

“possessed of superior projectile weapons, might command a radius within which the community, and even their cattle, might take shelter when suddenly beset by swarms of savages.”

6. I have further, as your Lordship is already aware, pressed on the Colonial Government the necessity which exists for the organization of a permanent armed force on the general system of the Royal Irish Constabulary. On this subject General Cathcart remarks:—“I am convinced that an armed police should be organized against the formidable and lawless marauders of the Kaffir race, but that in its organization we should study its ready adaptation and future transfer to civil purposes, so as to make it permanent. It may, no doubt, be considered expensive in its first organization; but a cheap thing would be a certain failure, and a bad thing would have been of no use.” And again, “The success of this measure in protecting the Colony from marauding inroads has surpassed my most sanguine expectations; the energies of the colonists have been called into full activity in their own defence, and the gallantry and zeal evinced by this police has mainly contributed to the extinction of a system of guerilla warfare, which promised to become most troublesome, and most difficult to be dealt with by regular troops, and, if not checked at once, most likely to resuscitate the rebellion within the Colony in its full force.”

7. In conclusion, I would submit that in the instructions given to General Cathcart by Earl Grey (then the Secretary of State for the Colonies) in his Despatch No. 23, of February 2, 1852, there are several observations still applicable to New Zealand, though others are inconsistent with the policy now adopted by Her Majesty's Government; I refer more particularly to the following paragraph:—“You will consider only what are the measures best calculated to meet the just claims and to promote the true and permanent interests of Her Majesty's subjects, both in this Colony and in the Mother Country. In looking at the subject in this light you will not fail to bear in mind that, while it is due to those persons and their descendants who were induced, with the direct sanction of Parliament, to leave this country for the purpose of settling in the eastern division of the Colony, that they should not be abandoned without aid or support in a position of so much danger, their right to look for the support of the Mother Country is by no means without its limits, and that it depends upon their not failing to make those exertions which may reasonably be expected for their own protection, and to conform to those rules of conduct which may be necessary for their safety. In like manner there are other considerations affecting the Native races which ought not to be lost sight of. If colonists of European descent are to be left, unsupported by the power of the Mother Country, to rely solely on themselves for protection from fierce barbarians with whom they are placed in immediate contact, they must also be left to the unchecked exercise of those severe measures of self-defence which a position of so much danger will naturally dictate. Experience shows that, in such circumstances, measures of self-defence will degenerate into indiscriminate vengeance, and will lead to the gradual extermination of the less civilized race. To avert this result (which has hitherto been the aim of our policy) and, by the enforcement of order, to provide for the civilization and conversion to Christianity of these barbarous tribes, instead of leaving them to be destroyed, is a high and noble object, well worthy of considerable sacrifice on the part of the British people; but, on the other hand, it is more than is required from them by the duties of humanity, that they should submit to the necessity of indefinite expense, and of a constant renewal of such costly efforts as have lately been made, in order to prevent the strife of hostile races, and maintain peace and security in the wide regions of Southern Africa, over which British power has been asserted.”

8. I apprehend that I am in full accordance with your Lordship's wishes in constantly recommending to the Colonial Government, as the great end to be kept in view, the termination of this ruinous and desultory war. No proper opportunity is lost of urging my Responsible Advisers to pursue a steady course for the gradual but systematic and effectual removal of all obstacles, so far as it may be in their power, to the restoration of a permanent state of peace. I have spared no exertions in personally investigating, to the best of my abilities, the state of this