

any period of the world's history, which had made in so short a period so great a stride." I believe that Mr. FitzGerald's statement is correct; and, while I attribute the main merit of this happy result to the Ministers of Religion and other teachers of the native youth, I claim some credit for the success of that system of Imperial trusteeship which before the year 1856, was real and effective. But a numerous and warlike nation of savages cannot in 25 years be entirely subjected to a foreign law by those peaceful methods to which Her Majesty's Government have endeavoured to confine themselves; and those who settle in the midst of such a nation have no right to expect that the country which they have left should undertake the burden of removing those inconveniences and dangers to which they have voluntarily exposed themselves. But all this would be involved in what the Legislative Council incorrectly call "re-establishing the authority of the Law."

The Imperial Government can acknowledge no such indefinite obligation.

I quite admit, however, that it will be for the colonists themselves to consider to what extent, with such assistance as Her Majesty's forces may supply, it would, in the words of the House of Representatives, be prudent or humane "to attempt . . . to establish and maintain Her Majesty's authority in the whole of those districts in which the native race predominates." If the Imperial Government has never been able to exact more than a "nominal allegiance," it would be plainly unreasonable to insist upon more from the efforts of the colonists, when depending to a great degree upon their own resources.

Thus much on the allegations of the Council and House of Representatives. I have now to inform you that I have laid before the Queen the Addresses of the Legislative Council and House of Representatives. Her Majesty was pleased to receive them very graciously, but has not commanded me to recall the decision communicated to you in my Despatch of the 26th of May, with respect to the administration of Native Affairs.

Vide Sessional Papers,  
1862. E No. 1, Sec. III.  
p. 10.

But before I conclude this Despatch, I owe it to you to define, as far as I can, the difficult position in which the course of events has placed you.

The Colonists having consistently claimed from the Home Government, by the different methods in which it was possible to make such a claim, that it should cease to manage Native Affairs, and (what is still more important) having refused to render that management possible, which under responsible government was at any rate most difficult, the Home Government has resigned that function. This relinquishment does not require the assent of the colonists to make it effectual. It is completed by the Act of the Home Government, which (in conformity with requests which it is now too late to recall) no longer requires of you to take personal charge of the Native Secretary's department. If you resume or retain the personal control of that department it will not be in obedience to instructions from home, but either at the request of the responsible ministers, or under some pressing necessity occasioned by their action or inaction, and for the consequences of which, therefore, the Home Government are not responsible.

Your constitutional position with regard to your advisers will (as desired by your late Ministry) be the same in regard to native as to ordinary colonial affairs; that is to say, you will be generally bound to give effect to the policy which they recommend for your adoption, and for which, therefore, they will be responsible.

I say, generally, because there remain several contingencies in which it would be your duty to act upon your own judgment in opposition to theirs.

You would be bound to exercise the negative powers which you possess, by preventing any step which invaded Imperial rights, or was at variance with the pledges on the faith of which Her Majesty's Government acquired the Sovereignty of New Zealand, or in any other way marked by evident injustice towards Her Majesty's subjects of the native race.

In the interests of the colonists themselves you might find yourself bound, under conceivable circumstances, to appeal from your Government to the General Assembly, and from the General Assembly to the constituencies, in case the policy recommended for your acceptance appeared to you clearly disastrous.

You would be bound to judge for yourself as to the justice and propriety of employing, and the best mode of employing Her Majesty's Forces. In this matter you might of course fortify yourself, by taking the opinions of your Ministers, but the responsibility would rest with yourself and the Officer in Command.

Lastly, the fact that the safety of the colonists depends for the present on a force of the Queen's troops, maintained at the expense of Great Britain, gives this country a right to require from the colonists that their native policy, on which the continuance of peace or renewal of war depends, should be just, prudent, and liberal. It is plain that the willingness of Great Britain to continue this assistance, will be most materially affected by the disposition of the colonists to adopt such measures as in your judgment are calculated to remove immediate difficulties, and to place the future relations of the races on a sound basis.

I trust that these considerations will give you that weight in the administration of the colony which, even independently of them, would be due to your sagacity, resolution and experience. In sending you to New Zealand, Her Majesty's Government conceive that they have placed at the command of the colonists the services of the person most competent as an Adviser to guide their councils, and as an Administrator to carry into execution the result of your joint deliberations. The rest will now depend on themselves, and I trust that by availing themselves freely of your advice, they will be able to place the government of the Maoris on a footing which will render the duty of providing for their own internal defence less onerous than they at present anticipate.

I have, &c.,

NEWCASTLE.