

prevalent there, as it is amongst one party in the colony, although I believe that a large portion of the most intelligent members of the community feel with me that their immediate introduction would be impossible. The only other objection that I have heard raised is an objection to the constitution of the present Legislative Councils, composed of members nominated by the Crown, a very general feeling, I believe, existing that the inhabitants of the colony generally would rather be governed by a Governor and Executive Council alone than by a nominee Council, until representative institutions are introduced, as they think that, if they are to be bound by laws made by their fellow-colonists who are not Government officers, they should themselves choose which of their fellow-colonists should make the laws which they are to obey. On the latter point I had clearly no choice but to adopt the course I did, because Parliament already had created a nominee Council for the whole of New Zealand, the members of which, being composed of Auckland gentlemen, had no knowledge of the requirements or wishes of the inhabitants of other portions of New Zealand; and I was therefore, from the necessity of my position, compelled to govern by a nominee Council of this kind; and I cannot but think that I have substituted a less objectionable one in its place, and I have no doubt that it will be shortly generally admitted that I have done so, for I know that I in this respect carry with me the feelings of a large number of most intelligent persons.

The other point—namely, the objections which exist to the delay I propose in the introduction of a complete system of representative Government, appears to require more lengthened remark from me. Your Lordship will remember that all my previous recommendations to Her Majesty's Government for the introduction of representative institutions into New Zealand have been of a partial kind, being restricted to that portion of the southern province which embraces the district immediately surrounding the Town of Wellington and the Middle Island; and that, looking to the large number of Native inhabitants in the north of New Zealand, I have always expressed great doubts as to the period when representative institutions might safely be introduced there. But the state of continued tranquillity and prosperity which the whole of these Islands have now for some time enjoyed has led me to think that within the reasonable period of time I have stated to your Lordship it might now be possible to introduce throughout the whole of New Zealand a representative Government of the form which I have recommended; and the great advantage which would result to the whole of these Islands from a uniform system of Government continuing to prevail throughout their entire extent is one reason which makes me think that the plan I have recommended for adoption would be preferable to any attempt that might be made immediately to introduce representative institutions into the south of New Zealand, confining the province in which Wellington is situated to the district immediately round the town, and leaving the north of the Island under the same form of Government as now exists; a proceeding which would evidently defeat the whole of that portion of my much more extended plan, which contemplates the carrying out the recommendations which your Lordship has made, that New Zealand should be divided into four provinces of nearly equal extent, in that manner which the magnitude and system of colonisation about to be pursued in reference to this country appear to render necessary.

Another reason which makes me think that the introduction of representative institutions, even into the south of New Zealand, should be for the present delayed is that, from causes over which I had no control, my plans in reference to the completion of military roads, and the entire amalgamation of the interests of the Native population with those of the European, have not been completed within the period of time on which I had calculated, and cannot be so for a further period of three, or perhaps four years. These plans have, up to the present period, been, as I believe is admitted by all, completely successful; any sudden stoppage in them would render useless all that has been done, and would certainly entail a greatly-increased military expenditure upon Great Britain, besides again arresting the progress of the colony, and throwing it back into the state of difficulty from which it has emerged; whereas, when these plans are completed, there will be no future chance of any extraordinary military expenditure being rendered necessary by the Government being required to undertake offensive or defensive operations against the Natives; and even the ordinary military expenditure may then be much reduced by the withdrawal of a considerable portion of the troops now stationed in the country. The completion of these plans involves, however, the necessity of the continuance, for a short time, of the aid which has hitherto been received from Parliament, in order that the requisite expenditure may be defrayed; a considerable reduction in which expenditure can, however, be made during the year 1850, and rapid decreases in the expenditure can be carried on in each year subsequent to that date. It is always, however, difficult to make such reductions in the expenditure of a colony, particularly when it is defrayed by the Home Government, without creating great discontent, and this would be, I fear, especially the case if the Legislature of the colony were a representative one, which had been habituated for several years to see a great proportion of the civil expenses of the colony defrayed by the British Treasury. I think that such a Legislature could hardly fail to sympathise with their constituents, who would very unwillingly relinquish the advantages they at present derive from the Government expenditure. The misfortune of this country also is, that any great discontent on the part of the European population reacts upon the Native population, the turbulent amongst whom always become encouraged at any signs of weakness in the Government, and this discontent among the Native population would be heightened in the instance under consideration, from the fact of the Natives as well as the Europeans being equally interested in the continuance of the Government expenditure, and being certain equally to feel its reduction, unless that reduction is most judiciously conducted, and, considering the large number of Natives who would be thrown out of employment, this discontent might produce most dangerous results. I feel, therefore, that there is in the present instance great necessity for enforcing the rule, that the inhabitants of a colony should be required to defray the expenses of their own Government before a representative form of Government is granted to them, and I think that if a guarantee is afforded to them that such a form of Government as I have recommended should be introduced into this country so soon as they can defray the expenses of their own Government, that I could then make the requisite reductions in the Government expenditure, with the cheerful concurrence and co-operation of the great mass of the colonists, and that all danger of discontent and disturbance would thus be avoided.