

# CORRESPONDENCE

RELATING TO

## MR. J. C. FIRTH, AUCKLAND.

(BEING COPIES OF ENCLOSURES IN DESPATCH No. 145, OF THE 1<sup>ST</sup> NOVEMBER, 1870, FROM  
GOVERNOR SIR G. F. BOWEN, G.C.M.G., TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY,  
PRINTED IN FURTHER DESPATCHES, A.—No. 1, PAGE 57.)

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PRESENTED TO BOTH HOUSES OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, BY COMMAND OF  
HIS EXCELLENCY.

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WELLINGTON.

—  
1871.



## CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO MR. J. C. FIRTH, AUCKLAND.

### No. 1.

Mr. FIRTH to the Hon. J. VOGEL.

SIR,—

Auckland, 10th October, 1870.

I have the honor to forward herewith a letter addressed by me to the Right Hon. Earl Kimberley, Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, which, together with the accompanying documents referred to therein, I have the honor to request you will advise His Excellency the Governor to transmit in the usual manner to the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

I may observe that these documents refer to certain charges made or published against me by the Hon. Mr. McLean, Native and Defence Minister. I have the honor to inform you that I have not forwarded the whole of the correspondence, for the reasons that some of it reflects upon Mr. McLean, and I am not desirous of transmitting charges against Mr. McLean to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Should Mr. McLean desire that portion of the correspondence to be sent to Lord Kimberley, it can, of course, go forward by a subsequent mail.

The Hon. Julius Vogel, Resident Minister Auckland.

I have, &c.,  
J. C. FIRTH.

### No. 2.

Mr. FIRTH to Lord KIMBERLEY.

MY LORD,—

Auckland, 30th September, 1870.

I have the honor to direct your Lordship's attention to certain grave charges made or published against me by the Hon. Mr. McLean, C.M.G., Native and Defence Minister for the Colony of New Zealand, in various official documents which have been laid before the New Zealand Parliament during the Session just closed.

2. The first charge occurs in "Further Papers relative to Military Operations against the Rebel Natives," and presented to both Houses of the General Assembly, by command of His Excellency.—A. No. 8A., at page 70, and entitled, "Statement made by Te Huare to Lieut. Mair, dated 31st January, 1870," and runs as follows:—"Forty of us went with him (Te Kooti) on horse-back past Peria, in the direction of Matamata, when we met Hohaia (Mr. Firth) and another European. Te Kooti had a long talk with Hohaia, who was so frightened that he made him a present of fifty caps, some Enfield ammunition, and a revolver. Te Kooti then let him go, for his knees were shaking together through fear. Te Kooti had two or three men with him at this meeting, and they told us about it. Hohaia sent Te Kooti a lot of rum." A statement to the same purport, made by the same Native to Lieut.-Colonel McDonnell, appears in "Further Papers," &c., A. No. 8A., at page 59, dated 3rd February, 1870, and running as follows:—"The Native alluded to in Lieut. Mair's report (Te Huare) informs me (Lieut.-Colonel McDonnell) . . . that he knows Te Kooti had two interviews with Mr. Firth, that he was present himself at both, and the second time Mr. Firth had given Te Kooti a box of percussion caps." This statement being made by the same Native, and being substantially the same as the preceding statement, does not require separate notice.

3. A further charge against me is made by the Hon. Mr. McLean himself, which appears in "Further Despatches from His Excellency the Governor of New Zealand to the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies," also presented to both Houses of the General Assembly by command of His Excellency. At page 79, A. No. 1, of these Despatches, the Hon. Mr. McLean, in a Memorandum to His Excellency Sir G. F. Bowen, dated 14th February, 1870, says:—"It (Lord Granville's Despatch) has even worked mischief with that section of the Colonists who have habitually felt themselves at liberty to interfere without authority, and lend their countenance to rebellion. Thus an attempt, already referred to, was made by Mr. Firth, the lessee of a large quantity of Native land, to procure for Te Kooti, who had promised not to interfere with his land, something like a free pardon."

4. It is proper to explain to your Lordship that I was not made acquainted with either of these charges, nor was any opportunity afforded me of denying them, though an interval of five months elapsed between the date when they were made and that on which they were presented to the Assembly. On seeing for the first time, early in August last, these very serious charges made against me, I lost no time in directing the Hon. Mr. McLean's attention to them. In a letter to him, dated 4th August, I denied them in the fullest manner, supporting my denial by copies of such documents as I then had in my possession, and requesting him to give my denial a like publicity to that which he had given to the charges which he had thought proper to publish against me.

5. Mr. McLean did not comply with my request; and inasmuch as his Memorandum will be recorded against me at the Colonial Office in Downing Street, and, as I understand, that the New Zealand Parliamentary Papers are also regularly transmitted to the Colonial Office, I am under the necessity of appealing to your Lordship.

6. One consideration alone has induced me to lay aside the extreme repugnance I may not unreasonably be supposed to feel at being compelled to deal with charges of so extraordinary a character. That consideration is not altogether a personal one. Your Lordship is probably aware that many charges have from time to time been made, in England and elsewhere, against the New Zealand Colonists either anonymously or in such a shape as to render their contradiction difficult. In consequence of these charges, often very unjust, the reputation of the Colony has severely and undeservedly suffered. When, therefore, scandalous charges against a Colonist so well known as myself are made and authoritatively circulated by one of the Ministers of the Crown in this Colony, I should be neglecting a manifest duty, both to myself and my fellow-colonists were I not to take every proper means to procure for my statements as wide a circulation as the charges which have been made against me have obtained.

7. I very much regret that the course pursued by Mr. McLean has forced this step on me. In defending myself I shall not attack him, for though I think I have good reason to complain of his statements, I shall not presume to trouble your Lordship with a colonial quarrel, more especially, as I frankly admit the value of the services rendered to the Colony by the present Native and Defence Minister, and because I think Native affairs are steadily drifting into a condition of peril which will need more than ever the united efforts of the Colonists to remedy.

8. I shall therefore transmit to your Lordship only such documents as may enable you to form a correct opinion whether my efforts to establish peace in this Colony have warranted the charges made against me.

9. I now proceed to notice Te Huare's statement as detailed in paragraph No. 2 of this communication. With reference to it, I beg to deny absolutely every allegation made against me in this person's statement. I met Te Kooti once only; I did not then, nor at any time, give, sell, or supply in any way to Te Kooti, or to any of his followers, any rum, caps, arms, or ammunition of any kind. In confirmation of this denial, I beg to ask your Lordship's perusal of the accompanying documents, namely:—1. Enclosure A., being a certified copy of a statement made by Mr. Campbell, who acted as interpreter during my interview with Te Kooti; and, 2. Enclosure B., being a certified copy of the translation of a statement made by the Ngatihaua chieftains who accompanied me; both documents being authenticated by declarations made before Magistrates of the Colony.

10. The further statement made by the Hon. Mr. McLean, as detailed in paragraph No. 3 of this letter, charges me with having been animated by mean and unworthy motives. I do not hesitate to say that nothing in my character or actions has given the Hon. Mr. McLean the smallest ground for making such suggestive accusations against me. That portion of Mr. McLean's Memorandum, in which he says that I have sought to procure for Te Kooti something like a free pardon because he had promised not to interfere with my land, as well as that in which he suggests that I, amongst others, have felt myself at liberty to interfere without authority and lend my countenance to rebellion, are charges which, I venture to hope, will be considered by your Lordship sufficiently met by the perusal of the enclosed documents, namely, Enclosure C, being copy of a "Report of my interview with Te Kooti;" Enclosure D, being a telegram to the Hon. D. McLean, warning him of the danger of elevating Te Kooti from an outcast into a representative of national sentiment, and so provoking a general war; Enclosure E, being a telegram to Lieut-Colonel Moule, commanding the Waikato District, conveying my refusal to supply stores for the use of the troops, for the reasons more fully given in Enclosure D, and being my protest in actions, as well as in words, against the course the Government were then about to pursue; Enclosure F, being a translation of a letter addressed to me by Manuwhiri, the King's chief adviser, showing his opinion of my interview with Te Kooti, and of the inevitable result of a continuance of the policy then being followed by Government. Enclosure G, being my reply to Manuwhiri, urging upon him a conciliatory policy, and asking him to advise the powerful chief Te Hira, to throw open the gold district of Ohinemuri. It may not be improper here to observe, that shortly after the arrival of this letter at Tokangamutu, Te Hira consented to a sitting of the Native Lands Court at Ohinemuri, appearing himself in Court, and giving evidence in a case under investigation. Finally, I invite your Lordship's attention to Enclosure H, being a letter addressed by me to the Native and Defence Minister, dated 25th July, 1870, giving him certain information regarding important Native movements, and offering my views regarding the perilous aspect which the Native question in this Colony was rapidly assuming, and with which I do not doubt the able and statesmanlike dispatches of His Excellency Sir G. F. Bowen will have made you acquainted. With the pride, not, I hope, yet unnatural to an Englishman, I repudiate the insinuation that I have ever been influenced by the sordid and unworthy motives imputed to me by Mr. McLean. On the contrary, I have never hesitated to sacrifice my own interest, nor have I hesitated to incur any personal danger, whenever, in my opinion, these have been necessary to promote the general welfare. It is true, that I have leased and purchased lands from the Natives. It is also true, that I have invested in and upon those lands, a very large sum of money in making roads, rearing stock, planting forest trees, and in large agricultural operations amongst the Natives beyond the frontier. If the constant exercise on my part of upright dealing towards the Natives; if firm, straightforward, and fearless efforts to show them that both Government and Colonists are most anxious for their welfare and prosperity; if the greatest attempt to open the country, and to establish peace, yet made by any private citizen since the commencement of hostilities in 1860; if these acts, or any of them be offences, they are offences for which I am ready to answer.

11. Notwithstanding the odium I have incurred by these efforts to secure peace, I have continued steadfastly to advocate a wise and magnanimous policy, similar to that recommended to the New Zealand Government by Earl Granville, your lordship's predecessor; but I have never ceased to regret the fatal error committed by the Imperial Government, in not establishing peace on these principles before they withdrew from the Colony. Now, the work has to be done under daily increasing difficulties. On the one hand, the Colonists would, I believe, be ready to make large concessions, could they be assured that these concessions would not be regarded by the King Natives as being dictated by fear. On the other hand, I think such concessions would be frankly accepted by the King party, could they be convinced that they were not the dictates of conscious weakness on our part, but that they were

Enclosure A.  
Enclosure B.

Enclosure C. See  
A.—No. 24, p. 4,  
Parliamentary  
Papers, 1870.

Enclosure D. See  
A.—No. 24A, p. 5,  
Parliamentary  
Papers, 1870.

Enclosure E.  
See A.—No. 24A,  
p. 4, Parliament-  
ary Papers,  
1870.

Enclosure F.

Enclosure G.

Enclosure H.

rather the generous concessions of an irresistible power. My Lord, I hope it may yet be possible for decisive and magnanimous action on the part of the New Zealand Government to establish peace in this Colony. If peace be not shortly established, I think it probable that Native affairs will become more and more beyond the powers of the Colony to cope with, and, after the occurrence of great disasters, they will eventually pass once more under the direct control of the Imperial Government.

I have, &c.,

J. C. FIRTH.

The Right Hon. Earl Kimberley,  
Secretary of State for the Colonies.

### Enclosure 1 in No. 2.—(A.)

STATEMENT made by MR. R. E. M. CAMPBELL.

I HAVE read in "Papers regarding Military Operations against the Rebel Natives," laid before the General Assembly, a statement made by a Native named Te Huare regarding the interview held between Mr. Firth and Te Kooti in January last.

I accompanied Mr. Firth, as interpreter, when he met Te Kooti on the 17th January last; and I consider it my duty to say that the statements made by Te Huare, regarding Mr. Firth's interview with Te Kooti, are absolutely false. Mr. Firth met Te Kooti only on one occasion. Mr. Firth did not give or supply any rum, ammunition, caps, revolver or fire-arm of any kind to Te Kooti, or to any of his companions. Mr. Firth did not manifest the least sign of fear, either before or during the interview.

Mr. Firth's report of the interview, addressed to Mr. D. McLean, and published in the Auckland newspapers, is correct.

And I solemnly affirm and declare before a Magistrate, that this my statement is true, and made without fee or reward of any kind.

R. E. M. CAMPBELL.

Declared at Hamilton, this thirteenth day of September, one thousand eight hundred and seventy, before me,

J. MCPHERSON, J.P.,

A Justice of the Peace for the Colony of New Zealand.

WE certify that we have compared this document with the original document of same tenor and purport, and that it is an exact copy of the same.

JAMES WILLIAMSON, J.P.

J. S. MACFARLANE, J.P.

### Enclosure 2 in No. 2.—(B.)

STATEMENT made by the Natives TE KEREAMA, TAUWHARE and HORI NERI.

WE have seen a printed paper which has been laid before the House of Assembly now at Wellington. In this paper there is a statement made by a Native named Te Huare. Te Huare's statement has been interpreted to us. The words of Te Huare in that paper are—"That Hohaia (Mr. Firth) was afraid; that his knees shook; that he gave Te Kooti some percussion caps, some rum, a revolver, and some ammunition."

Our statement is as follows:—We two went in January to Wi Tamehana's monument with Hohaia (Mr. Firth) and Te Kemera (Mr. Campbell), the interpreter. We met Te Kooti near the monument, at Turangaomoana. His armed men were with him. We saw all that was done there, and heard all that passed between Mr. Firth and Te Kooti. Te Kooti left his men and came towards Mr. Firth, accompanied by two half-castes. Hohaia (Mr. Firth) did not give or sell to Te Kooti, or to any of his attendants, either percussion caps, rum, revolver or gun, or ammunition of any kind. We saw no appearance of fear in Hohaia's voice nor in his manner.

Before we went down to the monument a Native asked Hohaia for some rum to give to Te Kooti. Hohaia said that it was against the law to give anything to Te Kooti; he told the Native that he promised Wi Tamehana never to give or sell rum to the Natives. Hohaia said the rum was destroying the Natives. He would neither give Te Kooti rum nor anything else. We heard Mr. Firth find fault with Te Kooti on account of the murders committed by him and his followers, and on account of the women and children killed by them. Mr. Firth advised Te Kooti to give up fighting altogether.

The above statement having been read over and interpreted to us, we declare it to be true, and the statement made by Te Huare to be false.

KEREAMA TAUWHARE.

HORI NERI.

Wharetangata, Matamata, 2nd September, 1870.

Signed by the said Kereama Tauwhare and Hori Neri, their statement having been previously read over and interpreted to them by George W. Drummond Hay, Licensed Interpreter, in the presence of W. L. C. Williams.

WE certify that we have compared this document with the original document of same date and purport, and that it is an exact copy of the same.

JAMES WILLIAMSON, J.P., } Justices of the Peace for the  
J. S. MACFARLANE, J.P., } Colony of New Zealand.

I, GEORGE WILLIAM DRUMMOND HAY, of Maungakawa, Cambridge, a Licensed Interpreter of the Maori language, do solemnly and sincerely declare that I was present on the second day of September, together with W. L. C. Williams, a male adult, and did see Kereama Tauwhare and Hori Neri sign

the above statement. That previous to their signing the statement it was read over to them, and they recognized it as the statement made by them, and I make this my solemn declaration to their having thoroughly understood the nature of the document and their reasons for signing the same.

GEO. W. DRUMMOND HAY,  
Licensed Interpreter.

Declared at Hamilton, this nineteenth day of September, 1870, before me,

W. STEELE, J.P.,  
A Justice of the Peace for the Colony of New Zealand.

We certify that we have compared this document with the original document of same date and purport, and that it is an exact copy of the same.

JAMES WILLIAMSON, J.P., } Justices of the Peace for the  
J. S. MACFARLANE, J.P., } Colony of New Zealand.

### Enclosure 3 in No. 2.—(F.)

TAMATI NGAPORA MANUWHIRI to Mr. FIRTH.

SIR,—

Te Kuiti, 27th January, 1870.

Salutations! I have heard that you have seen Te Kooti. You are right (or did right). I have also heard that the Europeans and Maoris are chasing (or hunting) Te Kooti.

Sir, yours and Tamehana's (William Thompson) good policy is soiled (*i.e.*, stained). If it was only soiled outside (*i.e.*, the boundary) it would not matter; but the mischief is in Waikato itself.

O Hohaia, the roof of the house or ridge-pole is broken (*i.e.*, the people are divided). Be thou strong to cause this evil word to cease. That is all.

MANUWHIRI.

To Josiah (Hohaia), at Peria, Waikato.

### Enclosure 4 in No. 2.—(G.)

[TRANSLATION.]

Mr. J. C. FIRTH to TAMATI NGAPORA MANUWHIRI.

TE MANUWHIRI, te Kuiti, Tokangamutu,—

Auckland, 18th February, 1870.

Friend and elder, I salute you! Your letter of the 27th January, has come to me. I have been waiting for the sunrise to illumine the summit of the mountain. The first ray has now reached me. I have seen it from afar.

Hearken! there is darkness and sorrow in this saying:—"The right hand to the right hand, and the left hand to the left hand." These words were spoken in the days of darkness, which will no more return. Of what use is the right hand in these days, if the left hand remains inactive? Can the canoe be swiftly paddled by the right hand alone? Do not we grasp the paddle with both hands? Do you hold the plough with one hand only? Can either the right hand or the left hand alone dig the ground or cut down the trees of the forest? These are the works of peace. The spade and the axe, the paddle and the plough, can only be advantageously used by both hands working together, as being members of one body. The work of war is done by one hand alone. The right hand wields the sword, the left hand hurls the spear. Why then, O friend, do you say, "The right hand to the right, and the left hand to the left?" Is it not better to say, "Let the hands no longer be separated or contend, lest the whole body perish; but let them help one another, so that peace and plenty, quietness and food, may be the portion of all the dwellers in this Island, whether their skins be white or black?"

I was pleased with your letter. Before it came to me, I said to McLean, "Tawhiao and the principal chiefs do not support Te Kooti. Let this bad man alone. Do not hunt him in Waikato. Let the peace made by William Thompson and myself be respected. Do not open the wounds which are slowly healing. Cease fighting." I do not know whether my words were hearkened to by the Government, but before your letter reached me, all the people had returned to harvest work in the Waikato, and McDonnell and Kemp, and the rest of the soldiers, had gone away in pursuit of Te Kooti.

I have been strong to keep peace. Do you also be strong to keep Te Kooti and all other firebrands from alighting on the fern in Waikato.

You tell me that the ridge-pole of the house is broken and the people are scattered. Oh! my father, let you and I raise again the ridge-pole. Let us rebuild this house, so that the pakehas and the Maoris be no longer divided. Let us build this house on a sure foundation, so that the people may dwell together in peace in one house, under one law, no longer hating one another, but loving one another, and doing good to each other.

The Government permit the Maoris to dig gum on their lands (*i.e.*, the land of the Government). Why should the gum remain buried in the earth? Now, this is my word to you. Hearken to it, for it is the word of a true friend of your people. It is said there are 2,000 pakehas without work or food at Shortland, a place in Hauraki. These people are very hungry, and they desire to dig gold on the lands of Te Hira, at Ohinemuri. Some of the rash and foolish ones wished to take guns and go up to Ohinemuri, and dig gold there, without the consent of Te Hira. The Government have prevented these men from doing this work, because it would be wrong. The Government have shown great patience in this matter; but there is a proverb amongst us which says, "Hunger obeys no law." Now, why does Te Hira obstinately hinder these hungry men from digging gold? The Maoris dig gum on Government land without payment; why should the pakehas not dig gold on Te Hira's land, and pay money to Te Hira for this work of digging gold? Much of this very gold now lying hid in the earth would be given back to the

Maoris as payment for the gum, flax, and other things, which Maoris produce. The word is with you, my father. The light I send to you from my lighthouse is in this word, "Consent."

If you agree, I shall know that the sunshine of peace will rest, not only on the summit of the mountains, but that very soon it will illumine all the hills and valleys of this land.

From your friend,

J. C. FIRTH.

### Enclosure 5 in No. 2.—(H.)

Mr. J. C. FIRTH to the Hon. D. McLEAN.

SIR,—

Auckland, 25th July, 1870.

On various occasions I have communicated information of more or less value to successive Governments regarding Native opinions and movements in my part of the interior. In doing so, I have never condescended to act the part of a spy upon the Natives, but, when occasion called for it, have accompanied my information by recommendations calculated to promote a cordial feeling of goodwill between the two races, without which a lasting peace cannot be established.

During a recent visit to Matamata, I became acquainted with certain movements now in progress amongst the adherents of the King. Though probably much safer to myself to remain silent, entirely at the mercy of the Natives as I am at Matamata, I shall pursue in this instance the policy I have always followed, and I now lay before you certain information which I think, in the interests of both races, you, as Native and Defence Minister, ought to know. Accompanying this information, I shall lay before you such representations as the circumstances appear to me to warrant.

1. A meeting of Natives, more or less secret, has been summoned to be held at Tokangamutu.

2. On my way to Matamata I met a party of Natives of the King section of the Ngatihaua Tribe on their way to Tokangamutu, under the leadership of Pokoroa, a near relative of the late William Thompson, and, as you are probably aware, an old chief of the highest rank and greatest influence in that part of the interior. This chief (who was accompanied by the most influential persons of his division of Ngatihaua) informed me that they had been sent for by the authorities at Tokangamutu, and that they had been told to abandon their settlements on the Upper Thames, and go to cultivate near Tokangamutu. In accordance with these instructions they were then migrating, men, women, and children. He did not acquaint me with the object of this general movement to Tokangamutu. He said he did not know whether it would be peace or war; but he added that he had sufficient influence with Manuwhiri (Tawhiao's chief adviser) to enable him to give me and my people at Matamata timely warning if Waikato were to be attacked, and that he would certainly warn me if necessary.

3. I afterwards learnt that when the King's messenger told these people to go to Tokangamutu, one of the leading chiefs said, "Why does Manuwhiri desire us to go to Tokangamutu? If it be only to raise food, we can do that at Ohineroa (their village); but if he desires us to help him to fight for Waikato, then we will go." The messenger is stated to have replied, "That is the object; go."

4. The messenger then went to Ohinemuri, with (it is stated) a similar message for Ngatimaru. Before my departure from Matamata, I learnt that a considerable body of Ngatimaru were coming up the Waikato River with the intention of proceeding to Tokangamutu.

5. I have also been informed that a King's messenger had induced the inhabitants of a kainga in the Mercury Bay district to migrate to Tokangamutu, with the object of attacking Waikato and destroying the Europeans. Before departing, these Natives are said to have burnt their houses, chopped down their peach trees, and destroyed the property they were unable to carry away with them. This latter information came to me through an independent and reliable channel, and significantly confirms the facts I have previously detailed.

6. I presume you have been made acquainted with the circumstance that a deputation of Arawa recently visited Tokangamutu, and that Topia has declared his intention to return to that place and resume his allegiance to the King.

7. The plundering of Messrs. Ilbury's store at Aotea has doubtless had your fullest attention. It may have been either an ordinary robbery under strong temptation, or the Maori mode of telling Messrs. Ilbury and Co. to withdraw from that part of the country, or it may have been a challenge—a throwing down the gauntlet to the Government. In any case, the wisest course would have been to have passed over the affair without notice. Should it have been in any sense a political defiance, I think it may be extremely unfortunate if the despatch to Raglan of eight Constabulary, under Sub-Inspector Kenny, should be regarded by the King party as an acceptance of the challenge. To me, the most peculiar circumstance in connection with this affair is the fact that your correspondent at Tokangamutu was quite ignorant of the robbery of Ilbury's store until he heard of the outrage at Alexandra, several days after the information had appeared in the Auckland newspapers, though the act was done by the King's own tribe (Ngatimahutu) within a short day's ride of your correspondent's residence on the Waipa River. This remarkable ignorance of an important occurrence may not be ominous, but it is at least singular.

8. In relation to the various circumstances I have now detailed, I think it is of importance to remember, that when the late William Thompson visited Wellington in 1866, at the request of Sir George Grey, his demand was, "Give me back Waikato." That the loss of Waikato, though sullenly acquiesced in hitherto, still rankles in the hearts of the King party at Tokangamutu, and they have constantly reiterated Thompson's demand. I am no alarmist, for, in connection with Maori affairs, I have too frequently been brought face to face with both difficulty and danger of no common order to be much affected by either. Therefore, I but express my calm and deliberate conviction when I say that, unless some means be found of establishing peace, or of preserving the present armed truce until such time as our increased population shall have rendered the attempt perfectly hopeless, I believe that sooner or later the King party will attempt to regain Waikato by force. If history teaches one lesson more plainly than another, it is, that lands obtained by force must be held by force. The conquest of Waikato by Imperial troops is not likely to furnish an exception. Since the occupation of Waikato by us, there

have been, it is true, two large Native meetings held at Tokangamutu without having been followed by any hostile demonstrations against us. The assemblage of King Natives about to be held there differs from the former meetings in one important particular—namely, that whereas hitherto we have had the moral support of the Imperial Government and the presence of Imperial troops, now we are deprived of both, for every British soldier has been withdrawn from the Colony, and Lord Granville has openly recommended the acknowledgment of Maori authority and the restoration of the confiscated lands, or a portion of them.

9. There is the further consideration (which has doubtless had your attention) of the possible defection of a portion of the friendly tribes who have carried on military operations against the enemy on our behalf. It must, I think, always be an element of danger to the Colony, when military operations are mainly carried on by our Native allies. Large bodies of these have been well armed—I may say lavishly armed, and as lavishly supplied with ammunition by us. I do not at all depreciate the services rendered by our Native allies; at the same time, we ought not to forget that at best they are but mercenary soldiers, fighting against their countrymen—the Maori national party. Like all mercenaries to whom the chief defence of a country is committed (and animated therefore by a not unnatural pride and haughtiness), they may be expected from time to time to make demands which Government may find it difficult to grant and dangerous to refuse. Under the present system, the time may not be far off when demands may be made by them which no Government can possibly concede.

10. Whenever that conjuncture arises, we may look for a portion of our allies to join the King party.

11. A ten years' struggle has doubtless reduced the arms and ammunition at the disposal of the King Natives to a low ebb, and it is probably in a great measure due to the circumstance of their having been animated by an intensely national spirit that they have been able, under these and other great disadvantages, to continue the struggle against us so long.

12. Whenever a large portion of our Native allies—armed and trained by us, but devoid, till they desert our cause, of national spirit—go over to the King party (the latter being till then but indifferently supplied with the munitions of war, but animated by an intense patriotism), the words of Tawhiao's proclamation, "The right hand to the right, and the left hand to the left," will have passed from a dreamy aspiration into a well-defined fact, and the Colony will have to face an enemy more desperate and more dangerous than ever. The contest will then have assumed a character which it has not hitherto had—namely, a war of races. There can of course be but one termination to such a struggle. The European population will finally conquer by exterminating their opponents.

13. The extermination of a race which, whatever may be its faults, has undoubtedly displayed great readiness in acquiring many of the arts of civilization, and has, moreover, been so distinguished by the truly noble qualities of valour and patriotism that it has won the respect of the colonists, and will certainly command the admiration of future ages—the extermination of such a race will leave behind it traces of degradation and demoralization in the conquerors which a century will hardly obliterate. If such a direful brand of infamy can be averted by the timely adoption of a magnanimous policy, every wise and good colonist will be deeply solicitous that such a policy should be boldly attempted whilst its adoption is possible.

14. The firm conviction that a generous and magnanimous policy would avert the misery, bloodshed, and degradation towards which the Colony is drifting, has led me to incur, by my acts and writings in connection with Maori affairs, more especially by my visit to Tokangamutu and my interview with Te Kooti, much public odium and not a little personal danger. Neither public odium nor personal danger has weakened in the least my conviction that a merciful and magnanimous policy is the only wise and safe course for the Colony to pursue.

15. I therefore avail myself of this opportunity to recommend for the earnest consideration of Government, as the first step to be taken, the proclamation of a full and general amnesty for all offences arising out of, and committed since, the war began in 1862. It would, of course, be necessary to continue to maintain a strong defensive attitude; but I do not think it would be either necessary or advisable to enter into any negotiations to secure any reciprocal advantages, simply proclaiming the amnesty as an act of grace and good-will. Such questions as the making of roads, and the restoration of a portion of the confiscated lands, might be left for subsequent arrangement.

16. Of course I am well aware that many colonists would recoil from the proposal to grant a general amnesty; but no student of history can be ignorant that the atrocities perpetrated in New Zealand by Kereopa, Titokowaru, and Te Kooti—the true representatives of ancient Maori warriors—have been equalled, perhaps more than equalled, by the frightful crimes committed by almost every European nation. Spain in the Low Countries, Austria in the Tyrol, Russia in the Caucasus, France in the wars of the Jacquerie and the Revolution, and England in the wars of the Roses and in Ireland; these have all exhibited a previous barbarity and a remorseless cruelty which ought to make the civilized colonists of New Zealand judge with mercy and magnanimity the deeds of a race of savages, whom long ages of cruel warfare and heathen darkness have deprived of the holy influences which civilization and Christianity might have produced upon them, but which, nevertheless, they have failed to produce even upon the Natives of Europe until our own times.

I trust, Sir, that the importance of the subjects treated upon in this letter will be accepted by you as an apology for a private citizen like myself thus addressing you.

The Hon. D. McLean, Wellington.

I have, &c.,  
J. C. FIRTH.

### No. 3.

The UNDER SECRETARY to Mr. J. C. FIRTH.

SIR,—

Wellington, 22nd August, 1870.

I have the honor, by direction of Mr. McLean, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter



of the 25th of July, expounding your views generally in regard to the relations which exist between the Government of New Zealand and Her Majesty's subjects of the Maori race, and particularly with reference to the attitude of the Waikato tribes; and I am to inform you that the important matters on which you write have received and are receiving the most careful consideration at the hands of the Government.

J. C. Firth, Esq., Auckland.

I have, &c.,  
G. S. COOPER,  
Under Secretary.

No. 4.

MEMORANDUM for His Excellency the GOVERNOR.

I HAVE seen the letter addressed by Mr. Firth to the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

I do not consider it necessary to enter upon a controversy with Mr. Firth, having already expressed my opinions in communications of the 1st February and 30th August last, copies of which are herewith enclosed.

I have no objection whatever to the transmission of the enclosed correspondence.

Wellington, 26th October, 1870.

DONALD McLEAN.

Enclosure 1 in No. 4.

SIR,—

General Government Offices, Auckland, 1st February, 1870.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your report dated the 20th ultimo; and also, of a telegram not previously acknowledged.

I will not question the motives which have actuated you, but, however praiseworthy your intentions, it is my duty to tell you I consider that a private individual's interference with matters of a delicate public nature, the entire responsibility of dealing with which belongs to the Government, cannot be productive of good, and may be very mischievous.

Whilst, therefore, I do not question your good intentions, I must advise you that, in future, you will do most public good by refraining from interference with questions of this nature.

J. C. Firth, Esq., &c., Auckland.

I have, &c.,  
DONALD McLEAN.

Enclosure 2 in No. 4.

SIR,—

Colonial Defence Office, Wellington, 30th August, 1870.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th instant complaining of certain statements respecting yourself which have been printed in papers laid before the General Assembly.

In the press of business I regret that Huare's narrative containing reflections upon you should have been published without my having had an opportunity for careful perusal.

With reference to the latter portion of your letter respecting the mention of your name in a Memorandum to His Excellency, enclosed in a Despatch to Earl Granville, I have only to repeat that my opinion with reference to the course you then pursued remains unaltered.

I do not consider the correspondence, which I shall lay on the table, to be of sufficient public interest to be published with Parliamentary Papers.

J. C. Firth, Esq., Auckland.

I have, &c.,  
DONALD McLEAN.

