

“greatly to be regretted. . . . The subject, in short, is one which has been “dealt with by perpetual compromises between principle and immediate exigency. “Such compromises are incidental to constitutional government.”

5. It could easily be shown, by many illustrations, that the above-cited remarks apply with still greater force to a Colony circumstanced as New Zealand now is. To take one example: the politicians who adopted,—in some measure from party motives, and to some degree, it is said, under the influence of temporary irritation against certain military officers,—what is termed the “self-reliant policy,” have not been strong enough in the Legislature to establish a local defence force numerous or efficient enough to take the place of the Imperial Troops; hence many disasters have already ensued, and (as I reported fully in my Despatches Nos. 80 and 100,) both Houses of the Colonial Parliament have passed resolutions praying that at least one regiment may be left here on the conditions offered by the Imperial Government. It seems to be now generally admitted (as was always foreseen by many practical men here and elsewhere,) that it is chimerical to attempt to create an effective Colonial force without a nucleus of regularly trained officers and soldiers. Probably no such attempt has ever been successful in any country. The often-quoted example of the American army during the War of Independence is not really a precedent to the contrary, for Washington himself, together with General Lee, and all his best officers and soldiers, had previously served either in the British army itself, or in Colonial regiments which had been brigaded for many years with the regular troops during the French and Indian wars. Moreover, the Poles, Kosciusko and Pulaski, and a number of German officers who had studied their profession in the Seven Years War, joined the American cause; which, even with all these advantages, was well nigh desperate before the arrival of the French army under Count Rochambeau.

6. A portion of the population of the Northern Island of New Zealand, under the pressure of the long-continued Maori war and of the recent disasters, would regard with complacency the suspension of the existing constitution* in this Island, or at least a return to the system in force up to the year 1862, under which the Governor, directed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, possessed the control of Native affairs. Former experience, however, has proved that (in the words of Mr. Merivale) “the suggestion of establishing in the same Colony responsible “government for the settlers, and a separate administration of Native affairs under “the Imperial authorities, is unpractical. There cannot be two Governments in the “same community: certainly not, unless some mode can be devised of having two “public purses.”

7. It has often been observed that the immediate causes of the Indian rebellion of 1857-8 were mainly—

- (A.) Religious and national fanaticism.
- (B.) The recent reduction in the number of the English Troops employed in India.

(c.) The annexation of the entire territories of the King of Oude. So the main causes of the long continuance of the Maori war, which has now raged in New Zealand, with some periods of intermission, ever since 1860, are generally believed to be:—

- (a.) The outbreak of the Hauhau fanaticism in connection with the national or (as it is termed) the “Native King movement.”
- (b.) The removal of the English regiments before any tender of submission was made by, or any peace was ratified with, the Maori King, and the tribes which adhere to him.
- (c.) The confiscation of a small portion† of the territories of the rebel Natives.

8. With regard to the first of these three causes, it may be observed that the religious and national fanaticism of the Hauhaus is analogous to the periodical outbreaks of a similar nature among the Malays (who are probably of kindred

* A prominent member of the New Zealand Parliament lately exclaimed, “What an absurdity it was to set up the British Constitution in a country where all the landed gentry are savages, and, for the most part, hereditary or relapsed cannibals.” The suspension of the constitution in the North Island has been publicly advocated of late by, among others, Sir David Monro, the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

† See the map transmitted with my Despatch, No. 22, of 17th March, 1868.