

2. Having thus briefly adverted to the existing political and social state of the Maori mind with respect to the administration of the Government of this Colony, I will now notice the position which the most reflecting Maories are beginning to take. And here, it will be necessary to separate the Aborigines of this Province into two distinct divisions, representing two distinct characters of resolutions for future guidance. A geographical boundary affords the best line of demarkation, and has already been fixed by the Maories themselves. A line from the mouth of the river Waikato, running up its centre to its junction with the Wanga-Marino, thence ascending this river to near its source, and thence to the Wairoa river and the Hauraki gulf, forms the separating boundary. The population to the North of this line, although participating in some or all of the political feelings before alluded to, have as yet, partly from the moral effect of the late war, in which they were deeply engaged, either as allies or enemies, and partly from their division into numerous clans formerly in a state of active hostility to each other, arrived at no definite or generally accepted rule of conduct for the future.

To the South of this line of demarkation, however, a resolution has been adopted to sell no land to the Government; and although it is probable that this determination will be broken through in isolated cases, yet in the main it will be adhered to, and the blocks purchased will be necessarily small. This resolution was conceived as the only means of stopping the onward progress of the Europeans. The Chiefs have added to the original importance attached to the possession of land, with which is connected all their old ideas of chieftainship, the newly-formed conviction that, with the cession of their territory, will also depart their importance as a people, and their freedom as individuals. They have therefore resolved to retain the soil of the country, as the only bulwark left to them, behind which to make a stand for their dignity and independence.

Nor can it be doubted that this plan, consistently persevered in, will have the effect of seriously retarding the progress of colonization. The cry for land is loud; and if the great efforts now being made by Government fail to achieve the desired object, the consequences to the prosperity of this country cannot be contemplated without apprehension, especially when it is remembered, that the struggle is a final one, and cannot be attempted on a similar scale for a long time to come, unless unforeseen events, such as the discovery of a gold-field, should give an unexpected stimulus to the resources of the Colony.

I now respectfully record my opinion that the alarm and dissatisfaction which I have previously referred to, and the resolution consequent thereon, cannot be effectually obviated, until the causes which give rise to this state of feeling are carefully removed. Nor do I think the task is a laborious one, for most of the elements of difficulty, which ordinarily impede a civilized power in its attempts to elevate an inferior race, are here wanting. "In dealing with bodies of uncivilized or half civilized men," says a writer in the *Dublin University Magazine*, "whether in our own Islands here at home, or in distant lands, among people called savages, it must always be borne in mind that they do not understand or believe in your mercy or forbearance, unless they are fully aware of your power to destroy, and of your resolution to exercise it, if compelled to do so.When the New Zealanders are compared with negroes or any other colored race, there is this difference, that the capacity of the New Zealanders already exists and can be at once trained and utilised, while that of the other colored races must be greatly increased by a training of several generations, gradually breeding a superior race, before it can be placed on the same footing."—(Review of Earl Grey's Colonial Policy).

No one can doubt that the Maori people, who are savages, though of a superior order, are in reality thoroughly impressed with a sense of the power of the Queen of England, and are fully acquainted with the inexhaustible numbers of the British people. They are therefore perfectly prepared to recognize in all the acts of the Government, an intention of forbearance and more, of generosity and kindness, *if the effects of these acts answer the promises made, or the expectations held out*, at the time of the performance of them. It is to *results* they look, and disaffection always attends disappointment of encouraged expectations. It is on this account, that the temporising policy of the Government has failed to produce a decidedly ameliorating effect upon the social habits of the aborigines. The existence of no settled principle of action, and the absence of any easily perceived tangible benefit of a permanent character resulting from Government measures, have not tended to increase the confidence of the Natives in the Governmental administration, or their respect for the judgment which prompted measures productive of mere temporary advantage.

I must here state that the facts stated, and the arguments used, apply to the past and long recognized system of Government pursued in this country, and have been perceived, or brought into notice by the enquiries instituted by His Excellency into the whole of this subject.

The maxim of this policy seems to be, "Temporize for a few years, until the Europeans become numerous, and the Maories few, and then,"—I have not heard stated the course then to be pursued, and am unwilling to suppose that the Government of this country will, at the doubtful period alluded to, adopt any course that will be unjust to the diminished race, or inconsistent with the engagements which we have made with them. But does not policy suggest the attempt to accomplish some scheme of action, by which we may convert these people into Colonists themselves, the producing part of our population, rather than wait for an event, which, at the least, is remote, and which, at the present rate of emigration and immigration, may be said to be, a doubtful contingency. It appears not only to be inconsistent, but unwise, to proceed, advisedly and of determination aforethought, without principles, and without any definite aim, until the action of a recognized law of nature, that the colored must recede before the white race, shall accomplish a result which we profess to be endeavouring to avoid, and to allow law to remain in abeyance, as concerns the major part of the population of this realm, until some event arises which will place

Appendix B.

Mr. Fenton's First
Minute on Native
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