

Accordingly, answers were sent to the effect that the request should be complied with; but nothing further was done. In November, 1861, Mr. Gorst, who had been appointed resident magistrate of the district, becoming acquainted with the matter, urged the chiefs to write to the Government, which they declined to do, saying they had been deceived, and that it was useless to write. Upon this, Mr. Gorst, supported by William Thompson, applied to the Government, and the desired Order in Council was made (16th December, 1861) but the grace and the political benefit of the co-operation had been lost.

4. During the Waitara troubles Thompson did his utmost to prevent his people from taking any active part in them, but in vain. After a time he was induced to proceed himself to Taranaki and to withdraw the Waikatos; which he succeeded in doing, hoping thereby to terminate the strife. Thereupon the Government took advantage of his success to withdraw the troops from Taranaki, and to transfer them to the Waikato. Upon this Thompson was exceedingly sore, and even began to suspect that the friends whose advice he had followed had joined in misleading him.

Then came the manifesto addressed to Waikato, in May, 1861, the details of which it is unnecessary to consider. The substance of it was a demand that the natives should make at once an unreserved surrender of all they had done for themselves, and be content to receive in exchange vague assurances of some good to be done for them hereafter by a power which had, up to that time, done next to nothing, and in whose promises they had ceased to trust.

The result was, what such a document could not but produce at such a time and in such a state of men's minds, an increased bitterness and exasperation.

7.—Our present Position and Policy.

1. If we could put ourselves in some degree in the place of the Maori, and regard from his point of view the course of things which I have briefly reviewed, we should have less difficulty in understanding how it is that amongst a people, not less shrewd than ourselves, there has grown up a conviction that our policy is selfish and one-sided, and that their only safe course is to have as little as possible to do with us beyond trading in our markets.

That much good work has been done for the benefit of this race no Maori would deny, though he would probably attribute it as much to the religious bodies as to the Government. But good work of one kind which has been done cannot supply the place of good work of another kind which has been left undone.

Schooling cannot be a substitute for material comfort and wealth. They are not attached to our system, because it has presented so little to be attached to. It has secured to them no permanent and substantial share of the benefits of our colonization.

2. How important this consideration is,—how much might have been effected by a fairer and less selfish course of proceeding on our part, may be inferred by the facts before our eyes. If we see that a part of the natives, who by virtue of irregular and illegal contracts with the settlers have become possessed of wealth, are thereby led to value a connexion with the pakeha, and to trust his promises, and (though naturally not without a certain sympathy with their countrymen) are indisposed to take any active part in the quarrel; such a result ought to lead us to see and allow for the defects of our old system, and to take a more considerate view of the case of that larger portion of the native population which, by not disobeying our law, has been shut out from the sources of material prosperity and contentment. Thus, too, the Government has failed to provide for itself that "material guarantee," of which we hear so much just now, in its only trustworthy shape; the same guarantee as all good and wise Governments trust to, namely, the wealth and prosperity of their subjects.

3. Let us honestly ask ourselves these questions:—How far is the loyalty of Englishmen to their Government connected with a sense of the benefits secured to them by that Government? How long does the loyalty of any European nation last towards its Government, however ancient and venerable, when that Government has ceased to secure those substantial benefits to its subjects?

At last we have made an attempt to retrieve our position by the "Native Lands Act," an Act which, if wisely worked, will necessarily and almost imperceptibly make us masters of the country, whilst it will benefit our subjects.

But this measure had not come into operation when the present troubles began.

I should not have spent many words on this point, but for the language which is often heard, and which is used with evident honesty by many ill-informed people amongst us. Why should the Maoris distrust us? it is asked. In return it may be asked, "Is not a distrust of the wielders of power one of the most habitual feelings amongst ourselves?" What is our whole system—House of Commons, trial by jury, municipalities, newspapers—but one elaborate manifestation of this feeling? How can we expect the New Zealanders to be free from it towards the strange race, whose power they see to be so vast, and of whose disposition towards themselves they feel so little assured?

From acts and omissions of the Government, from translations of local papers, from the words and demeanour of private persons, they form the best estimate they can of our intentions. We may be sure the persuasion or misgiving is real and deep which leads men with few rifles, without bayonets, and without artillery, to stand up in opposition to our power.

4. The declaration made by the Governor at Taupari, soon after his return, that the name of the Maori King should not be made a cause of war, greatly diminished the excitement of the native mind.

The "face-to-face" policy, the practice of open conference and free discussion, effected much in the way of restoring confidence. But as there was no disapproval expressed in the name of the Queen of the doings at the Waitara, no pacification or amnesty, there remained in the minds of many a suspicion that the new Governor was to carry out what they regarded as the new policy of the Colonial Government, only with more of preparation and plan.

5. Still there was no actual outbreak, or (so far as I know) symptom of an outbreak, until the resumption of our land at Tataraimaka, when Rewi and his section of the Maniapoto determined to renew the war. If I am rightly informed, he came with his followers into central Waikato, and proposed to the tribes