

ciated by them, it must be distinctly personified; and to be beneficial, it must not only be personal, but powerful and paternal; and to secure and to maintain a real influence over the Natives, it is essential that constant instruction and friendly communication should be kept up with them.

With this view of the Native character, it seems to me to be desirable that a definite line of policy to be pursued towards the Natives should, in broad outline at least, be formally prescribed, with the deliberate sanction of the British Cabinet;—that it should be the duty of each successive Governor on arriving in the Colony, to make a formal Proclamation of this policy as a deliberate message from the Crown—that each successive Governor should understand that to carry that policy into execution is the principal duty of the Queen's Representative in New Zealand; and that in the performance of that duty he may confidently count upon the support of the Crown and Parliament.

As the government of the New Zealanders has been recognised as a responsibility especially belonging to the Imperial, and not to the Colonial Government, the Governor for the time being should be advised in the management of Native affairs,—not by the Ministry representing the Colonists, and responsible to the Colonists, and liable to be frequently changed: but by a Council of advisers—appointed by the Crown—responsible to the Crown—and holding their offices by a permanent tenure.

And there should be placed at the disposal of the Governor, independently of an annual vote of the Assembly, such a fixed portion of the General Revenue of the Colony as may be sufficient for the maintenance of an efficient Department for the management of Native affairs, for the payment of Native Magistrates and Assessors, and for the outlay which may be necessary for the gradual introduction of law and order amongst the Natives, and for their internal government in their relations with each other.

But with a view to harmonize the action of two different authorities in the government of the same country it is essential that the persons to be appointed as the Governor's advisers should be men not only of character and ability but of high social standing, neither having nor being supposed to have any partial or undue leaning in favour of the Natives, but by their impartiality, prudence, and good sense, and by their interests in the welfare of the Colony at large, likely to earn the respect and confidence of both races. Invested with the power and the means befitting his position, the Queen's Representative may exercise almost unbounded influence over the Natives, and assisted by a permanent body of Advisers of high character and social standing, it is no exaggeration to affirm that for purposes of peace and good order the Governor would form a power in the country fully equivalent to a Regiment of the Queen's Troops. But the Government of the Colony cannot be carried on regardless of the interests, the feelings, or the prejudices of either race without detriment to both, and it should be clearly understood from the outset that a separate government is established for the conduct of Native affairs, not with a one-sided object or in antagonism to the interests of the colonising race, but to save in truth the Natives from themselves, and to serve as a useful agent in promoting the peaceable and successful colonisation of the country.

The influence of both Chief and Priest, once all-powerful in New Zealand, is rapidly decaying; and neither the new Religion nor the new Government yet exercise the same degree of influence over the people; and in their present transition state the Maories are governed with more difficulty than when under the control of a powerful Heathen Chief: and until we have some better influence to bring to bear upon them, the power of the Chiefs should as far as possible be maintained. With reference to the dissatisfaction which is believed to exist amongst certain of the tribes, and to the desire which is being shewn by them for a more active and efficient power to control them in their relations with each other, I would suggest that the invitations to the principal Chiefs to the approaching meeting should be as inclusive as possible in order that advantage may be taken of the opportunity to ascertain what amount of dissatisfaction really exists amongst them; what is the ground of it; and to what extent it prevails amongst them. That the occasion may be turned to profitable account, the meeting should be constantly attended by a small body of persons commissioned to represent the Government, and who, from their high standing, and their acquaintance with the Native character and the Native language, may be likely to exercise a beneficial influence over its proceedings. They should be fully instructed in the views of the Government;—ready to meet objections;—to correct misapprehensions and misrepresentations;—to explain difficulties;—and to enforce what may be reasonable and just.

Before attempting to apply a remedy, the first great object should be to ascertain what is really the state of the Native mind upon the subject. Assuming the invitations to be general, and that they are generally accepted, it will probably be found that the assembled Chiefs may be divided into three classes:

1. Those who, at first sight, may appear to entertain views hardly consistent with the maintenance of British rule.
2. Those who may desire some better and more efficient system than they have at present for their own internal government.
3. Those who desire no change.

If met by reason and argument, applied in a patient and friendly spirit, and assured that they may establish any system for their own internal government, not inconsistent with the general interests of the rest of the community, I believe that those of the first class who may still desire to live independent of British rule, may be reduced to a very insignificant minority.

As to those of the second class who may desire our guidance and assistance, no attempt should be made either to establish, as to details, any *uniform plan* for all the different tribes; or to *impose* any particular system in any particular case; but rather to assist each particular tribe to organise a system which may be agreeable to themselves. Nothing, it is presumed, in the way of legislation