

yourself to the evils of the sellers by stealth of my lands, and cure these, as a good work, from which I may see that you are roofing in a good house, and that there is no deception intended, and then all will be well."

Renata to the Superintendent of Hawke's Bay, February 1861.

"You appear to suppose that by getting hold of a single individual you can gain an advantage over him. Hereafter, whenever the majority consent to a sale, it shall take place. Let us have no more blundering; all our troubles have arisen from faulty working, and on this account it was that the door of land-selling was shut; but when the system of buying is amended, the door will be opened, that sales may be conducted on a regular plan."

"And who was the cause of this? A man goes up to Auckland, and there sells the land; and the first thing the owners hear about it is that the land is gone. Others went off to Wellington, and there sold; and the first I heard of it was that my own place, Okawa, was gone, and several others the same."

Appendix, No. 4.

Ritatonā te Iwa to Riwai and others (from the translation of Archdeacon Maunsell, printed in 1861.)

"March 4th, 1858, Waitara.
"To Riwai, Kiripata, Wiremu Tamihana, Apa, Ture, Wiri, Tei, and Hohepa, to you all; greeting, to you. My friends, my fathers, listen! Here we are involved in warfare; that is to say, in grievous, murderous, cannibal, blood-thirsty calamity. In this very grievous calamity, listen! You are probably imagining that we are going blindly to work. It is not so, but we are proceeding on a clear course. What makes it clear is this, that as far as regards the reference to the Governor, that has been done. As for murder, we have no intention of murdering; we leave murder to Ihaia and Nikorima. Our chiefs will act in broad daylight, and indeed they are acting now in broad daylight. As regards the reference to the Governor, that has been made by the chiefs. You have already heard that Waitere (Katatore) was killed on the 9th day of the month of January. We had to wait till February for the Governor's answer. The answer came, that the Governor could take no steps in the matter; but let there be another murder, then the Governor would consent. Hence our chiefs concluded that the course taken by the Governor was wrong, because this is Ihaia's second murder. The words of the former Governor are not attended to now; for steps were taken in the case of the quarrel with Rangihaeata, at the Hutt, on that occasion promptly. In the case of this murder, no steps are taken."

Enclosure 3, in No. 1.

Memorandum by the Colonial Secretary, on Sir W. Martin's "Observations on Proposal to take Native Lands, &c."

Encl. 3, in No. 1.

I have carefully read Sir William Martin's able and elaborate paper. His main aim appears to be to show that a general or even extensive confiscation of the lands of the natives who have engaged in rebellion, would be beyond the power of the General Assembly, and would be unjust and inexpedient. There is much in Sir William's argument from which I am not inclined to dissent, and many of his premises may be admitted more or less unreservedly. But I cannot concur in the conclusion at which he has arrived.

The subject is not one which can be regarded by the Government of this Colony as a mere abstract question. We have to deal with a people in actual rebellion, the largest and most powerful tribes being openly committed, and three-fourths of the whole Maori population sympathising, to an extent which renders the enforcement of law by the ordinary tribunals exceedingly difficult, and as regards large sections of the race, absolutely impossible.

The magnitude of the emergency is such as to require the active operations of nearly 10,000 British troops, supported by five men of war, and 9,600 men of the Colonial forces. A portion of the Province of Auckland, 40 miles wide, by 20 deep, has for six months past been desolated and rendered uninhabitable by the inroads of the rebels, which have extended to within 15 miles of the capital; a very large amount of property, representing the investment and industry of 20 years, has been destroyed; unarmed men engaged in peaceful occupations, and women and children, have been massacred in cold blood; while the whole Northern Island is kept in a condition of insecurity and alarm, destructive of its prosperity, and almost absolutely putting a stop to its colonization.

The problem to be solved by the Government, is not merely how to put down the existing rebellion; it is of no less consequence to prevent its recurrence. Experience has proved that mere military defeat has little more than a temporary effect on the Maori, and that as soon as he has had breathing time, he is ready to renew hostilities, by which he loses little or nothing, but gains much plunder, and inflicts ruinous loss on his ultimately victorious opponents. There are only two methods by which periodical outbreaks can be prevented; one, the continued maintenance of a large military and naval force, such as at present is provided by the Imperial and Colonial Governments, and which converts the Colony into a camp; the other, the introduction and settlement of so large an European population as may render insurrection hopeless in the eyes of the natives, and easily repressible, should they be mad enough to attempt it. To secure this end, population must be introduced into those districts now