

taxation without representation are tyranny. It is needless, therefore, to say that in asking for local self-government, the colonist did not demand the right of governing any but those who would possess through their representatives a right to share in it. Nothing more was ever conceded; but, on the contrary, on granting responsible government in Her Majesty's name, I excepted the right of governing the natives, and my so doing was approved by Her Majesty's Government, and acceded to by the Assembly.

8. It may be asked, therefore, on what grounds one portion of Her Majesty's subjects could demand the right of governing another portion, not allied to them by blood or interest, and who are unrepresented in their Councils. It could not be because the natives desire it, for it is well known that the Maories refuse to acknowledge any authority but such as emanates directly from Her Majesty.

9. The settlers desire that a large military and naval force should be maintained at the expense of the Imperial Government for the purpose of restraining and keeping the Maories in subjection; but Her Majesty could hardly be expected to retain them in the Colony for the sole purpose of coercing a part of her subjects who yield her a willing obedience, and forcing on them a government which (with or without reason) they fear and distrust.

10. If the right to govern ceases to depend on that of representation, the Maories might demand that the Government should be transferred to them as being (especially in the northern island) greatly in the numerical majority. To say that they are savages and have no rights, but should be made hewers of wood and drawers of water, admits of an easy extension in the same direction—viz., that of reducing them to slavery, which might be done with equal reason on the same plea. The government of aboriginals is not conceded to the representatives of the civilized races either in British America or in other English Colonies. If it were so, the English residents in Ceylon, or even in India, might reasonably claim to govern the coloured population of those countries.

11. In section 46 of the memorandum, the writer deprecates a narrow jealousy of interference by the colonists; but what jealousy could equal that with which the English settlers of one Province would view the management of their political affairs by those of another? Yet it will scarcely be alleged that the interests of the Maories and the Europeans are more identified than those of the English settlers in two different Provinces.

12. The expediency of subjecting the management of Native Affairs to the control of the Responsible Ministers, (which is inferred throughout the memorandum) is based upon the assumption that the interests of the Natives may be safely confided to the Colonists: but this is an assumption not borne out by experience. I might refer to a Petition from New Plymouth forwarded in my Despatch No. 45 of 9th June last, and to other proofs of conflicting interests. Again, with reference to the political status of the Natives, it is provided by the Constitution Act that every man (without distinction of race) occupying a tenement of a certain annual value shall be entitled to a vote in the representation of the Colony. In the course of last Session a Bill, prepared by my advisers, was passed by the House of Representatives containing an enactment that no man should in future be entitled to vote except in right of property held by title derived from the Crown. Had this Bill become law, the effect of it would have been almost the entire disfranchisement of the Native race. In his speech upon this measure in the Legislative Council, Mr. Swainson, the late Attorney-General, said:—"he thought it would redound but little to their credit if, after achieving a large measure of representative self-government, the very first act of the Colonists, in the exercise of their newly acquired constituent powers, was to deprive their fellow subjects of the political privileges which had been conferred upon them by the British Parliament * * * If it was intended to deprive the Natives of any political privileges which they now possess, or if it were believed that such a provision would have the effect of disfranchising any portion of the Native race—then he felt assured that the measure could not have been brought before the Legislature with the knowledge and approval of the Representative of the Crown. He believed indeed that no true friend could advise the Governor of the Colony to assent to it; and he did not hesitate to affirm that it would be better for the Governor of New Zealand to cut off his right hand than give to such a measure the sanction of his name." Owing to the opposition it encountered in the Legislative Council the clauses containing this enactment were rejected, and the natives still enjoy the electoral privileges conferred on them by the Imperial Parliament. Instances might be multiplied, but the task is invidious; and, after all, the jealousy is one which all classes entertain of those whose interest is not identical with their own.

13. Finally, in reference to the management of Native affairs, I beg to refer to my despatch, No. 94, of 21st September, 1856, which was accompanied by letters from persons of all classes acquainted with the subject. Considering the differences of rank, religion, and occupation, it is very remarkable that 36 out of 38 of those letters expressed in various forms but one opinion, viz: that it would be neither prudent, just, nor expedient, to remove the natives from the immediate and direct government of the Crown, and subject them to a government consisting of a constantly changing body of persons elected by the Colonists. Among these letters I might call particular attention to one from the Bishop of New Zealand, who discusses the question at length, with his usual ability.

14. I should also observe that though the Governor is subject to change as well as the Responsible Ministers, the change in his case is one of person, and not necessarily one of opinion: his responsibility and his instructions remain unaltered;—but a change of Ministry implies a change of opinion, and (judging by other Colonies) such changes are far from being unfrequent.

15. The difficulties and intricacies which have arisen from the juxtaposition and relative interests of the two races, have led to the admission of those who possess the confidence of the Assembly to a participation in the management of Native Affairs as a matter of expediency, the extent of which is briefly as follows:—I admit the right of the Assembly to legislate in the manner it thinks proper, reserving to myself the right of veto as provided for by the Constitution Act. I retain to myself the executive and administrative part of Native Affairs, admitting my Responsible Advisers to full information, and granting them the right to advise me; but reserving to myself the right to act upon my own judgment when I differ from them. This arrangement was announced to the Assembly when Responsible Government was granted: has been approved by Her Majesty's Government, and accepted by the Assembly.