

I. The subordination of the Native race to the authority of the Crown.

It is evidently necessary to the welfare of both races that there should be one recognised head over all. The introduction of the Queen's sovereignty into the country is very generally admitted by the Natives to have been a great benefit to them. The incessant wars among the tribes were an intolerable evil, especially when the Gospel had taught them to begin to value the blessings of peace. If it had been possible, from the first beginning of the Colony, to carry into practical effect the sovereignty of the Crown, by the suppression of all war, and the uniform administration of justice in all parts of the country, the whole Native race might now have been cordially attached to the Government. The broken surface and great extent of the country, and the insufficiency of force at the disposal of the Governor for the time being, made it impossible to carry out any such uniform system. The natural result has been that in many districts the sovereignty of the Crown has never been practically exhibited: and the Natives, being thus left to themselves, and still suffering from their own internal disorders, have been employed incessantly for some years in their own Runangas (Councils) in devising schemes of better government for themselves. Among these the most prominent, is the "King Movement," begun I believe with good intentions, and tending to a beneficial result, but made an object of suspicion by the unwise choice of a name.

To combine all these movements in one general system under the sovereignty of the Crown, is a measure as necessary, in its own degree, among the New Zealand tribes, as it was formerly, on a larger scale, among the clans of Scotland, and throughout Europe in the feudal times. The principle on which this combination must be made seems to be clear: that there must be a reciprocal action between the Crown and the New Zealand tribes; the Crown guaranteeing to the tribes certain rights, privileges, and benefits, and the tribes on their part recognizing the sovereignty of the Crown. The introduction of a third element between the two contracting parties is against the nature of the agreement; as if, for example, the English Parliament had claimed authority over the subjects of the Crown in Scotland and Ireland, before the Legislative union of those countries with England. Such an union, however desirable in itself, seems to be impracticable in the present state of the Native people. It follows, therefore, that the sovereignty of the Crown over the Native race ought to be exercised through officers specially authorized for that purpose, and responsible directly to the Crown; and upon a system well understood and accepted by the Native people.

II. The relations between the Native race, and the Representative System of the English Colony.

It may be hoped that many years will not pass away, before the New-Zealanders, having acquired a knowledge of the English Language, will be able to take their part in the Representative System of the Colony. Their own deliberative assemblies, and the freedom of discussion generally exercised by them, have already prepared the way for their participation in the full privileges of British subjects. But the safer course for the present seems to be, that the General Assembly of the Colony should not be considered in any way to represent the Native race; and consequently should not exercise legislative powers, in matters affecting their interests, without their concurrence. In a Colony, in which the Representative Institutions are based practically upon "universal suffrage," the assumption that the Representatives of the English Colonists have a right to govern the Native race must be untenable. It is said, that the Law officers of the Crown have given it as their opinion, that the Natives have no elective franchise upon their present tenure of land. But even if the Native race were duly represented in the General Assembly, the danger would still remain, that the acts of that body might be ruled by a majority of members from the Southern Island, where no Native questions have any existence; and where the evils of any imprudent legislation in Native matters would never be felt. And this danger is likely to increase daily, because the extinction of the Native Title throughout the Southern Island must lead to a more free and rapid immigration into that part of the Colony; and to a proportionate increase of legislative influence in the hands of persons practically unacquainted with Native questions. It ought to be borne in mind, that the Native race is still a large majority of the population of the Northern Island.

The objections to the exercise of legislative power over the Native race by the Provincial Councils, are of even greater weight. In the first place the Constitution Act debars them from the exercise of any such authority. It is therefore difficult to see what advantage there can be in recognizing a shadow of power, without the reality, by allowing a Province, like that of Auckland for instance, to include districts occupied by the great bulk of the Native population, without a single English resident, except here and there a Missionary or a Trader. This is the case in the districts of Tauranga, the Bay of Plenty, East Cape, Rotorua, Taupo, and Waikato; and the single exception is Poverty Bay, where land to a small extent has been bought by English settlers. It must be evident that the Auckland Provincial Council has neither the knowledge, the machinery, nor the funds, to carry out any effective Government over this vast territory, and numerous Native population.

But the present Provincial System is not in this respect merely an innocent fiction. It is a practical evil; and a public danger. The belief is growing that this territory belongs to the Province of Auckland: that it is the outlet for its immigrants, and the means of its aggrandizement. Whereas the fact is, that if the present Native population were to adopt English habits and ideas, the available country which they at present occupy would not be more than sufficient for the maintenance of their flocks and herds, upon the proportionate scale of the same number of English Colonists. The people on the banks of Taupo Lake have already begun to buy sheep: and cattle belonging to Native owners are multiplying on the Waikato river. On the East Coast the population is so dense, that the cessation of wars, and consequent increase of industry, would lead to the occupation of all the available land. When we consider that the whole Southern Island, equal in extent to the Northern, is now so

General Assembly.

Provincial Councils.