

complete, though the latter may, no doubt, still carry the war into the other parts of the island, as they are doing at Tauranga. Still, the event referred to seemed to Ministers to afford a fair opportunity for making a general announcement of the terms on which the rebellion might be terminated, by the issue by His Excellency the Governor of a Proclamation, and Ministers have accordingly advised His Excellency to issue one, the terms of which have been settled by them after much earnest thought and discussion.

While such has been the action of the Government in reference to the rebels as a body, the door has never been closed against such individuals as might be desirous of laying down their arms and returning to their allegiance, without any personal punishment whatever. Numerous efforts have been made by the Government to induce them to do so. On the 16th December last, immediately after the capture of Ngauruawhia (the king's palace), a document was sent to the rebels, in which their principal chiefs were invited to visit the Governor, in order that they might learn the future intentions of the Government towards them, and they were distinctly assured, under the hand of the Governor, that if the rebels would give up their arms, they would not be made prisoners, nor be in any way molested in their persons for any part they might have taken in the present or any former war. On the 6th January last, the Colonial Secretary issued instructions to the Resident Magistrates as to the course to be pursued towards rebels who might surrender, and an abstract of these instructions was circulated, and has been kept before the eyes of the Natives in every part of the island. The terms have been generally admitted, at least by those not actually engaged in hostilities, as extremely fair, and a very considerable number of rebels have actually come in under the terms offered, given up their arms, and signed a declaration of allegiance.

On the 30th March last, immediately previous to the evacuation of Maungatautari, William Nero, a friendly chief of the highest rank, closely related to the leading rebels, informed the Colonial Secretary personally and by letter that he had reason to believe that the rebels were desirous of making peace, but were deterred by the fear that the leaders would be hung; and he suggested that he might be allowed to proceed to the rebel camp in order to disabuse their minds of this supposition. The Colonial Secretary at once acquiesced in the proposal. (See correspondence appended—Appendix B.) Nero proceeded on his mission, but entirely failed, not even an interview being granted with the leading chiefs. Two or three men of rank whom he persuaded to come in and sign a declaration that in two days they would bring in all their tribe, left again on the following day under pretence that they would return with all their people, amounting to some two hundred souls. They did not, however, even return themselves, but very adroitly contrived to thrust upon us some sixty or seventy women, children, and decrepid old men, who were a burden on their commissariat and an impediment to their movements. This was all that was gained on our side by this well-intentioned but certainly not very successful attempt to remove what was believed by some to be the only obstacle to the restoration of peace. It should be observed also that during these negotiations, Thompson, by letter addressed to Nero, affected a great desire to see peace restored, yet at the very moment he was writing such letters he appears to have been organizing a new campaign.

Ministers repeat that, in their opinion, the very greatest caution ought to be exercised in pressing the Natives to come to terms. Every one who knows the Maori must know that, even in the ordinary business of life, any exhibition of anxiety to get him to do anything is the certain way to make him hang back from doing it—his mind, cunning and suspicious beyond that of most races, inferring at once that such anxiety is a sign of weakness on the part of him who shows it, and that by standing out he can obtain his own terms, however extravagant or unreasonable. On the other hand, Ministers have entire faith in the natural results of an actual defeat of the rebel armies enforced with prudence, with firmness, with mercy, and in such broad general principles as may operate not on the mind of one individual here and there, but on the feelings and sentiments of the entire nation, both that part which has been engaged in active hostilities and that which has not.

And it must be borne in mind that this latter portion of the native community is to be considered in what is done equally with the actual rebel. It would be of little benefit to patch up peace in Waikato if rebellion were by that means to be encouraged in Cook's Straits or at Ahuriri. Waikato has been and is the head of the rebellion, and the neck of it must be broken there. If a final, permanent, and complete subjugation of Waikato is effected, this will, in all human probability, be the last instance which will occur of any combined resistance to British authority and British law. If in our anxiety to spare the erring Maori race, we press and persuade them to come to terms before they are really convinced of our superiority, and before we have taken those material guarantees for the future which it is contemplated to take, we shall to a certainty have at some future day to repeat the lesson which we are now endeavouring to teach. If the present struggle should be terminated without convincing the Natives all throughout New Zealand of the folly of trying their strength against the Europeans, and without a sufficient material guarantee being taken, new outbreaks will undoubtedly occur from time to time which can only end in chronic hostility of the race and in wars of extermination. The only hope of saving a remnant of the Maori race is the termination of the present struggle by their full acknowledgement of their mistake, their full acceptance of its consequences, and submission to the supremacy of law. It will not be done by treaties of peace which might leave the impression that they are an independent people, and at liberty in any future imaginary *casus belli* to take up the sword.

In concluding this part of their remarks, Ministers would observe that no time has yet been allowed for the results of the late campaign to bear their natural fruits. It is only three weeks since the final blow was struck in Waikato by the capture of Orakau and evacuation of Maungatautari. The mind of the rebel cannot yet have fully realized to itself the magnitude of the defeat and its consequences; at all events it does not appear to have done so. A little patience on our side may, and there is little doubt will, enable us to reap the fruit of the late costly military operations, while, as already hinted, undue pressure brought to bear on the natives to induce them to come to terms, or undue anxiety exhibited on our part to escape the prolongation of war, will probably have exactly the reverse effect to that which is intended.