

exercise these rights as heretofore through its Governor, as well as through its General. The Governor can remove such troops, against the wishes of his Ministers; in fact, this view only asserts that in such constitutional questions as have arisen here, the Crown and its subjects have now reciprocal rights,—that the Crown can freely and fully exercise its rights, but that this cannot be done in such a way as to deprive its subjects of those rights it has bestowed upon them.

41. The General is in command of a large force, the officers and men of which obey his orders, and report to him. He communicates direct with the Secretary of State for War, and communicates copies of those letters to the Governor or not, as he thinks expedient, and at such time after they are written as he pleases. He reports to the Governor such circumstances as he chooses, and withholds from his knowledge what he thinks proper. His actions, on the most important points, and those of the officers serving under him, may or may not be reported to the Secretary of State for War. Of this the Governor knows nothing, nor of the instructions which the Secretary of State for War gives to his officers.

42. The General resides at a point so distant from the Governor, that the Local Government lose all effectual control over him, and the forces under his command. He neglects and sets at naught the Governor's directions to reside at the Seat of Government; he is to exercise uncontrolled power over the disposition and movement of the forces within the Colony, the functions of the Governor and Government, in this respect, being now limited to giving the General every facility in carrying out these duties.

43. Constitutionally, the Governor and the Colonial Ministers hold certain powers which enable them to protect life and property, and to repress disorder within the Colony, and they are responsible to the Queen, to Parliament, and to the General Assembly of New Zealand for the protection of life and property, and the repression of disorder.

44. Without having been deprived of this responsibility, they have been deprived of the powers still believed to belong to them. In the eyes of the Empire, of the Colony, of posterity, they will be held responsible for proceedings of which they have no knowledge, and over which they have no control. All the efforts of the Colony to protect itself and dispense with Imperial aid are paralyzed, and Imperial and Colonial resources are wasted, and renewed insurrection encouraged, whilst the Government must lose all control over the Native race, which will hold it responsible for acts of which it may disapprove; and it can enter into no engagements, and make no promises, for it can have no knowledge whether these will be maintained or violated. The Governor, having only such knowledge of circumstances or the General's instructions, of the most important kind, as the General, who resides at such a distance that he is virtually inaccessible to the Governor, pleases to communicate to him, may make most inaccurate or imperfect reports regarding them to Her Majesty's Government. He may approve transactions and notify to Her Majesty's Government his approval of them, whilst vital questions connected with such transactions, have been kept back from his knowledge. Under such circumstances, the Governor and his Responsible Advisers have cast upon them an amount of responsibility which it is contrary, alike to public interests or to individual rights and reputation, to require them to incur.

45. I have already been led into the most serious embarrassments from these causes, and I have determined, so long as this state of things is allowed to exist, to make no more reports to Her Majesty's Government regarding General Chute's proceedings, and to signify no approval of them, but simply to act as a medium for sending on to Her Majesty's Government copies of such documents as General Chute may think proper to forward to me. I feel sure your Lordship will feel the propriety of this decision on my part, and will bear me out in it.

I have, &c.,

G. GREY.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Carnarvon.

Enclosure 1 in No. 20.

Copy of a Letter from Governor Sir GEORGE GREY, K.C.B., to Major-General CHUTE.

SIR,—

Government House, Wellington, 10th May, 1866.

I have the honor earnestly to repeat the request I have on several occasions made to you, in the most urgent manner, that you would reside at the Seat of Government, at Wellington.