensive means of government, the salaries they should share amongst them would exceed £100,000 per annum. As it is, it will be found, from the enclosed return, that there are for both islands of New Zealand 194 Native Assessors or Magistrates employed, many of whom perform onerous duties, and that the aggregate amount of all the salaries paid to Natives in both islands is only £777 a year, or on the average £5 10s. per annum for each Native Magistrate employed by the Government.

Enclosure 2.—Return of
Native Assessors, T. H.
Smith, 14th Oct., 1851.

5. When a new Constitution was given to New Zealand, in 1853, the Europeans were then gifted with the representative institutions which gave them full power to provide for all their own wants, to repress crime, to promote order, to raise revenues from both populations, and to arrange for the distribution of these revenues in salaries as they thought proper; whilst the Native population have been, up to the present time, left in the position described by my predecessor.

6. Such a state of things has, I have no doubt, produced great discontent in the minds of the Natives, who are an intelligent, reasoning people; but its worst result is that the Native districts have been left entirely to themselves. In these, frequent contests took place, and sometimes murders occurred, whilst no means existed of repressing these outrages throughout the country. I think nothing could show the Natives' capacity for self-government and their desire to see law and order established, in a stronger light than their at last attempting to redress these great evils by setting up a form of government of their own, although that step has now resulted in such serious consequences.

7. From this it might be thought that the Natives will readily grasp at the institutions of self-government now offered to them; but I see no reason to hope that such will immediately be the case in some districts. They are proud of the government they have set up, of the position of independence they have gained, and of the influence they have obtained over their countrymen. Having enjoyed these for several years, they have become attached to them. They are also more attached to their own government from their having successfully defied our attempts to put it down; and, viewing our anxiety to do so, think it must have some intrinsic value. I find in many of them, at present, a sort of sullen, desperate determination to maintain it at all hazards, and a kind of pride in making personal sacrifices for what they regard as a national object. It is as if they had for the first time acquired a new faculty of their existence, of which they were not previously aware, and in the exercise of which they feel great enjoyment. Many populous districts in the Island do not, however, participate in those feelings. In these parts I shall have no difficulty in introducing the proposed institutions.

8. My belief as to the present state of the Maori King movement is, that a great number of the Natives in the part of the country which lies to the South of Auckland—say perhaps 30,000 of them—have entered into an agreement of nearly the following purport:—

9. That they will not directly or indirectly attack the Europeans: they will not permit the Europeans to be robbed or molested: but that upon all lands, the property of the Natives, justice shall be only administered by Natives, and laws shall be only made by Natives. That no more lands within such districts shall be for the present sold to Europeans; and that the so-called Maori King and his Council shall watch that these regulations are, if possible, maintained throughout all Native lands, and shall try to lead the whole Native population to acquiesce in them; and that any attempt by the Government to put down these proceedings by force shall be regarded as the signal for a general rising of the Native population.

10. Within the last few days a European settler living on Native land about forty miles from Auckland had his house robbed by Natives of a few articles. Immediate enquiries were made into the circumstances by a European Magistrate: the Natives without delay made ample amends: but the enclosed copies of letters will show that the Council of the Maori King at once wrote to the principal chiefs in the neighbourhood, stating their disapproval of their having allowed the case to be brought before a European Magistrate, and reminding them that from the first establishment of the Native King, it was arranged that crimes committed on Native lands were only to be settled by the King's Magistrates: they also warned them to prevent all crimes being committed against Europeans, or the Natives would by such offences be led into difficulties.

Enclosure 3.—Correspondence in T. Hawke's case

11. These letters show the nature of the agreement entered into by the King party: but I think the whole circumstances of the case show that they will have great difficulty in inducing the Natives to adhere to it. In the case under consideration they did not do so, and when the Natives who acted with us were reprimanded for what they had done, they showed the letters to the Government.

12. I have also already stated that large bodies of Natives are ready to side with the Government, and will adopt my plans. Thus by degrees I hope the King movement will be eaten out; and when the inferiority of their form of government is seen side by side with the superior one which will be given to them, that the whole will at last readily embrace offers which are so advantageous to them. The difficulties in the way of this are their pride, their vanity at their successes, and their want of confidence in the Government: this latter circumstance presents a very great difficulty.

13. It is possible that the adherents of the Native King, seeing that their power is shaken, may attempt by force of arms to prevent some of their countrymen from acquiescing in the proposals of the Government, or may try to punish them for having done so: in this case it will be necessary for the Government to interfere to prevent such acts of violence. I can only hope that so trying a contingency as this would be, may not arise.

I have, &c.,

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, K.G.,
&c., &c., &c.

G. GREY.

Enclosure 1 in No. 17.

A.—ESTIMATE OF EUROPEAN POPULATION (exclusive of Military) in the Northern Island in

1860	41,159
Estimate of Native Population in Northern Island	53,056
Estimate of European Population in Middle (or Southern) Island in 1860	40,061
Estimate of Native Population in Middle (or Southern) Island	2,219

Amount of Territorial and Ordinary Revenue of New Zealand, derived from Northern Island during 1860	£190,624
Ditto ditto derived from Middle (or Southern) Island during 1860	274,114
Estimate of Expenditure of General Government in Salaries to Europeans in Northern Island during 1860	50,000
Ditto ditto in Middle Island during 1860	15,000
Estimate of Expenditure of Provincial Governments in Northern Island during 1860	50,000
Ditto ditto in Middle Island during 1860	44,000

B.—*Calculation from the accompanying approximate Estimate.*

If the total payments to Natives by way of Salaries were estimated to bear same proportion to the Native the population that the Salaries paid to Europeans bear to the European population, the amount would be	£108,000
Or taking the Northern and Middle Islands separately, the amount for the Northern Island would be	130,000
For the Middle Island.....	3,240
The Expenditure on Salaries at present, taking the respective populations of the two races in the whole Colony and calculating the cost per head, is, for Europeans	£2 0 0
For Natives	Three-pence.
Or supposing the current Expenditure of £160,000 on Salaries had been appropriated between the two races in the proportion of the respective populations, the amount payable to Native Officers would be about	£65,000
To European Officers	95,000
	£160,000
	CHARLES KNIGHT, Auditor.

Enclosure 2 in No. 17.

RETURN OF NATIVE ASSESSORS.

[*This Paper being too voluminous for insertion here, is printed in the Appendix.*]

Enclosure 3 in No. 17.

CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING THE SEIZURE OF MR. HAWKE'S PROPERTY.

Auckland, October 3rd, 1861.

SIR,—

I have the honor to state for the information of the Government, that on the 17th or 18th ultimo, during my absence in town from Pukekohe, the following articles of clothing were stolen from my house at the latter place, viz:—

- 1 black cloth coat
- 1 vest
- 5 linen sheets
- 1 dressing case
- 1 ladies' work box, containing jewellery
- 1 muslin pink shirt
- 5 articles ladies' under-clothes
- 3 night dresses
- 4 shirts.

Natives named Tuapuke, Epiha, and another of Tuakau, Lower Waikato, I have every reason to suppose were the parties who stole the goods.

I would therefore request that the above Natives be written to to restore the goods, if in their possession, or to remunerate me for the loss sustained.

I have, &c.,

THOMAS HAWKE.

The Native Secretary, Auckland.

MEMORANDUM.

My reasons for supposing that the parties named in my letter were the persons who stole my property, are founded on the following facts:—

On the night of the 17th or 18th September, Tuapuke, Epiha, and another, came to a neighbour of mine (Godkin) with part of a pig, and sold it to him. It was then late. They wished to stay there for the night, but he would not allow them, as he knew Tuapuke to be a great scoundrel, and had been in prison for robbery. One of the Natives asked Godkin whether my house was locked. I do not know what answer was made by Godkin. They then asked him for the loan of his axe, as they would stay by my house if it was locked, as there was a hut by my house. He lent Tuapuke the axe, which was returned at daybreak next morning; and said that five other Natives had stayed there with them, and had gone on to Auckland. This was said to Godkin while he was in bed, and seems to me rather suspicious, as there was no occasion for his making such a statement, as Godkin made no remark and had no conversation with him, nor did he answer Tuapuke.

Another neighbour of mine, Mr. Roose, got up earlier than usual on that morning, knowing that those Natives had dogs with them, and was afraid they might injure his sheep; but was surprised to find they had all left, so unusually early.

I may also state that the door of my house was locked, and the entrance was made by the window; as I found a "ponga" (stem of the fern-tree) lying outside, which must have been used as a means of getting in at the window, but which could not be climbed by a person having boots on.

THOMAS HAWKE.

October 3rd, 1861.

Native Office, October 7th, 1861.

According to instructions I proceeded on Friday last to the Pukaki settlement, to communicate with the Natives about a robbery, supposed to have been committed by the Natives of Tuakau against a settler of the name of Hawke, residing on Maori ground. The Natives were willing to take the case before the Maori runanga at Ngaruawhia. I thought it my duty to come immediately to report the case, so that the Government should take any steps they may deem necessary.

G. CHARON.

Auckland, November 11th, 1861.

I have the honor to report to you that I visited Tuakau, in company with Hori Tauroa of Ngatiteata, on the 31st ultimo, for the purpose of inquiring into an alleged robbery of a settler, named Thomas Hawke, living at Pukekohe. Having sent for John Godkin, who attended with Elijah Roose and Thomas Hawke, I stated the case to the Natives assembled, and at the request of Thomas Hawke told them that no particular person was charged with this robbery. I then proceeded to take the testimony of the witnesses, which was explained to Tapuke and Potaua, (the two men suspected by the Chiefs), both of whom denied having been at Godkin's house, and pleaded ignorance of the robbery.

Karaipu and other Chiefs expressed their belief that the robbery had been committed by Tuakau Natives, and used all their influence to induce Tapuke and Potaua to confess, and state where the goods had been taken, without producing any effect; and at their request, the investigation was adjourned for further evidence.

I enclose a letter from Karaipu Teaho, with translation.

I have, &c.,

H. HALSE, R. M.

The Native Secretary,
Auckland.

The examination of John Godkin, of Pukekohe, taken on oath this 2nd day of November, 1861, at Tuakau, in the Province of Auckland, before the undersigned, one of Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the Colony of New Zealand, in the presence of Tapuke, and Potaua, for that they, the said Tapuke and Potaua, on or about the 17th of September last, in company with another Native (name not known) went to his house with half a pig which he bought and paid for. After that, they asked to be allowed to sleep at his house, which he refused. They then borrowed his axe, and having asked him whether the Hawkes' were home, left and proceeded in the direction of Mr. Thomas Hawke's house.

J. B. GODKIN.

The above deposition of John B. Godkin was taken before me at Tuakau on the day and year first above mentioned.

H. HALSE,

Resident Magistrate.

Elijah Roose, on his oath, saith that on or about the evening of the 17th of September last, he saw three Natives, Tapuke, Potaua, and another (name not known) near Mr. Godkin's house.

ELIJAH ROOSE.

Sworn before me at Tuakau, this 2nd day of November, 1861.

H. HALSE,

Resident Magistrate.

[TRANSLATION.]

A statement about the property of a Pakeha, at Pukekohe, stolen on the 17th or 18th of September.

Tuakau, November 2nd, 1861.

On the 1st of November, the investigation commenced and continued for two days. The Pakeha (Mr. Halse) and myself, endeavoured to find out from the three men suspected where the goods had been secreted, in order that they might be produced and laid before us and the Native Assessors.

Present:—Mr. Halse,
" Tamihana Te Uira,

Hori Tauroa,
Ropiha Te Pakaru.

Do not imagine that we lean towards the thieves. We are not pleased with the bad conduct of the undermentioned persons:—Tapuke, Potaua, Kupe. We support, or believe the statement made by the Europeans.

The delay is owing to the want of evidence. We wish to see one little article as a clue to the rest, and when discovered, Assessors appointed by the Governor are here, to look into such matters. When we and the Assessors are worn out with trying to discover this robbery, the matter will be placed in your hands.

We are steadily searching for the stolen property. That is all from your friend,

KARAIPU TE AHO.

To Mr. Smith, Auckland.

TRANSLATIONS.

[This letter is from the Native Chiefs Tarahawaiki of the Ngatimahuta tribe, nearly related to the late Chief Potatau Te Wherowhero, and Witarā, one of the principal men of the Runanga.—T. H. S.]

Friend Karaipu,—

Ngaruawahia,

November 14th, 1861.

Salutations to you, that is to you all. This is our word to you, with respect to those goods,—carefully enquire into the matter, and demand them from those men. Attend to it yourselves: it will not be good for the Pakehas to do it; you must do it yourselves. That is our thought which you express, it will not be good for the Pakehas to take it into their hands. This is an old word, from the commencement of this work: it is not of to-day. Enough.

From the Runanga of Ngaruawahia, and

From WITARA, and

TARAHAWAIKI.

[This letter is signed by two Chiefs of the Maori Runanga at Meremere, Lower Waikato, belonging respectively to the Ngatikoroki and Ngatinaho tribes, and I was informed that it was received by the Tuakau Chiefs as a genuine communication from the Runanga.—T. H. S.]

Te Kohekohe,

November 7th, 1861.

Go our letter to Karaipu, or rather to all the Runanga; seek for one of you who is absent. Friends, salutations to you in the grace of our Lord in Heaven. Friends, work properly at the good rules laid down by our Lord in Heaven, and let them be rules for us, for your letter has reached us and we have seen the fault. There are two things (faults) we have seen: your consenting or permitting to come*; the other was your allowing the word of that man† to stand; you did not beat down that word, saying “to leave it to the Governor.” And now listen to our words: we will not agree to that word (kaore matou e pai ki taua kupu). But you see to it; do not let this offence remain to tie (entangle) us. Let not that offence be a pattern for us for the time to come; cease to give over your offences for the Pakeha to investigate; rather let us seek out a plan for ourselves from the Scriptures, as there has been a man appointed to make regulations for us, for our eyes to look upon, lest we be made a trouble to the Pakehas.

Friends, we do not approve of yielding this offence or crime to the Pakehas. We are dark because of that word. You had better work at (see to) it yourselves.

From ERAINIA,

From HEREWINI,

That is from all the Runanga.

* The meaning is not clear. I understand it as expressing disapproval of allowing the case to be enquired into by a European Magistrate. Thus, “We blame you for two things: for consenting to or permitting such an enquiry, and not rejecting the proposal of the Magistrate to refer the matter to the Governor.”—T. H. S.

† Mr. Halse.

Waiuku,

November 18th, 1861.

SIR,—

Since you left Tuakau the Natives have had several meetings amongst themselves, the result of which is, they have discovered the perpetrators of the robbery at Mr. Thomas Hawke's, and a portion of the property; the parties suspected and accused were the right ones, notwithstanding their *whaka-wareware*. There were four, Te Tapuki, Potaua, Eparaima and Kupe. A chemise was handed to Tamihana, who immediately took it to Mr. Hawke, who recognized it as a portion of the property stolen.

I take the liberty of mentioning the foregoing circumstances, that you may be a little enlightened if it should be your intention of going again to Tuakau.

I have, &c.,

H. Halse, Esq., R.M.,
Waiuku.

C. MARSHALL.

FROM TAMIHANA TE UIRA TO MR. HALSE.

This korero is about those things which were stolen, which matter was investigated by you. I have found it (discovered the thieves). I made enquiries twice after you left, and at last I was told who they were by Harriet Maiho (Marshall). The men who stole them were three in number, the same three that were named by the Pakehas. Those thieves have acknowledged their guilt. This is to say that the matter rests with you; write and let me know your decision.

From TAMIHANA TE UIRA.

MR. HAWKE TO MR. SMITH.

Pukekohe, November 27th, 1861.

SIR,—

In accordance with the desire of the Tuakau Chiefs, I beg to inform you that the robbery committed about the 18th September last on my house, has been compensated.

Chiefs:—Thomson, Ropiha, Epihi, Karaipu.

I have, &c.,

THOMAS HAWKE.

Tuakau, November 29th, 1861.

FRIEND,—

Salutations to you. I have a word to say to you. The offence of the men who stole Thomas Hawke's things has been atoned for. Potaua and Te Tapuke gave into his hands as payment one horse and £15, which the Pakeha accepted. There is one thief remaining, he has gone away, that is the reason; however, it is arranged that he is to pay £15. I am coming to Auckland soon. Enough upon that.

This is another word to you. Give Pera some food. You consider him, for it was I sent him to take the letter to you on the subject of this great offence.

From your loving friend,

To Mr. Smith, Auckland.

TE ROIPIHA TE RAIPIHAU.

Te Pukatea, November 29th, 1861.

FRIEND,—

Salutations to you. This korero is about the things belonging to the Pakeha, Thomas Hawke, which were stolen by the men of Tuakau. On my return from Waiuku, I went to Tuakau. I went to fetch the Pakeha whose goods were stolen, and then I demanded payment from the thieves for the goods, but they would not consent. I insisted, and then they consented to pay; one gave a horse as payment, and the other £15. The Pakeha to whom the things belonged agreed to accept this payment, and he took it away with him. One of the thieves has gone away somewhere; he will return again soon; he is to pay £15; it will be paid some time hence; I will demand it. The amount altogether is £45. Friend, judge you, and if you consider the matter settled, write to me. I have come to Pukatea from Tuakau, but am returning again to Tuakau. Enough.

From your loving friend,

To Mr. Smith.

TAMIHANA TE UIRA.

No. 18.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

No. 40.

Government House,
Auckland, December 6th 1861.

My Lord Duke,

In the terms offered to the Natives at the Waitara in April last, it was stated that the investigation of the title and the survey of the land at Waitara were to be continued and completed without interruption; when the rights of those who might prove a title to any part of the piece of the land would be respected.

2. I have now the the honor to enclose the copy of a letter from the Superintendent of the Province of Wellington, containing a map, of the general accuracy of which he says there is no doubt; if such prove to be the case it seems that Te Teira and those who sold the land to the Government are only entitled to about one tenth part of such land.

I enclose a copy of a letter from the Chief Renata.

I have &c.,

His Grace

The Duke of Newcastle K. G.

&c. &c. &c

G. GREY,

Enclosure No. 1.—The Superintendent of Wellington to the Colonial Secretary, 26th Oct., 1861, with map.

Enclosure No. 2.—Renata to the Governor, 19th Aug., 1862.

Enclosure 1 in No. 18.

Superintendent's Office,
Wellington, 26th October 1861.

SIR,—

I have the honor to enclose a tracing of a map of the Waitara* which I shall feel obliged by your handing to His Excellency Sir George Grey.

* This map will be lithographed.

The map was drawn by Horomona Te Ahu and Hira Maeke. The latter was connected for a considerable time with the survey. He is up to ordinary work, but would fall short of scientific accuracy. I am assured that there is no doubt of the general accuracy of the map. Te Patukakariki, Hone Tuimata, and all the leading men, spent a week over the map with a view to ensuring its correctness. The portions belonging to Teira and the sellers are marked *, and comprise about one tenth.

I have, &c.

The Honorable
Colonial Secretary.

I. E. FEATHERSTON,
Superintendent.

Enclosure 2 in No. 18.

Heretaunga, August 19th 1861.

FRIEND THE GOVERNOR,—

Salutations to you. When we heard of your arrival at our place, we made haste to write to send you our love, and let you know of our joy at your arrival. Friend, welcome. Come and set straight the works which were confusedly done by that (other) Governor. Friend, it was not that we were equally in fault: no, the Governor alone was to blame (or did wrong), and we are still of the same opinion. When the war was ended he continued to demand payment for the Pakehas who were slain and for the goods (plunder). We said that this was also wrong; that a double dealer was not fit for a judge (or investigator.) We also said that a new man should come from England to investigate the matter and ascertain who was in fault, the Governor or Wiremu Kingi: when the error was ascertained it would be seen who was to pay. If the Maories were proved to be in the wrong, the Maories should pay; if the Governor was proved to be in the wrong, the Governor should pay for the things destroyed during that disturbance. Friend, this was what we said in the letter that we sent to you. Friend, if you should decide upon investigating that Waitara disturbance, write a letter to us that we may know: and if there is to be an investigation we will go there, but let us not be sent for for any other matter, but only for that which has reference to Waitara. Enough.

From your loving friends,

RENATA TAMAKIHUKURANGI,
KARAITIANA TAKAMOANA,
TAREHA,
NOA HUKU,
WIRIHANA TOATOA.

No. 19.

No. 41.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF
NEWCASTLE.

Government House, Auckland,
6th December, 1861.

MY LORD DUKE,—

In my despatch No. 15 of the 2nd of November last, I reported my intention to proceed to the Bay of Islands, Waimate, Hokianga, and other places in the Northern District of this Colony, for the purpose of introducing the proposed Native Institutions amongst the tribes in those localities.

2. I am glad to say that the visit was in all respects a successful one; and that I have every hope that in the course of January next, nearly the whole of the Natives of that part of the country which lies between Auckland and the North Cape—that is, of the whole Northern part of this Island—will be in possession and exercise of a complete system of local self-government which will quite meet their wants. Their example will exercise much influence over the other parts of the Island.

I have, &c.,

G. GREY.

Enclosed extract from
"New Zealander," 16th
Nov., 1862.

P.S. I have enclosed for your Grace an article from one of the local journals, which gives some details of the proceedings which took place in the North of this Island; and I should wish to add that I was particularly struck by the great number of children I saw amongst the Natives, compared to what I had seen in former years, as also by the great apparent improvement in the health of the Native population; I saw few or no cases of the dreadful scrofulous sores which were formerly so prevalent amongst them. I am by no means convinced that the race is now dying out.

I have, &c.,

G. GREY.

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, K.G.,
&c., &c., &c.

Enclosure 1 in No. 19.

EXTRACT FROM THE "NEW ZEALANDER," AUCKLAND, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 16TH, 1861.

Governor Sir George Grey's visit to the North.

His Excellency returned from his visit to the North on Thursday at 5½ p.m.; the "Pelorus" having made the run from Kororareka in thirteen hours. His Excellency's reception was, we understand, most satisfactory, Natives and Europeans vying with each other to do him honour. From a gentleman who was in the North at the time, we have gathered the following particulars:—

The "Pelorus," carrying His Excellency the Governor, General Cameron and suite, and Mr. Fox the Colonial Secretary, left Auckland on the afternoon of the 3rd inst. She made Kawau harbour at sunset, when the gallant and hospitable Commodore brought her to an anchor in order that the party might dine in smooth water; and next morning at daylight she proceeded on her voyage under light steam, coming to her anchorage at Kororareka at 5½ p.m., on Tuesday. His Excellency landed immediately for an hour, and arrangements were made for the proceedings of the following day; the party then returned to the ship for the night. On Wednesday His Excellency went ashore at 10 a.m., when he was received by the whole population, white and Maori. He immediately proceeded to a marquee which had been erected on a patch of grass near the beach, in front of which a large body of Natives, men, women, and children were assembled. Here the Natives presented an address and made several speeches of welcome, and His Excellency in reply gave the outline of the system of government he intended to introduce among them, (of which we gave a sketch in a previous number,) and which was received with marks of great satisfaction. The remainder of the day was consumed in receiving a congratulatory address from the European settlers, and in paying visits to the remarkable spots in the neighbourhood—among others to the flag-staff hill where lie the remains of the old, and where stands in its integrity the new, flagstaff made famous by Heke's war of 1846.

The following morning His Excellency and party proceeded in the boats of the "Pelorus" to Keri Keri, where a large gathering of Natives awaited him, and where he again explained his purposed plans. Thence, after luncheon had been partaken of at the hospitable houses of the European residents, the party proceeded towards Waimate, escorted by about 200 horsemen; and when about a couple of miles from that place they were met by 200 more, riding in military order and with the Union Jack flying. The meeting of the two parties, the bright sunshine, the cheers and cries of welcome, "*haere mai, haere mai*," to which the Natives gave voice, made the scene extremely animated and striking. Arrived at Waimate, the Governor proceeded to the residence of George Clarke, Esq., where he remained for the night. Next day a large and very interesting meeting was held on the lawn in front of Mr. Clarke's house, when Sir George again explained his plans, and was again greeted by countless "welcomes," *waiatus*, and Native speeches. In the afternoon His Excellency and suite rode out to Lake Mawhe, and inspected the Government land in that district, visiting also Ohaeowai pah, one of the homes of our faithful ally, Tamati Waka.

The following morning the party proceeded on horseback to Hokianga; when, on one of the tributary creeks of that noble river, they were met by J. Webster, Esq., and a fleet of boats manned by fine crews of Natives and Half-castes. Then they proceeded to Mr. Webster's beautiful residence, the very *beau ideal* of a Colonial home, standing on a jutting headland, embosomed in the greenest and most lovely foliage, and approached through hedgerows of roses, geraniums, and other bright flowers of spring. A salute from two big guns, followed by a *feu-de-joie* from some 200 fowling pieces and other arms, announced his Excellency's arrival; and the whole party, amounting to some twenty in number, became Mr. Webster's guests during their stay on the river. The following day being Sunday was spent in quiet repose. The next day (Monday) on which a great meeting had been planned, proved wet and stormy; so business was postponed till the Tuesday morning, when His Excellency proceeded to Herd's Point, about two miles lower down the river. Here at least 1,500 Natives were assembled; and on His Excellency's boat approaching the shore, a mock war-dance was executed with all the vigour, noise, and gesture, which usually accompany that remarkable species of welcome. His Excellency having landed, spent some time in visiting the numerous Natives who were scattered in small parties on the grass: and it was not till afternoon,—when they had consumed some fifty or sixty *yards* of pigs, potatoes, and beef—that they assembled for the korero. Very full explanations, given by His Excellency, evoked much discussion, led by Arama Karaka and other principal chiefs. Towards sunset the meeting broke up, and His Excellency's party returned to Mr. Webster's. On the following morning they were in the boats (after an early breakfast) by seven—in the saddle by nine—reached Pakaraka by two p.m., where the Venerable Archdeacon H. Williams met His Excellency, and where lunch was provided and eaten; by seven o'clock the party were all again on board the "Pelorus," off Kororareka. The following morning at daylight the anchor was up, and the same afternoon the gallant ship reached our harbour. His Excellency did not land till late in the evening, and then privately without a salute.

The Natives, we understand, were very greatly pleased at His Excellency's proposed plans for their better government; and were loud in their petitions for Europeans to be sent into the district, and for townships to be created; a work which we trust soon to see accomplished by the Provincial Government, in whose hands, we hear, the General Government will immediately place the large tracts of land both at the Bay and at Hokianga, which the late Ministry have for so long a time kept uselessly locked up.

Before His Excellency's departure, we understand that Mr. George Clarke was appointed Civil Commissioner of the District, and Mr. Edward Williams a Resident Magistrate. Mr. Clendon will be removed to Hokianga. The machinery of government proposed by His Excellency will,

under these officers and Mr. White of Mongonui, be immediately put in operation, and before many weeks are over will, we doubt not, be in efficient working order.

Thus, satisfactorily, has the first step been taken. The next, we hear, will be into Waikato, as early as the necessary arrangements for starting can be made. The policy of bringing the Government and the Natives "face to face" will then be fairly tested, with what success we think there is little reason to doubt.

No. 20.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

No. 42.

Government House,
Auckland, 7th December, 1861.

MY LORD DUKE,—

Enclosure.—Minute.
Mr. Fox, 6th Dec., 1861.

Printed separately *Scss.*
Pap., 1862, E—No. 2.]

I have the honor to transmit a Minute by the New Zealand Ministry upon the present state of Native affairs in this Island. You will be glad to see how much their views agree with those I have already reported to your Grace upon this subject. I beg to call attention to the opinion expressed by the New Zealand Ministers, that in their opinion the General Assembly may possibly hesitate to admit its entire liability for the past management of the Natives, or its consequences, including the late war and whatever may be the sequel of events directly flowing from it.

I have, &c.,
G. GREY.

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, K.G.
&c., &c., &c.

No. 21.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Government House,
Auckland, 7th December, 1861.

MY LORD DUKE,—

Separate.

Enclosure.—H. Monro to
the Native Secretary, 1st
March, 1862.

In order that Her Majesty's Government may be able to judge of the necessity and propriety of the measures that may be adopted in this country, it is requisite that they should understand the temper and feeling towards each other of its several races of inhabitants, their want of confidence in each other, and the care and suspicion with which they watch each others' proceedings.

2. The enclosed paper, connected with my predecessor's confidential Despatch of the 2nd of March last, will illustrate this subject. The want of confidence evinced by the Natives in our intentions and proceedings is now such, that I find great difficulty in dealing with them.

3. The accusations made against the Roman Catholic Bishop in this paper, are in my opinion mere nonsense, but they show the state of feeling in the country. I regard in the same manner the accusations made against others of Her Majesty's subjects, but the state of feeling which springs from such a want of confidence, is a real and very embarrassing fact.

I have, &c.,
G. GREY.

Enclosure in No. 21.

LETTER FROM MR. H. MONRO TO THE NATIVE SECRETARY.

Native Secretary's Office,
Auckland, March 1, 1861.

SIR,—

I have the honor to report that, in accordance with your instructions, I proceeded on board the ship "Zealandia," yesterday evening. I reached the ship at 9, p.m. Mr. Moffat and Mr. Webster got on board at the same time, from another boat. We waited until about 11, when all being quiet on board, Mr. Moffat and Mr. Webster went off to the Native schooner and brought the Native Whare (Tomo's son) on board. He was taken by Moffat into one of the cabins, I being in the adjoining one; spirits being placed upon the table he freely helped himself, after which he became talkative; on his first entrance he had spoken low and was somewhat reserved. He looked round the cabin and admired the build of the vessel, and observed that the French were evidently superior to the English in the art of ship building. Having expressed a wish to see the arms and ammunition which he had been informed were on board, he was taken into an adjoining cabin, where the arms belonging to the vessel were kept; on seeing which he expressed his satisfaction, but said there were not many. Moffat, who represented the captain of the ship, said that there were eight French ships at the Bay of Islands, having on board a great quantity, which seemed greatly to please him. The following is what I gathered from the conversation that followed, which was carried on in a jargon half English half Maori.

A great many Natives were collected about Tamahere; according to Whare's statement, 8000. Wiremu Tamihana was at Tamahere; the statement that he had gone to Taranaki was made to

mislead the Government. A road had been quietly and expeditiously cut through the bush, terminating somewhere behind Drury, and the whole of the Natives had entered into a plot to attack Auckland and the out settlements simultaneously. He mentioned the name of almost every Chief of note in the Waikato and on the coast as being a party to it: all the French in the island were aware of it; and both Bishop Pompallier and Father Garavel not only approved of it, but had instigated it. A Native named Watarea, at present residing at Bishop Pompallier's, was appointed to mark all the houses of the French in Auckland, in order that they might be known and spared. Bishop Pompallier and the Priests were in constant communication with the conspirators, and he had advised them to clear off all the English, and when that was done, to invite the French to take possession of New Zealand, and that such was their intention; that several Europeans at Waikato and the Bay of Plenty were in the secret, among others, he mentioned a man named Cowell; that these Europeans were in the habit of supplying the Natives with arms. He omitted Wiremu Nero's name from the list of those in the plot, but stated that the guns supplied to him by the Government were in the hands of the disaffected Natives; he also said that Taraia was against the conspiracy, but that his whole tribe was in favour of it, and that if he did not yield, they would put him out of the way. He also stated that there were three deserters at Tamahere, that they had sold their arms and accoutrements to the Natives for £1 each. The plan decided upon for the attack on the town was:—The whole force was to be concentrated for the grand attack upon Auckland, but they were to leave a sufficient number to kill all the settlers at such places as Maketu, Tauranga, &c. The attack upon Auckland was to be the signal for a general attack upon all the other places; the Ngapuhi and Kaipara Natives were also to join. Ihaka Takaanini during his trip to the Bay had ascertained their sentiments and secured their co-operation, and vessels professing to trade for kauri gum were constantly passing to and fro carrying powder. Wi Maihi Te Rangikaheke acted as a spy on the Government, and supplied the Natives with all the information he could gather. He stated that the Natives had a great deal of money on hand, and an immense quantity of wheat and other produce; that Tomo had taken £1000 to Tauranga for the purchase of arms, but had taken the most of it back, leaving only £300 there; that he, Whare, received letters from and sent letters to Tamahere, every day, that mounted messengers who rode day and night conveyed these letters backward and forward. The arrangement between Whare and Moffat was, that the "Zealandia" (supposed by Whare to be a French vessel) was to sail for Tauranga on Saturday next, taking the Maori schooner in tow, and that those from the Bay of Islands were to follow. They were to land the arms, &c., at Tauranga, and Wiremu Tamihana, Tomo and party were to start for that place to receive them as soon as Whare had written to say that he had seen the arms with his own eyes, and that the vessels were on the point of sailing. The conversation lasted from about eleven last night until near three this morning.

I have, &c.,

The Native Secretary,
Auckland.

HENRY MONRO.

No. 22.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF
NEWCASTLE.

No. 44.

Government House,
Auckland, 8th December, 1861.

MY LORD DUKE,—

In my despatch No. 24 of the 23rd ultimo, I enclosed the copy of a letter I had received from William Thomson regarding the seizure of three casks of spirits on board a Native vessel.

2. This circumstance appeared to me to afford a good opportunity for explaining to Thompson and his tribe the nature of the institutions I proposed to introduce into the country, and how the Natives might hereafter legally perform such acts as they had done in the case which had happened.

Enclosure 1.—Mr. Gorst
to Mr. Fox, 2nd Dec.,
1861.

3. I therefore lost no time in despatching Mr. Gorst to the Upper Waikato, charged with the duty of fully explaining to Thompson the scope and object of my plans.

Enclosure 2.—Mr. Gorst
to Mr. Fox, 5th Dec.,
1861.

4. I now enclose for Your Grace's information copies of two very interesting letters which have just been received from Mr. Gorst, detailing his proceedings up to the 5th instant.

5. Early to-morrow morning, I intend to start for the Lower Waikato, there to meet a number of the principal Chiefs. My future proceedings will in a great measure depend upon what transpires at that meeting; and I regret that, as the English mail sails early to-morrow morning, I shall not be able to report the result to you by this opportunity.

I have, &c.,

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, K.G.,
&c., &c., &c.

G. GREY.

Enclosure 1 in No. 22.

Arikima, 2nd December, 1861.

MY DEAR MR. FOX,—

We arrived at Peria after a protracted and muddy journey, on Thursday afternoon, and had a long talk with Wm. Thompson in the evening. At the first hint of there being any illegality in his proceedings about the importation of spirits, he broke in with a full account of all his dealings with the Frenchman, Ruia, and other Europeans, against whom he brought similar complaints. It is extraordinary how very legal all that he has done has been; he had agreements signed by Ruia and

the others promising to pay one pound for every Maori that they made drunk: and it was in accordance with these agreements that fines were inflicted. Ruia's kegs of spirits have not been "seized," they are only detained by the owners of the vessel. Thompson says that he finds great fault with the captain for not having at once sent them back on shore again, when he found out what Ruia had put on board; but the captain gave him notice that he left them at his own peril, and that they would not be given up to him at Piako. I explained to Thomson that he and his Runanga could do nothing with the spirits without committing an unlawful act, and then pointed out how the traffic in spirits could be legally suppressed, and how much the Government desired to assist them in promoting the good of their people. Thompson replied that he had long looked for Government assistance, and had looked in vain, and had now tried to set up a system of his own. He said that that the *weka*, once escaped from the snare, was not easily caught again. I said that no one desired to deceive them, and I would tell him frankly all that the Governor wished to do; that, if they did not choose to have our help, the Governor would find others to occupy himself with, and that they would see others advance in civilization, and themselves left behind. I then explained the whole of the Governor's scheme to the best of my ability, and especially impressed upon him that the Governor would make the law a bulwark for them and for their children for ever. He seemed much impressed, and I fancied very much pleased: but he only observed that it was a very serious question, and one that the Chiefs of Waikato would have to decide,—that the young men could be managed easily enough, but the old men would give trouble. On Friday, we went down together to the school, and had some further conversation, and I stayed at the school that night. On Saturday, I did not go near Thompson, as I thought it better not to seem to press him. On Sunday, we went up in the morning to Peria; Thompson said that Tioriori had been there on Saturday, and that they both agreed in opinion about what I had said. They liked the Governor's plans very much, everything except the idea of submitting to the Queen, and sending their laws for the Governor's assent. Tioriori wanted us to go over to Arikima, and he (Thomson) would accompany us; we could there tell the Governor's plans to the Chiefs, and they would all consider about them: but he still intimated that he would not accept them unless all Waikato agreed to do so. I thought it therefore best to accept this invitation, as the majority of the Ngatihaua tribe is now cultivating in the neighbourhood of Arikima. Tioriori has summoned a number of people from the neighbourhood to come here to-night, and we are to have a Runanga on the subject of the Governor's scheme.

Tuesday, December 3rd.

The meeting lasted the greater part of the night. The first subject of discussion was, whether they should accept an invitation of Walter Kūkai's to go and meet the Governor, and whether they should invite him to come to Ngaruawahia or Tamahere. Most of the opinions seemed favourable: but a Runanga does not divide or come to a definite decision. They then proceeded to discuss the object of my being sent to Wm. Thompson. I again explained the Governor's plans, and gave four reasons for having his assent to their laws: (1) that they might be published for the benefit of everyone in the country; (2) that all conflict of laws might be avoided, so that the law would be one; (3) that, as their laws often concerned Europeans as well as Maories, the Governor should assent on behalf of the Europeans that the laws might be binding on all; (4) that the Queen might be pledged to maintain their laws, so that they would stand for ever. The first and third reasons appeared to produce conviction, and they all declared that they agreed to have the Governor's assent to their laws. Thompson made a speech, expressing his approval of the plan, but then he said that Matutaera's consent as well as the Governor's should be obtained, and he asked if I thought there was anything wrong in that? I replied that I could not call it either right or wrong, it was simply useless; if the Governor and the Runanga agreed, who cared about Matutaera's opinion? I said I had shown him the good produced by the Governor's agreement, and challenged him to show the good produced by Matutaera's opinion being given except as a member of the Runanga. He would give no reply. But he said that if the King and the flag were left, all the rest would be assented to by the whole of Waikato.

As the flag was mentioned, I said I had a message from the Governor about it, which I gave him. He still persisted in saying "Let the Runanga make the laws, and let them be assented to by the Governor and Matutaera, and then be established." Please send me instructions upon this subject.

There was a great deal of discussion about letters sent to Auckland by Heta from the Rapa, and by Andrew Patene from Karakariki; Thompson was very angry about them, and said that they were full of falsehoods. The Runanga at Ngaruawahia has been lately publishing a law requiring all cattle travelling through the country to have passports, to check cattle-stealing. The chief reason against inviting the Governor which they all alleged, was the want of food, which is scarce, as I can testify by experience. They had a letter of Mr. Ashwell, saying that the Governor did not care about that. I did not like to offer any food, as they are easily offended at anything that looks like an attempt to bribe. Palmer says that the whole discussion about meeting the Governor turned, not on whether they should meet him or not, but upon how they could do so without giving offence to other tribes; and that their opinion leaned to having him at Tamahere. I feel certain that Thompson and his tribe are sincerely desirous of having law established; they have all declared that they are anxious that I should remain here to show them the law, but they have the fear of Ngatimaniapoto before their eyes.

Since writing the above, I have had a little more talk with Thompson; he says they agree to the laws being made by the Runanga Maori, and assented to by the Governor and Matutaera; but he will not say more till he has been to Tamahere. He says "in the multitude of councillors there is safety." Thompson, who is looking on as I write, begs me to add that he pledges himself to nothing till he has been at Tamahere and Ngaruawahia.

I have, &c.,

The Hon. W. Fox.

J. E. GORST.

Enclosure 2 in No. 22.

Taupiri, December 5th, 1861.

MY DEAR MR. FOX,—

Since writing my last letter, which I sent off immediately on arrival at Tamahere, things have taken a rather unfortunate turn. There was a large meeting of the Ngatihaua tribe at Tamahere, on the night of Tuesday, December 3rd; we were sent for to the meeting soon after the proceedings had begun, and Thompson, as soon as we came in, repeated to us what he had told the meeting; he appeared thoroughly to comprehend the point of my errand, and had put it better than I could have done myself. Almost all the speeches were unfavourable. They only talked about the king and flag: I told Thompson, beside whom I was sitting, that there was no message from the Governor about the flag, until they had considered and accepted his proposals for their government, and that I had only mentioned it to him because I wished to be frank and keep nothing back. He at once got up and stopped all discussion on that subject. The drift of all their speeches was that they would not come back under the *mana* of the Queen. A man named Paora, a younger brother of Wetini's, made a very strong speech, abusing all the past acts of the British Government from the Treaty of Waitangi downwards; he asked me whose *mana* they would be under if they agreed to the scheme of the Governor. I replied that I knew and cared very little about *manas* as long as I lived under good laws; but I supposed they would be under the joint *mana* of the Runanga and the Governor. Paora said that we Europeans should come under the *mana* of the Maori King, and send our laws for his assent. I said I had shown the troubles that might arise out of the present system, and I challenged them to show me in what way that proposed by the Governor was unjust. This I repeated several times, but no one would give any direct answer. They would not argue: they only cried out, like the Assembly at Ephesus, for the space of two hours, "Great is King Matutaera of the Maoris." A few took our side; Thompson remained neutral, except that he repeated his proverb about the escaped *weka*, and declared that he would be guided by their opinion. As soon as the talk was over, it was civilly hinted that they had other subjects to discuss, and we had better go to bed; so we wished them good night and separated on very good terms.

Next morning, I had private talks with one or two, and a very long and friendly one with Paora. He said he had no fault to find with me, except that I should stick to teaching schools and give up justicing; that they had been so often *mamingatia'd*, that if they assented to this they feared they would be so again. He softened down wonderfully in conversation, said the Governor's plan was just, only Matutaera should assent to laws as well as he; but intimated that they could not agree to anything till they heard what the men across the river (Ngatimaniapoto) thought. Then he said all this was nothing, for he still held by what he said the night before. Several have told me and Palmer that Thompson highly approves, and that if I can only make it thus—"Let the Runanga make laws, and the Governor and Matutaera assent"—all will agree. I have told them that no one expects the plans to be assented to in a day, but that I am certain they will be at last, because they are right and just. Thompson said yesterday that I had heard what the men at Tamahere and Ariki had said; now he was going to Ngaruawahia, and I should hear what they said there, and then he would give me his reply. He said there would be another meeting at Tamahere last night, at which we were not required, as it would not concern us; but I should meet them at Ngaruawahia. So I came here yesterday afternoon, in order to write you a further story. What am I to do, if Thompson positively rejects me after the meeting to-night, and no other opening arises? I will remain about these parts in any case to get your answer next week. Could the Governor say to the Natives that he left it to them to express their assent to laws in any way they pleased? All he cared for was to be satisfied of their agreement: then he would give his sanction, and the law would be established. This would be strictly legal according to the 6th section of the "Native Districts Regulation Act, 1858." I asked Thompson what would happen if the Governor and Thompson agreed to a law, and Matutaera refused his assent? He said such a case could not arise.

I have not tried to precipitate matters, or sought the meeting at Ngaruawahia. I told Thompson my errand was to Ngatihaua; he said that we must go to Ngaruawahia, and I raised no objection. I have hitherto been passive in his hands. If the meeting to-night refuses, I shall then urge him to dissolve all connexion with such foolish men.

I have, &c.,

J. E. GORST.

The Hon. W. Fox,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 23.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF
NEWCASTLE.Government House,
Auckland, 7th January, 1862.

No. 2.

MY LORD DUKE,—

I have the honor to enclose for your information Extracts from the local Journals, shewing, with sufficient completeness, the results of visits which I have made to different parts of the districts lying adjacent to the lower portion of the Waikato River.

2. Your Grace will find that, upon the whole, there is great reason to be satisfied with the state of the feelings of the Tribes who inhabit those districts which I have visited.

3. I saw several of the leading Chiefs from the upper portions of the Waikato River. They were all perfectly friendly, and courteous in their language and demeanour. Some of them expressed

Enclosure No. 1.—Ex-
tracts from newspaper.

Sec. II.

their intention in every way to aid the British Government; others of them, however, shewed a quiet determination resolutely to adhere to the position they had taken, and to strive to live in their own territory under officers of their own, and free from our rule. They said that they would in no way attack us, or interfere with us, but that they would not again return under the Government of the country. That they thought that their interests had been neglected, that lands had been wrongly taken from them, and that many promises had not been fulfilled. That they had freed themselves from our rule, and that we should find it as difficult to draw them back under it as the fowler did to catch the bird which had escaped from a snare. In many conversations which I had with various Chiefs, they urged the same arguments; when I told them that the acts complained of occurred from oversight, and would not be repeated. They replied, that there were cases in which lands had been disposed of to the Government as long since as 1853, upon the express condition that Crown titles should be given to the Native owners for small portions of these lands, which they were to retain, and that such promises had not up to the present date been fulfilled. Indeed, they shewed an entire distrust and want of confidence in the Government.

4. It was impossible to extract from such Chiefs of the Upper Waikato, and there were those most friendly to us, any guarantee for the continuance of the present state of tranquillity: although they promised not to attack us, they had no means of forcing other Natives to observe this promise. Their object evidently was to prevent us from making any movement whatever, and to leave matters exactly in their present state, which is an extremely advantageous one for the Natives. The local Government had some time since informed the Native Chiefs, that it had no intention of advancing Troops to the south of Otahuhu, a village where they were quartered, about 9 miles from Auckland, and about 27 miles from the River Waikato. The country intervening between Otahuhu and the Waikato was only open by an available road for about 12 miles, leaving nearly 15 miles of the entire distance impassable for Troops in rainy weather. The Waikato bounds, on its southern side, what may be called the Settlement of Auckland, for about 25 or 30 miles. The Natives, consequently, had the power of descending the Waikato River in large bodies at any moment, and of choosing any point of these 25 or 30 miles as that from which they would make an attack on this important and flourishing Settlement: whilst we had no line of communication by which we could push Troops on to the Waikato River for the purpose either of attack or defence.

5. The Natives, therefore, completely held the game in their own hand. We had not moved Troops to the front, or attempted to make roads, for fear our doing so would lead to an attack: whilst, on the other hand, we could not move Troops from hence to protect other parts of the New Zealand Islands, lest the country near Auckland should be instantly attacked in force by the line of the Waikato River, which drains an immense extent of interior country, and down which large bodies of Natives can at any time be brought at a few hours' notice. In fact, we were almost checkmated. The settlers, feeling this, were afraid to continue their operations, and many of them were abandoning their farms, so that the progress of the country was almost at a stand still. The Natives were also aware of it, and hence ventured to assume a demeanour which, I think, they otherwise would not have done.

6. It appeared impossible to allow such a state of things longer to continue: and as the country between Auckland and the Waikato had been purchased from the Natives, there was little difficulty in assuming to ourselves exactly those advantages now held by the Natives, and of placing them in a position of decided inferiority. I, therefore, wrote the enclosed letter to Lieut.-General Cameron, requesting that he would move the Troops from Otahuhu to the line of the Waikato, and employ them in completing the road from Auckland to that river, and in putting it in such a state that Troops could move rapidly along it at all seasons of the year. Your Grace will find from the enclosed answer from General Cameron, that the Troops were moved accordingly, and that the road is now in process of construction. Care will also be taken to select a good site for a Military Post on the banks of the Waikato River, in such a position as to command the river, and prevent, if necessary, the passage of canoes along that part of the river which lies between its mouth and the western boundary of our purchased land.

7. We shall thus hold a position equally adapted for the purpose of attack or defence. The Natives will not venture to pass such a Post in their canoes for the purpose of attacking the Settlement of Auckland in its rear; and as the Post will be only about 40 miles from the residence of their so-called King, and the Waikato River will lie quite open to our attacks at any moment, I do not think they would venture to move any large force from the Waikato River to commence operations in any other part of the Colony, when we have completed the road, and occupy the position I propose. I need hardly point out how much this Settlement will be benefited by the construction of such a road, and how much easier it will hereafter be to rescue and defend the out-settlers if any necessity for so doing should arise.

8. The measure I have above detailed has, I think, had a very good effect upon the Natives: and I cannot believe that they will attempt to prevent by force the construction of a road upon our own land, and the establishment also upon our own land of a Post for the protection of our own settlers. If they really do so, it would shew that they were determined to renew a contest with us, which would be brought on at their own time, and at such place as they might select when they might deem us most unprepared for it. Such a show of weakness on our part as our not daring to provide for our own safety must have led them ultimately to assail us. Whilst, on the other hand, I think they will respect us for taking the decided line of conduct which has now been pursued.

I have, &c.,

G. GREY.

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, K. G.,
&c. &c., &c.

Enclosure No. 2.—Letter from Tamati Ngapora, 3rd Oct., 1860, with reply (same date) from the Governor.

Enclosure No. 3.—Sir G. Grey to General Cameron, 19th Dec., 1861.

General Cameron to Sir G. Grey, 24th Dec., 1861.

Enclosure 1 in No. 23.

[These Newspaper Extracts are not officially recorded. The official account of the speeches during Governor Grey's visit to Waikato is printed separately, Sess. Pap. 1862, E—No. 8.]

Enclosure 2 in No. 23.

LETTER FROM TAMATI NGAPORA, AND THE GOVERNOR'S REPLY.

Mangere, 3rd October, 1860.

FRIEND THE GOVERNOR,—

Salutations to you. Friend, this is an important word, I have heard from the Pakehas and Maoris that soldiers are to be moved to Te Ia or to some other place near Waikato; I wish therefore to hear from you, that I may be enabled to speak correctly to my people. I am going on the 15th. Enough.

From your loving friend,

TAMATI NGAPORA.

To His Excellency the Governor,
Auckland.

Auckland, October 3rd, 1860.

FRIEND TAMATI,—

Salutations to you. I have received your letter of this day's date; I have seen your words on the subject of the report which has reached you, that I intend sending soldiers to Te Ia. I do not intend to send soldiers there, neither will I meddle with the men of Waikato: my regard for you will continue firm. The Maoris there must commence first: if they cause evil, then perhaps I may have some other thoughts.

From your friend,

T. GORE BROWNE,

Governor.

To Tamati Ngapora,
Mangere.

Enclosure 3 in No. 23.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY AND LIEUT.-GENERAL CAMERON, C.B.

Government House,

Auckland, 19th December, 1861.

SIR,—

I have the honor to inform you that on my recent visit to the Lower Waikato, I found the tribes there so well disposed, that I made preliminary arrangements with them, which, if they are completed, if the country is opened up by roads, and a sufficient force is stationed here, will render it very difficult for the Natives hereafter to invade the district immediately to the South of Auckland.

2. I regret, however, to say that I am not so satisfied of the friendly disposition of the Natives of the Upper Waikato; for they have not yet given any guarantee for the continuance of the present state of tranquillity, further than that they have promised not to break it by making any attack upon us.

3. Those who gave this promise have, however, no means of controlling many powerful Chiefs: and there can be no doubt that the town of Auckland and the neighbouring country have been, for some time past, and still are, open to an attack of the most formidable kind from the Natives of Waikato, if the troops are from any cause withdrawn, or even if the present force is much reduced.

4. It is impossible that such a state of things can continue. The European settlers are afraid to continue their operations, so that the progress of the country is at a complete stand-still; while the Government does not dare to move troops to protect other parts of the Colony, lest the country near Auckland should be instantly attacked. In fact we have been, and are at present, entirely at the mercy of the Natives, and they know it:—and the acts and language of the violent amongst them too often correspond to their sense of their power and of our weakness.

5. As the first step to remove this state of things, which entirely cripples our operations, it is necessary that the road from hence to Havelock, which is now partly open, should without delay be constructed and put in such a state that troops can move rapidly along it at all seasons of the year: and that a site for a Military post on the Waikato, at the same place, should be selected and reserved so that it could be occupied, and defensible works without delay be erected there, if at any time a necessity for such a proceeding arises. We shall thus be enabled to undertake either defensive or aggressive operations against an enemy, as circumstances may require.

6. I have, therefore, the honor to request that you will be good enough to cause the construction of this road to be undertaken as a Military work by the troops under your command. I will at once communicate with the Home Government upon the subject, pointing out the absolute necessity, in a Military point of view, of the course I have requested you to carry out: leaving it for Her Majesty's Government hereafter to determine from what source the working pay of the officers and men employed on this duty is to be refunded to the Military chest.

I have, &c.,

G. GREY.

The Honourable Lieut.-General Cameron, C.B.,
Commanding Her Majesty's Forces in New Zealand.

THE LIEUT.-GENERAL TO GOVERNOR SIR G. GREY.

Auckland, 24th December, 1861.

SIR,—

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's letter of the 19th instant, informing me of your recent visit to the Lower Waikato, and requesting, for reasons therein explained, that I would cause the road from hence to Havelock to be completed by the Force under my command, and put in such a state that troops may move rapidly along it at all seasons of the year.

In reply I beg to acquaint Your Excellency that I have already taken steps to carry your wishes into effect, and that in a few days the whole of the troops in this Province (except such number as it is absolutely necessary to leave in Auckland, and at the Camp at Otahuhu, to furnish guards for the protection of public property, the security of Military prisoners, &c.,) will be employed on the road above-mentioned.

The number of men so employed will be about twenty-three hundred (2,300), who will be entitled to the working pay laid down in the Queen's Regulations. Besides this working pay, there will be the additional expense of field allowance for the officers, transport for the supply of the troops, and conveyance of road material, the hire of buildings for stores, &c.: all of which I have desired the officer in charge of the Commissariat Department to keep in a separate account, in order that they may be charged against the Colony, should it be so decided.

The 2nd Battalion 14th Regiment, and the detachment of the 12th Regiment, march to-day from Otahuhu to Drury, and will move to-morrow towards Havelock, as far as the small village of Pokeno; at which point your Excellency expressed a wish that the most advanced division of the troops should be stationed.

The 40th, 70th, and 65th Regiments will follow in succession, and will be encamped at convenient intervals between the above mentioned point and Drury.

My Head Quarters will, for the present, be near Drury.

With reference to the future establishment of a Military post on the Waikato River, near Havelock, for which Your Excellency wishes a site to be selected, there can be no doubt that such a post will be of great advantage to us, in the event of operations being carried on in that quarter; provided that our force shall be sufficient, with all other demands upon it, to keep the communication of the post open, through the bush, with Drury.

I have, &c.,

D. A. CAMERON,
Lieut.-General.His Excellency Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 24.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF
NEWCASTLE.

No. 4.

Government House,
Auckland, 8th January, 1862.

MY LORD DUKE,—

Enclosure No. 1.—Mr.
Wardell to the Native
Secretary, 25th Oct., 1861.

I have the honor to transmit the copy of a Report from Mr. Wardell, the Resident Magistrate of the Wairarapa District, on the present disposition of the Native tribes in that part of the Northern Island of New Zealand.

2. Your Grace will find that Mr. Wardell reports that the Natives there, as in many other places, are divided into two parties, the Maori King party and their opponents, of which the King party is the most numerous. In this party, Mr. Wardell reports that there is the earnestness of men working out a project in which they are deeply interested, which is wanting in the loyal party, who appear to be content to let events pass as they will, provided they are not interfered with.

3. Mr. Wardell further reports that the organization of the King party is very complete, and that a plan has been arranged by which uniformity of action has been secured for this party throughout the whole Island. He states that in the assertion of their independence they use bold and unequivocal language, and deny altogether Her Majesty's authority over them.

4. Mixed up with these statements, your Grace will find the usual allegations made by the Natives of carelessness with regard to their interests, the non-appointment of persons to administer law and secure order, the non-fulfilment of promises by which they had been induced to sell land, and the change in some Chiefs from the staunchest friendship for us to sentiments of a very different character.

5. In reference to the statements made by Mr. Wardell regarding the Chief Manihera, I enclose the copy of a Title-deed, by which, in pursuance of an arrangement concluded under my advice, Manihera and other Chiefs ceded a tract of territory to the Crown on the 4th January, 1854, one of the conditions of which sale was that Manihera was to receive a Crown grant for 1000 acres out of this block, which would have enabled him to let the land and realize an income from it. Unfortunately, from various causes, this promise has not been fulfilled to this day, although the Crown entered into immediate possession of the land it purchased: and I am told that Manihera has been left very poor from this circumstance.

6. In further elucidation of this subject, I enclose the copy of a Report from Mr. F. D. Bell, the Commissioner for deciding on claims to land, dated the 11th November last, from which your Grace will see how strongly Mr. Bell conceives our honor and good faith are implicated in these questions.

Enclosure No. 2.—Deed
of Sale at Wairarapa, 4th
Jan., 1854.Enclosure No. 3.—Me-
morandum by Mr. Dillon
Bell, 11th Nov., 1861.

7. It is said by the Law Officers that, since the passing of the New Zealand Constitution Act, a legal difficulty is in the way of fulfilling the promises made to the Natives. But it seems hard to see how the Government can, on the one hand, take from the Natives lands on certain conditions, and then, on the other hand, answer, whilst it retains these lands, that it cannot legally fulfil the conditions under which it took them. Your Grace will see that my advice to Ministers has been to issue, without delay, all the Crown grants that have been promised. I do not doubt they would be valid; but, if their validity was doubtful, I would afterwards apply to the General Assembly for an Act making them good. In this way the Natives would at once see the good intention of the Government; and I do not doubt, if it is thought necessary to delay the issue of the grants until the General Assembly meets, that that body will be quite disposed to pass a law authorizing the Governor to make all grants that have been promised. But this must cause a considerable delay in this most important matter; and then, as in past years, some differences on the subject may arise between the Governor and his Ministers, or between parties in the Assembly, or there may be a dissolution, and this matter may be again indefinitely delayed.

8. In the same manner there is a great desire on the part of the Natives, who have no source of wealth but their land, to put apart small glebes for the support of clergymen of the denominations to which they belong, and, with the consent of the Governor, to have such lands secured in perpetuity for this purpose. There never was a nation who required the presence of European clergymen amongst them, in all parts of this Island, more than the New Zealanders do. There never was, I believe, a people more anxious to secure this advantage than they are. Yet, under the Constitution Act and the Acts of the General Assembly combined, the Law Officers here are of opinion that the Natives cannot do this, and that the Governor cannot sanction its being done; hence, a great grievance to the Native race, and an apparent hardship. I have no doubt that the General Assembly will be quite willing to remedy this when it meets, unless any of the difficulties I have before alluded to should unfortunately occur, and distract its attention more immediately to other subjects.

9. In sending home, on the 30th August 1851, the draft of the Constitution Ordinance for New Zealand, which subsequently was, with some alterations, adopted by the British Parliament, I specially recommended that a power should be reserved to the Governor of making to persons of the Native race grants of land, and of assuring to themselves and their heirs by such grants the uninterrupted possession of such properties: and, also, that he should have the power of making grants of land for such a public purpose as that of providing for the residence of a clergyman in, or what would now be, a Native parish. I never was informed that it was not the intention of Parliament to give effect to the recommendation I then made. I should not wish to have the right of exercising this power in opposition to the advice of my Responsible Ministers: but not to empower the Governor to exercise it with such advice, is apparently an error; and I should wish your Grace to consider whether, in anticipation that such difficulties as I have before alluded to may take place here, it would be wise to amend the Constitution Act, if necessary, by conferring such a power on the Governor: giving the General Assembly the power to modify it in any manner that body may think proper. It certainly seems that an evil is in existence, to which a sure remedy should be, without delay, applied. Large numbers of the Natives are still in a sullen and discontented state: and, whilst they are firmly dealt with, I nevertheless would, without any delay, remove every real cause of grievance which may excite the violent, and secure for them the sympathy of many of their race.

10. From several conversations I had with the New Zealand Ministers, and especially with the Attorney-General, I feel sure that, in as far as the law would in their opinion permit, they would apply a remedy to the existing evil; and that, in common with the General Assembly, they are anxious to do what is just by the Native race. But in the Legislatures and Governments of new countries, where the rights and privileges of each branch of the Government or Legislature are not fully settled by precedent, delays and difficulties occur which may for years retard legislation on a subject of such a nature as I have brought under your Grace's notice: and it was the knowledge that such was the case which made me, in 1851, so earnestly advise that the Governor should have had those powers conferred upon him, the possession of which would have enabled him to prevent those difficulties from taking place which have now arisen. No reason was at the time assigned for not acceding to my recommendations.

I have, &c.,

G. GREY.

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, K.G.,
&c., &c., &c.

Enclosure 1 in No. 24.

Wellington, October 25th, 1861.

SIR,—

Referring to my letter of the 20th ultimo,* I have the honor to offer some further remarks on the present position of Ngatikahungunu, at Wairarapa; but first, I wish to state that the observations in my previous letter concerning the Natives in the Turanga District are not intended to apply to Ngatiporou. In reporting to you on the 15th July, 1859, my then recent visit to Waiapu, I wrote as follows:—"I found a general disposition on the part of the Native population (Ngatiporou) to admit the authority of the law, and a desire almost amounting to eagerness for its regular administration in their neighbourhood." * * * "It is easy to be deceived by first impressions,

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Pap., 1862.

and the Maoris, as a people, are apt to be attracted by novelty; yet, I believe that if periodical visits were to be made, but a short time would elapse before the district from Cape Runaway to Tokomaru would be in a state to have the Native Acts of last Session extended to it." I was, in December, 1859, authorised to visit that district on the Natives expressing a wish that I should do so; but as I shortly after received instructions to remove here, I had no opportunity of again visiting Ngatiporou, although invited to do so. Previous to leaving Turanga I ventured to suggest to His Excellency that arrangements should be made for some Magistrate to visit the coast periodically, travelling from East Cape to Wairoa; but that it was especially desirable that such visits should be paid to Ngatiporou.

There are only about twenty Europeans residing amongst the Ngatiporou, and these are traders and whalers; the Natives struck me as more healthy than those near Turanga. I met amongst them several families of six or seven children, a thing almost unknown at Turanga. They are more industrious than the Turanga Natives, although they do not cultivate so largely, for they have not the same facilities for disposing of their produce; but their crops are produced with much greater labour, for they have few agricultural implements, and work the land principally with the hoe. A flour mill (water power) was being erected at Waiapu, and one at Turanga, when I left.

I have avoided entering more fully into particulars of the social position of Natives in the Turanga District, as I doubt not you will receive information to a later date than I can give.

Referring to the Wairarapa Natives, I have said in my former Report that they are divided into two parties, those connected with the Waikatō movement and those who have not joined it, and who call themselves "Queen's men." A reference to the annexed tables will inform you as to the strength of these parties in the various hapus.

The organization of the King party is very complete. The active leaders of it in Wairarapa are Ngairo, Wi Te Weu, Heremaia Tamaihotua, Te Meihana, Wi Waka, Karaitiana, and Karauria Hape. Of these, Wi Te Weu and Heremaia are the principal speakers; both are clever men, the former particularly so; but Ngairo is considered the head of the party. Piripi Te Apatu is the Secretary; he keeps tolerably accurate records of their proceedings.

Te Manihera Rangitakaiwaho was for some time the leader, but he has left the party and assumed what he describes as a neutral position.

Many others besides those I have named (about thirty in all) constitute what is called the Runanga; they meet frequently for the purpose of considering social and political affairs, local and general; they are in regular communication with Waikatō, from which place they receive instructions by letter or by messenger; they are occasionally visited by Natives from other Runangas, who act as Commissioners to enquire into their proceedings and to secure uniformity of action.

I do not know the exact connection between the Wairarapa Runanga and that of Otaki. It may be that the former is considered a branch of the latter, but their communications with Waikatō are more frequently through the Otaki Runanga than direct.

As an illustration of the organization existing in the King party, and of the mode in which the Runanga at Ngaruawahia (Waikatō) communicates on political subjects with subordinate Runangas, as well as on account of its importance in a political sense, I annex herewith a copy of a document received a short time ago at Wairarapa. It purports to be, as you will perceive, an expression of "King Matutaera's" opinions in answer to questions put to him by Te Reihana on the following subjects:—1st. The Governor's demand that property taken at Taranaki should be restored, and the persons charged with murder given up for trial: 2nd. The course to be pursued if troops should be stationed at Pukewhau; and 3rd. Whether they should follow the soldiers in the event of their going to any other part of the island for the purpose of fighting. This document was forwarded from Otaki, and has been circulated at Wairarapa.

The printed letter annexed on the establishment of a mail to the coast, is interesting as shewing that local affairs are not neglected by the Runanga, and as indicating social advancement.

The Runanga, in assuming to decide in cases of dispute or crime, has only adopted and developed the system which has provided in some Native Districts the only Courts which have been established there, viz., the "Komiti Maori." Under the present system, however, there are in each district a few men who are called "King's Magistrates;" these preside at the *wakawa* and give judgment, but not without consulting with the other persons present. In their decisions, I believe (as I have before stated) that they are governed by the broad principles of justice.

In the assertion of their independence they use bold and unequivocal language, deny altogether Her Majesty's authority over them, apply to Her insulting epithets, and declare, to quote the language of Heremaia Tamaihotua at a meeting at Hurunuiorangi, which I reported to you on the 15th April last, "the King of Waikatō is King of the Natives of this island and of all the islands of New Zealand." This sentiment was echoed in a *waiata* sung most enthusiastically by all of the King party present. I have annexed a copy of this and other party songs. I heard the same declaration made at a meeting at Waihinga on the 12th ultimo.

The amount of time devoted to Runanga business is very considerable, as the meetings for various purposes are frequent, and at times attended by large numbers of persons. The large meetings, of which five or six have been held at Wairarapa during the last eighteen months, have each lasted upwards of a week. The consumption of provisions on such occasions is so great that scarcity is caused for some time after.

The following are, I believe, the best born people in Wairarapa:—Hemi Te Miha, son of Iraia Kaniamu, son of Te Homaiwaho; Tamaihikoia Te Hiko; Wi Kingi Tutepakihirangi, now at Otago; Maraia, wife of Iraia and daughter of Wiremu Te Kai-o-te-Kokopu; and Arihia, wife of Tamaihikoia and daughter of Taiaha Te Kekerenga.

The principal people amongst the loyal or neutral Natives are Raniera Te Iho, Henui Te Miha, Ngatuere, Ihaia Whakamairu, Iraia Kaninamu, and Tamaihikoia Te Hiko: these profess themselves loyal. Te Manihera declares himself neutral. I have avoided calling these leaders, for there is such an entire want of organization in the party that no one can be so called. Of these, Raniera, Hemi, and Ihaia, are very sensible, well-conducted men. Ngatuere is a great blusterer, headstrong, and violent, but an outspoken and honest man. Iraia and Tamaihikoia are quiet men. Te Hamaiwaha, the father of Iraia, is recently dead.

There is a marked difference in the manner of the two parties. In that of the King, there is the earnestness of men working out a project in which they are deeply interested; which is wanting in the loyal party, who appear to be content to let events pass as they will, provided they are not interfered with.

I have often had to regret the fact that there are no Assessors in the Wairarapa District. In a Memorandum of the 24th December last, I suggested to the Hon. the Native Minister the appointment of six Assessors, with salaries of from £12 to £15 each, as an acknowledgment of their services and to cover expenses incidental to their office. It would have been a great advantage in the way of organization if such appointments had been made. To the list I then gave I should have been glad to add the name of Wi Te Wewi, if the fact of his position in the King party did not prevent it.

Socially, the position of the Natives and Europeans is generally good. Difficulties and disputes occasionally arise in consequence of the trespass of cattle on Native land. In several instances, cattle have been destroyed by Natives in consequence of trespass. In excuse, they say they have no remedy against the owner, the cattle being too wild to pound and the owners unknown: this refers to cattle in the bush, by which Natives say their lives are often endangered when pig hunting on their own lands. Ngatuere recently killed one cow, and wounded two others, for trespass in his plantations. The owner sued Ngatuere for damages, and obtained judgment. When I suggest that impounding is the proper course to pursue in case of trespass, I am told it is a mockery to say so, as the only public pound in Wairarapa is at Featherston: I have, therefore, written to his Honor the Superintendent urging the necessity for erecting pounds in several parts of the district. On the other hand, there are many Native cattle on the land in occupation of Europeans; and in order that Natives may understand their rights and the mode of enforcing them, and at the same time their liabilities, in the matter of trespass, I am about writing an abstract of the Impounding Act in Maori for their information. The destruction of sheep by dogs belonging to Natives, is another source of occasional trouble. Acts of theft or violence are almost unknown in the district.

The most embarrassing part of my work in Wairarapa is in connection with land questions: disputed sales, disputed boundaries, locality of reserves, title to reserves, leasing reserves, and other questions are constantly arising.

The arrangement of the Five per cent. Fund is likely to be attended with difficulty, the Natives having considered it to be a much larger and more permanent fund than it is likely to prove.

The sale of the Pahaua Block is disputed: that is, Wereta and others say the purchase has not been completed. Hoera Whakataha says the Deed of sale is wrong, for he received no payment for that block, while by the deed he appears to have received one hundred pounds (£100). Wenerei, Natana Hira, and others of Ngatirangitaitia, say the portion of the five hundred pounds (£500) they received was for the coast side, not for the inland country; and have told Mr. Smith who is living there that he must leave. Other disputes exist, of which I will write you separately.

In connection with land questions, Natives often accuse the Government of taking advantage of their position in order to buy land at a low price and sell it at a high one; from this, taking their practical views of things, they have come to consider the Government as having interests antagonistic to their own.

The arrangements about the Native Reserves of this Province, especially the old ones, appear to have been very indefinite.

Natives do not understand land, which they know as Native Reserves, being vested in Commissioners for public purposes. This is not to be wondered at in this district, seeing that (so far as I am aware) no portion of the funds derived from such lands have been expended in a way which has afforded Natives any direct benefit. The benefits of the Hospital, so far as they will avail themselves of them, they share in common with Europeans. I am often applied to as a Commissioner, by Natives, in reference to disputes about Reserves, but I have been able to obtain so little information from the records here that I cannot assist them. It is very desirable that the whole question of the Native Reserves in this district should be examined into and reported upon, in order that the Commissioners may know by whom the reserves were made, for what purpose, under what arrangements with Natives, and by what instrument.

With reference to Reserves in favor of tribes or Hapus, a feeling has exhibited itself which I have encouraged, in favor of their being divided into allotments, giving to the several Natives interested, individual titles. I think it is desirable to avail ourselves of every opportunity of shewing Natives the advantage of individualising title to land.

I understand that Te Manihera often complains that so little has been done for him by the Government; that it was he who commenced the sale of the land at Wairarapa; that he has sold more land than any one else; and yet, whilst 1000 acres have been given to Wi Waka and 3000 to Raniera Te Iho, he has been overlooked and has had to purchase all the Crown land he has. Te Manihera is admitted by every one to have been formerly the staunchest friend Europeans had in Wairarapa: lately his conduct has been less just and his friendship is doubtful. He is a disappointed

man. He sometimes refers to sheep which he says were promised to him by Mr. McLean when the first land was sold, but which he has not received.

It seems to me that some system of pension for the support of Chiefs of rank who have sold their land to the Crown, will have to be considered. The money obtained by the sale of land has been mostly spent, and no rents are receivable; their wants have become greater from having possessed means and from the example set them by Europeans, but they cannot satisfy them; this creates a jealousy of the race in occupation of their alienated land, which is desirable should not exist.

There is an expectation at Wairarapa that a Conference of the character of that of Kohimarama will shortly be called together: the desire is however that the persons attending it should be elected, not nominated. District conferences would probably prove more popular than a general one.

In conclusion, I would remark that the Natives of both parties are at the present time in a state of suspense, awaiting an intimation of His Excellency Sir George Grey's policy.

I have &c.,

HERBERT WARDELL,
Resident Magistrate.

Sub-Enclosure in No. 24.

LETTER FROM THE MAORI KING'S RUNANGA.

Ngaruawahia, June 12th, 1861.

To all the Chiefs residing at Otaki and Pukekarakā; to Heremaia, to Te Hapa, and to Te Tihī. Hearken! Proclaim these words throughout all your boundaries; these that are written below.

When we two arrived at Ngaruawahia, we remained there until the fifth day, when we held a Runanga on the subject of the plans which are being carried out (or terms proposed) by the Governor: that is, with regard to Waitara, relative to the murders, the property (plunder), and this flag. These things, according to his idea, are all to be given up to him. This Runanga of ours did not agree to these things being given up; the Waikato and Ngatimaniapoto say that they will not give up their "mana" to be trampled upon by the Governor.

These are they.

On the fifth day of that month, the Chiefs asked King Matutaera to come forth out of his house, that his people might see him and that he might see his people. This was their address, doing him honour:—"O Son, may you live for ever, and may God protect you; because Jehovah, the God of thousands, liveth, and He will keep you for ever." The address of the people ended here.

This was the King's affectionate reply; he then uttered his words of affection to the people:—"O friends, hearken! O friends, here are the people. O people, I salute you. For the future hold fast to religion. This is my concluding word."

When the people heard these words, they raised a shout. As soon as he had concluded his speech of affection to the people, he retired into his house. Enough upon this.

On the second hour of that same day, Reihana questioned the King on the subject of the present difficulties.

1. "The cause of my coming here was the thought of my heart, that you might tell me, and that I might hear from your lips. Attend. This is my word. Pekapeka, that is, Waitara, the murders (murderers), and the plunder, all these things shall be held by me if you approve. I shall act in accordance with your wishes. What you approve of I will do, and what you disapprove of I will not do."

The King's reply to this question was:—"Reihana, hearken to what I have to say. That which moved in the light before, is light now; but that which moved in the darkness, hold fast to. The only ancestor living is the land. This is all I have to say."

Reihana's reply was:—"Enough, I will do what you approve of."

2. "This is another question I have to ask you, and to which I desire an answer from you. If I hear of the soldiers making a pa at Pukewhau [on the Waikato river], I will inform you of it: if you approve, I shall act accordingly, and if you disapprove, I shall act accordingly."

Then said the King to him in answer to this question:—"It will not be right to consider that, as there are men of his outside. My word to you was, it is not as though you and I could settle or decide that, for there are men outside; let you and I consider carefully. This is all I have to say."

Reihana's reply to this was:—"Enough, I will do what you wish."

3. "This is another question of mine. Hearken. If I hear of the soldiers going to any place in this island to fight, I will follow them there, if you approve of this."

The King's reply to this was:—"Hearken! Should you hear of their being at this place or that place, do not be hasty, for you know that there you would meet your death, deliberately, calmly, in your house. This is my word."

Then said Reihana:—"I will act in accordance with your wishes."

O ye Chiefs of the King's Runangas throughout this land, hearken! These are the words of the King himself, to remind you of the evils which we are anticipating: and let no man put down one of his words which are now made public.

From KARAUTI HIKAKA,
"TIKAOKAO TANGATA-KE,
"TAKEREI NGAMOTU,
"ANATIPA TUHORO,
"PARAONE TONGAPORUTU,
"TAKEREI TE RAU,
"HOANI PAPITA,
"TE HUIRAMA.

These words are confirmed by the King's Runangas.

SONGS SUNG AT HURUNUIORANGI.

Residing in my place in New Zealand. What did your tongue do, what did your tongue do? This was the reply of Paipa. What, but to drive away this bad fellow? Go away, O Parris, to Hobartown, to Europe, to the diggings, and there eat biscuit, sugar and tea, and let the only great "mana" for New Zealand be the King: let all round this island say yes, yes, yes! Amen.

2. Is it so, O King, must this land be given up? Aha! No, no. Let the Governor stand shaking his papers, let the water (juice) of the land be consumed, and let the boundary of evil reach to Waitara. Aha! No, no.

3. Cease, O spirits of Te Hekei, O Kaputua, to follow, for I have turned to the side of the King, there to remain. Ha! here come a cluster of soldiers swarming hither, swarming hither. Whither are they going? they are going to the great water of Kohara, there to die in heaps. The dust rises, the pebbles fly, and Rehua leaps.

Enclosure 2 in No. 24.

DEED OF SALE FOR WHAREKAKA PLAINS.

This Document conveying land, written on this the 4th day of January in the year of Our Lord (1854) one thousand eight hundred and fifty-four, is a paper of the full and unreserved assent of us, the Chiefs and people of the Ngatikahungunu tribe, whose names are hereunto attached, on behalf of ourselves, our relations, and descendants who shall be born after us, to transfer for ever a certain portion of our land to Victoria, the Queen of England, and to the Kings or Queens who may succeed her for ever. And in consideration of our full consent to sell this piece of our land, Victoria, the Queen of England, agrees on her part to pay us the sum of (£2,000) two thousand pounds once told; (£1,000) one thousand pounds of these monies we have received from Mr. McLean; (£500) five hundred pounds is to be paid to us in the month of January (1855) one thousand eight hundred and fifty-five; and the remaining (£500) five hundred pounds, being the final instalment, in January (1856) one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six. The (5) five per cent. usually paid in the first purchases at Wairarapa, is also to be paid in this purchase. The boundary of this land commences at Awahunoaruku in the Ruamahanga, and runs to Te Maunga, thence to Tuwarehanga, thence to Motuotuaotea, thence to Motuomanga, thence to Tuahiniomoko, thence Te Waiwaitea, thence to Ahikereru, thence to Makara, thence to Ngakioretaiema, thence in an easterly direction to Hakoahineiahoa, thence to Taopukakaho, thence to Te Upoko o Rakaitauheke, thence down the Huangarua stream to its junction with the Ruamahanga, down which it runs to the Tuwewhia, where it turns inland, following the Wakawai stream to Upokokuri, thence to Wainanu, thence to Purua, whence it follows the Ruamahanga to Parikoau, thence it turns inland to Pouawatea, where it again falls into the Ruamahanga, thence to Awaateatua, thence to Tarawa, thence to Pukio, where it turns inland and passes through the marsh at the source of the Kaura and down that stream to its junction with the Ruamahanga, and down the Ruamahanga to Rungamutu, thence to Waipinenga, then turning inland to the Pa, and on to the Awakuri o Maiho, thence descending to Ruamahanga and on to Rarokohe, thence to Awahurinuku, where the boundaries meet.

One thousand (1000) acres contained in this sale of land towards the south of "Waihora," to be given to Manihera, as a permanent possession for Manihera; which land shall be laid out and surveyed by Captain Smith.

We have entirely given up and bidden farewell to this land inherited from our forefathers, with its rivers, its streams, its lakes, its springs, its timber, grass, and stones, with its plains and fertile spots, its sterile parts, and everything above the surface or under the surface, and everything thereunto belonging; we now and forever deliver up and transfer them to the Queen of England, under the shining sun of this day, to be the property of the Queen of England, and of the Kings or Queens who may succeed her, for ever. In testimony of our consent to all the conditions of this Deed, we hereunto affix our names and marks: and in testimony of the consent of the Queen of England to the conditions of this Deed, the name of Donald McLean, Principal Commissioner for purchase of Native land, is also hereunto affixed.

DONALD McLEAN, Land Commissioner.

Witnesses to these receipts of money and signatures:—

A. Ludlam, River Hutt, J. P., M. P. C.
H. T. Kemp, Native Secretary, Wellington.
Wiremu Tako.
Puni.
Piriki Potonga.
Ngairo Takatakaputea.
Matiaha te Aopouri.
Hemi Hohepa.
Tare Ruka Whepa.

C. R. Bidwill, settler, Wairarapa.
John P. Russell, settler, Whangai Moana,
Wairarapa.
Manihera te Rangitakaiwaho.
Akenihi Ngatuere.
Wiremu Kingi Tutepakihirangi.
Ihaka Ngahiwi.
Matini Warahi.

Received by us this day, the (27th) twenty-seventh day of December, in the year (1854) one thousand eight hundred and fifty-four, the sum of (£500) five hundred pounds, given to us by Mr. McLean, this being the second instalment received by us for a portion of our land sold by us to the Queen of England, the boundaries whereof are specified on the other side of this Deed, that is the Deed which was executed by us on the (4th) fourth day of January, (1854), one thousand eight hundred and fifty-four. This being the instalment promised to us by Mr. McLean, to be received by us in the month of January (1855), one thousand eight hundred and fifty-five.

Witnesses to these receipts of money and signatures:—

G. S. Cooper, J. P., District Commissioner.
Manihera te Rangitakaiwaho.
Tamaihikoia.
Hohaia te Rangi.
Wiremu Tutue Wakahaurangi.

Archibald Gillies, settler, Wairarapa.
Kararaina te Reke.
Wiremu Kingi.
Ngairo Takotakoputea.
Mere Ruhaneha Ngairo.

Received by us on the (10th) tenth day of February, (1855), one thousand eight hundred and fifty-five, the sum of (£100) one hundred pounds, given to us by Mr. McLean, this being the sum of money agreed upon to be given to the Wairarapa people out of the sum due to them for the land, the boundaries of which are described in the within written Deed.

Tamaihikoia.

Te Hapuku Ikaotemoana.

Witnesses to this receipt of money and signatures:—

G. S. Cooper, J. P., District Commissioner.
George Williams, settler, Wellington.

Enclosure 3 in No. 24.

MINUTE BY THE LAND CLAIMS COMMISSIONER, ON THE SUBJECT OF CROWN GRANTS TO NATIVES.

[For Ministers.]

The honor and good faith of the Government are concerned in forthwith considering the question and the means of fulfilling the numerous promises which have at various times been made to Natives, that they should receive Crown Grants for land set apart for them.

[*Too voluminous to
print here.]

The accompanying papers* refer to no less than twenty-two cases in the single Province of Wellington, in which, either by special promise or by some other kind of engagement, the Government has entered into an agreement to issue Crown Grants. Cases are also specified as having occurred in the Province of Hawke's Bay; numerous others are known to exist in the Province of Taranaki; a few apparently in the Province of Auckland; and there is no doubt that similar promises have been made in the Middle Island. The acreage promised to be granted, according to the enclosed papers alone, is 7691 acres; but the total throughout the islands must greatly exceed that quantity.

I am not aware of any legal power existing in the Governor to fulfil any of the above promises or engagements, except the power given by the 11th section of the Waste Lands Act, 1858. Upon an application made by Tahana Turoa of Wanganui, the late Advisers of the Governor considered the general question of bringing in a Bill to enable His Excellency to issue grants; and Mr. Tancred, Secretary for Crown Lands, in a Minute of 12th April, 1861, said he was advised that in the then state of the law the greater part (if not all) of the promises could not be given effect to. My own opinion on such a point must of course be worth nothing; but as the grounds of the advice referred to by Mr. Tancred do not appear, I suggest that the Attorney-General should consider whether, in a great number at least of the cases stated by Mr. Searancke in his report of 28th November, 1860, the 11th section of the Waste Lands Act is not legitimately applicable; and whether it could not be applied in any like instances of reserves prior or subsequent to cessions of territory, where written evidence exists of the nature and extent of the engagement.

I am aware that it has been argued that in order to apply the 11th section it is indispensable that a particular piece of land, defined by metes and bounds, should have been promised to be granted. I maintain on the contrary (if a layman may contend on such a point) that a reasonable interpretation of the section is not limited by such a condition. I take for instance the promise specially made to Manihera Te Rangitakaiwaho of Wairarapa, that he should have 1,000 acres on the Warekaka Plains (Province of Wellington). It appears to me that whenever that quantity should be laid out for him, it would be "an allotment or parcel of land" within the reasonable meaning of the 11th section, and that it would be "lawful for the Governor to perform that contract promise or engagement," and to execute a "Crown Grant in pursuance" of it.

Ministers are perhaps familiar with the cases in which grants have been issued under the 11th section to a number of persons for "homesteads" occupied by them, and to other persons as compensation for some injury, as in the Pukekohe claims. It appears to me that the fulfilment of promises made by the Government anterior to 1858 could not be stretching the 11th section, since the execution of promises made between the passing of the Act and its coming into operation on receiving the Royal assent was not considered to stretch it.

A complete list has been directed to be made of every promise or engagement to Natives for separate portions of land, in all the Provinces.* It may be that it will be necessary to make special provision by further legislation for all such cases, as it certainly will be necessary to do

[*This will be printed
separately.]

for *some*. But if the 11th section can fairly be made applicable (as I think myself) to the greater number of the cases, and to all in which the reservation of a piece of land for a Chief has formed part of the consideration in the cession of the Native Title, no further delay should take place in fulfilling these obligations of the Crown.

F. DILLON BELL.

November 11th, 1861.

MINUTE BY THE GOVERNOR ON THE PRECEDING MINUTE.

My advice to Ministers would be to have all these Crown Grants issued without delay. I do not doubt that they would be valid, but if any doubts were hereafter raised as to their validity, then I would have an Act passed confirming and making good these Grants. I think it of the utmost importance that they should be issued at once.

G. GREY.

Nov. 16, 1861.

No. 25.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Government House,
Auckland, 9th January, 1862.

No. 7.

MY LORD DUKE,—

Adverting to my Despatch No. 4, of the 8th instant, regarding the issue of Crown Titles to Natives in these islands, I feel anxious, in plain terms, lest the importance of the subject should not be seen, to advise Your Grace without any delay to have an Act of Parliament passed enabling the Governor to issue Crown Titles for their lands to Natives in all cases in which, under the terms of the Treaty of Waitangi, the Crown may have acquired from them, or may hereafter acquire from them, lands on the condition that a part of the consideration given for such lands should be the issue of a Crown Title for a portion of them to the Native sellers.

2. A power should at the same time, I think, be given to the Governor of receiving from the Natives portions of their lands, upon condition of re-granting the same without delay, to be held in trust for the support of a minister of religion in the district where such land is situated.

3. I should even like to see a general power given to the Governor of giving to the Natives Crown Titles to any portion of their own lands.

4. The reasons on which I support these recommendations are, that the Natives throughout these islands have been allowed to arm themselves, and to obtain supplies of ammunition, and that they have throughout a protracted war maintained themselves with some show of success against a considerable force; that many of them are now in a dissatisfied state, little disposed to succumb to our authority; and that it is, therefore, a proceeding of sound policy to remove every even apparent ground of a real grievance.

5. Again, I think it would have been just in the British Parliament to have introduced such a provision into the New Zealand Constitution Act when it originally passed it, giving to the General Assembly the power of making any amendments in it that it thought proper—which I would still do; and I do not think that, when so many years have passed without this point having been settled here, the British Parliament ought any longer to neglect doing that which it ought originally to have done, when, from unforeseen causes, some delays or difficulties may again occur in New Zealand. I think that that which right and justice evidently required to be done long since should now be done without delay, and that so certainly that no chance may defeat it.

6. The Queen, with the knowledge and concurrence of the British Parliament, concluded the Treaty of Waitangi with the Natives of this island. I think such matters as those I refer to must be regarded as matters which the fair fulfilment of that Treaty might have required the Crown to arrange with the Natives; and it could not, I think, have been the intention of the British Parliament to pass an Act which would prevent the Representative of the Crown from making such arrangements until he was empowered to do so by another Legislature, in which the Natives were not represented. On the contrary, I think he should be empowered to make such arrangements without delay by the British Parliament, and that the General Assembly should be authorized to vary from time to time the power with which he is clothed by the Parliament of Great Britain. It is with diffidence I state these views so strongly; but I think that in this manner the Home and Colonial Legislatures will respectively fulfil their proper functions to the Native race in the manner most satisfactory to that people, whilst I believe the General Assembly to be so well disposed to the Natives that they will in no way object to an arrangement evidently equitable, and which in no way interferes with the power of the Assembly. It may be said, if the thing is done, it is a matter of indifference by whom or how it is done; but for several years it has not been done, and I think it is a mistake in ruling nations to believe that they are indifferent in what manner what they regard as rights are secured to them. I believe that half the value of such rights depends upon the watchful concern evinced to bestow such rights

upon them by the proper authority, at the right moment, and that all their hopes and expectations for future justice and future care are based upon the rectitude and consideration with which they are, in each instance as it arises, dealt with by those into whose hands they have confidingly entrusted the power of working out their welfare.

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, K.G.,
&c., &c., &c.

I have, &c.,
G. GREY.

No. 26.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF
NEWCASTLE.

Government House,
Auckland, 17th January, 1862.

No. 8.

MY LORD DUKE,—

Enclosure.—Memorandum,
Col. Mould, R.E.,
24th June, 1861.

It being desirable that Her Majesty's Government should be able to realize fully the difficulties which will arise in this country if we are forced into a new contest with the Native population, I beg to enclose the copy of a paper which was forwarded to my predecessor on the 28th of September last, by Colonel Mould of the Royal Engineers, whose services during the recent war at Taranaki were of so conspicuous and valuable a nature.

2. Your Grace will see that Colonel Mould plainly states that it is believed that if the initiative is taken by an armed European force advancing with a hostile attitude into the interior of the country with the object of attacking the Natives in their settlements, the whole Native race, with the exception of the principal part of the Ngapuhi tribe (living to the North of Auckland), will immediately rise in arms, will attack and probably murder the outsettlers, sweep away or destroy their sheep and cattle, burn their homesteads, and pauperize the best half of the Colony; and that no vigilance nor any reasonable force that could be sent with the view of protecting the several out-settlements, could by any possibility save them from this fate.

3. Colonel Mould's great experience here renders him a most valuable authority on such points as he here speaks on; your Grace will, therefore, in considering my remarks, I trust, fully realize the anxiety I naturally feel to save Her Majesty's European subjects from such great calamities, and how very great is the weight of responsibility under which I take every step.

I have, &c.,
G. GREY.

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, K.G.,
&c., &c., &c.

Enclosure 1 in No. 26.

MEMORANDUM IN REFERENCE TO THE OCCUPATION OF THE WAIKATO COUNTRY.

* Sic. in Orig.

Taking it for granted that the Aboriginal Natives in the Waikato country will either decline* the terms of submission and restitution offered to them by the Governor, it is a matter for the most serious consideration what measures shall be adopted to carry out His Excellency's views to effect a complete present pacification in the Colony, and to guarantee future quiet, and obedience to the Queen and the Law.

The character of the Natives, the nature of the country they occupy, the vicinage of some of the most warlike of their tribes to the European settlements, the scattered locations of the out-settlers in the several districts of the Northern Island, the value of the property—especially in flocks and herds—of the out-settlers which is at the mercy of the Maoris, should all be taken into consideration in the adoption of measures having the above object in view. The question is really more political than military, though it can only be successfully solved by military aid.

It is believed that if the initiative is taken by an armed force advancing with a hostile attitude into the interior of the country with the object of attacking the Natives in their settlements, the whole race, with the exception of the principal part of the great Ngapuhi tribe to the North of Auckland, will immediately rise in arms, will attack, probably murder the out-settlers, sweep away or destroy their sheep and cattle, and burn or level their homesteads with the ground; and no vigilance nor any reasonable force that could be sent with the view of protecting the settlements could by any possibility save them from this fate.

The principal towns of the settlements—Napier, Wellington, Wanganui—might indeed be tolerably secure under the rifles of the troops in garrison, and the out-settlers who left their districts in time might take refuge therein and secure their persons, but their property would be gone and the best half of the Colony pauperised.

The above being the probable loss to the Colony by the initiation of hostile measures, it may be considered whether there would be any compensating gains by the adoption of such measures.

Supposing a column, in force overpowering as regards the number that the Natives could bring to oppose it, were to advance into the heart of the country, say to Ngaruawahia as the first objective point, it may be without doubt predicated that the enemy would be found to have evacuated it; the place is nothing, it is the location for a few miserable "whares," a mere place of temporary meeting

for some of the Waikato tribes ; in fact through the whole of the immense district in the central part of the Island there are not any large locations. The enemy would abandon all their small villages on the approach of the troops, sending out small parties in every direction to effect the destruction of the out-settlers, to harass the troops when encountering the difficulties of a march into the wild country, to attack convoys and escorts and to interrupt communications ; but nowhere would they be met in force ; and the campaign would be barren of results, a mere following through an almost impracticable country of an ever retreating enemy, who would move from one flank to another, in any direction, and lead a force far beyond its depôts from whence it must derive its means of subsistence. A second or even a third campaign might be carried on in this way, all equally devoid of effective results. The enemy might indeed be brought eventually, by the absence of the means on which they ordinarily subsist, to a sullen temporary acquiescence in the power of Her Majesty's arms, or rather to an acknowledgment of the superior perseverance and determination of the European. But at what a cost of treasure and life on both sides would this result be obtained ? The savages would become still more savage, less likely to come under the influence of a humanizing civilization, would probably still offer a passive and sulkily resistance to the introduction amongst them of just laws, and possibly look forward to a time when by the withdrawal of troops they may again have hopes of successfully asserting their independence and recovering their position.

There is not any gain apparent in the picture above portrayed. It is certainly possible that the land which the Natives hold so tenaciously might be confiscated as a compensation to the Colony for the loss of property ; but if the Colonists are pauperised, where is the money to proceed from to purchase this land ? What strangers would come into the country to settle in the vicinity of armed savages ? And what is to compensate for the loss of life, military and civil ? And how is the Imperial Government to recover the sacrifices it will have made in support of the Colonists ? But above all, how is the land so confiscated to be held ? It can only be by the strong armed hand, involving for many years the maintenance of a large Military force in the Colony, and heavy disbursements on the part both of the Imperial and Local Governments.

If, then, there is to be much loss and no gain by carrying on active hostilities, is there any other course by the adoption of which it is possible the Natives may be induced to acquiesce in the terms proffered for their acceptance ?

Amongst these terms are the recognition by the Natives of the sovereignty of the Queen, and the right of making roads and communications through their country.

The sovereignty of the Queen, or as termed by them "the shadow of the Queen over the land," it is not likely they will dispute, though still insisting upon their right to have a King or head of their own ; but the right of making roads they will doubtless refuse peremptorily. They have invariably resisted urgent entreaties to permit roads to be made through their lands, under a declared belief that they, the lands, would by the fact of the construction of those roads pass from them. Under this declared belief there probably lurks a desire to keep their country inaccessible to the onward march of the colonist. They do not refuse permission to Europeans to pass along the Native tracks, but they require them to avoid certain "tapued" places, and to make difficult circuits and traverses of the main rivers ; and that permission they may at any time and capriciously revoke, and seal the entrance to their country.

It may be held without violence to the liberties of any people, even a semi-independent people like the Maories, that sovereignty implies a right of freely traversing the country over which that sovereignty extends. A right of traversing involves the right of making such communications as will facilitate free and uninterrupted movement to any part of that country. It is undoubtedly just that the lands required for the formation of such communications should be acquired by equitable purchase or negotiation ; but, failing the acquisition by such modes, and in face of a possible avowed determination to resist this, which is a prerogative of sovereignty (and especially as, in the case of the Maories, they owe a debt to the Europeans for attacking them and destroying their property without cause), it would not be really an aggressive measure to take lands from the Natives for the formation of roads, but rather a "material guarantee" to afford the means of obtaining future security ; and it is possible, seeing that the Natives always desire that their adversaries should strike the first blow, that no armed resistance may be offered, and that the Maoris will be wise and far-seeing enough to discern that they cannot effectually resist the onward roll of civilization. Looking to this possibility, by which the objects in view may most probably be effectually attained, and looking on the other hand to the almost certainty that if the Natives are attacked they will revenge themselves on the unprotected persons and property of the out-settlers, it would seem to be a wise course to adopt the measures which will be most likely to save money, lives, and time in tranquillizing the country.

There is no surer index to the true civilization of the country than good roads ; and the formation of them in an uncivilized country has from the earliest ages been the means by which a savage, barbarous or independent people have been brought into subjection or redeemed from a state of lawlessness. The traces of the great Roman roads in Britain, made 1200 years ago, are still to be seen ; that civilized and warlike people well knew that they could not effectually subdue and keep under control the savage and brave Britons without ways pervading the country and penetrating its recesses, by which they might convey their legions, stores and war engines. In latter years the Highlanders of Scotland could never be prevented from rising in insurrection, until great roads were made through their mountainous district. The savages of North America are only quelled by pushing roads through the almost interminable forest, and establishing military posts on the frontier ; and there is an incessant warfare going on, with varying successes on both sides, but with the eventual subjugation of the different tribes. During the last war at the Cape of Good Hope, the only error committed by Sir Harry Smith, according to the dictum of the Duke of Wellington in his place in the House of Lords,

was an omission in making great military roads into the Kafirs' country. Can such precedents be safely or wisely set aside? Is there anything in the nature of this country or the character of its aboriginal inhabitants that can make a rule of conduct, so general, inapplicable? On the contrary, it would appear especially applicable to the wilds and difficulties of the country in New Zealand, to the nature of which the Maoris adapt their mode of warfare.

Having thus arrived at a conclusion, that it would be infinitely less costly in blood and treasure, and a saving of time in effecting the pacification and civilization of the country, to commence the construction of good roads and bridges, and gradually carry them forwards by and under the protection of a Military force, than to make a hostile move; bearing also in mind that some sort of track or communication must necessarily be made into the heart of the country, or to any objective points of attack in order to render an advance practicable; it may be considered what preliminaries should be arranged, and what precautions ought to be taken, to secure the city and district of Auckland from possible molestation.

The preliminaries would necessarily be political. The Maoris having declined to accede to the terms proposed, having evaded or ambiguously replied to them, or having passed them over in contemptuous silence, the Governor might at a suitable season of the year issue a Proclamation stating his intention of making the Queen's sovereignty pervade the land by the exercise of Her right of making roads through it, that the roads will be made under the protection of the Queen's troops, and that any resistance to this measure on the part of the Maoris will be an opposition to the Queen and a cause of war.

Previous to commencing operations on the roads a good defensible frontier should be decided upon, and posts of sufficient strength established to cover the district and out-settlements of Auckland. The line that appears the best is that which commences near the mouth of the Waikato River, running Eastward to Mangatawhiri (Havelock), where the Waikato bends sharply to the Southward, thence Northward by the Great South Road to Papakura, and thence Eastward by the Wairoa Road and the Wairoa river to the sea. A post should be established near the village of Waiuku, as near the Waikato as possible, to guard the portage by the Awaroa river from the Waikato to the Waiuku creek on the Manukau; and a second near Tuakau. The centre of the line would be at Havelock, where large dépôts of stores and provisions may be formed within a fort or large redoubt, having a sufficient number of men for their protection. On or near the line of the Great South Road, between Havelock and Drury, small bodies of men, posted in stockades at moderate intervals, would be necessary to guard and keep open the communication, especially through the great bush. At Drury other dépôts would be required for the reception of stores and provisions sent forwards water-borne by Slippery Creek, and a sufficient guard for their protection, who may be posted in a stockade, already constructed, near which the store buildings may be constructed. The stockade at Papakura, occupied by cavalry, would watch the junction of the Wairoa Road with the Great South Road, and thence by the Wairoa Road to Thorpe's homestead on the Wairoa river; cavalry patrols would be the most effectual means of guarding the frontier, and preventing any ill disposed Natives from penetrating within the line.

A stockaded cavalry picket house, with sheds for horses, may be established near the "Travellers' Rest" hotel on the Wairoa Road, where the head quarters of the cavalry may be stationed. Thorpe's homestead is near to that part of the Wairoa river where it ceases to be fordable, and there a stockade for 100 infantry, the force being in part composed of the Volunteers of the district, may be erected. The extreme left of the line at the mouth of the Wairoa river might be most efficiently guarded by the Naval forces, and a stockade might be erected there, with a boat-house attached, to be garrisoned by seamen. A vigilant watch kept up by the garrison of this post, with guard boats sent out occasionally at night, would effectually prevent war-canoes passing along the coast or up the river. The rear of the right of the line near the Waiuku creek may be further strengthened by posting there a well manned gunboat.

These several posts being established in such order as may be most convenient, the road from Drury to Havelock may be improved, and those portions which are simple tracks widened, formed, and made as practicable as possible; so also should the road to the Wairoa be ameliorated, and the bridges repaired, in which work it is presumed that the Provincial Government would aid. All these works would be on European land, and ought not to arouse the jealousy, still less the hostility, of the Natives.

Beyond Havelock, the country belongs to the Natives; and the largest possible force, after sufficiently providing for the security of the city and district, should be thrown in advance to cover the formation of a main road on the right bank of the Waikato river towards the interior of the country. The advance from this point must be cautious, and may be deliberate; not effected by mere tracks made with haste to indicate an intention to attack, but by roads, as well and substantially formed as the nature of the country and the means at hand will admit, evidencing a determined purpose of carrying them through the country.

The officer commanding the advance should be cool, wary, and discreet, avoiding collision with the Natives, and keeping his men well in hand, under strict surveillance, bearing in mind that the first shot fired on his part may be the means of lighting a flame through the whole land, and jeopardizing property worth half a million. This caution being observed, it is probable that the formation of the roads would not be opposed by the Maoris, who would succumb to an inevitable necessity, and by judicious reasoning might be brought to recognize the value to themselves of this civilizing proceeding.

If the Natives peaceably acquiesce in the formation of roads, it would indicate an acknowledgment of the Queen's sovereignty, and the abandonment of their King. Thus two of the

most important points (upon which the others may be really considered to hinge) in the terms offered to these people will have been gained by a little forbearance, and at a comparatively small cost.

It would seem just that land acquired under the influence of Her Majesty's arms, and secured by the labor of Her troops, should be retained and disposed of by the Imperial Government as part compensation for the sacrifices the English public will have made on behalf of the Colony.

THOS. R. MOULD,
Colonel, Commanding Royal Engineer.

24th June, 1861.

No. 27.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Government House,
Auckland, 7th February, 1862.

No. 11.

MY LORD DUKE,—

Adverting to my Despatches, Nos. 4 and 7, of the 8th and 9th ultimo, regarding Crown titles for land being under certain circumstances granted to Native owners, I beg to state that I thought it my duty particularly to draw the attention of the New Zealand Ministers to the opinions I had therein expressed; they have consequently drawn up the enclosed Memorandum on the subject, which I transmit for your Grace's information. The Ministers appear inclined to think that the General Assembly of these Islands will not disapprove, under all the circumstances, of the course which I have recommended should be adopted.

Enclosure.—Memorandum, Mr. Fox, 6th Feb. 1862.

I have, &c.,

G. GREY.

His Grace, The Duke of Newcastle, K.G.,
&c., &c., &c.

Enclosure in No. 27.

MINUTE BY MINISTERS.

Auckland, 6th February, 1862.

Ministers have carefully considered the two Despatches of the 8th and 9th of January, 1862, addressed by His Excellency to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, which His Excellency has submitted to them.

The General Assembly is likely to be at all times jealous of any appeal to the Imperial Parliament for legislation on subjects on which it has not been consulted; particularly if they should happen to be such as it may conceive to fall within its own legislative jurisdiction. It may be questionable whether some of the powers which his Excellency seeks to have conferred by the Imperial Parliament could not be conferred by the Assembly, and might be so conferred at as early a date as by Parliament.

Speaking cautiously, however, and on the supposition that the Act of Parliament will not in any particulars extend beyond the limits specified by His Excellency, particularly that no power shall be given of making special grants to Europeans unless as Trustees for such Native objects as his Excellency proposes to meet, and that the powers conferred shall be exercised (as His Excellency suggests) only by the Governor with the advice of his Executive Council, Ministers are inclined to think that the course pursued will meet the general approval of the Assembly.

WILLIAM FOX.

No. 28.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Government House,
Auckland, 8th February, 1862.

No. 13.

MY LORD DUKE,—

I have the honor to transmit for Your Grace's information, copies of two very interesting Reports by the Hon. Mr. Crosbie Ward, the Postmaster General in this Colony, upon the state of the Native population in the Hawke's Bay District; where several very embarrassing questions had arisen between the Europeans and Natives.

Your Grace will be glad to find from these Reports in how able and satisfactory a manner Mr. Ward arranged those questions.

I have, &c.,

G. GREY.

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, K.G.,
&c., &c., &c.

[The Enclosures to this Despatch will be found printed with the other papers on the same subject in the Sessional Papers 1862, E No. 9, Section 6.]

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE
OF NEWCASTLE.

Auckland, February 20th, 1862.

MY LORD DUKE,—

I have the honor to transmit, for Your Grace's information, copies of two letters from Lieutenant-General Wynyard, dated respectively 4th September, 1857, and 7th January, 1858, containing the Lieutenant-General's views regarding the sale of arms and ammunition to the Natives of this country.

2. I have also the honor to transmit the copy of a Memorandum, by Mr. Fox, and a Return prepared by the Collector of Customs at the Port of Auckland, from which Your Grace will see that at that port alone nearly 6,000 stand of arms, and proportionate supplies of ammunition, have, since 1857, passed into the hands of the Native population.

I have, &c.,

G. GREY.

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, K.G.,
&c., &c., &c.

Enclosure 1 in No. 29.

Auckland, 4th September, 1857.

SIR,—

As the accompanying *Gazette* contains a Proclamation, affecting a fundamental law regarding the sale of arms and ammunition to the Natives of this colony, and opens the door, on the grounds of expediency, for the sale of munitions of war, of which I cannot but feel they are too well supplied already, I deem it right to transmit the same for the information of H.R.H. the General Commanding-in-Chief, and in so doing to enclose a copy of a memorandum I considered it my duty to lay before the Executive Council when the subject was under discussion.

I beg to disclaim all idea of questioning, in any way whatever, the wisdom of the course pursued on this occasion by his Excellency's Advisers. All I wish is, to let it be known to my own immediate superiors, should any untoward event take place, that the Proclamation was not in any way supported by me, either in my capacity of Commander of the forces, or as senior member of the Executive Council.

I have, &c.,

R. H. WYNYARD, C.B.,
Colonel.

The Adjutant-General,
Horse Guards.

[MEMORANDUM.]

As the system of smuggling gunpowder to the Maoris is so extensively carried on, through the connivance and instrumentality of white people who can set the existing laws at defiance with impunity, relaxing the Ordinance so far as to sanction the general sale of powder for sporting purposes, under well considered regulations, may be advisable, if only as a means of checking the underhand traffic now carrying on.

I do not, however, think it would be advisable at present to disturb the arrangements for the sale or repair of arms, being satisfied the Natives would lose no time in replacing the inefficient arms in possession by the very best money could produce in the market; while the Europeans, far inferior in numbers, would remain helplessly careless and ignorant of any and every means for their defence, relying, as they ever have done, on the Government for protection.

R. H. WYNYARD, C.B.,
Colonel.

Auckland, 7th January, 1858.

SIR,—

No *Government Gazette* for 1858 having appeared, containing the Return of arms and ammunition sold to the Natives, which I was induced to expect by the tenor of the Proclamation published in the *Gazette* accompanying my letter of the 4th September last, it may be right to transmit at once for the information of H.R.H. the General Commanding-in-chief, in reference thereto, the enclosed copy of a further correspondence I considered it my duty to hold with the Government on the same subject, and which was duly laid by his Excellency before his Responsible Advisers, at a meeting of the Executive Council assembled for the purpose.

I have, &c.,

R. H. WYNYARD, C. B.,
Colonel.

The Adjutant-General,
Horse Guards.

Auckland, 26th November, 1857.

SIR,—

Having presumed to differ in the first instance with Your Excellency's Advisers on the expediency of relaxing the provisions of the Arms Ordinance, perhaps I ought to abstain from further

remark on the subject; still, I hardly think I should be doing my duty by Your Excellency were I not to communicate my impression that the sale of arms and ammunition is now carried on to such an extent, that the Natives have other objects in view than merely sporting, or even the adjustment of internal disputes among themselves. Hardly a Native leaves town but he is supplied with a new single or double barrel gun. Powder is purchased, I am informed, not by the pound, but by the cask; and lead, for making bullets, has been bought up in equal quantities; besides which, the supply of arms furnished to the interior is enormous.

I do not mean to imply that danger is necessarily at hand; at the same time, the Natives do not hesitate, when excited, to speak openly of a "coming day," and it is well known it does not take much to rouse them on any subject that may have a national tendency, as in the case of Kororareka and Taranaki, and many slighter and subsequent events.

I trust Your Excellency will excuse my addressing you on this subject; but it has such immediate reference to our military position that I consider it right to keep you informed of whatever I may hear likely to affect the Colony, or the force under my command.

I have, &c.,

R. H. WYNARD,
Colonel.

Enclosures 2 and 3.

[*These Enclosures will be found printed in Sessional Papers, 1862,—E—No. 2 pp. 7, 8.*]

DESPATCHES FROM HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, K.G.

No. 1.

COPY OF DESPATCH FROM HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, K.G., TO HIS EXCELLENCY
GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY.

Downing-street,
5th June, 1861.

SIR,—

With reference to my despatch of even date herewith, I am anxious to address to you a few observations which, without fettering your action in the discharge of the important duties which await you in New Zealand, will serve to indicate the main objects which, in the judgment of Her Majesty's Government, you should keep in view, and the nature of the means by which they may probably be attained.

SEPARATE.

I need hardly say that the first of these objects, and the one which Her Majesty's Government have most at heart, is the establishment of peace. In calling upon you to proceed to New Zealand, they have been mainly influenced by the hope, that your intimate knowledge of the Natives, the reputation which you enjoy among them, and the confidence with which you formerly inspired them, may enable you to bring this deplorable warfare to a close earlier than might be in the power of any other man. I shall not attempt to prescribe the conditions of peace which I may think ought to be imposed or accepted: but I wish to impress upon you my conviction that, in deciding upon those conditions, it will be your duty, while avoiding all unnecessary severity towards men who can scarcely be looked upon as subjects in rebellion, to take care that neither your own mission, nor the cessation of hostilities when it arrives, shall carry with it in the eyes of the natives any appearance of weakness or alarm. It would be better even to prolong the war, with all its evils, than to end it without producing in the native mind such a conviction of our strength as may render peace not temporary and precarious, but well-grounded and lasting.

If the Maoris acquire that conviction; and if they find themselves, as I trust and believe they will, treated by the Government after their defeat with as much fairness and consideration as they received before; much will have been done to secure the future welfare and harmony of the two races which inhabit New Zealand.

It will be your further duty, and that one of no little difficulty, to endeavour to place the administration of native affairs upon a more satisfactory footing than that on which it has hitherto stood. The latest attempt made to improve that administration consists in the "Native Council Act," which was passed at the close of the last session of the New Zealand Parliament. I shall not advise the Crown to bring that Act into operation until I shall have received a report upon it from you, as a portion of the general subject: unless, indeed, you should feel satisfied of the necessity of acting upon its provisions without delay, in which case you will be at liberty to propose a short Act to the General Assembly, bringing the Native Council Act into immediate operation without a further reference home.

You will find that this measure was accompanied in its passage through the Assembly by a Resolution of that body addressed to Governor Gore Browne, and a Message from him in reply, which profess to lay down the future relations between the Governor and the Responsible Ministry in the administration of native affairs. These documents have, however, conveyed no clear idea to my mind as to the intentions of the respective parties: and it will be your duty to endeavour to place those relations on such a footing, as will ensure that harmony and efficiency which the present system has failed to produce, in spite of the zeal and ability of Governor Gore Browne, who has frequently urged its deficiencies upon my consideration and that of my predecessors.

With an improved machinery of administration; with your well earned influence over the Natives; and with, I trust, the cordial co-operation of your Ministers and the Legislature, which you will make every effort to secure; I look forward to the introduction by you of some institutions of Civil Government, and some rudiments of law and order, into those Native Districts whose inhabitants have hitherto been subjects of the Queen in little more than in name, notwithstanding the well-meant colonial legislation of the last few years. I may add, that your experience in British Kaffraria would seem to recommend a system under which a certain number of the native chiefs should be attached to the Government, by the payment of salaries and the recognition of their dignity, and should at the same time be assisted by Resident Magistrates in administering justice within their respective districts or tribes. It will be for you to consider how far the policy you have pursued towards the natives of South Africa may be suited to those of New Zealand, considering the circumstances in which the Maori differs from the Kaffir, and the superiority in many respects of the former over the latter.

But whatever be the system which you may be led to adopt for the management of Native Districts, two things are evidently essential to its successful establishment—sufficient power and

sufficient funds. The first you will, I trust, find in the co-operation of the natives themselves, in the temporary presence of a large military force, and in the support of the New Zealand Parliament. For the latter, also, you will have to appeal to that body: and I feel the utmost confidence, strengthened by observation of its past conduct, that it will see clearly its duty and its interest, and will vote with liberality the sums necessary to carry into effect a well considered plan of native government and civilization. In order, however, that no aid which Her Majesty's Government can afford you may be wanting, I shall think it my duty to advise Her Majesty to issue Letters Patent, conferring upon you all the powers which can be conferred upon the Governor under the Constitution Act. For this purpose I have consulted the Law Officers of the Crown, and as soon as I have obtained from their high authority an exact definition of the limits of those powers, I will furnish you with full instructions on the subject.

I will only here observe, that the most important of the Crown's powers, not hitherto exercised, is that of declaring Native Districts, with the effect of withdrawing them, for purely native purposes, from the jurisdiction of the General Assembly, or Provincial Councils, or both. It will be for you and your Ministers, aided probably by the proposed Council, to consider whether a colonial law might not with advantage be passed, withdrawing such districts, for all purposes, from the Provinces within which they are nominally included: and whether a distinct legislation and administration, in which the natives themselves should take a part, would not better promote the present harmony and future union of the two races, than the fictitious uniformity of law which now prevails, or than any attempt to introduce the natives (in their present condition) into the electoral body of the colony, either provincial or general.

I have not yet alluded particularly to one most important portion of the subject, closely connected with the origin of the present disturbances: I mean the system under which the purchase of native lands is now, and ought to be in future, conducted. You will direct your earliest attention to this subject; examining whether the system of negotiation between the agents of the Governor and the native owners, though in conformity with the Treaty of Waitangi and for many years successful, may not, in the present condition of the natives and settlers, require to be modified or superseded; and whether, if it should in whole or in part be maintained, some tribunal cannot be established entitled to the confidence of both parties, for the purpose of adjudicating upon disputed claims when urged in a legal and peaceable manner. In connection with this topic, I have now to indicate to you, generally, the nature of the concessions which Her Majesty's Government would be prepared to make, with a view to a satisfactory arrangement of Native administration, and upon learning from you that you had succeeded in concluding such an arrangement with the representatives of the colonists.

First,—They will be prepared, to the extent which you may think wise, to waive the serious objections to such changes as those proposed by the "Native Territorial Rights Act" of 1858, which led to the non-confirmation of that measure, and were pointed out in the Despatch of my predecessor (signed by Lord Carnarvon) of the 18th May, 1859. They will, accordingly, be willing to assent to any prudent plan for the individualization of Native Title, and for direct purchase under proper safeguards of native lands by individual settlers, which the New Zealand Parliament may wish to adopt.

Secondly,—They will consider, with the strongest desire to acquiesce in them, any Ministerial arrangement for the conduct of Native affairs which may appear safe to yourself and be acceptable to the colonists.

Thirdly,—They will be ready to treat the Colony with as much indulgence as their duty will permit on the subject of the charges of military protection, and the number of troops to be maintained in New Zealand.

I have to add one proviso applicable to the three subjects with which I have just dealt, which, however obvious, must be distinctly laid down.

Whatever may be the future arrangements as to the purchase of Native land or administration of Native Affairs, or whatever may be the amount of force maintained in the Colony, or whatever the source from which its cost shall be defrayed, it will be impossible for Her Majesty's Government to authorize the Governor of New Zealand to employ Her Majesty's troops in suppressing native disturbances, unless he shall have been thoroughly conversant with, and personally consenting to, every measure of the Local Government which, in its operation, may have unfortunately led to the necessity of so employing them: and this principle, the justice of which can hardly be questioned, must govern all the arrangements which you may be able to make in concert with the local authorities, on the subject of native affairs. But I am at the same time fully aware that, under a Constitution such as that which New Zealand possesses, the value of the above proviso is far less real than it might appear, and that the practical power which a Governor is likely to exercise is of a negative and an uncertain character. Such being the case, Her Majesty's Government can only trust that the good sense and good feeling of the colonists will lead them to a cordial understanding with the Representative of the Crown, for the purpose of effectually promoting the civilization and good government of the natives, and thus securing their friendship and contentment.

Should, unhappily, a contrary course be pursued—which I will not anticipate—there would be no security against future native wars, while it would be impossible for any Government in this country to supply Imperial troops at Imperial charge, in order to avert from the colonists the disastrous consequences of a policy which would have been pursued against their advice, and over which they could, under the actual Constitution of the Colony, exercise so little control.

I have, &c.,

NEWCASTLE.

Governor Sir G. Grey, K.C.B.

&c.

&c.

&c.

No. 2.

COPY OF DESPATCH FROM HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, K.G., TO GOVERNOR SIR
GEORGE GREY.

NEW ZEALAND.

No. 76.

Downing-street,
26th July, 1861.

SIR,—

I have received Colonel Gore Browne's despatch No. 65 of the 3rd of May last, forwarding copy of a correspondence which had passed between Lieutenant-General Cameron and himself, respecting the policy to be pursued towards the Waikato tribes.

It appears to me that on every ground Colonel Gore Browne acted rightly, in determining to allow a considerable interval to elapse before any further military operations were undertaken against these tribes: as it is very desirable that recourse to extreme measures should not be adopted, while there is any reasonable chance of their eventually submitting themselves, of their own accord, to Her Majesty's authority.

I have, &c.,

NEWCASTLE.

The Governor of New Zealand,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 3.

COPY OF DESPATCH FROM HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, K.G., TO GOVERNOR SIR
GEORGE GREY.

NEW ZEALAND.

No. 89.

Downing-street,
22nd September, 1861.

SIR,—

I have to acknowledge the receipt of Governor Gore Browne's despatches Nos. 92 and 97, of the 4th and 6th July last; in which he transmits, with other enclosures, copies of the debates in the House of Representatives, further papers on the Native insurrection, and a copy of the Resolutions of the Secret Committee of both Houses in Conference as to the future dealings with the Waikatos. I have also received Governor Gore Browne's despatch No. 95, of the 5th July 1861, respecting General Cameron's desire to organize a Militia.

I perceive from these despatches that the Colonial Government propose, as their share of the expense of the Maori war, to maintain under the Militia Acts such parts of the Colonial forces as may be necessary for the defence of the several settlements, leaving the rest of the expense to be defrayed by the Imperial Government, and requiring that part of the cost which is to fall on themselves, to be in the first instance advanced from the Commissariat chest. I think it necessary to inform you at once, that I am by no means satisfied with these proposals; though I refrain from entering into any detailed examination of them until I receive some report from yourself upon the subject.

I take this opportunity of informing you, that I have been unable to advise that Sir George Lewis should accede to General Cameron's request for more troops. It is my opinion that the Imperial Government has done enough by sending out 6,000 men; and that the Colony can and ought to do the rest.

I have, &c.,

NEWCASTLE.

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.
&c., &c., &c.

No. 4.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, K.G., TO GOVERNOR
SIR GEORGE GREY, K.C.B.

NEW ZEALAND.

No. 91.

Downing-street,
22nd September, 1861.

SIR,—

I have received your predecessor's Despatch. No. 74, of the 16th of May, enclosing the copy of a Memorandum on our relations with the Waikato, with which he had been favoured by Sir William Martin.

As I feel little doubt that the views which I have formed respecting some of the questions raised in that Memorandum will in the main coincide with your own, I think I shall aid you by expressing them. But you will readily understand that I am not disposed to add to your difficulties by any specific instructions upon matters with which you are so fully conversant.

In the first place, I concur with Sir William Martin in viewing with great apprehension that feeling which is embodied in the phrase that "the King question must be settled once for all."

This language appears to me to signify one of two things—either that we must avail ourselves of the presence of a superior force to extort from the Maoris a verbal admission of the Queen's rights and an abandonment of obnoxious phrases, or that we must avail ourselves of that force in order so to break their power that they will never again dare or be able to re-assert their claim to independence of Colonial authority.

The first of these courses would be merely nugatory. A form of phrase imposed by superior force will never prevent the Natives from reclaiming substantial independence (if they are inclined to do so) the moment that force is removed.

The second implies a desperate, tedious, and expensive war, to which it is impossible to look forward without horror.

But the documents which reach this country lead me to believe, that neither the Colonial Government nor even the Maoris themselves understand clearly the motives and meaning of the King movement; and that the floating notions respecting national independence which are indicated by that movement, may assume a harmless or dangerous character according to the skill with which they are treated by those who have the conduct of affairs in the Colony.

I think that nothing could be more impolitic or unfortunate than to allow a sanguinary quarrel to spring up, in order to settle a question of language with uncivilized tribes who do not understand the significance of the terms which they use or those which we offer for their acceptance. Whatever those terms may be, I should hope with Sir William Martin that just and effective government, by giving the Natives what they are blindly feeling after, would eventually throw the King movement into the shade; and I hold that the great object which may be accomplished by the temporary presence of a large force in the Colony, is not so much to terrify the Maoris, as to give them confidence in our just intentions by shewing that the demands which we make upon them, and the measures which we may adopt towards them while they are to a certain extent at our mercy, are not of an oppressive or vindictive character, but are dictated by a desire to secure the common well-being of both races in New Zealand. If these views are correct, it would follow that armed force should not be used for the mere purpose of exacting from the Maoris a verbal renunciation of the so-called King. We should endeavour, really, to attain the same object by seizing the present opportunity to introduce into Native Districts the beginnings of law and order, and so to wean their minds from foolish and dangerous ideas; partly by the sense of good government, and partly by the observation of the power, dignity and emoluments which we are prepared to give to the Chiefs through whom, acting in concert with the Queen's officers, the Native government must be carried on, and who in the course of this government must gradually fall more and more under the influence of the constituted European authorities. This is no new experiment, but a tried policy which has succeeded in different quarters and different ages of the world, and it is peculiarly free from prospective danger where, as in the present case, the same independent authority which it is proposed to foster is to be committed to those whose power cannot fail from natural causes steadily to decline.

Of course, I shall not be misunderstood to mean that the Native subjects of the Queen should be allowed in active, still less in armed, resistance to her authority when unequivocally resisted; nor can I for an instant admit the distinction which is drawn by William Thompson (and of which I think Sir William Martin does not fully appreciate the significance) between the authority of the Queen and that of the Governor. Submission to the Royal authority is unmeaning unless it includes submission (at least provisional) to the Officer through whom alone that authority is exercised. The necessity, in this sense, of supporting the supremacy of the British Crown, can hardly be over-stated; and if the employment of armed force be requisite for that purpose, the responsibility must rest, not on Her Majesty's Government, but upon those by whom disobedience, amounting to practical rebellion, has been planned or encouraged.

I hope, however, that it is in your power to avoid raising any such disastrous issue; and that a careful and conciliatory policy, which appears likely to be supported by a large amount of public opinion in New Zealand, will produce the same happy results which have attended your previous administration of the Colony.

Governor Sir George Grey, K. C. B.,
&c., &c., &c.

I have, &c.,

NEWCASTLE.

No. 5.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO GOVERNOR SIR
GEORGE GREY.

NEW ZEALAND.

No. 92.

Downing-street,
22nd September, 1861.

SIR,—

I have to acknowledge the receipt of Governor Gore Browne's confidential despatch of 6th of July last, in which he requests to be supplied with a Royal Proclamation setting forth the views and ultimate determination of Her Majesty in reference to the Native insurrection.

Governor Browne states that he is induced to make this request because the Maoris believe that he is not acting in accordance with the views of the Imperial Government.

Since, however, the circumstance of your appointment as Governor of New Zealand cannot leave any doubt in the minds of the Native population that you will act with the full support and concurrence of Her Majesty's Government, it appears unnecessary to issue the Proclamation which Colonel Gore Browne desires, and which indeed might have the effect of embarrassing, rather than facilitating, your proceedings.

I have, &c.,

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

NEWCASTLE.

No. 5.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, K.G., TO GOVERNOR
SIR. GEORGE GREY.

NEW ZEALAND.

No. 14.

Downing-street,
26th February, 1862.

SIR,—

I have received, and shall consider very carefully, your two Despatches, Nos. 36 and 38, of the 30th November and 6th December, received by the last mail.

You inform me that you are conducting Native Affairs, not as heretofore through a Native Department exclusively responsible in the first place to the Governor, and through him to the Home Government, but through and with the advice of your Responsible Ministry. You also acquaint me with certain plans of improvement which you have proposed to your Government, involving the remission on the part of the Imperial Treasury of a sum probably amounting to about Twenty-five thousand Pounds from the contribution of Five Pounds a head which the Colony is bound to make to the expenses of the British troops now in the Island.

But while you thus inform me of the concessions which you hope from Her Majesty's Government, you do not tell me by what sacrifices the colonists are prepared to meet those concessions. I do not understand, for example, to what extent they are willing either to impose on themselves additional taxation, or to appropriate existing taxes to the improvement of the Maoris or the support of any future war, or the liquidating the expenses of that which I hope is now concluded. Nor do you indicate the amount of personal effort which the colonists are prepared to make in their own defence, and by which they may be enabled to dispense with the military assistance hitherto afforded them at the expense of Great Britain.

While, therefore, I do not doubt that I shall receive in due time full information on these points, I feel it unlikely that any consideration of your present despatches (which present to me one side only of this important question) will enable me, in the absence of such information, to signify approval of the steps which you have taken.

You have, yourself, exhibited so fully the enormous expense which this war will have imposed on the British Treasury, that it is hardly necessary for me to enjoin upon you the utmost economy in regard to matters involving Imperial expenditure.

This is a point on which I need hardly say Her Majesty's Government are extremely solicitous.

I have, &c.,

NEWCASTLE.

Governor Sir George Grey, K. C. B.,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 6.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO GOVERNOR SIR G. GREY,
K.C.B.

NEW ZEALAND.

No. 15.

Downing-street,
26th February, 1862.

SIR,—

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your several Despatches of the numbers and dates noted in the margin, relating to the subject of Native Affairs.

You will already have learnt by my despatch of the 22nd of September last, No. 91, that the views which I entertain respecting the proper mode of dealing with the Maoris coincide generally with those which you have expressed. I have full confidence in your power of choosing the best means and the most favourable opportunities for giving effect to your policy.

I have, &c.,

NEWCASTLE.

Governor Sir George Grey, K. C. B.,
&c., &c., &c.

Enclosure in No. 6.

Schedule of Despatches acknowledged in the preceding Despatch.

No. 3 of 9th October, 1861	" 35 of 30th "	1861
" 8 of 21st " "	" 39 of 6th December "	
" 14 of 2nd November, 1861	" 41 of " " "	
" 15 of " " "	" 42 of 7th " " "	
" 16 of " " "	" 43 of " " " "	
" 18 of 4th " " "	" Separate" of 7th Dec. "	
" 22 of 22nd " " "	No. 45 of 8th " " "	
" 23 of 23rd " " "	" 46 of " " " "	
" 29 of 27th " " "		

No. 7.

NEW ZEALAND.

No. 17.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO GOVERNOR SIR G. GREY,
K.C.B.Downing-street,
14th March, 1862.

SIR,—

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 40, of the 6th December, forwarding, with a letter addressed to yourself by the Chief Renata, the copy of one from the Superintendent of the Province of Wellington, enclosing a tracing of a map, drawn up by two Natives, of the disputed land at Waitara.

You observe that, assuming the map to be accurate, it appears that Te Teira and those who sold the land to the Government were only entitled to about one-tenth part of such land.

This question has however given rise to so much party feeling both among the Colonists and the Natives, and has been productive of so much conflicting evidence, as an example of which I would refer you to the Native plan sent home in your predecessor's despatch No. 102, of 31st July last, that I do not feel that the tracing now forwarded can be regarded as throwing much light upon the facts of the case.

I have, &c.,

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

NEWCASTLE.

No. 8.

NEW ZEALAND.

No. 19.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO GOVERNOR SIR G. GREY,
K.C.B.Downing-street,
14th March, 1862.

SIR,—

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 35, of the 30th November last, in which you state that for the present you do not deem it for the good of Her Majesty's service to compel the Waikato tribes to submit to the terms which Colonel Gore Browne had proposed for their acceptance by his Declaration of the 21st May last.

I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government have entire confidence in your discretion in dealing with this important question.

I have, &c.,

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

NEWCASTLE.

No. 9.

NEW ZEALAND.

No. 20.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO GOVERNOR SIR G.
GREY, K.C.B.Downing-street,
16th March, 1862.

SIR,—

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch No. 24, of the 23rd November, enclosing copy of a letter from the Chief William Thompson, respecting the seizure of three casks of spirits by some of his people; together with an extract of one from the Rev. John Morgan, in which he calls attention to the endeavours which are still made by certain dissatisfied persons to create distrust of your intentions in the minds of the Natives.

I have, &c.,

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

NEWCASTLE.

No. 10.

NEW ZEALAND.

No. 21.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE
GREY, K.C.B.Downing-street,
16th March, 1862.

SIR—

I have to acknowledge your despatch No. 44, of the 8th December last, enclosing an

interesting account by Mr. Gorst of his proceedings in the Waikato country.

I hope you will have found means, before this Despatch reaches you, of avoiding or overcoming such objections as the Maoris appear to entertain to your scheme of government. I see no difficulty, if they desire it, in requiring the assent of one of their Chiefs, whether Matutaera or any other person, to the laws passed by the Runanga.

Such an assent is in itself no more inconsistent with the sovereignty of Her Majesty, than the assent of the Superintendent of a Province to laws passed by the Provincial Council.

Governor Sir George Grey, K.G.B.,
 &c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.,
NEWCASTLE.

No. 11.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO GOVERNOR SIR

NEW ZEALAND.

G. GREY, K.C.B.

No. 25.

Downing-street, 26th March, 1862.

SIR,—

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatches Nos. 4 and 7 of the 8th and 9th of January, recommending that, with a view to remedy certain serious evils to which you call my attention, an Act of Parliament should be obtained—(1.) To enable the Governor to issue a Crown Title to the Natives in all cases where land has been purchased by the Government under pledge to re-grant part of it to the Native sellers: (2.) To empower him to give a Crown Title to Native lands which the owners desire to appropriate to the support of a Minister of religion, in the district in which such lands are situated; Or generally (3) to confer a power on the Governor of giving to the Natives Crown Titles to any portions of their own lands.

I have learned with extreme regret, that for no better reason than a supposed legal difficulty, (which if it exist at all ought in common fairness to have been removed long ago,) a large number of Natives have failed to obtain the fulfilment of explicit promises which were made to them on the part of Her Majesty's Government, and by which they had been induced to surrender their lands to the Colonial Government. I am fully sensible how much the credit of the British Crown must have suffered by this injustice, and how much it will continue to suffer till the injustice shall have been redressed.

I am not prepared to say that the case would be an improper one for the interference of the Imperial Legislature, if no other means were available for maintaining the honor of the Crown. But it does not appear from your Despatch that this is the case. It appears, on the contrary, probable that the Colonial Government, on your advice, will not hesitate to issue the requisite Grants to these Natives, nor the local Legislature (if necessary) to declare their validity: and under these circumstances, I have not thought myself justified in submitting to Parliament a Bill which would appear to indicate a suspicion that the Colonial authorities are indisposed to deal honestly with their Maori creditors.

I concur with you in thinking that the Governor should possess the power, under proper limitations, of issuing Crown Grants of Native Lands, either to the Native owners generally, or towards the virtual endowment of the Clergy in Native districts, or for many other imaginable purposes : and I think that this power would probably have been given long ago, if the Imperial and Colonial Governments could have agreed whether it should be exercised by the Governor alone or by the Governor acting with the advice of his Executive Council.

You will perceive by a Despatch of the 18th May, 1859, addressed by the then Secretary of State, to Colonel Gore Browne, that Her Majesty's Government were then of opinion that powers of this kind, materially though indirectly affecting Imperial interests, should be exercised by the Governor alone. On this general subject I shall address you hereafter. But I have at present no hesitation in informing you, that if the Colonial Legislature shall think fit to pass an Act, investing the Governor with the power of issuing Crown Grants of Native lands to the Native owners or to any persons nominated by them, I shall not think it necessary to withhold Her Majesty's confirmation from that Act on the ground that the power thus conferred is to be exercised by the Governor with the advice and consent of his Responsible Ministry.

I hope that with this intimation of the views of the Home Government, you will find no difficulty in obtaining from the Legislature such legal powers as will enable you to deal effectually with this subject.

I have, &c.,

NEWCASTLE.

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO GOVERNOR SIR
GEORGE GREY, K.C.B.

NEW ZEALAND.

Downing-street, 26th May, 1862.

No. 53.
No. 3, 9th Oct.
1861.
No. 8, 26th Oct.
1861.
No. 16, 2nd Nov.
1861.
No. 36, 30th Nov.
1861.
No. 38, 6th Dec.
1861.

SIR,—

I have had under my consideration your Despatches, noted in the margin, informing me of the language which you have held to your Ministry, of the plans which you propose to yourself and them, and of the course which you desire the Home Government to pursue in regard to the management of Native affairs, and the cost of the war in New Zealand.

1. In the first place, you inform me that you propose hereafter to conduct Native affairs, like all other matters, with the advice of your Executive Council, and you deprecate any attempt to set up either the Governor, or any special body, between the Natives and the General Assembly, as a protective power.

2. You propose to establish a machinery for the Government and improvement of the Natives, which you suppose will eventually cost about fifty thousand pounds a-year. Half of this sum, you state, is already provided by the Colonial Legislature, and you have led the Local Government to expect that the other half will be virtually supplied by the Imperial Government, in the shape of a reduction from the Colonial contribution of five pounds a head to the expense of the Imperial force stationed in New Zealand.

3. You propose the maintenance, for some years, of a large Military Force, partly as a standing exhibition of strength and determination, partly in order to afford to the out-settlers that protection and sense of security which is essential to enable them profitably to occupy their farms.

4. You suggest that roads should be made by the troops (still supported, I presume; at the expense of the Imperial Treasury), in conjunction with Natives; and,

5. You propose that Military men should be employed as Commissioners in Native districts, continuing while so employed to receive Imperial pay and allowances.

With regard to the increasing debt due from the Colony to the British Treasury, you state that to exact payment would be to ruin the Colony, and you transmit a Memorandum drawn up by the Colonial Treasurer, proposing the following course, "not to attempt to meet these various demands, or to provide for this excessive expenditure at present, but to wait till the existing Native difficulty is removed, to ascertain with accuracy what proportion of the expenses the Imperial Government would, after due deliberation and a full knowledge of the facts of the case, charge the Colony with, and then to apply for a Guaranteed Loan of the requisite amount."

Now, I must, in the first place, observe that, I see in the papers before me, no adequate apprehension, on the part of the New Zealand Government, of the obligation under which the Colonists themselves lie to exert themselves in their own defence, and to submit to those sacrifices which are necessary from persons whose lives and property are in danger.

Mr. Reader Wood states that the annual Revenue of the Colony (independently of the Land Revenue), is two hundred and seventy-two thousand pounds—he mentions that ninety thousand pounds of that sum are paid to Provincial Governments—and he observes that the Land Fund is Provincial Revenue, and expended in Colonization and Public Works. But it does not appear to occur to him that the Revenue itself might be increased by the imposition of fresh taxation—that the portion of that Revenue which is so applied as to relieve Municipalities from the necessity of imposing local taxes, might be applied in whole or in part, to the more pressing needs of the Colony, and that the portion of that Revenue which is devoted to Public Works and Colonization, may, in times of disaster, and particularly in time of Civil War, which is disaster, be diverted to the paramount object of averting absolute ruin.

No doubt in steps like these, the Colony would be making sacrifices. But this is exactly what the British Government has a right to expect from them. Those who are expending half a million a-year in the defence of the Colonists and their property (a very appreciable item among those which fix on the British tax-payer the burden of an Income-tax) are entitled to expect from these Colonists that, instead of having recourse to the momentary relief of a loan: exhausted, it would seem, almost before it was raised, they should, by some immediate, general, and lasting sacrifice, of the kind which I have indicated, give some pledge of their readiness to take their share, as far as their means will allow, in the defence of their country; and in connection with this subject, I cannot pass without remark that passage in the Colonial Treasurer's financial statement of 23rd July, 1861, in which he characterizes as "most unfairly charged against the Colony" demands properly made against the Colonial Government by the Commissariat, nor the very strong animadversions made in the Colonial Legislature on the conduct of the Commissariat Officer, in bringing forward these claims in the simple discharge of his duty.

Little, however, as I am satisfied with the contents of your Despatches in these respects, I am earnestly desirous to afford the Colony, in a time of undoubted trial, the utmost assistance which can be given with any justice to this country. I therefore proceed to communicate to you, as explicitly as is now possible, the decision of Her Majesty's Government upon the questions which you have raised.

I am ready to sanction the important step you have taken in placing the management of the Natives under the control of the Assembly. I do so partly in reliance on your own capacity to perceive, and your desire to do what is best for those in whose welfare I know you are so much

interested. But I do it also because I cannot disguise from myself that the endeavour to keep the management of the Natives under the control of the Home Government has failed. It can only be mischievous to retain a shadow of responsibility when the beneficial exercise of power has become impossible.

I cannot hold out to you any hopes that a large Military force will for any length of time be kept in New Zealand. It is for the Colonists themselves to provide such a Military Police Force as will protect their out-settlers. If it is not worth while to the Colony to furnish such protection, it would seem to follow that it is not worth while to retain these out-settlements. You must therefore expect, though not an immediate, yet a speedy and considerable diminution of the force now employed.

I doubt whether under present Military regulations an officer can be detached from his regiment to serve as Commissioner in a Native District, but in case this should prove practicable Her Majesty's Government can only assent to such an arrangement on the understanding that the whole pay of the officer shall be defrayed by the Colony.

I can hold out no prospect that this country will consent to bear any part of the expense of the Local Militia and Volunteers; all existing and future liabilities on this score must be defrayed by the Colony. This sum appears to have amounted on the 29th of October last, to one hundred and ninety-three thousand one hundred and eighty pounds.

The agreement so lately entered into by the Colonial Government for the contribution of five pounds per man to the cost of the troops stationed in the Colony, must also be fulfilled up to the close of the year 1861.

But in consideration of the present difficulties of the Colony, and in compliance with your advice, Her Majesty's Government will be prepared, under the following conditions, to reckon as Military contribution, all sums shewn to be expended in a manner approved by you on Native Government, or other purely Native objects in excess of twenty-six thousand pounds, which I understand to be the amount now paid from the Colonial Revenue towards those objects.

The conditions subject to which I am able to authorise this concession are the following:—

1. The amount furnished by the Colonial Government shall not be less than twenty-six thousand pounds, and that furnished by the Imperial Government must not exceed the amount of Military contribution due from the Colonial to the Imperial Government, calculated at the rate of five pounds a head for every soldier employed.

2. No other Imperial funds are to be employed, nor any advances procured from the Treasury Chest, towards paying the expenses of the scheme.

3. An account of these expenses must be furnished to the Controller of the Treasury Chest for the information of Her Majesty's Government and of Parliament, shewing the amount and application of this Imperial contribution.

4. The present arrangement is to last for three years, that is to say, from the 1st January, 1862, to the 31st December, 1864, when it is to be hoped that the Colony may be in a position to provide for the well-being and government of the Natives so far as the institutions which you propose to introduce shall not have become self-supporting by means of local taxation, a result which you will keep steadily in view, and the importance of which I cannot to earnestly impress upon you.

5. In giving up for a limited period the claim of this country to a portion of the present Military contribution, no pledge is to be implied as to the continuance of that contribution as a permanent arrangement; but it is clearly to be understood, that the aid to be required from New Zealand for Military protection shall remain subject to any general measure which Parliament or Her Majesty's Government, may adopt with regard to the maintenance of Imperial troops in the Colonies.

You will not fail, I trust, to recognise, in these concessions, the desire of Her Majesty's Government to co-operate, in a spirit of liberality and confidence, with yourself and the Colony, in the important and hopeful attempt which you and your Ministers are now making to introduce such civilizing institutions among the native tribes as may, under the blessing of Providence save both races of Her Majesty's subjects in New Zealand from the miseries of Civil war, and the Imperial and Colonial Governments from the heavy burdens which it entails.

I have, &c.,

NEWCASTLE.

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 13.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO GOVERNOR SIR GEORGE GREY, K.C.B.

Downing-street, 27th April, 1862.

NEW ZEALAND.

SIR,—

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch No. 15, of the 8th of February last, enclosing a report from Mr. Gorst, a Magistrate in the Upper Waikato District, of an effort made by the Natives to compel him, as a European Magistrate, to abandon a district to which he had been appointed.

I have, &c.,

NEWCASTLE.

Governor Sir George Grey,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 40.

DESPATHES FROM HIS GRACE

No. 14.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO GOVERNOR SIR
GEORGE GREY, K.C.B.

NEW ZEALAND.

Downing-street, 27th April, 1862.

No. 41. Sir,—

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch No. 13, of the 8th of February last enclosing copies of two Reports from Mr. Crosbie Ward, the Postmaster General in New Zealand, who had been sent on a special mission to arrange certain embarrassing questions which had arisen between the Europeans and the Native Population in the Hawke's Bay District.

Mr. Ward appears to have managed this affair with great diligence and judgement.

I have, &c.,

NEWCASTLE.

Governor Sir George Grey,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 15.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO GOVERNOR SIR
GEORGE GREY, K.C.B.

NEW ZEALAND.

Downing-street, 1st May, 1862.

No. 43. Sir,—

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch No. 11, of the 7th of February informing me that you had drawn the particular attention of your Responsible Advisers to the views which you entertained respecting the Grant of Crown Titles for Land under certain circumstances to Native owners as intimated in your Despatches of the 8th and 9th of the preceding month, and enclosing a Memorandum which had been drawn up by your Ministers on the subject.

It is very satisfactory to me to observe that my Despatch of the 26th ult., No. 25, so fully anticipated the objections which would be felt by your Advisers to any appeal to the Imperial Parliament for legislation on matters which the local Legislature would appear to be competent to deal with.

I have, &c.,

NEWCASTLE.

Governor Sir George Grey,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 16.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO GOVERNOR SIR
GEORGE GREY, K.C.B.

NEW ZEALAND.

Downing-street, 17th May, 1862.

No. 45. Sir,—

Referring to my Despatch, No. 29, of the 31st of March, in which I expressed my approval of the measures which you had adopted for extending to the Waikato River the road from Auckland, and adverting to the communications which passed between General Cameron and yourself, of which copies accompanied your Despatch of the 7th of January, respecting the source from which the working pay, &c., of the Troops employed on this duty was to be paid, I have to inform you that Her Majesty's Government cannot undertake to defray any part of the cost incurred on this account, and I request that you will give directions for repaying to the Military Chest the amount expended on this object.

I am glad to find that General Cameron has caused the whole of the charges incurred in connection with the undertaking to be kept in a separate account.

I have, &c.,

NEWCASTLE.

Governor Sir George Grey,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 17.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO GOVERNOR SIR
GEORGE GREY, K.C.B.

NEW ZEALAND.

Downing-street, 26th June, 1862.

No. 58.

SIR,—

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch No. 27 of the 15th March, enclosing a Report from the Resident Magistrate on the Lower Waikato River, containing satisfactory information respecting the proceedings of the Natives with regard to the introduction of new institutions. I have also received your Despatch No. 29 of the 28th of the same month, forwarding a letter from the Rev. Mr. Ashwell bearing on the progress of religious feeling among the Native population. I have read these letters with much interest, and I am much gratified at learning that the judicious and energetic proceedings of yourself and of your Ministry are producing so happy an effect.

I have, &c.,

NEWCASTLE.

Governor Sir George Grey,
&c., &c., &c.

APPENDIX TO DESPATCHES.

LIST OF NATIVE ASSESSORS.

APPENDIX TO DESPATCHES.

LIST OF NATIVE ASSESSORS APPOINTED IN THE NATIVE DISTRICTS WITH THEIR SALARIES.

Tribe.	Hapu.	District.	Name of European Magistrate.	Village.	Native Population.	Name of Assessor or Probationer.	Date of Appointment as Probationer.	Assessor.	Salary.	Remarks.	Proposed Salary.
Ngāi Tahu	Te Huahū	Maungonui	W. B. White	Ahipara Pukepoto	662	Puhipi Te Ripi	Nov. 1850	Nov. 1850	£ 15	Head Chief	£ 20
	Ngāi Tahu	"	"	"		Waka Ranganui	Nov. 1856	Nov. 1856	10		15
	Ngāi Tahu	"	"	"		Kingi Wiremu Ranga-ihū			8		10
	Ngāi Tahu	"	"	"		Penetito Te Huhu			8		10
	Ngāi Tahu	"	"	"		Maungatiti			8		10
	Ngāi Tahu	"	"	"		Parapara			8		10
	Ngāi Tahu	"	"	"		Waikaiti			8		10
	Ngāi Tahu	"	"	"		Kohumaru			8		10
	Ngāi Tahu	"	"	"		Pupuke			8		10
	Ngāi Tahu	"	"	"		Heke Ururua			8		10
Ngāi Tahu	Te Tahaewai	Bay of Islands	J. R. Clendon	Kao		Pororua Wharekauri	Dec. 1856	Dec. 1856	5	Head Chief	10
	Te Pūhū			"		Hare Hongi Hika	Nov. 1856	Nov. 1856	5	Dead	10
	Ngāi Tahu			"		Heke Ururua	Aug. 1858	Aug. 1858	10		10
	Ngāi Tahu			"		Heremaia Te Ara			10		10
	Ngāi Tahu			"		Nāhi Rotohiko			50	Receives £100 under Waka Nene Ordinance	15
	Ngāi Tahu			"		Tamati Waka Nene			10	Principal Chief	15
	Te Whia			Wainate		Wiremu Han	Sept. 1857	Sept. 1857	10		10
	Ngāi Tahu			Kerikeri		Tango Ilikuwai	"	"	5	"	5
	Ngāi Tahu			Te Pū		Kingi Wiremu	"	"	5	"	5
	Ngāi Tahu			Te Puna		Hohaia Waikato	"	"	6	"	6
Ngāi Tahu	Ngāi Tahu			Okaihau		Tamati Hapimana	Dec. 1860	Dec. 1860	5	Second Principal	10
	Ngāi Tahu			Te Ngaere		Kiwhi Hongi			5	"	5
	Ngāi Tahu			Kaikohe		Te Hira Pū			5	"	5
	Ngāi Tahu			"		Te Hira Mura			5	"	5
	Ngāi Tahu			Tautoro		Piripi Koronghi	Sept. 1857	Sept. 1857	5	Principal Chief of Hapu	5
	Ngāi Tahu			Ohacawai		Mitai Fene Tau	April 1856	April 1856	5	Second	5
	Ngāi Tahu			Kawakawa		Renata Wharonga	Sept. 1857	Sept. 1857	5	Second	5
	Ngāi Tahu			Waikare		Te Warhi Kokowai	"	"	6	Principal	6
	Ngāi Tahu			Whangaruru		Hoterene Tawatawa	"	"	6	"	6
	Ngāi Tahu			Te Rauhitu		Mangonui Kerei	"	"	15	Second	15
Ngāi Tahu	Ngāi Tahu			Unakuru		Aperahama Taonui	March 1859	March 1859	20	Principal	20
	Ngāi Tahu			Waima		Arama Karaka Pi			20	"	20
	Ngāi Tahu			Manawa Kaiaia		Mohi Tawhai			6	"	6
	Ngāi Tahu			Waikou		Te Hira Ngatopo	April 1856	April 1856		"	
	Ngāi Tahu			Pakanae		Rangatira Moeana				"	
	Ngāi Tahu			Hauiti		Parata Puariri				"	
	Ngāi Tahu			Utakura		Wiremu Hopihona				"	
	Ngāi Tahu			Te Rauo		Papahuriria				"	
	Ngāi Tahu			Kaikohe		Hare Hikairo				"	
	Ngāi Tahu			Hautapiri		Hare Matenga				Dead, principal	5

APPENDIX TO DESPATCHES.

E—No. 2

APPENDIX.

LIST OF NATIVE ASSESSORS APPOINTED IN THE NATIVE DISTRICTS, WITH THEIR SALARIES.—continued.

Tribe.	Hapu.	District.	Name of European Magistrate.	Village.	Native Population.	Name of Assessor or Probationer.	Date of Appointment as		Salary.	Remarks.	Proposed Salary.
							Probationer.	Assessor.			
Ngapuhi	Te Wakai	Bay of Islands	J. R. Clendon	Whangaruru	} 429	Wiremu Te Tete		July 1861	£	Principal Chief	£
"	Urikaraka	"	"	Te Karetu		Henare Te Taha		"	30	Second	6
"	Te Parawhau	Whangarei	H. R. Aubrey	"		Te Manihera		"	50	Principal Chief	5
Ngatiwhatua	Te Uriohau	Kaipara	"	Oruawhoro		Wiremu Pohe		April 1852			
"	Ngaoho	Auckland	Thos. Beckham	Orakei		Tipene Mamaku		"	50	Principal Chief	
	Te Taoro	"	"	"		Apidai Te Kawau		"	50	Chief of Hapu	
	Mangamata	"	"	"		Ehikiera Tiwana		"	50	Chief of Kaipara residing at Hauraki	
Waikato	Te Aua or Akitai	"	"	Pukaki		Te Keene		Aug. 1858	12	Principal Chief of Hapu	
Ngatipaoa	Urikaraka	"	"	Waiheke		Haaka Takeanini					
Ngatiwhanaunga	Ngatiteoro	Thames	"	Matamata		Paratene Puhaa		Sept. 1857			
Ngatipaoa	Ngatiwhanaunga	"	"	Kauaeranga		Te Raihi		Nov. 1859			
Ngapuhi	Ngatipaoa	"	"	"		Hauauru Taipari					
Waikato	Ngatirango	"	"	Mahurangi		Kirahi Te 'aniwha, Iaora					
"	Ngatimahuta	Waikato	"	"		Te Hemara			10		
"	Ngatiwhana	"	H. Halse	Maungatutari		Takerei Te Rau					
"	Ngatiipa	"	"	Tihorewaru		Tioriori		June 1857	10		
"	Ngatiuru	"	"	Waipa		Waata Kukutai		Oct. 1857	6		
"	Ngatimahanga	Whangaroa	"	Whatawhata		Taneti					
"	"	Aotea	W. Harsant	"		Reweti Waikato					
"	Ngatihourua	Waikato	"	Kanewhanewa		Arama Karaka					
"	Ngati	"	H. Halse	Pehiakura		Wiremu Nero		Nov. 1854	6	Receives £100 pension	
Ngatihikairo	Ngati	Waikato	"	Whatawhata		Hira Kingi Ratapu		" 1860	6		
Waikato	Ngatiteata	Kawhia	H. Halse	"		Hetaraka Nero		June 1858	6		
Te Arawa	Ngatitunohopu	Rotorua	H. Halse	Waikato		Mohi Hikaka		"	6		
"	Ngatipikiao	Bay of Plenty	H. T. Clarke	Waiuku		Pauepa Ngauma		Dec. 1857	25		
			"	Wangarei (returning)		Hone Wetere		May 1856	12	Good man; absent	
			"	Maketu		Ahipene Kaihau		Dec 1853		Nearly useless; no energy, great man of influential tribe	
			"	Tawera		Rota Rangihoro		"	10	Good. Little use; but nephew, Wm. Kemp, very fine fellow	
			"	"		Parakaia Tamaroa		"	10	Absent	
			"	Kapiti		Wiremu Kingi Muriwhenua		May 1856	10	Energetic and useful	
			"	Maketu		Tobi Te Ururangi Pekamu		June 1858	10		
			"	Opotiki		Winia					
Whakatohea	Ngatiwahiao	East	"	Opotea		Nikorima		March 1854	10	Dead	
Arawa		"	"	Ohuki		Matina Te Raukai			10	Unknown	
Ngatierangi		"	"			Wi Patene			10	Useful; not gazetted	
		"	"			Haniora Matenga Tu			10	Useful	

APPENDIX TO DESPATCHES,

LIST OF NATIVE ASSESSORS APPOINTED IN THE NATIVE DISTRICTS, WITH THEIR SALARIES.—*continued.*

Tribe.	Hapu.	District.	Name of European Magistrate.	Village.	Native Population.	Name of Assessor or Probationer.	Date of Appointment as		Salary.	Remarks.	Proposed Salary.
							Probationer.	Assessor.			
Ngatiawa Arawa Ngatiwhaetoea	Tawera	Bay of Plenty	H. T. Clarke	Umuhika		Raharuhi	60		£		
	Ngatiwhangiaoreore	"	"	Te Ngae		Hoani Ngamu	60	May 1847		Not much influence	
	Ngatierangitia	Taupo				Wiremu Te Tauri				Very good	
						Pohipi Tukarangi				Dead	
Ngatioporou		East Cape	W.B. Baker	Hamokorau		Paratone Pototi		Dec. 1855	15		
		"	"	Turaganui		Kahutia		"	20		
		"	"			Raharuhi Rukupo		Oct. 1857			
		"	"	Rangitukia		Mokena Kohere		"			
Ngatiawa		"	"	Te Horo		Popata Kauri		"			
		"	"	Waitetoki		Hauera Tamanuitera		"			
	Ngatitewhiti	Mokau, West Coast				Tikerei Waitara		Dec. 1852	10	Dead	
		Taranaki	Josiah Flight	Ilongihongi		Poharama Te Whiti		April 1850	60	Dead	
" "	Puketapu	"	"	Niniha		Hone Ropiha Utuhia		"			
	"	"	"	Te Hua		Tanati Waka		May 1852	20		
						Raniera Ngahere		Aug. 1854	50		
						Mahau		"	20		
Taranaki	Ngatitaurumoa	Wellington	H. St. Hill	Te Aro		Kipa		Sept. 1847	20		
	Ngatitewhiti	"	B. A. Ferrard	Waikanae		Hone Parai		"			
	Hanua	"	(acting)	Middle Hut		Wi Tako		"			
	"	"	"	Wharetoa		Porutu		"			
Ngatiama	Ngatiawhirikura	"	"			Te Ropiha Moturoa		"			
	Hanua	"	"	Pitone		Terawhetu		"			
	"	"	"	Waiwhetu		Honiana Te Puni		"			
	"	"	"	Upper Hut		Wataruhi Ngahenga		"			
Ngatikoata	Ngatikoata	Porirua	"			Taringa Kuri		April 1849		Not gazetted	
	"	"	"			Te Waka		"			
	Ngatitoea, Ngatiko-	"	"			Nopera		"			
	rokinoo	"	"					"			
Ngatiawa	Ngatihauia	Wainui	"	Takapuahia		Hohepa Tamahengia		April 1849		Not gazetted	
	Ngatikura	Oaki and Waikanae	"	Wainui		Ropata Hurumutu		"			
	Oarua	"	"	Waikanae		Wi Tamihana Te Neke		"			
	Ngatikunhia	"	"	Oaki		Heremaia Te Tupe		"	50		
Ngatiraikawa	Ngatihia	"	"	"		Matene Te Whiwhi		"			
	"	"	"	"		Aperahama Te Ruru		"			
	"	"	"	"		Te Ahukaram Hukiki		"			
	"	"	"	"				"			
Ngatitoea & Ngati- raukawa	Ngatikahora	"	"	"		Tamihana Ruapahia		April 1849	50	Not gazetted	
	Ngatihia	"	"	"		Horomona Toremi		"		Not gazetted.	
	Ngatimaniapoto	"	"	Porotawhan		Te Hoia		"		Gone to Nelson	
	"	"	"	"		Wiremu Pukapuka		Dec. 1847			
Ngatiapa	Ngatiapa	Rangitikei and Manawatu	"			Kawana Hunia		June 1852			
	Ngatiraikawa	"	"	Paraoanui		Ihakara		Oct. 1852			

APPENDIX TO DESPATCHES.

E—No. 1

APPENDIX.

LIST OF NATIVE ASSESSORS APPOINTED IN THE NATIVE DISTRICTS, WITH THEIR SALARIES.—continued.

Tribe.	Hapu.	District.	Name of European Magistrate.	Village.	Native Population.	Name of Assessor or Probationer.	Date of Appointment as		Salary.	Remarks.	Proposed Salary.
							Probationer.	Assessor.			
Taranaki	Ngamahanga	Motueka	James Mackay	Motupipi		Rawiri Watino		July 1858	£		£
Ngatiraua	Ngatirangepeke	"	"	"		Pirmona Matenga		"			
Ngatitama	"	"	"	Takana		Wirihana Ranakitua		"			
Ngatitawhirikura	Ngatikorokino	"	"	"		Meihana Te Aho		"			
Ngatiawa	Ngatitawhiti	"	"	Pariwhakioho		Retimana Napari		"			
Ngatitama	Te Maitiwi	Nelson	"	Aorece		Eruera Tatana		"			
"	Ngaiwi	"	"	"		Tanati Pirimona		"			
Ngatiarukore	Ngatimarukore	"	"	"		Paiwira Te Rangikatahu		"			
Ngatihanga	Ngatihanga	Marlborough	"	Waikawa		Hori Te Koroma		"			
Te Mitiwai	Te Mitiwai	Queen Charlotte's Sound	"	"		Te Herewini		"			
Ngatitewhiti	Ngatitewhiti	"	"	Matahiwi		Ropouama Te One		"			
Ngatikonako	Ngatikonako	"	"	Amaru		Inia Pahiia		"			
Ngatiwhalehau	Ngatiwhalehau	Pelorus	"	"		Pumipi Te Rau		"			
Ngatiua	Ngatiua	"	"	"		Mohi Takanga		"			
Te Uriotuehanga	Te Uriotuehanga	Kaikoura	"	Takapanwharanga		Te Watne		"			
Ngatitapahi	Ngatitapahi	"	"	Ahorua		Hone Wiremu Te Ake		"			
Ngaituahuriri	Ngaituahuriri	"	"	Waimatamate		Nopera Te Pukeroa		"			
"	"	Canterbury	J. W. Hamilton	Rapaki		Manihira Whakatau		Oct. 1852			
"	"	Kaipoi	"	"		Kaikoura Whakatau		June 1859			
"	"	"	"	"		Horomona Polio		"			
"	"	"	"	"		Tarawhata Tame		"			
"	"	"	"	"		Paoa Tau		Sept. 1852			
"	"	"	"	"		Hakopa Te Ata-o-Tu		Aug. 1858			
"	"	"	"	"		Pita Te Hori		"			
"	"	"	"	"		Miao		June 1859			
"	"	"	"	"		Railunia		Jan. 1860			
"	"	"	"	"		Ihaia Poteke		"			
"	"	"	"	"		Hone Papiia		"			
"	"	"	"	"		Tanati Tikao		April 1860			
"	"	"	"	"		Arapata Te Horau		"			
"	"	"	"	"		Ihaia Tainui		July 1860			
"	"	"	"	"		Kinihi Te Kao		"			
"	"	"	"	"		Tarapuhi Te Rauhihi		"			
"	"	"	"	"		Kerei		"			
"	"	"	"	"		Rawiri Mamaru		"			
"	"	"	"	"		Matihaa Tiramerehu		Sept. 1860	10		
"	"	"	"	"		Wiremu Kingi Meremere		"	10		
Ngatiraua	Ngaiwi	Chatham Islands	A. W. Shand	"	116	Tirauga		Sept. 1859			
Ngatimutanga	Ngaurutu	"	"	"	510	Wiremu Nera		"			
"	"	"	"	"	"	Waruti		"			
"	"	"	"	"	"	Ketu		"			
"	"	"	"	"	"	Pihuka Kiroro		"			

APPENDIX TO DESPATCHES.

LIST OF NATIVE ASSESSORS APPOINTED IN THE NATIVE DISTRICTS, WITH THEIR SALARIES.—continued.

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