

DESPATCHES

A—No. 6.

FROM THE

RIGHT HON. THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

TO THE

GOVERNOR OF NEW ZEALAND.

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

WELLINGTON:

1865.

DESPATCHES FROM THE RIGHT HON. EDWARD CARDWELL M.P.,
TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR GEORGE GREY, K.C.B.

No. 1.

(No. 104.)

Downing Street, October 23, 1864.

SIR,—

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch No. 104, of the 23rd of July, forwarding, for my information, copies of Memoranda which you had received from the Colonial Secretary respecting his visit to Wanganui and to the south coast of the Island, and also a Memorandum by Dr. Featherston, the Superintendent of Wellington, containing an account of his visit up the Wanganui river.

I have read these reports with great interest.

I have, &c.,

Governor Sir George Grey, K. C. B.,
&c., &c., &c.

EDWARD CARDWELL.

No. 2.

(No. 105.)

Downing Street, October 23, 1864.

SIR,—

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch No. 106, of the 29th of July, informing me that the Natives in the Manawatu district are returning to their allegiance to the Queen.

I have, &c.,

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

EDWARD CARDWELL.

No. 3.

(No. 106.)

Downing Street, October 23, 1864.

SIR,—

I have received your Despatch No. 109, of 29th July, 1864, enclosing a further correspondence between yourself and your Responsible Advisers.

I trust that what I have already said to you in former Despatches has been sufficient to enable you to deal with questions of the nature referred to in this correspondence; and I am glad to believe that the more favorable intelligence which you have been enabled to send home and, above all, the pacification which you have so happily effected in the district of Tauranga, render it unnecessary for me now to enter further upon the subject.

I may, however, take the opportunity of observing, that the suggestions of your Ministers recommending military operations which in the judgment of Sir D. Cameron, would have required large reinforcements to be sent from this country, illustrate very forcibly the necessity of the instructions which in my former Despatches I have felt it to be necessary to convey to you.

Sir D. Cameron observed, in his letter to you of 2nd July, that the measures on which you might decide should not be based upon the expectation that further reinforcements would be sent from England, but rather upon the probability that a reduction of the present force would be ordered before long by the Imperial Government. You will remember that in my Despatch of 26th April I called your attention to the importance which Her Majesty's Government attach to this subject, and expressed my hope that you would be able to give me such information as would enable me to communicate to the Secretary of State for War the possibility of a great reduction in the number of troops, and consequently, in the estimates for the year 1865-6.

I have now to request that you will furnish me with your opinion, what reductions can be made in the military force now maintained in the Colony. I entertain a confident hope and expectation that before you receive this Despatch your measures of pacification will have made such progress that the reduction you are able to recommend will be very considerable.

I have, &c.,

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

EDWARD CARDWELL.

No. 4.

(No. 107)

Downing Street, October 23, 1864.

SIR,—

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch No. 115 of the 3rd August, forwarding for my information, copy of a Memorandum which your Ministers were desirous should be transmitted to me respecting the treatment of the Native prisoners on board the hulk Marion,

I have, &c.,

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

EDWARD CARDWELL.

No. 5.

(No. 108.)

Downing Street, October 24, 1864.

SIR,—

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch No. 116, of the 3rd of August, forwarding copy of a Memorandum by your Responsible Advisers in reference to your Despatch to my Predecessor of the 8th of June last (Separate), on the subject of a notice which they had issued to the Natives, without your knowledge and consent, and I have to refer you on this question to the remarks contained in my Despatch No. 98, of the 26th ultimo.

I have, &c.,

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

EDWARD CARDWELL.

No. 6.

(No. 109.)

Downing Street, October 25, 1864.

SIR,—

I have received your Despatches Nos. 107 and 117, of the 29th of July and 6th of August, informing me that 133 Natives, including several Chiefs of rank, had surrendered their arms to Colonel Greer, at Tauranga, and tendered their submission to the Queen, and enclosing a copy of the terms which you granted to these Natives, after accepting their submission at a personal interview.

I have received this intelligence with the most lively satisfaction. I cordially approve of your proceedings, and have pleasure in believing with you, that the leniency which you have shown in dealing with these Natives will be found in the result to be not less politic in regard to the interests of the settlers than it is gratifying to your own feelings.

I am glad that you expressed so pointedly to the Natives of Tauranga your sense of the honorable manner in which the hostilities against us have been conducted on their part.

I have, &c.,

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

EDWARD CARDWELL.

No. 7.

(No. 110.)

Downing Street, October 25, 1864.

SIR,—

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch, No. 108, of the 29th of July, transmitting a nominal list of the Native prisoners confined on board the hulk "Marion."

I have, &c.,

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

EDWARD CARDWELL.

No. 8.

(No. 116.)

Downing Street, November 21, 1864.

SIR,—

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch, No. 125, of the 29th of August, transmitting with other documents, copies of a correspondence between the Colonial Secretary and the Bishop of Waiapu relative to the question of the confiscation of lands belonging to the Natives.

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

I have, &c.,

EDWARD CARDWELL.

No. 9.

(No. 117.)

Downing Street, November 21, 1864.

SIR,—

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch, No. 122, of the 20th of August, transmitting a copy of a statement made by the Natives who had recently been in arms at Tauranga, regarding the plan of operations they had arranged for an attack upon Her Majesty's forces on the day they were defeated by the troops, under the command of Colonel Greer.

I have, &c.,

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

EDWARD CARDWELL.

No. 10.

(No. 118.)

Downing Street, November 22, 1864.

SIR,—

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch No. 127, of the 30th of August, forwarding copy of a report from Mr. Mackay, the Civil Commissioner of the Thames district, in which he states that he believes that the Natives of that district do not intend to be otherwise than friendly to the Government, unless some operations take place in the neighbourhood of Matamata or Peria.

I have, &c.,

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

EDWARD CARDWELL.

No. 11.

(No. 119.)

Downing Street, November 22, 1864.

SIR —

With reference to my Despatch No. 86, of the 21st August, on the subject of the purchase of the steam vessel "Alexandra" by the Commissariat Department in New Zealand, I have the honor to transmit to you, for your information and guidance, a copy of a letter from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and I have to request that you will conform to their Lordships wishes in the matter.

I have, &c.,

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

EDWARD CARDWELL.

Enclosure in No. 11.

MR. ROMAINE TO THE UNDER SECRETARY, COLONIAL OFFICE.

Admiralty, November 10, 1864.

SIR,—

With reference to my letter of the 10th September last, and to former correspondence on the subject of the purchase of the "Alexandra" by the Commissariat Department in New

A.—No. 6. 6 DESPATCHES FROM THE RIGHT HON. E. CARDWELL, M.P.

Zealand, for the conveyance of troops and stores between the Manukau and the ports on the western coast, I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit to you, for the information of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, a copy of a Treasury letter sanctioning the arrangement that the cost of the vessel and a moiety of her working expenses should be charged to naval funds; and I am to request that instructions may be sent to the Governor of New Zealand to cause Captain Spain, the Admiralty transport officer at Auckland, to be kept informed of the current cost of the "Alexandra."

The Under-Secretary of State,
Colonial Office.

I have, &c.,

W. G. ROMAINE.

P.S.—I am further to request that the Governor may be informed that when the services of the vessel are no longer required she will be taken over by the Admiralty.

Sub-Enclosure 1 in Enclosure in No. 11.

SIR F. PEEL TO THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY.

Treasury Chambers, November 7, 1864.

SIR —

I am directed by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury to transmit herewith, with reference to previous correspondence on the subject, copy of a letter from the War Office respecting the expenses incurred in regard to the steam vessel "Alexandra" purchased for the conveyance of troops in New Zealand; and I am to acquaint you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that as the explanation of the circumstances under which this vessel was purchased appears to my Lords to be satisfactory, they approve of the arrangement reported in your letter of the 18th July last, for charging upon naval funds the cost of the vessel and a moiety of her working expenses.

I am, &c.,

The Secretary of the Admiralty.

F. PEEL.

Sub-Enclosure 2 in Enclosure in No. 11.

SIR E. LUGARD TO SIR F. PEEL.

War Office, October 25, 1864.

SIR —

I am directed by the Secretary of State for War to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th ultimo and its enclosures, requesting to be informed of the manner in which it is proposed to provide for the expenses incurred in the purchase and working of the steam vessel Alexandra, employed in the conveyance of troops and stores coastwise in New Zealand, and in reply, I have to acquaint you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, that Lord de Grey considers that the service for which the Alexandra was purchased was purely a naval one, and that all the expenses connected therewith must consequently be borne upon naval funds, the mode of providing for the expenditure being left to be arranged by the Board of Admiralty in concurrence with their Lordships. I am, however, to observe with reference to the statement made in the letter from the Admiralty, enclosed in yours now under reply, viz., that "the Alexandra was purchased by the military authorities in New Zealand without the aid and concurrence of the superintending officer of the Transport Department," that there does not appear to have been such an officer at the station at the time the vessel was purchased, Captain Spain, R.N., who had been appointed naval agent, not having arrived until February, 1864, and it is therefore presumed that Deputy Commissary-General Jones, in the absence of such officer, was merely exercising his functions as senior commissariat officer and acting naval agent in effecting the purchase in question, that officer having previously to the arrival of Captain Spain been in charge of naval stores.

The commodore on the station, Sir William Wiseman, appears also, at the instance of the Deputy Commissary-General, to have directed a board of naval officers to survey the vessel, and Sir William Wiseman concurred in the report of those officers that the vessel was fitted for the service.

Lord de Grey therefore trusts that, under these circumstances, the Lords of the Treasury will concur with him that the usual formalities, as far as the exigencies of the service would admit, have been complied with in this case.

I have, &c.,

EDWARD LUGARD.

No. 12.

No. 121.

Downing Street, November 26, 1864.

SIR,—

I have received your Despatches of the dates and numbers noted in the margin.*

*Nos. 124, 26th August, It never was intended by Her Majesty's Government to
 „ 130, 3rd September, place the direction of Native Affairs in the hands of the Colonial
 „ 131, 7th September, Administration in any such sense as to give them the control
 „ 132, 7th September, of Her Majesty's Forces, either directly or indirectly.

The continuance of the war involves the continued employment of the Queen's troops; and it is therefore evident that if terms of accommodation are to be refused by the Colonial Ministers, in opposition to your judgment, the control of Her Majesty's forces is, in effect, withdrawn from you, and placed in the hands of the Colonial Ministers.

The same reasoning applies to the treatment of the prisoners taken in war. You, on the one side, and your Ministers on the other, have attached great importance to the bearing of that treatment on the continuance of the war. It was my duty, on receiving the earliest intimation of a difference between you, to give you my instructions on the subject; and I accept as just and accurate the interpretation you have put on those instructions; viz:—

“That such prisoners are to be dealt with according to law, and not to be disposed of at any person's pleasure, and that they are to have the same safeguards thrown around them to protect them from wrong, or being injured by the heat of momentary passions, as the laws and customs of the Empire throw around all Her Majesty's subjects; but that, in the event of the Ministry in this country requiring the Governor here to act virtually as their servant in carrying out illegal acts in reference to such prisoners, in a manner that he regards as being unduly harsh, you will support him in refusing any longer to carry out such illegal proceedings in a manner he deems harsh and ungenerous; and that also, within the limits of the law, he may, if he sees a strong necessity for so doing, deal generously with such prisoners, whether with or without the consent of his Ministers.”

On these two points I now repeat, in the name of Her Majesty's Government, the instructions which I gave you in my two Despatches of 26th May and of 27th June,

With respect to the extent of the confiscation proposed to you by your Ministers, I stated to you in my Despatch of 26th April that the Confiscation Act was only allowed to remain in operation for the present on certain conditions, one of which was that no land should be confiscated unless you were personally satisfied with the justice of the confiscation in the particular case. I had not remembered the interview which Mr. Reader Wood has reported. But I recognise the accuracy of his statement as conveying what I meant, and what I, no doubt, expressed to him. It might have been inconvenient to you in the midst of the war to be required to convene your Legislature at a particular time; but I did mean it to be understood that Her Majesty's Government will not allow their power of disallowance to expire by efflux of time; and I request you will take care that I am fully informed, as time goes on, as to the measures which you are taking to render that disallowance unnecessary.

I have, &c.,

EDWARD CARDWELL

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
 &c., &c., &c.

No. 13.

(No. 133.)

SIR,—

Downing Street, December 23, 1864.

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch, No. 135, of the 30th of September, last, forwarding a return of the Colonial Forces serving in New Zealand on the 30th of June last.

A.—No. 6. 8 DESPATCHES FROM THE RIGHT HON. E. CARDWELL, M.P.,

I have also received your Despatch. No 138, of the same date, forwarding the usual Monthly Return of Troops serving in New Zealand for the month of September.

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

I have, &c.,

EDWARD CARDWELL.

No. 14.

(No. 134.)

Downing Street, December 24, 1864.

SIR,—

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch No. 126, of the 30th August last, enclosing a Memorandum from your responsible advisers in answer to the paper drawn up by Mr Gorst, entitled "Observations on the Native Inhabitants of Rangiaowhia and Kihikihi."

Mr. Gorst having requested to be furnished with a copy of this Memorandum, I directed a copy of it to be forwarded to him in a letter, of which I enclose a copy herewith for your information, and of his reply.

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

I have, &c.,

EDWARD CARDWELL.

Enclosure 1 in No. 14.

SIR F. ROGERS TO MR. GORST.

Downing Street, December 17, 1864.

SIR,—

I am directed by Mr. Secretary Cardwell to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th instant, requesting that you may be allowed to receive a Copy of a Memorandum by the Colonial Ministers of New Zealand in answer to the remarks contained in the paper which you forwarded to this office entitled "Observations on the Native Inhabitants of Rangiaowhia and Kihikihi."

I am to explain that Mr. Cardwell cannot consent to be directly or indirectly the medium of carrying on a controversy between a private individual and the Government of New Zealand respecting the Native question, but that as the Memorandum in question, which has been officially transmitted to him, contains allegations affecting your political character, he does not feel at liberty to withhold it from you, and a copy is accordingly enclosed for your information.

I have, &c.,

J. E. Gorst, Esq.

FREDERIC ROGERS.

Enclosure 2 in No. 14.

MR. GORST TO SIR F. ROGERS.

Oxford and Cambridge Club, December 20, 1864.

SIR,—

I have to thank you for your letter of the 17th instant, enclosing a Copy of a Memorandum by the Colonial Ministers of New Zealand, dated August 29, 1864.

In compliance with the Secretary of State's expressed wishes, I will not attempt to enter into controversy respecting the affairs of New Zealand. I therefore refrain from adducing further proof of the accuracy of my "Observations on the Native Inhabitants of Rangiaowhia and Kihikihi," and from following the Colonial Ministers into the false issue they have raised. In those observations I stated facts within my personal knowledge, not opinions on the general subject. The Secretary of State himself, however, will be the best judge whether the devotion exclusively to Native affairs of three years, of which the greater part was spent in almost daily discussions with the Maories themselves about those affairs, or the devotion of twenty years to business in colonial towns, without even a knowledge of the Maori language, affords the better title to be an authority on Native matters.

But as the Colonial Ministers have thought it necessary to try to impugn my testimony by putting on record a charge against my political character, I ask the Secretary of State's permission to put also on record my reply.

I regret to have to trouble you with any part of my personal history, but I cannot fully meet what is implied as well as what is expressed in the Memorandum without mentioning the following particulars.

When I went out to New Zealand in January, 1860, I was a Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, possessed a private fortune, and had shortly before refused a position in England

that would have brought me a larger income than the salary of the Prime Minister of New Zealand. My object in visiting the Colony was to investigate for myself the question, how half-civilised people ought to be managed. From my arrival in May, 1860 to my departure in August, 1863, this was my one employment and pursuit. I spent much time in travelling among the Maories and acquiring their language. I was first invited to take office under the Government by Colonel Gore Browne in January, 1861, but though I had frequent communication with him respecting the affairs of the Waikato tribes, I was not actually employed in an official capacity till October, 1861, just after the arrival of Sir George Grey. I was then sent by the Government to make a circuit of the Waikato country as Inspector of schools, and gather information respecting the temper of the Natives, which was forwarded to the Colonial Office. In November, 1861, I was appointed Resident Magistrate, and afterwards Commissioner of the Waikato district, and lived at Te Awamutu till April, 1863, when I was virtually ejected by Rewi. I resigned the office of Commissioner in July, 1863, at the outbreak of the war, though I was pressed to retain, and might have retained, the office and its emoluments to the present day. I afterwards, out of personal friendship, acted for a short time as secretary to Mr. Dillon Bell, the Minister for Native Affairs, who was at that time suffering from a complaint in his eyes that made it injurious for him to read or write. In this capacity, at his request, I accompanied him to Sydney, with the understanding that I was to be at liberty to proceed thence home to England.

Some time before I left New Zealand, both Mr. Bell and Mr. Domett, the then Premier, had expressed an intention of putting me into a vacant seat in the Legislative Council. While we were in Sydney, news arrived that the New Zealand Assembly was to be summoned forthwith. A letter was thereupon written from Mr. Bell, who was anxious that I should return to New Zealand, to his colleagues in Auckland, about my appointment to the Legislative Council. I did not see the letter, and I do not know in what terms it was expressed. I was so indifferent to the result, that when the return mail brought no answer to Mr. Bell, I sailed for England without waiting for a second post. I distinctly stated, however, to Mr. Bell, that if placed in the Council, I would hold no office or place of emolument under the Government, in order to be in a position to express my independent opinions. I have always supposed that my determination on this head prevented Mr. Domett from fulfilling the intention he had expressed, as my sentiments on Native affairs were very well known in the Government offices in Auckland.

I absolutely deny that I ever "was ready to accept the position" specified in the Ministerial Memorandum.

My opinions on the Native question in New Zealand have never undergone any abrupt or radical change. While I was a servant of the Colonial Government, my position imposed a certain amount of reticence: but I never concealed the facts I saw, nor the opinions I formed from my employers, as the records of the Native office at Auckland would abundantly prove. I severed my connection with the New Zealand Government by my own act and for the express purpose of giving what publicity I could to facts and opinions which I thought should be no longer concealed.

I am, &c.,

J. E. GORST.

Sir Frederic Rogers, Bart.,
Under Secretary of State for the Colonies.

15.

(No. 135.)

Downing Street, December, 26th, 1864.

SIR,—

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch No. 129, of the 30th of August, in which you correct a statement in the paper drawn up by Mr. J. E. Gorst, and entitled, "Observations on the Native Inhabitants of Rangiaowhia and Kihikihi."

I have, &c.,

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.
&c. &c. &c.

EDWARD CARDWELL,

No. 16.

(No. 138.)

Downing Street, December 26th, 1864.

SIR,—

<p>I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatches of the numbers and dates noted in the margin, having reference to various questions more or less connected with the state of our relations with the Natives. I must refer you to my Despatch of this day's date, for my views on such of these matters as it has appeared necessary that I should address you.</p>	<p>11 September, No. 133. 29 " " 134. 30 " " 137. 7 October " 143. 8 " " 144. 8 " " 145.</p>
--	--

I have, &c.,

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B..
&c., &c., &c.

EDWARD CARDWELL.

(No. 139.)

Downing Street, December 26, 1864.

SIR,—

I have observed with great regret the differences between yourself and your Responsible Advisers, of which I have received intelligence by each succeeding mail, and am much concerned to find that these protracted differences have ended at length in the necessity for a change of your Administration. I had hoped that the explicit instructions given you by Her Majesty's Government as to the principles on which they desired that your dealing with the Confiscation Act, and with the conduct of the military operations, should be founded, and the plain statement of their determination to look to you as the proper interpreter of those principles in their application to the actual circumstances of the case, would have been accepted by your Advisers as a sufficient reason for waiving their own opinions when those opinions differed from yours on these subjects. I trusted they would have been able to act cordially with you in giving effect to your instructions. They have shown in their own Minutes how impossible it is to expect that such a war can be satisfactorily or honorably brought to a close under divided counsels, and must, I think, acknowledge that the Representative of the Sovereign was the person in whom alone Her Majesty's Government could be expected to repose that full confidence which was necessary to ensure unity of action. Since, however, it has proved impossible for you and them to act together, I can only hope that you will have been able to supply their place with other Ministers, whose sentiments will be more in unison with your own, and by whose cordial co-operation you may be enabled to carry into effect the instructions you have received. I observe with pleasure that you anticipate that you will be supported by a large majority in New Zealand in doing that which is right.

With reference to the remarks of your Ministers upon my Despatch of 27th June, I think it due to them as well as to yourself to say that I wish that Despatch to be understood in the plain and obvious meaning of the words, without limitation and without reserve. I intended to give you full authority to deal with the prisoners taken in war, in every case in which your opinion differed from that of your Ministers, and not merely in a supposed case of their being desirous to act illegally and harshly, though of course the instructions would be especially applicable to such a case if you considered it to have occurred. I had no intention of imputing to them any such disposition. I meant you to understand, in the widest terms, that it was for you personally as the Representative of the Imperial Government, to decide upon the release or detention of persons taken prisoners in the course of the military operations; that I wished you to obtain the advice, and, if possible, the concurrence of your Ministers, but did not consider that concurrence indispensable. I stated that I should be fully prepared to support you in case you should have thought it necessary, with or without the consent of your Ministers, so to deal with these prisoners as in your opinion the public interest might have required. It seems that your Ministers protest against these instructions. I, on the contrary, consider that I should have been wanting in the discharge of my obvious duty if I had failed to give them.

I shall look with anxiety for the report which you promised to send me respecting the escape of the prisoners from the island of Kawau. I can only observe, in the meantime, that the history of these prisoners affords a striking proof of the evils which result in the conduct of a war from disputed authority,—and of the absolute necessity for placing, in one responsible hand, the power of dealing with questions arising out of the conduct of military operations. I trusted that this had been placed, by my Despatch of June 27, beyond all possibility of doubt.

I must express an earnest hope that in future the daily business of the Colony may be transacted between the Governor and his Advisers under relations of mutual confidence, and in a friendly and cordial spirit,—rather than by means of adverse Minutes, treasuring up records against a future time, and involving great and deplorable delay in the conduct of present and pressing affairs.

You are quite right in thinking that Her Majesty's Government wished you, if you thought it prudent, at once to proclaim to the rebel Natives, terms on which their submission would be accepted. I greatly regret that so much delay had occurred in issuing such a Proclamation; and that five months after you had reported in your Despatch of 7th May that you thought it essentially necessary to let the natives know some terms upon which they might return to their allegiance, no sufficient steps had been taken for that purpose.

It is difficult for me to form a positive opinion as to the effect which the demand for a surrender of arms would have produced upon the Natives. But you urge reasons, which seem to me very weighty, for the course which you have proposed to pursue; and you are quite right in believing that Her Majesty's Government have expected you to act upon your own judgment. It is probably a question upon which the opinions of well-informed persons might legitimately differ; but you state that you had consulted the Lieutenant-General upon the terms of the proposed Proclamation, and your decision, taken after that consultation, I am perfectly ready to support.

With reference to the extent of the proposed confiscation, I have only again to refer you to my Despatch of 26th April. The conditions on which alone Her Majesty's Government were content to leave the Confiscation Act in operation were there clearly stated. It was stated also

that of the application of those conditions to the actual circumstances of the case you were to be the judge. That confidence was reposed in you in the full belief that you would discharge your trust, with a just regard for the interests both of the Colonists and of the Maories. I told you that while "I did not dispute the right of the Colonial Government to obtain from the punishment of the insurgent Natives some aid in defraying the expenses of the war, or, in other words, of including in the contemplated cession or forfeiture, lands to be disposed of by sale, as well as lands to be devoted to the purposes of military settlement, yet that these expenses had been mainly borne by this country, which had, therefore, a right to require that the cession or confiscation of territory should not be carried further than might be consistent with the permanent pacification of the Island and the honor of the English name."

I observe that your Ministers having failed for the time in the negotiation of the unguaranteed loan, had determined that some reduction of the colonial expenditure must be effected, and are about to lay before you their proposals for accomplishing that object. If it was necessary to reduce the expenditure of the Colony, the juncture was surely one at which those who represented the Imperial Government were especially bound to take a decided course in reference to all questions upon which the general military expenditure must depend. If they failed to do so it was natural to expect that an addition would be made to the already very serious charge defrayed by the Mother-Country. This might, I think, have been with your Ministers another and cogent reason for deferring in those respects to your opinion and that of the General in command.

I shall look with anxiety for your next Despatches. The time has now arrived when I am about to communicate finally with the Secretary of State for War upon the preparation of his estimates for the coming year. I trust that it will not be necessary to provide for the maintenance in New Zealand, after the close of the present campaign, of a force larger than that towards which, under the correspondence between this Department and the Colonial Treasurer, New Zealand is expected to contribute.

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

I have, &c.,

EDWARD CARDWELL

No. 18.

(No. 7.)

Downing Street, January 26, 1865.

SIR,—

I have to request that you will inform the Speaker of the Provincial Council of Otago, that I have received his Letter dated the 15th November last, forwarding a copy of certain Resolutions passed during the last Session respecting the existing relations between that Province and the General Government of New Zealand.

You will at the same time remind Mr. Richardson that such a document ought to have reached me through the hands of the Governor.

I have, &c.,

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

EDWARD CARDWELL.

No. 19.

(No. 9.)

Downing Street, January 26, 1865

SIR,—

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatches of the dates and numbers noted in the margin.

10 Oct.	No. 146.
11 "	" 147.
18 "	" 148.
27 "	" 151.
31 "	" 154.
" "	" 155.
" "	" 156.
5 Nov.	" 159.
6 "	" 160.
7 "	" 162.
" "	" 163.
" "	" 164.

I have read with great satisfaction the Despatch of General Cameron enclosing the Report which he had received from Colonel Warre of the expulsion of the hostile Natives from their positions at Mataitawa and Te Arei on the 8th and 10th of October last. It is very gratifying that successes so important to the safety of New Plymouth and its neighbourhood should have been obtained with so little resistance, and without loss: and yet that General Cameron and Colonel Warre should be able to speak of the circumstances not only as reflecting much credit on the forces employed, both Regular and Colonial; but also as having afforded to friendly Natives an opportunity of showing their fidelity and zeal. I observe also with especial pleasure the

high terms in which you speak of the services rendered by Mr. Parris, of the Native Department, in the discharge of his laborious and frequently hazardous duties.

I approve the step you have taken in issuing a Proclamation stating to the rebel Natives the terms on which Her Majesty's clemency will be extended to them. In my last Despatch I expressed my great regret that some sufficient steps had not long ago been taken with this view. I cannot but think that at some former periods, as for instance immediately after your success at Rangiriri and the occupation of Ngaruawahia by the Queen's troops, or again after the success of Colonel Greer at Tauranga, the opportunity might have been seized with great advantage of making known the terms on which those who had been in arms might return to their allegiance. It may be doubted now whether, after the unfortunate escape of the prisoners and their establishment in a fortified position in the hitherto undisturbed district north of Auckland, the same prospect of success attends the measure. Nevertheless I do not hesitate to approve it. I sincerely regret indeed that the consent of your Ministers has been withheld from this important step. It was, however, absolutely necessary for you to act with decision. In consulting with General Cameron and Sir W. Wiseman,—and taking in concurrence with them the step which, after full consideration, you believed to be the most judicious,—you acted in conformity with your instructions and fulfilled the intentions of Her Majesty's Government. I trust that the result has answered your expectation,—and in that case, I doubt not you will have proceeded without delay to specify the quantity of land which you require to be ceded by the rebel tribes.

It may, however, not improbably have happened that the measure taken after so long delay, and under circumstances comparatively so unfavourable, may have failed:—or may have been attended only with very partial success. In this case you will at least have the satisfaction of knowing that you have given to the rebels an opportunity of obtaining terms; and that the refusal of those terms has been their own act. You will then do well to proceed at once to carry into effect the Settlements Act, in conformity with the instructions conveyed to you in my Despatch of April last. You will, I think, do well to state in the most public manner, the extent of the Confiscation you propose to sanction; and let the hostile Natives understand that if they abstain from further acts of War, and return to habits of obedience and order, they will remain in undisturbed possession of all the lands which are not included in the Confiscation.

The limits to which that Confiscation must be carried can only be decided on the spot, with local knowledge, and with an immediate application to the circumstances of the time. This is a matter encompassed with difficulties of detail, involving most important considerations of justice, policy, and finance. But the principles by which Her Majesty's Government expect you to be guided in fixing these limits are laid down as clearly as I could express them in my Despatch of April 26th.

I have been in communication on this subject with the Secretary of State for War. The time at which you will receive this Despatch will nearly coincide with the termination of your summer, and the usual cessation of active military operations in New Zealand. It will also coincide with the period at which the Estimates now about to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament will come into operation.

You were quite right in refusing your assent to any plan of operations, which in your judgment and that of General Cameron would have rendered large reinforcements necessary,—might have involved their detention in the country for many years,—and I presume would, by carrying the troops into positions still more remote from Auckland, have added to the cost of transport already so enormous. It appears now that in consequence of the pressure of the military expenditure upon the Colonial Treasury the Colonial Ministers have thought it incumbent upon them to issue a sudden and unexpected order, by which all the local forces at Taranaki, except the Military Settlers, have been struck off pay and rations; and I understand that, generally, the retrenchment of military expenditure is regarded by them as necessary in the present circumstances. They will, I think, be prepared at the same time to expect that Her Majesty's Government will have the same object in view, and will at least refuse their sanction to new and more extended operations.

But if the objects of the War are not extended beyond those limits which appear to have been contemplated by you in your Despatch of 6th January, 1864, and were approved by Her Majesty's Government in my Despatch of 26th April last, Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that it would now be possible considerably to reduce the force maintained in New Zealand, and to curtail within much narrower limits the proportionate expense of the Commissariat and transport necessary for that force.

In the Waikato District, the defeated Natives appear to have retreated to positions to which it is practically impossible to follow them without entering upon new and expensive operations of indefinite extent, and of extraordinary local difficulty. At Taranaki the insurgents have been driven from their strongholds, and New Plymouth so far relieved from danger that the Colonial Government have thought themselves justified in discontinuing the service of the Militia. At Tauranga the submission of the Natives has been complete, and the only danger which has been suggested in that quarter is that which General Cameron apprehends may arise if the Colonial Government persist in their intention of purchasing a very large extent of country, a portion of which is at a great distance from his posts, while the right to sell it is disputed by one of the tribes of the Thames.

In determining the limits of Confiscation you will have to arrive, between conflicting difficulties, at a decision of great importance to the future welfare of the Colony. On the one hand, I agree with your Advisers that any exhibition of vacillation or weakness at the present juncture would

be very unfortunate; and it is always a subject for careful consideration, in dealing with a Native race, whether any concession even in the hour of conquest may not be regarded in that light. On the other hand, to push into the heart of a hostile country, like the Upper Waikato, a narrow line of undefended settlements, might be to lay the certain train for future conflicts. If you considered that you were called upon to confiscate in the Taranaki District the entire Native Territory of friendly Natives and all others, you had evidently no alternative but to refuse your assent. Such a course would evidently be at variance with your instructions and with the plainest rules of justice, and would be incompatible with any hope of enduring peace. I will not attempt to prescribe to you in detail the frontier which you should establish either at Waikato or at New Plymouth. It would be impossible for me safely to do so. But acting in the spirit of your instructions, you will take care to lay down such limits as may in your judgment, after consultation with the General, appear to be most consistent with justice, both towards tribes and individuals, and best calculated to secure the safety of the Colonists. All land included under such Confiscation will be justly assigned to the Colonial Government for purposes either of settlement, or of sale, or for fulfilling the pledges given to the proposed Military Settlers. But to conquer more land than may be necessary with a view to the future safety of the Colonists, is not an object for which Her Majesty's Government consider that it is possible to maintain an army in Newland; nor can they consent to the confiscation of territory, however justly forfeited by rebellion, which would render necessary the employment of an Imperial Force to protect the new occupiers against the former owners of the land.

There may, indeed, be districts conquered from the hostile Natives which they may justly deserve to lose, and which the Colony may fairly expect, as a result of its efforts and expenditure to acquire; and yet these districts may, in your opinion and that of the General, be so situated as not to justify you in holding them by scattered detachments of the Queen's Troops, both on account of the heavy expense for transport to which the Imperial Government would continue to be exposed, and the unsuitable nature of the service itself. In this case, you will be at liberty to retain the territory so situated, subject to the general conditions which I have attached to every act of forfeiture, provided that the Colonial Government be prepared to hold it with its own Local Forces, or Military Settlers, or both: and that in your opinion it can be safely forfeited without sowing the seed of future hostility with the Natives.

The Imperial Parliament has provided with great liberality for the expenses incurred in two campaigns, and has offered to the Colony to guarantee a loan unusually large in proportion to the resources of the Colony. This liberality has been shown upon the faith of repeated statements respecting the policy which has been prescribed to you in your instructions with regard both to the operations of the War, and to the Confiscation of Native Land. It would not be possible for Her Majesty's Government to submit to Parliament for the ensuing year estimates rendered necessary by an opposite policy; or by an intention of continuing the War longer than was required for carrying into effect the policy which had been declared.

I saw with great satisfaction that your Assembly was about to meet; and trust that their deliberations will have done much to terminate those painful controversies, in which you have been involved with your Responsible advisers. I do not think that I should advance the public interest by entering into any lengthened discussion of those differences which have so frequently arisen between yourself and your Ministers, or of the voluminous Minutes in which they are conveyed. Indeed, voluminous as are the papers already before me respecting the unfortunate escape of the prisoners from Kawau, that controversy is not closed, and the subject is not even ripe for me to form, or to express, my view upon it.

I will, however, say, I do not consider myself as reversing the principles laid down in the Duke of Newcastle's Despatch of the 26th of February, 1863, No 22, but as dealing with a state of things to which that Despatch was not in any degree intended to apply. The Duke of Newcastle wrote when a comparatively small number of Her Majesty's Troops were present in the Colony, and before those Troops were engaged in hostilities, and he explained with reference to that state of things that the Governor had certain limited responsibilities respecting the Government of the Natives and the exclusive power of determining whether, and in what manner, Her Majesty's Forces should be employed. But he did not define or endeavour to define the relations between the Imperial and Colonial Governments after a Civil war should have actually broken out. So far was the Duke of Newcastle from intending to give up to the Colonial Ministers the control of questions affecting peace and war, that in his Despatch of 26th of February, 1863, No. 22, he stated expressly—

“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.”

In these words he plainly indicated, as I think, that principle of conduct in these matters, which it has been necessary for me, under very different circumstances to carry into practical effect. On my own part, I have always declared my determination not to interfere with the principle of Local Self-Government, as regards the affairs either of the Colonists or of the Natives. But Self-Government means the control by any people of their own forces, their own finances, and their own relations of peace and war. It does not mean that the right of establishing a policy shall belong to one body, and the duty of providing the means of carrying that policy into effect shall be laid upon another. The principal responsibility of carrying on this war, and even the chief share in the cost of its operations,

has devolved upon the Mother Country; and it has been impossible for the Home Government to permit the control of the war to fall into the hands of the Colonial Ministers, where their opinions have differed from those of the Officers more directly responsible to the Crown. Questions may of course be raised as to the application of this principle, but it is the only principle upon which Her Majesty's Government could consent to carry on a war for the security of the Colonists.

The views of Ministerial authority entertained by your Advisers appear to me wholly foreign to the circumstances in which the Colony is placed; and I cannot but feel that every consideration of gratitude to the Mother Country, and even of enlightened self interest should have led them to support cordially almost any line of policy which the Governor and General might deliberately adopt, rather than engage in a struggle for power, with its attendant controversies, delays, and changes of purpose.

It must be clearly understood that Her Majesty's Government do not acknowledge the obligation to carry on war at the expense of this country till the Natives are so broken or disheartened as to render further war impossible. Nor, again, do they think it indispensable to require that any specific conditions should be made respecting the universal recognition of European law in districts in which we have not, as yet, the power practically to ensure to the Natives the benefits of European institutions.

The objects which Her Majesty's Government have been desirous of effecting for the Colonists are substantially these:—They have wished to carry on the war till the rebels had been unequivocally defeated. This has been accomplished in the Waikato and Tauranga districts, and less completely at Taranaki also. They have wished to inflict upon the rebel tribes, or some of them, an exemplary punishment in the way of forfeiture of lands, which shall deter them from any wanton aggression in future. This your instructions enable you to execute. Finally, they wish to restore a peace which shall enable Europeans and Maoris to cultivate their lands and pursue their own interests in such security as the nature of the case admits of, and shall remove any immediate occasion of quarrel. Such a peace might restore to the natives the advantages of European intercourse and trade, and give opportunity for that intercourse and trade to produce their invariable results in the growth of civilisation and the extinction of anomalous and irregular authority.

I have been desirous of thus explaining the views of Her Majesty's Government, in order that no misapprehension may exist in New Zealand of the obligations admitted or of the intentions entertained by them.

Before this time the decision of the General Assembly upon the questions of the Loan, the Contribution for Imperial Aid, and the modification of the Settlements Act, will have been arrived at. You will have had the opportunity of consulting the Statesmen whose support you have looked for; and I shall learn with pleasure that you have been enabled to form an Administration possessing the confidence of the Assembly, and acting cordially with you. Upon the Assembly itself a grave responsibility will have rested: Their decisions will in all probability affect in no slight degree the duration of the present unhappy conflict, the future peace and welfare of the Colony, and the maintenance of satisfactory relations between the two races, and between the Colony and the Mother Country. I shall await with great interest your report of their deliberations, the result of which will necessarily receive the very serious consideration of Her Majesty's Government. There is no disposition on our part to withdraw from the Colonial Government any portion of that control over the affairs either of the Settlers or of the Natives, which has already been vested in them; and I shall sincerely rejoice in the termination of the war, not only on its own account, but also because it will relieve the Home Government from duties and responsibilities which a state of war necessarily imposes upon us, but which are in their nature difficult and unsatisfactory.

I have written this Despatch in concert with the Secretary of State for War. He intends to instruct General Cameron to make arrangements for the return to England of a portion of the forces now under his command; but the specific instructions are open to modification according to the news which he may receive by the next mail with respect to the prisoners escaped from Kawau, and to the state of affairs in the northern portion of the Island. They will be sent to General Cameron by the next mail from England.

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
&c. &c. &c.

I have, &c.,
EDWARD CARDWELL.

No. 20.

(No. 16.)

Downing Street, February 27, 1865.

Nov. 21, No. 167.
Nov. 24, No. 170.
Nov. 24, No. 172.
Nov. 24, No. 173.
Nov. 30, No. 174.
Dec. 6, No. 179.
Dec. 7, No. 180.
Dec. 9, No. 181.

SIR,—

I have received your Despatches of the dates and numbers noted in the margin.

I observe with great satisfaction that the meeting of the Assembly had brought to a close those differences between yourself and your former Advisers which have occupied so large a portion of your late correspondence, and have been attended with such fortunate consequences to

the Colony. I learn with pleasure that Mr. Weld had formed a new Colonial Ministry, on principles which you regarded as being in conformity with the instructions you had received, and that he expected that Ministry would command a large majority in the Assembly.

In the speech which, by the advice of your Ministers, you addressed to the Assembly, in the answers of the two Houses to that speech, and in the resolutions adopted by the House of Representatives, I recognise what is, I trust, the commencement of a happier condition of public affairs. I agree in your opinion that these resolutions substantially accept the policy which Her Majesty's Government have instructed you to carry into effect in the Colony. I am gratified to see that the Assembly recognize the assistance rendered to them by the Mother Country, and cordially appreciate the gallant services performed by Her Majesty's land and naval forces. I have great pleasure in acknowledging, on the part of Her Majesty's Government, the gallant conduct and effective services of the forces raised in New Zealand, and the spirited exertion the Colony has made to meet the very heavy expenditure which has been thrown upon it.

You will have learnt from my former Despatches, that I entirely adhere to the decision of the Duke of Newcastle upon the subject of the responsibility of directing and controlling the Native policy of the Colony, which has been accepted by the Assembly in its last session; and you will have had no difficulty in assuring your Ministers that the Assembly was well justified in expressing its confident trust that the instructions given to you, on the part of Her Majesty's Government, in my Despatches of 26th April and 26th May were issued to meet a temporary emergency, and may lapse the moment a normal state of things shall be restored in the Colony. You rightly attach great importance to these resolutions of the Assembly. In admitting the claim of the Imperial Government to exercise a reasonable control over policy upon which the restoration of peace must necessarily depend, whilst the Colony is receiving the aid of British troops for the suppression of internal disturbance, they have, I trust, re-established harmony between the authorities, whose divided counsels were a cause of so much regret; and in resolving to make every possible further effort to place the Colony in a position of self-defence against internal aggression, they adopt the course best calculated to relieve the Home Government from responsibilities which we have most unwillingly assumed, and from an interference in the internal affairs of the Colony which nothing but a paramount sense of duty would ever have induced us to exercise.

You may assure the Assembly that these resolutions have been received by Her Majesty's Government with entire satisfaction. I await with great interest the receipt of your further intelligence, when time shall have been afforded to your Ministers to take practical measures for carrying this policy into effect.

You have already made known to the insurgent Natives the general conditions on which their return to their allegiance will be accepted. I trust that now, in conformity with Mr Weld's proposal, plans of the land, part of the territory belonging to the insurgents and now in military occupation, which you propose to obtain, either by cession or by confiscation, will be made public without delay. It is impossible to expect even the commencement of a restoration of peace and order in the Colony until this first and most important step shall have been taken, until the colonists shall know what lands they have to occupy, and until the Native race shall feel assured that they are safe in the possession and peaceful occupation of all their remaining land.

You will not fail to bring clearly before your Ministers and before the Assembly the conditions on which the Settlements Act has hitherto been left in operation by Her Majesty's Government. The permanent allowance of such an Act would be impossible, for the reasons assigned in my Despatch of 26th April, and I doubt not that I shall receive from you Acts adopted by the Assembly to which Her Majesty's sanction can be given.

I am sure that so soon as these first steps shall have been taken, your Ministers will proceed to consider what precautions it may be desirable to take in order to prevent the recurrence of disputes like that respecting the block of land at Waitara,—the unhappy origin of so much disaster to the Colony.

I collect from the information which you have sent me that in the Waikato district, and also at Tauranga, military operations have practically ceased; and that all that now remains to be done in these districts is, that you should give to both races that assurance with respect to the lands to be acquired by confiscation or cession of which I have already spoken. In the north, notwithstanding the escape of the prisoners from Kawau, tranquility had not been broken by any warlike operations on the part of any of the hitherto peaceful and friendly tribes. On the other hand, the state of affairs in the district of Taranaki still gave occasion for much anxiety; and the restoration and maintenance of order in that district will evidently be one of the most serious questions with which your Advisers will have to deal. It is impossible not to be struck by the difficulty which has always attended the extension of settlement at this point; and I observe that Mr Weld attaches so much importance to the question that, in his original proposals to you, he has made especial provision for the establishment of a strong military post, to be occupied by a Colonial force, in the centre of the coast line. I doubt not that when tranquility shall have been restored your Ministers, before inviting the expenditure of fresh capital at Taranaki in preference to other sites, where from local circumstances this difficulty might not be experienced to the same extent, will carefully consider the means by which, after the Imperial troops shall have been withdrawn, the settlers are to be protected from the recurrence of attack.

Your Ministers have laid down, as the end towards which their measures will be directed, the eventual withdrawal of the whole Imperial force. It will, no doubt, be necessary that this

withdrawal should be effected gradually; and by the present mail the Secretary of State for War gives instructions to General Cameron which contemplate that he will make arrangements for sending home five regiments. Her Majesty's Government have arrived at the conclusion that under present circumstances, these instructions may be safely given. I understand that the Colony does not propose to accept the guarantee of the Imperial Treasury under the Act of 1864; but the former arrangement, under which the Colony paid only £5 for each soldier, has expired; and I shall expect to hear from you that arrangements have been made for the new and increased contribution in respect of the troops who still remain. The orders given to General Cameron will enable your Ministers to diminish this contribution, if they shall think fit, by requesting the withdrawal of a larger portion of the force.

I have, &c.,

EDWARD CARDWELL.

No. 21.

(No. 20.)

Downing Street, 27th March, 1865.

SIR,—

I informed you by the last mail that Her Majesty's Government had received with entire satisfaction the resolutions of the Assembly of New Zealand, and had arrived at the conclusion that if the circumstances of the Northern Island continue the same as they appeared at that time arrangements might safely be made for the withdrawal of five regiments from the Colony.

I have since received your despatches numbered in the margin acquainting me with the

5th January,	No. 3.	Proclamation, which, on the advice of your Ministers and having consulted
6th "	" 5.	the Lieut.-General, you issued to the natives on the 17th of December.
6th "	" 7.	This Proclamation includes within the limits of the confiscated land a larger
7th "	" 10.	area than from your recent Despatches I had supposed was probable, and
7th "	" 11.	I will proceed to consider it with reference to the two important questions
7th "	" 12.	which are involved in the determination of a boundary or frontier, the question
7th "	" 13.	of justice towards the former owners of the land, and the question of safety.
7th "	" 14.	
7th "	" 15.	

As regards the question of justice it is in the first place to be borne in mind that you had already made to the Natives in your Proclamation of October 25th an offer of clemency, which they had not chosen to accept, and it was impossible for you any longer to leave in suspense the determination of the frontier you meant to establish. In the second place I do not understand that the whole of the area included within the limits prescribed in the Proclamation is intended to be taken from its former owners. On the contrary, the Proclamation states that while the whole will be retained and held as land of the Crown, the portions which belong to those natives who have adhered to the Queen will be secured to them, and to those who have rebelled, but who shall at once submit to the Queen's authority portions of the land taken will be given back for themselves and their families. These several portions are, I presume, to be held in future by a title derived from the Crown.

If these promises are, as I doubt not they will be faithfully observed in the spirit of the instructions you have received from me, I see no reason to object to the Proclamation on the score of justice.

I shall expect to receive from you in full detail an explanation of the measures by which this announcement to the Natives is to be carried into effect consistently with the existing law of the Colony, and with the instructions given to you in my Despatch of April 26th.

I feel more difficulty in giving you my opinion on the important question of safety, because there appears to be a discrepancy between your Despatches to me and those of General Cameron to the Secretary of State for War. General Cameron appears to suppose that you expect from him services which will render necessary the continued presence in New Zealand, if not indeed the increase of the present force. This correspondence between yourself and General Cameron seems to have been still in progress at the time of the departure of the mail. I attribute to this circumstance the omission of any explanation of, or reference to it in your despatches to me, and expect to hear fully on the subject by the next mail.

You are aware from my former despatches that Her Majesty's Government will not consent to the confiscation of territory, however justly forfeited by rebellion, which would render necessary the employment of an Imperial force to protect the new occupiers against the former owners of the land. Nor is there the smallest reason to infer from your Despatches that you and your advisers contemplate anything of the kind. On the contrary, they state in the plainest terms, that it is their policy to bring about the removal of Her Majesty's Land Forces from the Colony at the earliest possible moment. They say they see no reason to prevent this policy being carried into effect, and that it may be undertaken now with as little danger as under any circumstances likely to arise for many years to come.

I assume, therefore, that when you say that by the advice of your Responsible Ministers you arranged with General Cameron, as far as possible, the boundaries of the territory which you thought ought to be ceded to the Crown, you did so in conformity with the general policy of your Ministers and on the understanding that the boundary so established can be and will be

defended by a local force. These observations apply to the lands in the Waikato country respecting which you repeat the statement you had made in a former Despatch, that the natives had on several occasions declared that they would not in any manner interfere with your occupation of them.

On the other hand, and this may explain the apparent discrepancy, the caution given by General Cameron, though referring to the Waikato, seems more especially to apply to the intended operations at Taranaki. I have already remarked in a former Despatch on the danger which appears always to attend the extension of settlement at this place, and have pointed out how necessary it is for your Ministers to consider before inviting the expenditure of fresh capital at Taranaki, what means will be at their disposal when the Imperial troops shall have been withdrawn for protecting the settlers from attack. I confidently expect therefore that you will, have sanctioned no operations at Taranaki which General Cameron has been unable to approve, and that no frontier will have been established, nor settlements invited which the unassisted forces of the Colony may not be trusted to defend. Speaking indeed especially of the intended operations at Taranaki, your advisers expressly say that "they may be carried on with a local force, which, when the troops are withdrawn the Colony must supply."

To establish a frontier which can be maintained by settlers with the aid of a Colonial force is consistent at once with the plan originally suggested by yourself and adopted by your then Ministers. With the principle of policy on which your present Ministry was formed, and with the instructions you have received from me, you will, therefore establish your frontier with this view, and not with any expectation of relying for its defence upon an Imperial force.

In New Zealand, even more than in ordinary cases, there is the widest difference between an aggressive and a defensive war. It has been stated by Mr. Graham, in the letter which you forwarded to me, that there have not been more than two thousand Maories in arms against us. If this statement be accurate, or nearly accurate, your Ministers are surely well warranted in saying that they require no Imperial Forces to defend a district in which active operations have ceased—"a district now occupied in strong positions by no less than 2,500 Military Settlers, armed, organised, and capable of self defence."

If on the other hand you were to undertake an aggressive war, such a war as might be desired by those who wished so to suppress the rebellion that it might not be possible to renew it at a future period, or in other words once and for all completely to subjugate the Natives, you would be involved in an undertaking of greater difficulty than even with the aid of the whole force now in New Zealand you could reasonably hope to accomplish. The Natives, if they did not divide themselves into predatory parties would remain on the defensive, constructing paths on the strong positions which command the few lines by which it is possible to penetrate the forests of the interior. You would be involved in a succession of sieges tedious, expensive, and affording no opportunity of striking any decisive blow, but on the contrary calculated to alarm tribes hitherto neutral or even friendly,—and to draw to the side of the insurgents increasing numbers of allies. This policy Her Majesty's Government instruct you to avoid. They observe with pleasure that in your Proclamation you have said "The Governor will make no further attack on those who remain quiet."

Acting therefore in the spirit of your instructions you will proceed to establish your frontiers with a view to their safety when defended only by a Colonial Force. The latitude given to General Cameron with respect to the time of the withdrawal of the troops is intended to prevent the hazard of attack upon the colonists, considering the distance, and interval of time, which render it impossible to foresee the circumstances under which the Colony may be placed when the Despatches from home shall reach you. It is not intended to encourage the adoption of any policy which may tend to retard the ultimate withdrawal of the force.

When five Regiments shall have been withdrawn there will still remain in New Zealand a large force, a force which your advisers will probably wish to diminish as soon as possible, and which Her Majesty's Government will be equally anxious to diminish.

Whatever force it may be necessary to retain, and on this subject I wish to hear your opinion and that of your advisers, which you will doubtless form with the assistance of General Cameron, must be considered as a reserve, to come to the protection of any district against a sudden and unexpected danger, and not as the permanent force by which the safety of any district is to be secured in ordinary times. You will also bear in mind that the condition imposed by the Duke of Newcastle still remains in force, and that you will 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."

Her Majesty's Government appreciate the exertions which, under the advice of your Ministers, the Colony is making to meet by increased taxation the heavy burdens cast upon it. But with respect to the pecuniary obligations incurred by the Colony towards the Imperial Treasury and to the argument advanced by your Ministers in connection with the refusal of the Guaranteed Loan, I have to observe that the terms on which the Loan Act was passed by the Imperial Parliament were in strict conformity with former precedent, and with the Act of the New Zealand Assembly of 1862, from which the guarantee derived its origin. If therefore it has not been accepted by the Colony, Her Majesty's Government are in no way responsible for that circumstance, and cannot be expected to consider it as any reason for consenting to throw upon the Imperial Treasury an increased portion of Colonial expenditure. Nor, looking to the origin

either of the war of 1860, or of that of 1863, do they see any ground whatever for admitting that either the one or the other was owing to the assertion of any Imperial principle, or to the endeavour to obtain any Imperial, as distinguished from purely local and Colonial objects. Nor, considering the vast expenditure which now for two campaigns has been borne by the Imperial Treasury, does it appear that the Imperial Government can be justly said to throw off its share of the responsibilities of the direct consequences of the war, by merely requiring the repayment of advances made by the Imperial Treasury in aid of expenditure always regarded as Colonial, or by insisting upon a real though still far from an equivalent contribution in future towards the cost of forces maintained in New Zealand for the defence of the Colony. But as you promise me a full report upon the intended military and financial measures of your Ministers, it is not necessary for me now to say more than that I shall wait to hear how they propose to provide for the repayment of the debt due to the Imperial Treasury—and that you will make it clearly understood that an appropriation on the scale contemplated by Parliament must be made for any troops who may be retained in New Zealand by the Colonial Ministers.

In the last part of their Memorandum of the 30th December your advisers deprecate the division of the Colony proposed in the resolutions of the Auckland Provincial Council, expressing their belief that such a measure would probably meet the determined opposition of every other part of the Colony; that it would take away the security for the future of the Maori race, which depends on the influence of persons (in the Southern provinces) removed from local passions and interests; and that it would destroy hopes of the future prosperity of New Zealand as an united Colony which are not unworthy of consideration on the part of the mother country.

In forwarding to me the Auckland resolutions you have, on the contrary, intimated your own opinion that “unless some such arrangement is carried out, it will be impossible to bring to a satisfactory termination the difficulties prevailing in the Colony and you inform me that by the next mail you will transmit a full report upon this important question.” In the expectation of receiving such a report from you I will say no more than that Her Majesty’s Government see no reason, as at present advised, for giving any encouragement to any such proposal.

I have, &c.,

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

EDWARD CARDWELL.

No. 22.

Downing Street,

24th April, 1865.

No. 24.

SIR,—

Among the Acts which accompanied your Despatch, No. 8, of 7th January last, was the Act, No. 4, “to Alter and Amend the New Zealand Settlements Act, 1863.” This enactment has been passed to satisfy the conditions upon which in my Despatch, No. 43, of the 26th of April, 1864, you were authorised to give effect to the Act of 1863.

The most important of those conditions were, first, that the duration of the Act should be limited to a definite period, not exceeding two years from the date of the original Enactment, next that a Commission should be constituted for the special purpose of enquiring what lands may properly be forfeited, the members of which should not be removable with the Ministry, and should be so chosen as to guarantee a fair and careful consideration of the matters brought before them; and thirdly, that the powers of the Court, which by the Act were materially circumscribed, should be so enlarged as to enable it to deal leniently with all Native claims to compensation.

With regard to the first of these points it is provided by the present Act that the Act itself, and that which it amends, shall continue in operation until the third of December, 1865; but by some oversight apparently, the usual words “and no longer” are omitted, a defect which may possibly lead to questions as to the technical sufficiency of the limitation.

With regard to the second and third points the present law provides that the Governor (in Council), that is to say, yourself and your Responsible Advisers may give to dispossessed Natives what compensation you and they think fit over and above what the Court may award.

This is not in accordance with the terms of my Despatch, as it does not provide for a judicial or a quasi-judicial consideration of the Natives’ claims for compensation in cases where the letter of the Act excludes them from that privilege; on the contrary, it requires in all such cases that compensation shall not be given without the concurrence of an authority essentially political, and necessarily reflecting the popular feeling of the moment.

I infer, however, from your assenting to the Act that you feel yourself able under its provisions to secure the proper treatment of these questions. You will of course keep steadily in mind the instructions in my Despatch before referred to, to the effect that in accepting any cession, or authorizing confirmation of any forfeiture of land, you should retain in your own hands ample power of doing substantial justice to every class of claimants for restitution or compensation.

I have refrained from submitting these Acts to Her Majesty either for approval or disallowance, because while I am ready to rely upon you for applying them equitably up to the time when

they are intended to expire, I am unable to view them as wholly satisfactory, and also because I think it may prove advisable to obviate by a formal disallowance hereafter, that doubt respecting their legal duration to which I have already adverted.

I have, &c.,

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

EDWARD CARDWELL.

No. 23.

(No. 26.)

Downing-street, 26th April, 1865.

SIR,—

I have received your despatches noted in the margin, giving an account of the attack made by the rebel Natives upon the Camp at Nukumaru, and the repulse of that attack by Brigadier General Waddy and the force under his command. I regret that this attack has been the occasion of so considerable a loss as that reported by Brigadier General Waddy, but trust that the lesson thus given to the rebels will have produced a salutary effect, and will have tended to discourage further efforts on their part.

No. 22, Feb. 6, '65
" 24, " "
" 25, " 7,
" 26, " "
" 27, " 8.

I am under the disadvantage of not having received the report you led me to expect, upon the military and financial plans of your advisers, nor any explanation of the discrepancy between your views and those of General Cameron, to which I adverted in my last despatch. On the contrary, this discrepancy, still unexplained, has now become more apparent.

General Cameron forwards to the Secretary of State for War, a copy of a letter addressed to yourself, in which he says:—"I would, therefore, recommend that your Excellency should apply by the first opportunity for a reinforcement of at least 2000 men, if, in addition to the occupation of the country between Wanganui and the Patea, the road between Taranaki and Wanganui is to be opened, and more land to be confiscated, and occupied north of the Watara, which, I understand to be the plan of the Colonial Government, approved by your Excellency."

Your own despatches, on the contrary, lead me to conclude that the war in Waikato is at an end, and that the general feeling of the Natives is accurately represented by Colonel Greer in the following words:—"The fact is, the eyes of all Maoridom are on Taranaki; that is, the the head quarters of their 'Atua,' or God; and if he cannot drive the Pakehas into the sea there, I think they will give up as a bad bargain all over this side of the Island."

You do not lead me to entertain any doubt that all your measures at and near Taranaki are taken in subordination to the general policy of your present advisers, viz., the earliest possible withdrawal from the Colony of the whole of Her Majesty's Troops.

You have already learnt from me, and I wish you to understand beyond all possibility of mistake, that if—I use the words addressed by General Cameron to Lord de Grey—"the objects contemplated by the Governor and the Colonial Government" involve a reinforcement of the force now under General Cameron's command, or "the protection by Imperial Troops of the different settlements, or the occupation of land taken from the rebels"—these objects are not approved by Her Majesty's Government, and will not be carried into effect by an Imperial Force. You are expected to include in the land taken for settlement no greater an extent than you are prepared to defend with a Colonial Force, and to undertake no operations of any kind, whether in the formation of roads, the extension of settlements, or otherwise, which will render more distant the time at which the Troops of Her Majesty can be withdrawn from the Colony.

I understand these instructions to be in perfect accordance with the views of your advisers, sincerely entertained, and openly professed by them, and formally accepted by the Assembly. They are the instructions which, on the part of Her Majesty's Government, I convey to you. If, after this, any extension of settlement shall be adopted in the Colony, which is beyond the limits of reasonable security, and if disastrous consequences shall result, it will be evident to the Colonists that these consequences have followed from measures adopted by themselves—with ample warning of the views and intentions of the Home Government—after the fullest expression on their own part of their concurrence in those views and intentions, and after the allowance of a sufficient latitude in point of time to render the withdrawal of the Troops safe and right. I request that in fixing your boundaries, and determining upon the measures to be pursued in future, you will bring these observations fully under the consideration of your advisers, and point out to them the serious responsibility which will attach to their decisions.

It is necessary that I should again remind you, that the Estimates submitted to the Imperial Parliament, have been framed upon the understanding that the arrangement contemplated in the correspondence between this department and the late Colonial Treasurer, will be carried into effect as regards the Colonial contribution, for any troops of Her Majesty retained in the Colony after the 1st January of this year, and that I am expecting to receive the report on this subject to which I have above referred.

The Secretary of State for War will send no reinforcements to General Cameron, but will repeat the instructions already given for the withdrawal of five regiments with as little delay as

possible, consistently with the safe execution of my instructions to you. On your part you will¹ confine your requirements, for the assistance of General Cameron, within the limits which I have prescribed.

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

I have, &c.,
EDWARD CARDWELL.

No. 24.

No. 29.

Downing Street,
26th April, 1865.

SIR,—

I transmit to you herewith for your own information and for that of your Responsible Advisers a copy of a letter from the War Office with reference to the Colonial Secretary's minute forwarded in your despatch of the 7th of January, No. 16, in which application is made for permission to enlist for service in a Colonial Defence Force, a number of men, not exceeding 1500 from the Queen's Regiments now in New Zealand.

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

I have, &c.,
EDWARD CARDWELL.

Enclosure in No. 24.

SIR E. LUGARD TO SIR F. ROGERS.

War Office,
26th April, 1865.

SIR,—

I have received your letter of the 21st ultimo, together with its enclosure from the Governor of New Zealand, submitting a proposal that the Local Government may be permitted to enlist a number of men, not exceeding 1,500, from the Queen's Regiments now serving in the Colony, in order that they may enter into a Colonial Force which it is proposed to raise.

In reply, I am to request that you will acquaint Mr. Secretary Cardwell that Lord De Grey is unable to express a definite opinion upon the subject, until he is in possession of the details of the scheme promised in the letter from Sir George Grey to Sir Duncan Cameron, which is included among the enclosures to the Despatch from Sir Duncan Cameron transmitted to the Colonial Office on the 27th ultimo.

At present, therefore, Lord De Grey must confine himself to placing before Mr. Cardwell a few general considerations as to the mode in which the object which the Colonial Government appear to have in view, may best be carried out.

If the force which the Colonial Government contemplate, is to be formed on the principle of a Militia, or of a body of Military settlers embodied during time of war, but returning to civil occupations, or to the cultivation of their allotments of land, when tranquility is restored, although subject to such periods of annual training as the local Government may think fit to prescribe, the principles upon which it is desirable that such forces should be organized are so well known as to render it unnecessary to recapitulate them here, and I am therefore only to request that you will inform Mr. Secretary Cardwell that Sir Duncan Cameron has already received orders, which will be repeated by this mail, to afford encouragement to the men serving in the Regiments about to leave the Colony to take their discharges with a view to join any Military bodies of that description which may exist or may be formed in New Zealand.

If, however, the force which the Local Government desire to raise is intended to be of a more permanent character, resembling the Special Colonial Corps which exist in some of the Colonies, rather than Militia or Military Settlers, I am directed to point out to you that these Colonial Corps, such as the Canadian Rifles, the Cape Mounted Riflemen, &c., form part of Her Majesty's Regular Forces, and are under the same discipline and military authority as the rest of the troops.

They are in practice, not removed from the Colonies to which they belong, but, as in the instances which already exist, they are paid from Imperial funds, there is no engagement with the Colony not to remove them.

In the case of New Zealand, however, the entire expense of the force now proposed to be raised is to be borne by the Colony, and it would therefore be expected that it should be clearly understood that it is to remain in the Colony, and to be employed for Colonial purposes. To this arrangement Lord de Grey sees no objection.

The officers of the Colonial Corps now in existence receive their commissions, like all officers of the permanent forces of Her Majesty, from the Queen, and are recommended for appointment by the Commander-in-Chief. On this point Lord de Grey has been in communication with the Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief, and he has reason to believe that His

Royal Highness would be most willing to consider any proposals for the adoption of suitable arrangements for enabling the first appointments to commissions in any Colonial Corps to be raised for service in New Zealand, to be made as far as possible from gentlemen connected with the Colony, and for the enjoyment by the officers thus appointed, of the privilege of exchange into the other regiments of Her Majesty's forces, under the same regulations as those affecting the officers of the Canadian Rifles, Cape Mounted Rifles, and other similar corps.

It is unnecessary to point out how important a career would be opened by such an arrangement to the sons of gentlemen connected with the Colony of New Zealand.

The formation of a temporary force, to be maintained in an embodied state during the continuance of the war, and to be located, on the re-establishment of peace, on grants of lands as Military Settlers, would be probably the simplest arrangement, and the one least burdensome to the Colonial Finances; and such a force would, it is believed, prove attractive to a large number of the men now serving in regiments in the Colony.

But if the Colonial Government are anxious to see a more permanent force, to be paid by the Colony, established for local service, the proposal contains some elements of novelty, and Lord de Grey has therefore thought that it might be convenient to Mr. Secretary Cardwell and also to the New Zealand Ministers, to learn in what manner Lord de Grey considers the arrangements in force in other Colonies might best be modified so as to attain the object thus in view, so far as it is possible for his Lordship to express an opinion on the subject, in the absence of all detailed information as to the scheme of Sir George Grey's advisers.

I have, &c.,

EDWARD LUGARD.

Sir F. Rogers Bart,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 25.

Downing Street,

26th April, 1865.

No. 27.

SIR,—

I have the honor to transmit to you for your information, a copy of a letter from the President and Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society, recommending that Commissioners should be specially sent from this country to enquire and report upon the means of ensuring the future tranquility of the Colony of New Zealand, together with a copy of the answer returned to that communication by my desire.

I have, &c.,

EDWARD CARDWELL.

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

Enclosure 1 in No. 25.

THE ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY TO THE RIGHT HON. E. CARDWELL, M.P.

35, Bedford Square, London,

15th March, 1865.

SIR,—

On behalf of the Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society we beg respectfully to enclose copies of two letters we have received from certain Chiefs residing on the East Coast of the North Island of New Zealand. The fidelity of the translations is attested by Mr. C. O. Davies, an intelligent and trustworthy interpreter, and we have good reason to believe that the documents correctly represent the sentiments of large bodies of loyal Natives. The wish expressed in one of the memorials that there should be an impartial investigation into the causes of dispute between the Natives and the colonists has induced us to address you upon the present occasion. It appears to us the only foundation upon which a lasting peace can be established between these two classes of her Majesty's subjects. But in view of the unfriendly relations at present subsisting between Sir George Grey and a large section of the colonists, it does not seem likely that an enquiry can be instituted by any of the officials on the spot with any prospect of a satisfactory result. This we the more regret because we feel the greatest confidence in the wisdom, justice, and high-minded character of His Excellency, qualities which have never been more signally displayed by any servant of the Crown than during the last twelve months of harassing trial and controversy. We therefore address you in the hope, that by your advice, Her Majesty may be induced to despatch Commissioners to New Zealand armed with authority to investigate all questions connected with Native Policy, especially with a view to report upon the best means of insuring the future tranquility of the Colony, and of providing the Maoris with a Government suited to their growth in civilization. Convinced as we are, that a great wrong would be permitted, if the absolute conduct of Native Affairs were transferred to the colonists before the Maoris are placed in the enjoyment of all the rights solemnly guaranteed to them by treaty, we believe that the evidence which such a Commission might obtain would elicit information calculated to remove many perplexing difficulties, whilst its appointment would be hailed by

the Natives as a crowning proof of the determination of the Imperial Government to grant them that justice which they anxiously look for from its hands. It is scarcely necessary to impress upon the mind of a statesman, who like yourself, has so thoroughly mastered the intricacies of this question, that the Natives draw a broad line between the Colonial Government as such, and the authority of the Queen to which the large majority of them instinctively bow, and we therefore believe that no step would be more calculated to strengthen the loyalty of the faithful, and to revive the fidelity of those who have unhappily taken up arms, than the appointment of a Royal Commission which would secure to them as well as to the colonists a fair hearing, and give promise of their admission to those privileges which are now for the most part enjoyed by their European fellow-subjects alone.

We have, &c.,

(On behalf of the Committee of the Aborigines Protection Society),

SAML. GUERNEY, President,

R. N. FOWLER, Treasurer,

THOMAS HODGKINS, } Secretaries.
F. W. CHESSON, }

The Right Hon.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Sub-Enclosure 1 in Enclosure 1 in No. 25.

Hauraki, New Zealand,

September 27th, 1865.

O FRIENDS! the loving chiefs of the benevolent Council (*i.e.*, the Aborigines Protection Society) who are uniting in one the Nations created by God; for though their languages are diverse, God made them, and though their skins differ in color, God made them.

Greeting. We have heard of your affectionate regard for the Maoris, published in the newspapers (*i.e.*, the address of the Aborigines Protection Society, published in the New Zealand newspapers) and now we are persuaded that God himself influenced you to send this love hither (*i.e.*, the address presented to Sir George Grey) as we sit musing over the many many evils to which this island has been subjected. The love of our European friends residing here,—those who eat with us out of the same dish, is not like unto this manifested by you.

O, Council of Gentlemen, or chiefs, Bishops, Ministers, Christian men, children of God! yonder in that great land of England, we affectionately greet you from this far distant land, for the heart (of the Maories) now speaks to you thus, "Though our bodily presence is far off, our Spirit is with you."

And now, as your thoughts for the preservation of the Maoris have taken root, be strong; for you are fulfilling the words of Christ, which are, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." Be strong, will you? Yes.

There are two points in your address to the Europeans residing in this island (*i.e.*, the address presented to the Governor of New Zealand) which are good, namely:—1st. That the war in the country be at once terminated; and 2ndly. That the land of the Maoris should not be taken from them.

Hearken! The observance of these two points will be the salvation of the Maoris stretching away far North and South. All the Maoris are agreed on these two points, for the blood of the Europeans is shed in his money, but as to the blood of the Maori it is shed on his own land.

TE KOUOREHUA.

TAUHURITAPOKI.

TE 'IKI TE WHATARAU.

TE POTARI.

TE RIUTI.

TE RONGOTOA.

And all the Tribe.

To the Aborigines Protection Society,
England.

Sub-Enclosure 2 in Enclosure 1 in No. 25.

Horotiu, New Zealand,

October 29th, 1864.

O Friends! the assembly of English Gentlemen (*i.e.* the Aborigines' Protection Society) who wrote to Governor Grey not to take the land of the Maoris or allow it to be taken by Pakehas, or Colonists, and not to allow the Maoris to be killed, which sentiments were published in the newspapers of this Island.

We, Native Chiefs, rejoice on account of these sentiments of yours from the rising of the sun to the setting thereof (*i.e.* from one end of New Zealand to the other) these your words will be admired by us. We admire or esteem these words, for by them we are saved (*i.e.* if these principles are adhered to the war will be at end, as the Maoris are simply fighting for their lands.) Because of this (*i.e.* the kindly feelings of the Aborigines Protection Society towards the Maoris), the

Chiefs of New Zealand say, Let the Chiefs of England come to New Zealand to put an end to this foolish war. Do you hearken all of you? The excellent sentiments expressed in the address you sent hither (*i.e.* the address of the Aborigines Protection Society to Sir George Grey), do you cause them to be enforced in England where are the houses of Treasure and the houses of Maire (Mira Solicifolia) (*i.e.* in England, where all that is beautiful in art and sublime in sentiment meet the eye and mind), you cause the points mooted by you to be settled yonder (*i.e.* in England), then we shall be saved here (*i.e.* in New Zealand), or if you plead our cause in England and prevail, we Maoris shall be saved from the horrors of war, &c., &c.

Let your mission of mercy be hastily executed, so that we may speedily be saved from the works of the Europeans (saved from war), we are waiting to be saved (*i.e.* friendly intervention), and wondering from what quarter will mediators come.

If you are clear about the matter, or if you approve, send a member of your Council hither to us to enquire into the wrongs or errors of this Island, for the good things of this Island as well as the bad things are unknown to you. Let our affairs be seen with your own eyes, and do not suffer intelligence to be carried on to you by the winds, lest there should be any doubts in your minds, and you should conclude that the Pakeha side is right or wrong, or the Maori side is right or wrong. This is the reason why we send you this message; we have heard of your large brotherly love to the Maoris. It was the European races who brought the Gospel to this barbarous Island, also the sword to kill; these they (*i.e.* the Missionaries) had instructed, and now they (the Maoris) have no wish to lift up the sword which kills the body, but they wish to have "the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God."

O, Friends! the chiefs of the Council (*i.e.*, the Aborigines Protection Society) be all of you powerful to raise us up, so that we may stand on our own feet or stand erect and come back to Christianity (*i.e.*, war has driven Christianity far from us) for death, that is to say war, is the work of Satan, but peace is from God:

TE OHA TAOTAO,
And all his Tribe.
From KATIKATI,
And all his Tribe.
From TE KOU,
And all his Tribe.

Enclosure 2 in No. 25.

MR. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY.

Downing Street,
31st March, 1865.

SIR,—

I am directed by Mr. Secretary Cardwell to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th instant, enclosing copies of two letters which had been received by the Aborigines Protection Society from certain Chiefs in New Zealand, and recommending, on behalf of the Society, that Commissioners should be specially sent from this country to enquire and report upon the means of ensuring the future tranquility of the Colony.

In reply, I am to inform you that it does not appear to Mr. Cardwell that the appointment of a Commission, independent of the Governor and constituted authorities of New Zealand, would be likely to produce any beneficial result.

I have, &c.,

To the President of the Committee of the
Aborigines Protection Society

C. FORTESCUE.

No. 26.

No. 36.

Downing Street,
22nd May, 1865.

SIR,—

I have the honor to inform you that I referred, for the favourable consideration of the Secretary of State for War, a copy of your Despatch, with its enclosures No. 169, of the 22nd of November, recommending Major Charles Heaphy, of the Auckland Militia, for the decoration of the Victoria Cross for his conduct at the skirmish on the Banks of the Mangapiko River, in February, 1864.

I am informed, however, by Lord de Grey that the Royal Warrant instituting this decoration limits the grant of it to the officers and men of the regular Army and Navy, and that his Lordship is therefore precluded from recommending Her Majesty to confer the Victoria Cross upon Major Heaphy.

A.—No. 6. 24 DESPATCHES FROM THE RIGHT HON. E. CARDWELL, M.P.

His Lordship is not of opinion that the Royal Warrant could properly be extended beyond the officers and soldiers of the regular Army, who, he observes, have no chance of receiving that substantial reward in land or otherwise, which colonial officers may receive from the Governments whose servants they are,

I much regret the disappointment which this decision may cause to Major Heaphy, whose gallantry on the occasion in question is fully established, but I am unable to dispute the force of the considerations on which Lord de Grey rests his decision.

I have, &c.,

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

EDWARD CARDWELL.

No. 27.

No. 41.

Downing Street, 26th May, 1865.

SIR—

2nd March No. 29
10th " No. 32
" " No. 34
" " No. 35

I have received with pleasure your Despatches announcing two great and important services rendered to the Government of New Zealand by Friendly Natives, I mean the decisive victory obtained at Jerusalem on 24th February by loyal chiefs of Wanganui over the rebels whom they met in arms; and the arrest of Hori Tupaea, and two fanatical prophets with a considerable number of their followers, by the Arawa Tribe at Tauranga.

It is most satisfactory to learn that Colonel Greer and Mr. Clarke consider that the capture of these prisoners, and the submission of Hori Tupaea will settle the district of Tauranga and put out the Pai Mariri delusion; and, that you regard the submission of Pehi, in the district of Wanganui, as a proof that the disturbances prevailing in New Zealand are now drawing to a close.

You will not fail to convey to the Friendly Chiefs who have espoused our cause with so much gallantry and effect, the acknowledgements on our part to which they are well entitled; and you will express to the surviving relatives of the Chief John Williams the sincere regret with which Her Majesty's Government have learned that this firm and most consistent friend of order and good Government in the Colony, has closed his honorable life by a mortal wound received in arms against the rebels.

These conspicuous exertions of the Friendly Natives are the more to be valued, because I trust they are not only a material assistance towards the early re-establishment of peace, but also an earnest that when peace has been restored and Government is again conducted in its settled and regular form, friendly relations may generally prevail between the European and the Native Races.

I have also had much pleasure in communicating to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury your Despatch informing me that your Government have directed the Crown Agents to issue and hand over to the Imperial Treasury, Debentures for £500,000 with a view to the adjustment of the debt due by the Colony to the Imperial Government. You are, however, silent as to the Military and Financial plans of your Advisers, respecting which you had led me to expect information. By the time at which I now write, your winter will probably have closed the second campaign of this distressing war. You will have received from me the cordial assent of Her Majesty's Government to the policy of your new Advisers, and of the Assembly, and General Cameron will have received Lord De Grey's instructions for the withdrawal of five Regiments from the Colony. I trust that I may rely on the sanguine expressions contained in your present Despatches, that the disturbances in New Zealand are drawing to a close; and if your hopes be realised, your Ministers will have the satisfaction of pursuing their declared policy by sending home the remaining Regiments. You will take care that for all whom it may be desired to retain for a time, the provision is made, which is contemplated in the correspondence between this Department and Mr. Reader Wood.

I have, &c.,

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.
&c., &c., &c.

EDWARD CARDWELL.

No. 28.

No. 50.

Downing Street, 26th July, 1865.

SIR,—

The accident which detained the former mail from New Zealand has caused your Despatches of April to remain for answer now with those of May.

In the Despatches of those two mails there is matter for much regret. I am deeply concerned to receive the painful intelligence of the massacre of Mr. Volkner, of Mr. Hewett, and of the other persons, Europeans and friendly Natives, and also the evidence of the strength of the Pai Mariri superstition, which you have recorded in those Despatches. But, on the other hand, in the most recent of them, you report that affairs on the East Coast have again assumed a more favorable aspect,—that there is little reason to apprehend disturbance in that part of the Island,—and especially that the Native race have themselves taken a large and active part in preserving the peace of that District. These reports are very reassuring. If indeed the event shall justify the confident expectation you express that Rewi, who has hitherto been the chief leader of the rebels, now intends to make his submission to the Government, we may expect the most beneficial consequences to follow that submission.

What I have principally to address to you, however, in connection with these Despatches, must relate to the difference which has so unhappily arisen between yourself and General Cameron,—and to the Military and Financial policy which, in concert with your advisers, you propose to pursue.

You will have learnt from my former Despatches that I had already received from the Secretary of State for War some intimation of your difference with General Cameron, and was expecting to hear from yourself an explanation of the causes of that difference and of the bearing of it upon the safety of the settlers, the conduct of military operations and the future welfare of the Colony. It now appears that the real origin of that difference has been an opinion on the part of yourself and your Ministers that, after the Waikato Tribes had been reduced, the safety of the Southern Settlements required that the Tribes between Taranaki and Wanganui who were amongst the most guilty of all the tribes, and that in a great measure without cause, should also be reduced to submission while, on the contrary, General Cameron has considered it undesirable to recommence hostilities—has thought it inexpedient to enter upon any further aggressive operations—has regarded it as necessary to consolidate what we had got, and especially has objected to your employing the troops in aggressive operations in the manner you have desired in the neighbourhood of Taranaki.

My former Despatches will not have left you in ignorance of the general views which are entertained by her Majesty's Government on this subject. In objecting to the employment of the troops in aggressive warfare and especially in pointing out to you the peculiar hazards which always appear to attend the extension of settlement at Taranaki and the neighbourhood, I have indicated the course which her Majesty's Government desire you to pursue, and have plainly told you to include in the land taken for settlement no greater an extent than you are prepared to defend with a Colonial force, and to undertake no operations of any kind, whether in the formation of roads, the extension of settlements, or otherwise, which would render more distant the time at which the troops of her Majesty might be withdrawn from the Colony. But I also concur with you in thinking that if, consistently with these views it has been possible to chastise into submission the rebel Natives of the Taranaki and Wanganui districts, such chastisement was just in reference to the past, and politic in reference to the future.

I assume that when you called upon General Cameron to engage in these operations and temporarily to occupy this territory you did so in the fullest reliance on your own power to maintain the position you have thus occupied, and to defend the territory you have thus acquired with a Colonial force alone, and without involving the necessity for any delay in sending home the Queen's troops.

It is impossible to read without profound regret a correspondence like that which has passed between yourself and General Cameron, and to see that in the midst of difficulties and dangers like those by which you have been surrounded, it has not been possible for two very able and distinguished men filling positions of great responsibility and importance, to maintain unbroken those friendly and confidential relations with each other, which in such circumstances are so essential for the public good.

It has added to the pain with which Lord de Grey and I have received this correspondence, to find that Sir D. Cameron complains of your having made use of his letter to you in a way which he did not intend to authorise, and which he regards as having been unfair towards him, and calculated to prejudice the Colonial Ministers against him. Irrespectively of the scrupulous care which ought always to be observed when public documents are founded upon private communications, it is evident that the publication of such minutes as those of yourself and your Ministers in the colonial newspapers, could not but tend to impair the influence of the Officer commanding the Queen's troops with the general public of New Zealand, and that nothing short of absolute necessity therefore, could justify such a publication; you appear to have concluded from

General Cameron's expressions that his private letter had been sent home officially: but if such were your impression, that impression was erroneous, since General Cameron had some time ago applied for leave to come home, which had been awarded to him; and since the arrangements now contemplated for the removal of the troops render his further stay unnecessary, I shall not at present enter further on this painful subject. I must earnestly enjoin upon you the observance of a frank and considerate communication with General Cameron during the brief continuance of the reciprocal relations in which you have hitherto been placed. It is indeed very satisfactory that on the principal question whether or not an Imperial Force shall be employed for aggressive operations in a third campaign, there seems to be an entire agreement of opinion. The instructions which you have received from me have been in complete accordance with your own opinion and that of your Ministers, that no measures should be undertaken which will retard the removal of the whole of the Queen's Troops, and with the opinion conveyed by General Cameron to Earl de Grey, in which you have expressed your concurrence that "nothing is more to be desired than that the Colony should rely as much as possible on its own resources, energy, and courage. It is painfully evident that two campaigns have been more than enough of a contest in which ten thousand of the Queen's troops, aided by a Colonial Force sometimes nearly equal in number, have been engaged in a war against a body of Natives never exceeding, as you have led me to understand, more than two thousand in number at one time. The European population of the Northern Island already equals or perhaps exceeds in number the whole of the Native population; and the Natives are so far from being united against us that many of our most important successes have recently been due to the fidelity and courage of the friendly Natives. I cannot better express the views of her Majesty's Government on this, the cardinal question of the whole policy, than by adopting the following words from the Ministerial Memorandum, which you have enclosed to me:—"Ministers believe the success of their policy to depend upon the willingness of the European settlers and of those Natives who live amongst them, to come forward in self defence, aided for a time, at least, by an armed constabulary force under the direction of the Civil Government. They are of opinion that the Province of Auckland, for instance, having a population of about 37,000 European inhabitants, besides a very large proportion of friendly Natives, ought to be in a position to ward off any attack from the comparatively small and badly armed force which might be brought against it. Ministers are aware that disasters to settlers in exposed positions may at times occur, but such disasters have not been prevented by the presence of Imperial armies, nor could they, were those forces doubled."

"It is then proposed, with the sanction of the General Assembly, to establish an armed constabulary force to occupy defensive posts, to be supported as occasion may require, by friendly Natives, by volunteer, bushranger, and cavalry corps, all of which have hitherto done excellent service; and in case of emergency, by the whole militia of the district. It is submitted that a force of the nature proposed has been proved to be more effective for the special purposes required in New Zealand than large armies organised with a view to European warfare. Such a force, at least, may it is hoped, be within the reach of the Colony. The possession of it would entail no liability to interference in the management of our internal affairs: whilst on the other hand New Zealand has neither the means nor the desire to retain an Imperial army."

"Ministers advise the reduction of the Imperial force in New Zealand, and believe that with the assistance of the Imperial authorities, a few months would enable them to supply, as far as necessary, the place of all the troops now present in this country."

I will now advert to your Despatch, No. 49, of 8th April, in which you forward to me the Memorandum of your Ministers on the present financial position of the Colony of New Zealand. That Memorandum closes with the expression of their trust that "the Home Government will extend its aid to the Colony, either by covering the remainder of the Three Million Loan by the Imperial guarantee, or by making the Colony an annual grant in aid of extraordinary expenditure for the next four or five years:" and you express your own opinion that the Imperial Government should guarantee an additional million in excess of the amount stated by your responsible advisers. I must, however, remind you that when in 1863 the Assembly originally passed the Loan Act for three millions, you forwarded it to Her Majesty's Government with your own strong recommendation that the request of your then Ministers for a guarantee for that amount should be acceded to, and the then Colonial Treasurer came over to England, and urged with great ability, the cause he was deputed to promote. I told you at once, that it was impossible for Her Majesty's Government to make to the Imperial Parliament any such proposal as that for a guarantee of three millions; but after frequent conferences with Mr. Reader Wood, and upon a full exposition of the affairs of the Colony, I engaged to apply to Parliament for a guarantee of one million, and I obtained it. That guarantee has been declined by your present advisers and by the Assembly, on the ground, as I understand, that the conditions of the Imperial Act would be incompatible with subsisting arrangements with the Provinces, and would prejudice the securities for the Provincial Loans, or in other words, that the Imperial Act required a priority of charge over other Loans, and included in the security the territorial revenue, and the sums mentioned in the former correspondence as "Surplus for distribution to Provinces." Yet these conditions were in conformity with the precedents afforded by the Act for the Imperial Guarantee passed in 1857, and with the Act of the New Zealand Assembly in 1862, from which the Imperial Act of 1864 may be said to have derived its origin. You must have observed, from the reports of what passed in

Parliament that the guarantee of one million, even when these securities were pledged, was not assented to without long debates, nor without repeated divisions. I can only understand your present request to be, that I shall apply to Parliament to guarantee a sum of nearly two, or, as you express it, of nearly three millions, and that I shall at the same time acquiesce in the objection of your Government and of the Assembly, to pledging the securities of which I have spoken. I think it must be evident to you and to your Ministers what the probable fate of any such proposal would be, if I were to engage to make it.

If I were to propose a grant to the Colony to be voted by the Imperial Parliament I should have to contend with such arguments as these;—I should be told that since the 1st of April, 1863, the sums charged upon the Imperial Treasury for the service of New Zealand had fallen very little short, if at all, of two millions of money; that a loan, which at the request of the then Colonial Treasurer the Imperial Parliament had consented to guarantee had been refused by the Colony, but that in contending for that guarantee I had laid before the House of Commons, on behalf of the Colony, the statement of a balance of receipt over expenditure which was scarcely consistent with my present application for Imperial aid on the score of a deficient Colonial Exchequer: I should be reminded that, in stating that balance, I had not included the portions of land confiscated in this war which would be available for sale, nor the increasing revenue to be derived from customs or excise on articles consumed by the new settlers on those portions of the confiscated lands which might be devoted to purposes of military settlement. I should be told, I fear with irresistible force, that I had failed to establish a sufficient case for that which must always be regarded as in the highest degree exceptional,—namely a vote of the Imperial Parliament in aid of the expenditure of an established, and in the main, a flourishing and advancing Colony.

For it must not be forgotten that her Majesty's Government agree with your advisers in regarding the Colony of New Zealand as a whole. In expectation of a report, which I understood I was to receive from you upon the Auckland Petitions, I have as yet not entered at length into the question of the proposed division of the Colony. I have, however, stated from the first that, as at present advised, her Majesty's Government have seen no reason for giving any encouragement to any such proposal. I now infer, in the absence of any report from you to the contrary, that your own opinion agrees with that of your advisers, and I authorise you to assure them that the Colonial Government will receive the support of the Imperial Government in maintaining the unity of the Colony. You may answer in the same sense the petitions which you have forwarded to me from Auckland.

I conclude therefore with expressing on the part of her Majesty's Government our entire concurrence in the policy of your advisers, which proposes to stop the present war expenditure—to reduce, and in a few months altogether to supply, the place of all the troops now present in the Colony—to get rid therefore of the liability to interference in the management of their internal affairs;—to give to their fellow-subjects of the Native race civil rights, and at the same time to bring them, gradually, I presume, and cautiously, under the control of the law. I cannot encourage you to expect that the guarantee of one million, obtained not without difficulty from the Imperial Parliament, but rejected by the Colony, can now be replaced by a guarantee of nearly two, or even of nearly three millions, upon less secure terms: nor while I concur in maintaining the unity of the Colony, can I acknowledge that there is sufficient evidence to shew that the United Colony does not possess the means of maintaining its own armed Police by its own unassisted resources. It is scarcely needful to repeat that the Secretary of State for War will send no reinforcements to General Cameron, but will, by the present mail, approve his intention to commence at once the removal of the troops.

I have, &c.,

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

EDWARD CARDWELL.

No. 29.

No. 55.

Downing street, July 26, 1865.

New Zealand.

SIR,—

With reference to my Despatch No. 50 of this day's date, I transmit to you copies of Despatches addressed by Sir D. Cameron to Earl de Grey, on the differences which had arisen between the General and yourself. I also enclose a copy of Lord de Grey's Despatch in answer.

And further a copy of another Despatch from his Lordship, having reference to the sending home of the Regiments now in New Zealand.

I have, &c.,

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

EDWARD CARDWELL.

A.—No. 6. 28 DESPATCHES FROM THE RIGHT HON. E. CARDWELL, M.P.

Enclosure 1 in No. 29.

SIR D. CAMERON TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR.

No. 113.

Head Quarters, Auckland, May 7, 1865.

MY LORD,—

See A., No. 1,
1865.—p. 5.

I beg to draw your Lordship's attention to the enclosed memoranda which have been published in all the Newspapers in this Colony.

The words "for the profit and gratification of the Colonists," are extracted from a private letter of mine to Sir George Grey, and I can entertain no doubt that His Excellency's memorandum of the 4th of March was directed against me, whilst from the attack which Ministers made upon me in their memorandum in reply, it is equally clear that they must have been informed that I was the person referred to in the Governor's memorandum.

I had never received any intimation from Sir George Grey either of his having written his memorandum of the 4th March, or of his having received that of the Ministers in reply; and I was ignorant of the existence of those documents until I saw them accidentally in one of the local Newspapers a few days ago.

I am aware that as Sir George Grey and myself are public officers, our private letters are so far public documents as that they are liable to be produced before the Government we are both serving; but I conceive that he made a most unfair and unauthorised use of my letter, in quoting it in a memorandum addressed to the Colonial Ministers apparently with the intention of prejudicing them against me, and exciting an ill feeling against me in the Colony generally; which though it can be of little concern to me personally, yet as I command the troops in the Colony, cannot but be injurious to the public service.

It appears to me very important that Her Majesty's Government should express their opinion upon the proceedings of Sir George Grey, as no British officer will willingly retain command for a single day in the Colony where his private letters to the Governor are liable to be used against him for the purpose for which mine have been used against me by Sir George Grey.

I have, &c.,

D. A. CAMERON,
Lieutenant General.

The Right Honorable,
The Secretary of State for War.

P.S.—I enclose the copy of a letter I addressed to Sir George Grey on this subject.

D. A. C.

Enclosure 2 in No. 29.

SIR D. CAMERON TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR.

No. 115.

Head Quarters, Auckland, May 7, 1865.

MY LORD,—

1st May
53.—27th April
54.—27th April

I have the honor to transmit the copy of a letter I have received from Sir George Grey, Governor of New Zealand, enclosing copies of two Despatches addressed by His Excellency to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and I now forward for your Lordship's information, my replies to these Despatches.

I have, &c.,

D. A. CAMERON,
Lieutenant General.

The Right Honorable,
The Secretary of State for War.

Enclosure 3 in No. 29.

SIR D. CAMERON TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR.

No. 116.

Head Quarters, Auckland, May 7, 1865.

MY LORD,—

17th April

I have the honor to forward the copy of a letter I received from His Excellency Sir George Grey, in reply to a private letter from me, in which I informed him that I had furnished your Lordship with copies of the private correspondence between us, which I forwarded by this last mail.

If I had waited to forward those letters until His Excellency had had time to send a reply to my letter of the 30th March, I should have lost a mail, and thinking it extremely probable that

His Excellency would also bring the correspondence in question to the notice of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, by the same mail, I considered it advisable not to incur that delay.

I have, &c.,

D. A. CAMERON,
Lieutenant General.

The Right Honorable,
The Secretary of State for War.

Enclosure 4 in No. 29.

SIR D. CAMERON TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR.

No. 119.

Head Quarters, Auckland, May 10, 1865.

MY LORD,—

With reference to my letter to your Lordship of the 7th instant, No. 113. relative to certain memoranda written by the Governor and his ministers, and published in the newspapers of the Colony; I have the honor to forward a letter I have received from His Excellency in reply to mine of the 3rd May with its enclosures.

Your Lordship will perceive that Sir George Grey does not attempt to deny either the facts or the inferences I have drawn from them, in regard to which I have complained to your Lordship.

It also appears from the memorandum of Ministers that on receiving my letter of the 3rd May, Sir George Grey thought proper to communicate to them my private letter to him of the 28th January, proving that he has done and continues to do all in his power to create an ill feeling against me in the Colony.

I have, &c.,

D. A. CAMERON,
Lieutenant General.

The Right Honorable,
The Secretary of State for War.

Enclosure 5 in No. 29.

SIR D. CAMERON TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR.

No. 120.

Head Quarters, Auckland, May 15, 1865.

MY LORD,—

The enclosed memorandum addressed by the Colonial Ministers to His Excellency the Governor of New Zealand having appeared this morning in a local Newspaper, I have thought it right to inform your Lordship, and Her Majesty's Government of the circumstance, with as little delay as possible, and I have therefore despatched the steamer "Alexandra" with this letter to Melbourne, in the hope that she will be in time to overtake the mail for England.

This memorandum has been written by Ministers, in consequence of the Governor having communicated to them the contents of my private letters to him.

I have already drawn your Lordship's attention to this conduct on the part of the Governor which I can only attribute to a desire to prejudice the Government and inhabitants of this Colony against me, regardless of the injury which the public service must sustain thereby.

I have informed His Excellency of my intention to send the "Alexandra" to Melbourne.

I have, &c.,

D. A. CAMERON,
Lieutenant General.

The Right Honorable,
The Secretary of State for War.

Enclosure 6 in No. 29.

SIR D. CAMERON TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR.

No. 122.

Head Quarters, Auckland, May 15, 1865.

MY LORD,—

I have the honor to forward for your Lordship's information, a copy of a letter received from Sir George Grey in reply to mine of this date, a copy of which is also enclosed.

Your Lordship will not fail to perceive the fallacy of the argument employed by Sir George Grey, when he states that I must have looked upon my private letters to him as public documents, when I communicated them to your Lordship, in a private letter.

I should never have questioned his right to make use, in any way he thought fit, when communicating with Her Majesty's Government, of the opinion which I confidentially expressed to him in any of my private letters, but to divulge the contents of these private letters to his Council Ministers, could have had no other possible result than to raise an outcry of the colonists against myself personally, without any possible good, but rather every prospect of injury to the public service.

I need not say that in the circumstances of colonial service, it is only right and reasonable that the Governor and the Commander of Her Majesty's Forces should be able to communicate with each other unreservedly on measures affecting Imperial interests, without feeling that by so doing they are exposed at any moment to such treatment as I have received at the hands of Sir George Grey.

So far as any allusion to the Colonial Ministers is concerned, I should have thought myself as safe in writing to Sir George Grey, as he must have felt when frequently speaking to me about his late Responsible Advisers; and I regret that for some reasons, which it is not for me to point out, it now suits his purpose to try to turn the tide of colonial feeling against me.

I leave the matter with full confidence in the hands of Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.,

D. A. CAMERON,

Lieutenant General.

The Right Honorable
The Secretary of State for War.

Enclosure 7 in No. 29.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR TO SIR D. CAMERON.

War Office,

26th July, 1865.

SIR,—

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatches of the dates noted in the margin, and I have learnt from them with great regret the differences which have arisen between Sir George Grey and yourself. It is much to be lamented that such a correspondence as that of which you have forwarded me copies should have passed between two able and distinguished men, filling most responsible appointments at a time when it was of the highest importance that they should maintain unbroken those friendly and confidential relations with each other, which, in such circumstances, are so essential for the public good.

I regret, therefore, if there are any expressions in your letters liable to misconstruction or calculated in any way to cause annoyance to the Governor; but it is with great pain that I have learnt that you consider that you have grounds for complaining that Sir George Grey has made a use of your letters to him which you did not intend to authorise, and which you regard as having been unfair towards you, and calculated to prejudice the Colonial Ministers against you.

Irrespective of the scrupulous care which ought always to be observed when public documents are founded upon private communications, it is evident that the publication of such minutes as those of Sir George Grey and his Ministers in the Colonial newspapers could not but impair the influence of the officer commanding her Majesty's troops in the Colony of New Zealand, and that nothing short of absolute necessity could, therefore, justify such a publication.

Sir George Grey appears to have concluded from your expressions that your private letter to him had been sent home officially, but this impression, if it existed in his mind, was erroneous.

As you some time ago applied for leave to come home, which was consequently accorded to you, and as the arrangements now contemplated for the removal of the troops will, I trust, render your longer detention in New Zealand unnecessary. I shall not at present enter further upon this painful subject, but shall confine myself to forwarding to you a copy of the Despatch relating to it which Mr. Cardwell has transmitted to Sir George Grey by the present mail.

I have, &c.,

DE GREY and RIFON.

Lieut. General Sir D. Cameron,
&c., &c., &c..

Enclosure 8 in No. 29.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR, TO SIR D. CAMERON.

War Office, 26th July, 1865.

SIR,—

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of 15th of May last, 121, and to inform you that I approve of the steps which you have taken to commence the withdrawal

of the troops from New Zealand, and that I trust that you will be able not only at an early period to complete the reduction of the Force contemplated in my despatch of the 27th of February, but that the instruction sent by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor will be so carried into execution by that officer as to lead to the almost immediate removal of the whole.

I have, &c.,

Lieut. General Sir D. Cameron, K.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

DE GREY and RIPON.

No. 30.

No. 63.

Downing Street, 19th August, 1865.

SIR,—

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch, No. 43, of the 6th April, forwarding for my information a Memorandum from your Responsible Advisers in answer to the communication which I addressed to you on the 26th of October last, in common with the Governors of the different Australian Colonies, respecting an Imperial Act which it was proposed to pass for establishing the validity of certain Colonial Acts and ascertaining the powers of Colonial Legislatures.

There are two points to which your Ministers call attention in this statement: 1st. The inconvenience resulting from the clause in the Imperial Guarantee Act 1857, which provides that no Colonial Act varying the security given shall be valid, unless passed with a suspending clause; and 2ndly. The insufficiency of the power granted to the Colonial Legislature by the "Constitution Amendment Act 1857" to alter the provisions of the "Constitution Act 1852."

You will have learned from my Despatch, of the 26th ultimo, that an Imperial Act "to remove doubts as to the validity of Colonial laws," had already been assented to by the Queen when your Despatch was received, and consequently that no opportunity was afforded of considering the remarks of your Advisers with a view to immediate legislation.

The question, however, of any alteration in the security for the Guaranteed Loan of 1857 is too peculiar and too important to have been properly dealt with by the recent Act. I shall be ready to give it full consideration, in concert with the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and in connection with the general proposals for the settlement of the present liabilities of the Colony, which I am expecting to receive from you.

The doubts entertained by your Ministers respecting the validity of Colonial laws, repealing inferentially any part of the Constitution Act, were treated of in a report from Sir W. Atherton and Sir Roundell Palmer which was forwarded to you in my predecessor's Despatch, No. 67, of the 26th June, 1863. Remembering the tenor of that opinion, and remembering also that the local legislature is unquestionably competent to repeal any Acts passed in implicit contravention of the Constitution Act, and to re-enact them in such a form as they may consider unimpeachable, in point of form, I am not inclined to think that the doubts which your Ministers bring under my notice, furnish sufficient reason for a special application to the Imperial Parliament.

I have, &c.,

EDWARD CARDWELL.

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

No. 31.

No. 66.

Downing Street,
23rd August, 1865.

SIR,—

In your Despatch of the 10th March last, No. 34, you informed me that the Crown Agents had been instructed to deliver to the Imperial Government, New Zealand Government Debentures for Five Hundred Thousand Pounds, with a view to the adjustment of the debt due by the Colony to the Imperial Government, and by the letter from the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury of the 26th ultimo, a copy of which was enclosed in my Despatch, No. 54, of the same date, you will have learnt that their Lordships had determined to accept the Debentures as a collateral security for a portion of the debt, and to draw the interest, from time to time, becoming due thereon.

I now transmit copy of a further correspondence with the Lords Commissioners in regard to the creation and deposit of the Bonds.

You will observe that I have advised the postponement of the final appropriation of any of the monies until there has been time for the receipt of your answer to this Despatch.

A.—No. 6. 32 DESPATCHES FROM THE RIGHT HON. E. CARDWELL, M.P.

I shall therefore be glad to receive any observations either you or your Advisers may wish to offer, at as early a period as possible.

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

I have, &c.,

EDWARD CARDWELL.

Enclosure 1 to No. 31.

MR. HAMILTON TO SIR F. ROGERS.

Treasury Chambers,
19th August, 1865.

SIR,—

I am commanded by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury to acquaint you that they have had before them your letter of the 11th instant, in the last paragraph of which it is stated that Mr. Secretary Cardwell assumes that this Board will give to the Crown Agents for the Colonies whatever instructions are required respecting the disposal of the Bonds of the New Zealand Government, amounting to £500,000, which the Crown Agents have been instructed to hand over to the Imperial Government, in part adjustment of the debt of that Colony.

My Lords have already informed the Secretary of State that they have accepted these Debentures only as a Collateral Security for a portion of the debt due to Her Majesty's Government, and Mr. Cardwell will probably agree with their Lordships in opinion that, as the Bonds will only be deposited as a security, the Crown Agents should be instructed to prepare them in such amounts and for such periods as would best suit the convenience of the Colonial Government in disposing of them when returned to them after payment of the debt to the Imperial Government.

Should Mr. Cardwell agree in this opinion, my Lords request that instructions may be given accordingly to the Crown Agents.

My Lords suggest that the Bonds, when prepared, should be deposited with the Bank of England, in the names of the Crown Agents and of the Assistant Secretary of this Board, in which case my Lords will direct the Bank to place the interest from time to time to the credit of the public account.

I have, &c.,

Sir F. Rodgers, Bart.,
&c., &c., &c.

GEO. A. HAMILTON.

Enclosure 2 to No. 31.

MR. ELLIOT TO MR. HAMILTON.

Downing Street,
24th August, 1865.

SIR,—

I am directed by Mr. Secretary Cardwell to acknowledge your letter of the 19th instant, respecting the disposal of the Bonds of the New Zealand Government, amounting to Five Hundred Thousand Pounds, on account of their debt to the Imperial Government.

I am to request that you will inform the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, in reply, that Mr. Cardwell will instruct the Crown Agents to proceed as regards the creation and deposit of the Bonds in the manner recommended by their Lordships.

Mr. Cardwell will communicate this arrangement to the Governor of New Zealand by the mail of the 26th instant, and in the meantime it appears to him desirable that any final appropriation of any of the moneys should be deferred, until there has been time for the receipt of the Governor's reply to the Despatch.

I have, &c.,

G. A. Hamilton, Esq.,
&c., &c., &c.

T. F. ELLIOT.

No. 32.

No. 70.

Downing-street, 26th August, 1865.

20th May, No. 67
23rd " " 73
24th " " 74
30th " " 76
6th June " 79
8th " " 81

SIR,—

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatches noted in the margin. I learn with the greatest satisfaction that the skilful and rapidly executed movements of Colonel Warre to the north and south of Taranaki, have placed that Province in a state of security, and have in point of fact, as you believe, brought the war in that Province to a close; and

also that William Thompson had come before Brigadier-General Carey, accompanied by Mr. Graham, and had made his own submission to the Government, as also that of the so called Maori King, which he was authorised to do. I trust that you are well founded in the confident expectation you express that the example thus set by the leading Rebel Chiefs, in this part of the Island will be followed shortly throughout the entire Colony.

In other respects I have received with the greatest regret the contents of the present mail.

There are many serious evils inseparably connected with what has been taking place in New Zealand, viz. : the conduct of the war by the Officers and troops of the Mother Country, for the defence of a Colony of mixed races at the antipodes, against the rebel portion of the Native race. Not the smallest of such evils is the possibility of what has now unhappily occurred, a difference of opinion, exasperated into a bitter personal controversy, between the Governor of the Colony, and the Officer commanding Her Majesty's troops.

I have communicated to Lord de Grey, the Despatches which I have received from you, and when I receive his Lordship's answer, I shall address you upon the subject.

In the meanwhile I have to convey to you my instructions in respect to communications between the Defence Minister and Officers in the position of Colonel Warre.

It must doubtless have been very desirable that the utmost freedom should prevail for the purpose of carrying into effect their common objects.

That there should have been any difficulty about such communications is one of the many evils attending the want of concord between yourself and General Cameron.

But Her Majesty's Officers, however high their position, are subordinate to the General commanding the troops. Far more mischievous than any disadvantage which could arise from a want of easy communication between the Colonial Minister of Defence and the Officers of the regular forces, would be that general disruption of the ties of discipline which must result, if the Officer in command of Her Majesty's forces should cease to control and direct the proceedings of his subordinate Officers. I think therefore that you should have discontinued any communication of the civil authorities with the military subordinates of General Cameron, to which that Officer declared himself opposed. Such communications must pass between yourself and the Officer in command of the troops. Or, if any other arrangement is made, that arrangement must have his concurrence.

But of all the questions which have been raised between you, by far the most important is that of the removal of a portion of the troops. It was upon a full consideration of your Despatches, and of the representations made to them on the part of your Ministers, and of the Assembly that Her Majesty's Government in February arrived at the conclusion that if affairs in the Colony remained unchanged, five regiments might safely be withdrawn. This decision was made known to you by me, and to General Cameron by the Secretary of State for War. And to him, as the Officer commanding Her Majesty's forces in the Australian Colonies, instructions were sent by Lord de Grey, for carrying that decision into effect. Inasmuch, however, as it is not possible to issue peremptory orders at the distance of half the globe, with an interval of from four to five months between the writing of a Despatch and the receipt of a reply, a latitude was given to him to suspend the execution of those instructions in case of any unforeseen emergency, which might render their suspension necessary. It was not intended that the undertaking of new operations at Taranaki, should constitute that necessity. On the contrary you had transmitted to me the request of your Ministers that the whole force should be withdrawn. And in your Despatch of January 7th, received by me in March, you enclosed a Memorandum from them from which I extract the following words :—

“Ministers believe their policy to be in conformity with the views of the Imperial Government, and they see no reason at present to prevent its being carried into effect, whatever risk may attend it, and it is impossible that at any time it would be absolutely free from risk, they consider that it may be undertaken now, with as little danger as under any circumstances likely to arise for many years to come. There may be partial disturbances, there may be imaginary alarms; the timid, and those who have largely benefited by the presence of the troops, will raise the usual outcry. But it is hoped that the war in the Waikato has practically come to an end. His Excellency has, by the advice of his Ministers, and, as they understand, fully concurring, issued a Proclamation—a copy of which is enclosed—which is virtually a declaration of a cessation of active operations—at least in the Waikato. A district is now occupied, in strong positions, by no less than 2500 military settlers, armed, organised, and capable of self-defence. The operations at Taranaki, which at present it is intended should be confined to the opening of roads through rebel districts, the occupation of one or more strong positions, and the establishment of self-defending settlements, may be carried on with a local force, which, when the troops are withdrawn, the Colony must supply.”

I think, however, that under the actual circumstances of the case, General Cameron exercised a sound discretion in deferring to your authority, and delaying the execution of his orders in compliance with your desire, so forcibly expressed. I think, also, you were right in stating so plainly, and so decidedly as you did, the objection you entertained.

The question remains whether you were right in entertaining it. Upon this question your Despatches give me no sufficient information. Those of General Cameron to the Secretary of State for War, enclose the correspondence which has passed between him and yourself. But I have not the materials for reconciling the course which you have now thought it necessary to pursue, with your instructions, or with the policy of your Government. I cannot suppose that the delay which you have interposed, is intended to be of more than very brief duration, or that,

A.—No. 6. 34 DESPATCHES FROM THE RIGHT HON. E. CARDWELL, M.P.

when this Despatch shall reach you, the removal of the troops will not have already made considerable progress, unless, indeed, some entire change shall have taken place in the circumstances of the Colony, and dangers shall have arisen of which at present Her Majesty's Government can entertain no just apprehension from the reports either of yourself or of the General in command.

I trust that the next mail will bring me a report of the meeting of the Assembly, and of the arrangements made for the Colonial contribution in respect of such troops as it may be desired to retain. I trust it will inform me also that the recent draughts on the Military chest have ceased, and the amounts already drawn have been repaid.

I have, &c.,

Governor Sir George Grey, K.C.B.,
&c., &c., &c.

EDWARD CARDWELL.
