

first importance has been His Excellency's change of opinion, that the best arguments to be found against him are in his own previous writings. The strongest desire for co-operation has found it difficult to follow so tortuous a course. Ministers have sacrificed much in their efforts to do so, and ceased only when it became evident that to continue, necessarily involved the abandonment of a policy which they firmly believed to be consistent, wise, and just. For co-operation there must be mutuality. Ministers could not co-operate with the Governor if he would not co-operate with them. They have been as anxious as His Excellency or the Secretary of State could be to act with justice and generosity toward the native race, and they have been above all things anxious to bring the war to a conclusion and secure a just and lasting peace. But instead of co-operation on the part of His Excellency, they have been met by ingenious excuses for opposition to their views,—much of His Excellency's time has been devoted to endeavour to make out cases against them, and he has spared no pains to put the worst possible complexion on their acts and propositions.

When Ministers found themselves unable to follow His Excellency in his changes, they did not seek to throw obstacles in the way of His Excellency's carrying out his own views, but they at once placed their resignations in His Excellency's hands, and since then they have used their best endeavours to assist His Excellency in carrying on the public business, though they have personally felt the greatest desire to be relieved from the extremely unpleasant position in which His Excellency's conduct towards them has placed them.

Ministers believe that in consequence of the misrepresentation of their views, and the delay in the transmission of papers necessary for their justification, that disappointment and even indignation may for a time be felt in England, but they believe also that when the facts become fully known and appreciated, that justice will be done both to Ministers and the Colony; and for the present they must be content to trust to that impartial consideration which fair play will ultimately secure to remove feelings which imperfect information and misrepresentation may have unhappily produced.

November 2nd, 1864.

FREDK. WHITAKER.

MEMORANDUM by MINISTERS as to their Resignations.

On the 30th September, Ministers transmitted to His Excellency their resignations of their offices, but as yet they have received no direct reply. It would appear from what His Excellency has since said and written, that His Excellency either felt or contemplated some difficulty in obtaining a new Ministry in consequence of financial embarrassments which he expected to ensue. As the intelligence by the Mail removes all difficulty, real or supposed, on this ground, Ministers trust that His Excellency will be prepared to relieve them without any further delay, as they feel that having regard to their present relations with His Excellency, they are unable to conduct the public business in a satisfactory manner; and they are particularly desirous of not being even apparently parties to a course of proceeding by His Excellency which, in their opinion, must sooner or later end in embarrassment and disaster.

24th October, 1864.

FREDK. WHITAKER.

MEMORANDUM by the GOVERNOR on the subject of formation of new Ministry.

The Governor has carefully considered the Ministerial Memorandum of the 24th inst., in which his Responsible Advisers request that the Governor will relieve them of their offices without any further delay.

On the 8th inst. Ministers advised the Governor that the General Assembly should be called to meet not later than the 15th day of November next. The Governor was about himself to request that this course should be taken, he therefore at once acquiesced in their advice.

On the 14th of October Ministers wrote to the Governor as follows:—"Ministers are most willing to do all in their power to carry on the business of the country, and are anxious above all things not to embarrass the Governor. Unless, therefore, His Excellency is prepared to relieve them, they will, should His Excellency desire it, continue to conduct the ordinary business of their offices until the meeting of the Assembly, in November next, and give His Excellency all the official assistance in their power."

Ministers also promised some time since to have the whole of the correspondence between the Governor and themselves at once printed, a proceeding which, after the misrepresentations which have got abroad, would, in his belief, have very much facilitated the formation of a Ministry.

The Governor, acting on the faith of these arrangements, had not intended to attempt to form a new Ministry until the Members of the General Assembly arrived in Auckland. Ministers must be aware that if he now tried to do so, he could only form a Ministry in which Auckland alone would be represented. There are no materials here for the formation of any other Ministry. Under such circumstances, for the Governor now to proceed to take the course his Ministers wish would probably be a cause of disappointment to all New Zealand. He trusts, therefore, that his Responsible Advisers will, at whatever inconvenience to themselves, fulfil their offer of the 14th October, and continue to conduct the business of their offices, until the meeting of the General Assembly, which is now so shortly to take place.

October 30th, 1864.

G. GREY.

MEMORANDUM by MINISTERS in reply to foregoing.

In reply to the Governor's Memorandum of October 30th, in which he states that he trusts his Responsible Advisers will fulfil their offer of the 14th October, and continue to conduct the business of their offices until the meeting of the General Assembly, Ministers would observe that they had no desire to depart from that offer, should it be acceptable to His Excellency; but they did not under-