

William Sallon

THE

WAR IN TARANAKI

DURING THE YEARS

1860-61.

BY

W. I. GRAYLING.

OF THE

TARANAKI RIFLE VOL.



The War in Taranaki, during the years 1860-1861

W. I. (William Irwin) Grayling

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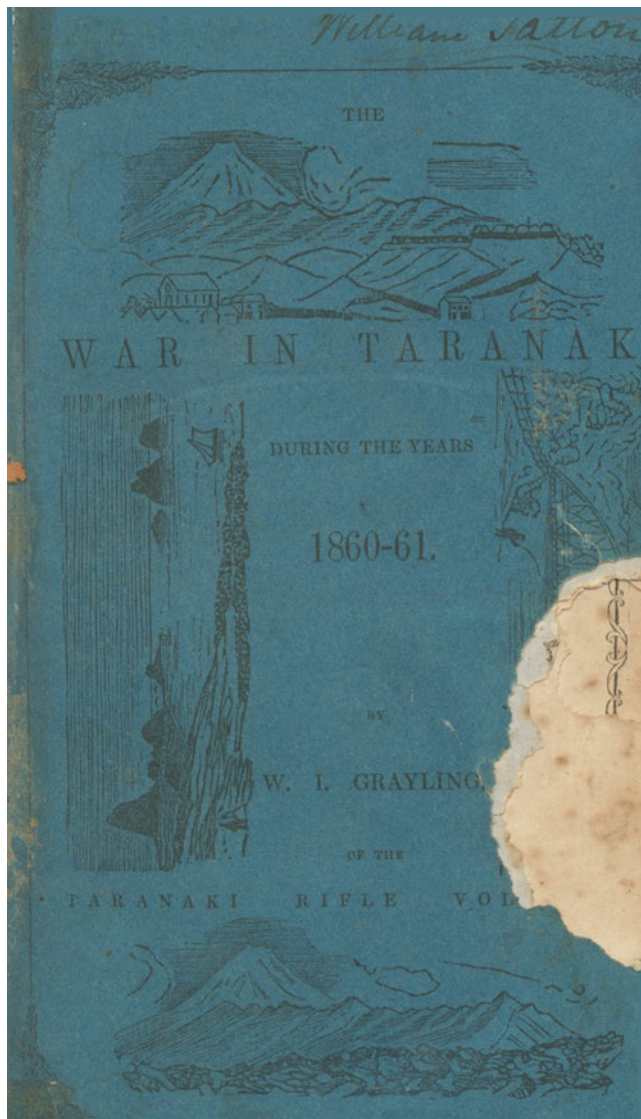
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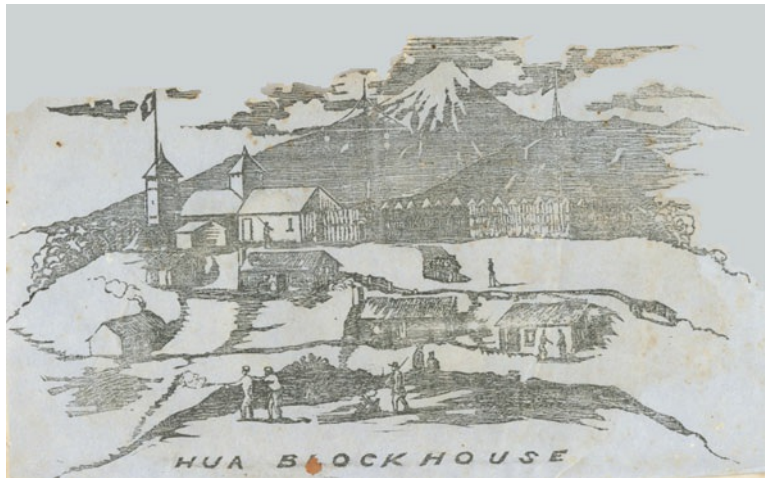
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HUA BLOCKHOUSE

THE
WAR IN TARANAKI,

DURING THE YEARS
1860-61.

W. I. GRAYLING ,
OF THE
TARANAKI VOLUNTEER RIFLES.

NEW PLYMOUTH:
G. W. WOON, "HERALD" OFFICE, DEVON STREET.
1862.

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[DEDICATION]

To

CHARLES ST. JOHN HERBERT,

MAJOR COMMANDING THE TARANAKI MILITIA AND VOLUNTEERS.

SIR, —

To you, who have taken part in the various incidents of the war which has prostrated the Province of Taranaki, and witnessed the losses and sufferings entailed on the settlers by their protracted struggle with the Maories, I dedicate with pleasure this attempt to describe them.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
W. I. GRAYLING.

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INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

Description of Taranaki – Iron Sand – Population – Character of the Natives – Parallels with other primitive races – Their civilization very limited – Origin of the present bad feeling between the two races – The present evils caused by the temporising policy with which the Natives have been treated.

THE beautiful district of Taranaki, which has been laid waste by the unfortunate Native insurrection of 1860 and 1861, is situated on the West coast of the Northern Island of New Zealand, in latitude 39 deg. 1' South, longitude 174 deg. 15' East; being by sea 180 miles from Wellington, 120 from Auckland, and about 1,300 miles from the leading harbours of Australia.

Taranaki, or New Plymouth, was founded as a small farm settlement by the Plymouth Company in the year 1841. The scenery around the settlement is picturesque and beautiful in the extreme.

Waitara is prettily situated about 10 miles northwards of the town,¹ whence, passing southwards to the Mangoraka river, the physical character of the country may be described as a series of large flats, covered with a luxuriant growth of fern and tutu bushes, intersected in almost every direction by gullies, rivulets, and swamps. Similar to most other countries that have been disturbed by volcanic action, the surface of the plains abound with hillocks or mounds of considerable height; whilst here and there are clumps of the beautiful green karaka bushes, arising amidst the fern

like the Oases in the desert. The whole country inland between the two rivers, for about two miles beyond Huirangi, bears evidence of recent formation, consisting, as it does, of alluvial and diluvial soils, with much timber imbedded, to the depth of thirty or forty feet; the trees chiefly met with being pukatea, the timber of which quickly rots.

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A short distance from the banks of the Waitara are perpendicular cliffs of magnesian limestone, between which and the water are large fertile flats, covered with forest, low manuka scrub, or tutu and common fern; the latter is often to be met with upwards of 15 feet in height, whilst in all directions the graceful fern trees with their gigantic leaves cast forth their shadows. On many of these flats, so tangled is the luxuriant vegetable growth, that it would be barely possible for a man to pass through it.

From the Mangoraka to the town of New Plymouth the country is less level, and far more broken with gullies and ravines; thence to Waireka there are several steep hills and deep valleys.

On a clear, bright New Zealand morning the view from the summit of the Waireka is truly sublime; inland, we have Mount Egmont, its cone-like shape standing out in relief with a bold and well defined outline; at its base, dense forests with their dark green foliage, forming a striking contrast with its snow-clad summit. The eye, after passing the Bell Block and over the luxuriant flats of the Waitara, rests upon the snowy mountains in the far North.

Immediately around the Waireka the country is much broken, and intersected with gullies as far as the steep cliffs or sand hills that take their rise on the sea coast.

Towards the South the Oakura and Tataraimaka districts, with their plateaus and white cliffs, are visible; beyond this, the country is occasionally broken by sand hills and ravines; but the greater portion as far as Warea consists of rich flax-covered flats, capable of yielding support and employment to an industrious community.

The whole country, from the Waitara to the Warea, is bounded by an inland belt of forest, averaging about three or four miles distance from the sea coast.

Taranaki, both from climate and soil, is peculiarly fitted for

agricultural pursuits; the upper stratum consists of black, decomposed vegetable matter, beneath which is a red subsoil, formed from the decomposition of the trachytic rocks. Throughout the district the titaniferous iron sand is abundantly disseminated, and wherever any portion of earth is exposed to the action of running water the sand, from its superior gravity, is left behind.

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The beach that forms the seaward boundary of the settlement contains an endless amount of rich iron sand, unsurpassed in quality, fitted without further preparation for the smelting furnace. This concentration has been effected by the action of the waves, which, in their constant movements, take away the lighter particles of earth, leaving the heavier ferruginous matter behind.

The white population, prior to the war, was 2,500, which, at the usual rate of increase, would have reached at the present time to upwards of 3000.

In 1860, when many of the aged males accompanied the women and children in their migration to a land of peace, the population was reduced to 1239; notwithstanding which, the active militia force was computed at upwards of 600 men capable of bearing arms for aggressive purposes.

The Native population of New Zealand has been estimated at 56,049; Auckland having 38,269, New Plymouth 3,015, Wellington 8,099, Hawke's Bay 3,673, leaving under 4,000 for the Middle and Stewart's Island.

By tradition, it appears that the Maori has been an occupier of New Zealand only 500 years. They describe themselves as a race that came to these islands at different periods in canoes from the North East, landing first in the neighbourhood of Auckland, whence they have gradually spread themselves throughout the length and breadth of the land. Both mentally and physically are they a fine and noble race.

The Maori, like most of the primitive races, possesses an ardent love for his fatherland. We find him at the present time, startled at the gradual increase of the white population, forming land leagues and taking other precautionary steps towards preventing more territory from passing under British rule.

In years gone by the American Indians have done the same; and even in Australia the aboriginal inhabitants, who are described as amongst the lowest grades of the human species, have evinced this feeling. Stroleski, in his interesting work, relates the following incident: – On his way to explore the country now known as Gipps' Land, he met with a tribe of blacks, one of whom came towards him with an offering of food and water. After the weary traveller had refreshed

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himself, his native entertainer gave him to understand that all around belonged to his tribe, and that he was to proceed no farther, but at once return from whence he came.

However much interested writers may have brought conspicuously forward the noble character of the Maories, nothing can be said of them that is not equally applicable to other savage tribes. Some lay stress on their honorable and oftentimes courteous conduct on the battle-field. What can exceed the tales related of the North American Indians, who have exhibited individual traits of nobleness unequalled even in the days of chivalry. In fact, whilst it must be allowed that they are a fine race, neither bodily or mentally can they be considered as superior to the bold denizens of the primitive forests of America.

They have quickly adapted our forms of religion because, whilst they believed in some Omnipotent Guardian of the Universe, they had no definite Gods of their own to worship.

Again, they have rapidly imbibed a certain amount of civilization, from the circumscribed country limiting their wanderings, and necessity required that their occupation as tillers of the soil should closely approximate to those of their white neighbours.

No one can doubt the Maori's power of comprehension, and, had it been possible to have consistently educated him, he might by this time have altogether cast aside his savage habits and associations; but the incongruous medium through which he has imbibed ideas of civilization has left only on his mind the advantages of worldly gain, unassociated with a love of the sublime and beautiful. What man of judgment would expect to find savages taught to appreciate the grandeur of civilization by the associating with rough, and too often unscrupulous whalers. It is true that the missionaries have effected much good, but the unfortunate divisions caused by the various

denominations have prevented the gradually awakening mind from receiving fixed and decided principles.

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Expediency, the curse of British rule, has marked all our actions with the Maori. It has been from necessity that the early Governors were compelled to keep peace with the natives by a temporizing policy. The European settlements of New Zealand were gradually populated through the means of private companies. But little law in the early stages of the colony was required; the heavier machinery of English legislation being introduced amongst the white people alone, as the prosperity of the settlers increased. As a matter of course, from opportunities derived chiefly from a higher enlightenment, connected with national energy of character, the Anglo-Saxon has far outstripped his Maori neighbour. The natives, observing this marked success, without comprehending its cause, have, from feelings of jealousy, combined to check our progress. Their teachers should impress upon them the truths handed down by history, which show how utterly impossible it is to stay the progress of civilization, and that the only way left them, of living with enjoyment in the land of their fathers, is by joining heart and hand in advancing it.

There can be no doubt that, when conflicts have ensued, the undecided, and often pusillanimous manner with which the Government have met the difficulty has done much towards giving the Maori an exaggerated confidence in his own prowess. In the early parts of the present protracted struggle, our late Governor over and over again requested the officers commanding the troops, by a decided demonstration of our superiority in arms, to convince the Maori how utterly impossible it was for him to compete with us and hope for success. Had Governor Browne's wishes been carried into effect, there is every reason to believe that the late disturbances might have ended in a confirmed peace throughout the island. None can study the history of this conflict without having their attention forcibly drawn to the fact, that no advantage gained by our military force has ever been followed up. At the very commencement an inferior number were allowed to evince their superiority in strategy by escaping from their besieged pa in the face of a superior force. After the battle at Waireka the

beaten Southerners retired to their own country unmolested, laden with plunder. The same at Kaihihi, – again at Mahoetahi. In no one single instance were the beaten Maoris, by judicious and rapid movements on our parts, prevented from occupying fresh, and, in many cases, more advantageous positions.

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¹ By reference to the map the localities named in the accompanying description will be understood.

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Preparations for an outbreak – Martial Law proclaimed – Arrival of the Governor with Colonel Gold and reinforcements – Maori Conference, Governor's Address – Troops march to the Waitara – Attack on the L Pa.

ALTHOUGH the possibility of a war breaking out between the Maori and his white neighbour had been spoken of, it was not until late in February that any sign of immediate conflict made its appearance; and then it was generally believed that a demonstration of force would suffice to convince the Maori that the Governor was determined to assert Her Majesty's supremacy.

For a considerable period had the formation of a land league been swelling into importance; a King had been elected and placed upon a throne, as a centre from which should issue laws for the government of the Maori. To render this union still stronger, it had been the strenuous endeavour of the supporters of the King movement to prevent the purchase of land by the English.

Wiremu Kingi, although not at the time an acknowledged subject of King Potatau, wished effectually to put a stop to the acquirement of territory by the Governor; consequently, he came forward as a chief and vetoed the sale of a plot of ground belonging to Teira. Such a state of affairs could not last; consequently, in February, 1860, after due notice to the natives, the surveyors, accompanied, by one chainman only, proceeded to the Waitara for the purpose of surveying the external boundary of the land sold by Teira to his

Excellency the Governor some twelve months before. The surveyors were prevented from carrying out their object by a body of unarmed natives.

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After this, Lieut.-Colonel Murray, the commander of the Forces then at Taranaki, addressed a letter to the natives without attaining any satisfactory result; accordingly, a proclamation of Martial Law was issued, asserting her Majesty's sovereign authority against natives in arms to resist it.

All this could not take place without creating much excitement both amongst the European and native population. For some days before the proclamation of Martial Law, the settlers were busily engaged in carting their effects into town, whilst every endeavour was made for rapidly gathering in the abundant harvest with which the country had been blessed. Meetings were also convened for the purpose of selecting spots suited for the erection of rude but substantial fortifications.

At this period the force under Colonel Murray consisted of 200 of the 65th and 110 Taranaki Volunteer Rifles, which being deemed insufficient for the anticipated emergency, directions were given for the immediate embodying the whole of the Militia for active service, every man between the ages of eighteen and sixty being bound to serve.

In the meantime, the inhabitants of the Hua and Bell Block with heart and will set to work, and in a very short space of time completed an entrenched blockhouse with two bastion towers, capable of sheltering and protecting 30 or 40 men. The building is situated on the summit of a hill commanding the main Waitara road, between three and four miles to the North of the town.

The settlers on the Omata side were not long in following the example thus set them; a large stockade, with flanking angles, was at once planned and completed, the site chosen being a rounded hill some four miles from the town.

These were, indeed, exciting times; every man, no matter what his rank, being fully employed either as sentinel, working at the forts, or in carting effects from the country. The prevalent feeling was, that the homesteads and farms which had cost so much labour

and capital to bring into culture, would soon become, from non-occupation and the spread of noxious weeds, worse than the wilderness from which they had been redeemed; and yet every one appeared ready and determined to co-operate with the Governor.

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Thursday, March 1st, 1860, the Airedale arrived from Auckland with Governor Browne and suite, accompanied by Colonel Gold, an extensive military staff, and 200 rank and file of the 65th. The same day H. M. S. S. Niger dropped her anchor in the roadstead. The first step of the Governor was to issue the following proclamation in Maori, a translation of which is given in full, as it tends to explain both the origin and justness of the war: –

[TRANSLATION.]

"1. When the Pakehas first came to Taranaki there were no Natives at the Waitara. The Ngatiawa had been dispossessed by the Waikato.

"2. The Waikato transferred their rights to the Government and received a payment for the land.

"3. Afterwards the Ngatiawa returned and occupied the land: the Government acquiesced in this occupation.

"4. In March, 1859, some of these occupants, Te Teira and others, openly offered to sell to the Government their claims to a portion of the land at the Waitara.

"5. Wiremu Kingi opposed this offer, and said that no land at the Waitara should be sold. But the "mana" of the land was not with Wiremu Kingi, and he had no right to forbid the sale of any land which did not belong to him personally.

"6. The Queen has said that all the natives shall be free to sell their lands to her, or to keep them – as they may think best. None may compel the Maori people to sell their lands, nor may any forbid their doing so.

"7. Wiremu Kingi sets his word above the Queen's, and says, though the rightful owners of the land may wish to sell, he will not allow them to do so.

"8. The Governor cannot allow Wiremu Kingi's word to set aside the words of the Queen.

"9. The Governor has said that he will not allow land to be

bought, the title to which is disputed. He has also said that he will not allow interference with the rightful owners in the sale of their lands. When land is

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offered, the title to which is clear, the Governor will use his own discretion in accepting or declining the offer.

"10. The Governor accepted Te Teira's offer conditionally on its being shewn that he had an indisputable title.

"11. Te Teira's title has been carefully investigated and found to be good. It is not disputed by any one. The Governor cannot, therefore, allow Wiremu Kingi to interfere with Te Teira in the sale of his own land.

"12. Payment for the land has been received by Te Teira. It now belongs to the Queen.

"13. Wiremu Kingi has interfered to prevent the survey of the Queen's land by her own surveyors. This interference will not be permitted.

"14. The Governor has given his word to Te Teira and he will not go back from it. The land has been bought and must be surveyed. The Queen's soldiers will protect the surveyors. If Wiremu Kingi interferes again and mischief follow, the evil will be of his own seeking.

"15. The Governor desires peace. It depends upon Wiremu Kingi whether there shall be peace or not. If he ceases to interfere with what is not his own he will be treated as a friend, and there will be peace."

Closely following this, a meeting took place between the Maoris and the Governor, who, after stating how anxious he was to see the Natives become a happy and civilized people, told them boldly and determinedly that, had he been in New Zealand when Katatore slew Rawiri, he would have had him arrested and brought before the judge, and, if the judge had sentenced him to be hanged, he would have caused him to be hanged. The Governor also stated that the Maoris would be wise to sell the land they cannot use themselves, as it would make what they could use more valuable than the whole; but that he never would consent to buy land without an undisputed title. He would not permit any one to interfere in the sale of land unless he owned part of it; on the other hand, he would buy no

[Inserted unpaginated illustration]



THE BELL BLOCK-HOUSE AND STOCKADE
Drawn & Engraved by H. F. Rawson.

THE BELL BLOCK BLOCK-HOUSE AND STOCKADE
Drawn & Engraved by H. F. Rawson.

man's land without his consent. This fair and open conduct on the part of the Governor had little or no effect on the Waitara natives. At this meeting William King, who in 1859 had acted in a most insolent manner in the presence of the Governor, did not make his appearance; consequently, Mr Parris and Mr Rogan, the native interpreters, were bearers of a message requesting him to come and see his Excellency. They met the chief at Kairoa, and in reply to the Governor's invitation, he stated that he would take time to consider, and, after consulting his people, would make known his intention. After this, he wrote, offering to meet the Governor at the Tima pa, the stronghold of his staunchest and most unscrupulous supporters.

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Notwithstanding that every precaution had been taken for protection in the case of need by the European population, it was not the general impression that hostilities would ensue.

On Sunday, March 4th, the quietude of the Sabbath was broken by the unwonted bustle and preparation for the morrow's march of the troops, His Excellency having come to the determination of forcibly occupying Teira's land. On the Monday morning the troops, 400 in number, preceded by the mounted escort, and accompanied by two field-pieces and light baggage train, under the immediate command of Colonel Gold, marched for the land in dispute, passing the Bell Block and crossing the Mangoraka at its junction with the Waiongana. On reaching Ikamoana, a spot which bears record to many sanguinary battles amongst the natives, skirmishers were thrown out to the right and left, in order to guard against the possibility of surprise from any ambuscade in the high fern. In this manner, without let or hindrance, the Waitara was reached. The Union Jack was found floating over King's pa, where it had been planted by the sailors from the Niger. Shortly after the troops left town, H. M. S. S. Niger, having embarked the Governor, with extra guns and heavy baggage, steamed to the Waitara, and succeeded in landing the greater part of the camp equipage prior to the arrival of the troops by land.

The withdrawal from the town of 400 soldiers reduced the military protection to one subaltern and a few men. Lieut.-Colonel Murray, who was left in charge of the town, immediately organised from the

Militia and Volunteer forces a system of outlying picquets, whilst most of the guards usually kept by the soldiers were undertaken by the same force.

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The provision carts that started the next morning for the Waitara, under the escort of the Mounted Volunteers, were stopped by the natives, who, during the night, had erected an obstacle across the road. After a detention of some time they were allowed to pass on. The Governor, on receiving intimation of this, sent Mr Parris

with the following notice: –

"To the Chief who obstructs the Queen's Road.

"You have presumed to block up the Queen's road, and to stop the free passage of persons going and coming; this is levying war against the Queen. Destroy the places you have built; ask my forgiveness and you shall receive it. If you refuse, the blood of your people be on your own head. I shall fire upon you in twenty minutes from this if you have not obeyed my order."

The period allowed having elapsed, Colonel Gold, accompanied with Captain Cracroft, of the Niger, and 307 rank and file of the 65th, advanced towards the pa that had been erected by King on Teira's land, and found, on approaching, that it had but just been vacated. The troops destroyed it, and returned to the camp, where they were employed in clearing away the high fern and in strengthening their position.

From the South reports were afloat that the natives contemplated joining King. The number of enemies thus accumulating around rendered it imperative that some means should be adopted to distinguish our friends from foes. This was effected by means of printed passes; and an order was issued that no Maoris should pass either the Bell Blockhouse or the Omata Stockade without presenting one. Far and near now the news began to spread of the war in Taranaki, and the feelings of the natives to evince themselves. Some promised their assistance to King, whilst others tendered their allegiance to the Queen, and two chiefs of Wanganui wrote, disapproving of King's actions. In order to ensure the absence of traitors in the camp, a declaration was drawn out to the effect, that those who signed it

would swear allegiance to the Queen, and be willing at all times to take up arms in assertion of her authority; and that they would, furthermore, bind themselves to give no assistance or information to her Majesty's enemies.

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From the Waitara the news was unimportant, King being quietly engaged in erecting strongholds on Teira's land, awaiting, in all probability, the return of the couriers that had been sent to Waikato for assistance.

Friday, March 16th, the officer commanding having completed his arrangements, the natives were ordered to leave the block, with a threat of attacking the pa if they refused.

Saturday, March 17th, was the unfortunate day that witnessed the first shedding of blood in this province between the two races. Colonel Gold having first sent Mr Parris to ascertain whether the pa was really situated on the disputed land, advanced with the troops, supported by the artillery, to the attack, on learning that it was erected some distance within the boundary.

Although the excitement from the booming of the artillery was great in town, it did not equal that experienced in aftertimes, when wives, sisters, and parents, listened with tearful anxiety to the distant reports, none knowing whose lot it might be ere nightfall to mourn the loss of some dear one. To a community such as ours, accustomed to the peaceful occupations of agriculture, it was a sad sight to see, as was the case in later days, the slain or wounded bodies of friends or relatives borne through the town.

But to continue with the attack on the pa. Prior to the firing of the first gun, Colonel Gold again addressed a letter, ordering the insurgents to move off the Queen's land, and warning them of the consequence of refusal. This they would not even receive.

One of the mounted escort, who had ridden out to reconnoitre the country around returned and reported the pa to be very strong, double palisaded, with ditch and galleries.

The artillery having been planted in a commanding position on a mound, opened fire with rockets and shell, which was answered by small arms from three faces of the pa; the natives at the same time dancing the war-dance and running up their fighting flag.

The constant fire which had been kept up for some time after awhile altogether ceased, and it was supposed that the pa had been forsaken. Under this impression two or three of the Mounted Volunteers made a dash at the flag, endeavouring to rend it from the staff, when a volley was poured upon them from every face. Those at the palisading escaped unhurt with a portion of the flag; but Sarten, who was galloping away, receiving a dangerous wound, fell from his horse. He succeeded, however, in crawling a short distance, when he was gallantly met and carried beyond the reach of the fire by a sailor and a private of the 65th. During the attack two privates of the 65th were also wounded, one of whom shortly afterwards died, whilst poor Sarten, the first victim amongst our unfortunate settlers, survived his wound a few weeks only.

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The artillery, on again opening fire, soon silenced the enemy. Night-time now approaching, the skirmishers were withdrawn, and the troops formed in close column. As darkness came on the enemy opened a heavy fire, in the face of which a parallel was thrown up to protect the men, who slept on their arms during the night. At daybreak three guns were fired from the pa. Early dawn on the Sunday morning the skirmishers and artillery advanced, the sappers throwing up a second, and then a third parallel, within 50 yards of the pa. A practical breach being now effected, Lieutenant McNaughten, with the remainder of the troops, rushed in and found the pa had been some time forsaken. It was left, no doubt, when the three guns were fired, indicative of defiance.

From its external shape this fortification has been termed the L pa. It was 110 feet long and 33 feet wide. The ditches were five feet wide and four deep, covered with a framework of split timber, with about two feet of fern and earth on the top. These communicated with chambers excavated out of the red earth. A large quantity of provisions were found in the interior of the pa. Of such strength was this fortification that it was not razed to the ground until the troops had spent many hours of hard labour on it.

Thus ended the first conflict with the enemy, without the attainment of any practical benefit. It is well known to have been possible with the available force to have surrounded the pa, so as to have

thrown King and his adherents into our power. Why this was not done, in all probability, an explanation will be demanded at some future day. The natives, from being enabled thus easily to effect their retreat, in place of considering themselves conquered, boast of being the victors.

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A native, who was in the pa during the attack, states that, of the seventy defenders, some few were wounded, but none killed; and that King and his people had retired farther up the Waitara river to Hapurona's stronghold.

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Manahi joins the Southern, who rise in rebellion – Sympathy and assistance from the sister Provinces – Southern natives occupy positions at Ratapihipihi and Waireka, and commence pillaging – First murders – Battle of Waireka – Natives allowed quietly to return to their own country unpursued – Mr Brown and family reach town in safety – Expeditions sent out to bring in produce.

THE escape of the insurgents gave such confidence to the Southern and other tribes as at once to expedite their decision in co-operating with King. The next overland mail was defiantly interrupted on its way to Wanganui, whilst the Ngatiruanui rapidly completed their preparations for an onslaught on the settlers.

The chief Manahi, who but a short time before had solemnly signed his allegiance to the Queen, with the greater part of his people, joined the rebels at Ratapihipihi, a native clearing near the belt of bush that forms the inland boundary of Taranaki, situated about a mile from the Omata Stockade and four from the town.

Not knowing what might be the next movement of the enemy, every precaution was taken to protect the white population. The country settlers at once sought the shelter of the stockades and town; whilst strict orders were issued to the Militia and Volunteers on no account to quit their respective stations.

On the fact of a general outbreak becoming known throughout our sister Provinces, the kindest sympathy and assistance followed. The Wellington people volunteered to raise a corps to aid in military operations; whilst Nelson offered shelter for the women, children, and aged, and sent for the use of the officer commanding her excellent

little steamer, "Tasmanian Maid." At the same time, nearly every town in New Zealand subscribed pecuniary assistance for those who so suddenly had been converted from agriculturists to soldiers.

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Manahi had not long taken up his position ere he was joined by reinforcements from the disaffected Southern. On the Saturday morning seventy arrived and were received in the usual way with the savage war-dance. This proved but the advanced guard of the large body then on their march to menace the country and town, so as to create a diversion in favour of King at the Waitara. Scarcely had they arrived ere they commenced ransacking the houses, killing and driving away the cattle and horses.

The next morning, notwithstanding that it was the Sabbath, a force, consisting of two companies of the 65th, who had been marched in from the Waitara on the previous evening, joined with the town division of the Militia and Volunteers, proceeded in two divisions to Manahi's naturally strong position, but returned to town without firing a shot.

Monday, the enemy's strength was gradually increasing by fresh arrivals, who spread themselves in small predatory bands to pillage and destroy throughout the country. On the Waireka hill a numerous party ensconced itself within rifle-pits and palisading, and hoisted the red flag of defiance; whence, through the bush to Manahi's position, a line of outlying picquets were stationed, and another to the sea shore; by which masterly arrangements any possibility of being suddenly outflanked or taken in the rear was effectually guarded against.

In the Omata district, closely adjoining the Waireka hill, the Rev. H. H. Brown and some few settlers, believing that the natives would not molest them, retained possession of their homesteads; and three others – Ford, Shaw, and Passmore – wandered on private business to the bush, and were returning by the village of Omata, when Manahi with his party met and murdered them, cutting and defacing the bodies in a most ruthless manner with their tomahawks.

One of the settlers' sons, who was returning to his home adjoining Mr Brown's residence, came back to the Stockade with the intelligence that some dead men were lying on the ground, covered with blood,

near the village inn. An armed party was immediately sent out, and the bodies of the unfortunate men, who had passed on their way in the morning, were found lying in the road. Passmore had taken with him his dray, the bullocks of which had been shot not far distant from the owner.

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Two boys had also gone out in search of some milk cows, both of whom were cut and slashed in a fearful manner. These poor boys, in all probability, had often played and joked with their murderers.

The natives, after occupying Waireka hill, forbade Mr Brown or the other families to hold any communication with either the Stockade or town without special permission; at the same time assuring Mr Brown that his sacred character would protect both himself and dependents. To ensure his safety the leading chiefs tapu'd – that is, rendered sacred – his house and person, placing on the door a notice, a free translation of which is as follows: –

"Listen! Listen all the tribe. The road to our Minister must not be trodden upon, also the road to his friends, James, who is from the Kihī, to Emanuel, who is a Portuguese, to his children and wife, to Touet, with his wife and children, who are French; let the thought be light of these three tribes to their farms, to their property, let it be light; because the word has gone forth from Paratene, Hoani, and Kingi (Parenga), to those people, that we must strictly preserve them. Let there be no mistake; with us, the three tribes of Taranaki, Ngatiruanui, and Ngarauro, let it be light. That is all

From PARATENE,

" HOANI,

From KINGI,

" PORIKAPA.

"From this tribe of Ngamahanga, from us all as far as Mokotunu."

At this period no individual ground of quarrel existed between the settler and his Maori neighbour. A short time prior to the first outbreak a Warea chief, as was his custom, when on his way to town slept a night at a settler's house in Omata. The next day, whilst conversing on the probability of an outbreak, he candidly

confessed that, if his people took up arms against the English, he would as much be bound to join them as we would to rally round the standard

of our Queen. At the time several Maoris from the South had met with employment in the neighbourhood, all of whom appeared grieved at the prospect of an outbreak. One old man, in particular, on hearing the possibility of such a thing spoken of, sat down and wept bitterly, saying that he must go away and join his tribe. Thus proving that the conflict was a national one, for country and rights, and not one of revenge and hatred from personal ill-will towards the Taranaki people. Page 25

Wednesday morning, March 28th, large bodies of natives were visible from the stockade busily engaged in erecting palisading and in forming entrenchments; whilst several red flags, indicative of their desire to fight, were planted in the neighbourhood. About the middle of the day they advanced within 1,000 yards of the Stockade, firing their guns and dancing the war dance.

As might naturally be expected, these occurrences in the Omata district created painful excitement in town. So intense was the feeling of suspense as to the fate of the families still remaining in the bush, that towards noon the preconcerted signal guns were fired from Marsland Hill, the women and children sought shelter in the barracks, and No. 10 Company of the 65th, with some blue-jackets, and 120 Militia and Volunteers, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Murray, marched out in order to rescue, or learn the fate of the absent.

The civil force, under the command of Captains Brown and Stapp, proceeded by the shore with the intention of ascending the sand-hills in rear of the enemy's position, and thus endeavour to reach Mr Brown's residence; whilst the military and small naval force marched up the inland road to act as a support.

The Militia and Volunteers had just commenced their ascent from the shore to the rising ground,² when the enemy in great force opened fire from the cover of the flax bushes and gullies that abound in the neighbourhood. Notwithstanding its being their first encounter, this untried force still advanced, and succeeded in fighting its way, driving the enemy before them, to the open ground.

In the meantime, the military force, with a rocket tube, after

passing the Omata Stockade, and receiving a reinforcement of 18 volunteers, had been drawn up in a paddock; from whence rockets were thrown into the pa on the hill, and detachments sent to the edge of the gullies, so as to prevent the natives from surrounding the civil force, that was hotly engaged immediately under the rising ground upon which the pa had been constructed. After the conflict had lasted some time, and the sun was fast sinking, reports reached the civilians that the soldiers had withdrawn and returned to town, and that they were left, short of ammunition, to their fate. Nothing daunted, the little band collected their wounded and dead, taking possession of a small thatched house, which, by throwing up breastworks around and lining the interior with straw, they soon rendered sufficiently strong to withstand, at least for some time, the determined onslaught. Here the leaders deemed it best to stay until the setting of the moon, so as to have the advantage of darkness to cover their retreat. Page 26

Some time after the first force left the town, Captain Cracroft landed from the Niger, with sixty sailors and marines, and immediately marched towards Omata, arriving at the Stockade late in the afternoon, from whence three volunteers – F. Mace and C. and E. Messenger – joined him as guides. About dusk, having previously fired some few rockets from the Omata Village, he descended into the valley of the Waireka. Cautiously and silently ascending the opposite hill, he rushed upon the pa, taking the pa and killing many of the enemy, when, finding no one to support him, he marched back with his wounded to town.

The excitement and distress of the relatives and friends of those who had gone out with the expedition, on the military returning to town without them, it is far easier to conceive than to describe. About eleven at night another volunteer force, consisting of military, sailors, and civilians, was despatched in search of the absent. They had not proceeded far when the two forces met each other with reiterated cheers, and marched into town amidst the welcomes of sisters, mothers, and wives.

The Volunteers and Militia of Taranaki in this, their first essay, succeeded, cumbered as they were with their wounded, in effecting an

orderly and safe retreat. The casualties were – three soldiers, three sailors, and nine civilians. The loss on the part of the enemy in this engagement must have been great. The correct number of killed and wounded in all probability will never transpire: the Maori appreciates a defeat in proportion to the amount of his loss, and, consequently, is always desirous of keeping secret his casualties. Page 27

Content with this decided thrashing, the Maoris, the next day, after collecting several cartfuls of dead, besides burying many on the field, took their departure about two o'clock in the afternoon for their own country. On the road they met with another body of Ngatiruanui, who had come up to join them; but, on hearing the tale, they returned with their thoroughly crest-fallen countrymen. The roads in the neighbourhood were strewn with all sorts of plunder taken from the forsaken settlers' houses.

The numbers engaged in this affair were – English 275, Maories 460.

Again the enemy, who had thus wantonly infringed upon our boundary, committing murder and depredation, had been allowed in broad day to retire with a large amount of plunder unmolested, no force having been sent out to harass them.

The natives having thus disappeared, Mr Brown, under the escort of a body of Volunteers, succeeded in reaching town with his family and goods in safety.

The next morning the Niger steamed down the coast and shelled the native settlement of Warea; the sea being too rough to allow of a party landing.

Daily after this an escort left the town for the country to bring in the produce, such as wheat and root crops, still remaining on the farms.

The natives in small bodies continued to hover within the shelter of the bush on both sides of the town, pillaging the outsettlers' dwellings.

² For the positions held by the contending parties see Map of the Omata district.

CHAPTER IV. Native meetings in the North...

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Native meetings in the North – Natives engaged in building fortifications – Expedition to Warea – Camp formed at Tataraimaka – Waikatos reinforce Kingi – Conspiracy to murder Mr Parris – Richard Brown mortally wounded – Natives continue burning the settlers' dwellings – Troops withdrawn from Tataraimaka – Major Nelson attacks Puketakauere – Town intrenched – The whole country in a state of siege.

TO prevent, as far as possible, the war from becoming general throughout the Northern Island, meetings of the natives, attended by Government emissaries, were held in the Waikato and other districts, when an attempt was made to cement the good understanding yet in existence between the greater portion of the two races, and, at the same time, tend to prevent the evil that might arise from false and unexplained reports.

At Lower Waikato, meetings on the subject of the King movement were likewise convened, but attended by the Maori alone; the Taranaki question appearing at the time to excite but little sympathy.

At the seat of war, with the exception of the mischief effected by marauding parties, who roamed over the country, killing and maiming the cattle and stock, burning homesteads, and filling up the wells with the carcasses of dead sheep and pigs, all remained in apparent quietude; the greater portion of the natives, both to the North and South, finding full occupation in building fortifications, so as to be enabled to retire from one stronghold to another. We, on our part, finding similar employment in strengthening the few positions we yet held.

By the arrival of reinforcements in April the Colonel commanding was enabled to take the field on the offensive.

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Friday, April 20th, a military and naval force of 500 men left the town for the South, with the intention of invading the territory of the insurgents, and at the same time give an opportunity to the Tataraimaka settlers of saving corn, or whatever might have been left unmolested by the retreating rebels after the battle of Waireka. The numerous guard requisite for the extensive baggage-train would effectually have prevented this small force from acting to any great extent aggressively. The 500 men were accompanied by 6 field-pieces and 40 carts, besides ambulance accommodation, requiring for their draught no less than 250 bullocks.

The force, without any occurrence worthy of record, reached Mr Greenwood's farm at Tataraimaka, where, on rising ground, they pitched and entrenched the camp. The next day working parties were sent out to thrash the wheat and save the root crops.

On Sunday, April 22nd, three companies of the 65th, supported by two field-pieces, started to reconnoitre the country towards Wareatea. The party sighted Komene's pa three miles inland, but saw no natives.

Three days later the camp removed to Wareatea. The Naval Brigade, after along search, succeeded in discovering the mill belonging to the natives of this district, which they did not burn, but rendered useless by removing some of the iron-work. The pa in the neighbourhood was destroyed; the wheat and other grain being given to the winds. By degrees the expedition reached as far as Warea, burning and destroying all that they came across, a vain search being made for the Warea mill. In the progress the only natives seen were about 80 near the Wareatea pa, who appeared lamenting the loss of their property. On the approach of the troops they fired, and rapidly sought the shelter of the scrub and bush.

The stronghold visible inland was not attacked. With the small force at his command, and an extensive frontier to guard, Colonel Gold did not deem it advisable to risk the loss of life that must be incurred by attempting a pa so well situated as to frustrate any endeavour to surround it. The rear being open to the bush and swamp,

the natives, if hard pressed, could have left the pa, and in small groups found shelter in the many gullies and ravines that intersect the heavy timbered and rugged country, interwoven, as it was, with thorned and tangled creepers of small and large dimensions. Had the pa been taken, it would have been a mere reiteration of the old tale – found empty.

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Having destroyed much property of the natives, the troops returned to Tataraimaka; and from thence, leaving 200 men to protect the houses still standing, on to town, bringing with them a large quantity of wheat and many head of cattle.

In retaliation for this destruction of their property the natives commenced firing the settlers' homesteads in all directions. Most of the burnings to the North of the town were effected under the guidance of Tamati Teito, one of the prophets so much believed in by the superstitious Maori.

At Waitara, Hapurona had rendered his pa extremely strong, and had sent a message to Captain Barton, at the camp, that he was ready to fight whenever the English felt inclined. So long as their white ensign was flying he should imagine that they were not ready, but directly the red flag was seen up he would meet them in battle.

Some of the wild and unsettled amongst the Waikatos had joined King, with a proposal to attack the town. This movement of the Waikatos was evidently not from a general impulse, but arose from the desire amongst the young and reckless to obtain plunder and enter into the excitement of battle.

In the Maori we find a people content to live upon the simplest diet and in roughly constructed huts, with no occupation that demands any great energy, either physical or mental. The result is, that, similar to other nations, the tales of deeds of bravery of their forefathers have excited a feeling within them to go and do likewise. The human mind, whether that of savage or civilized men, cannot remain in idleness, and it is upon the internal condition of man that the visible condition of society depends. From childhood have the deeds of bravery of a past generation been instilled into the Maori mind, and thus fitted it to think and speak of war not only as a means of revenge and punishment towards an aggressive enemy, but

as an ennobling practice, worthy to be followed by the great on earth. It was not until after many of the Waikatos had been slain that a general ill-feeling against the European began to evince itself; and this arose in great part from the excitement created by the many tangi, or crying meetings, that were held in memory of the fallen, "blood for blood" being the Maoris idea of justice.

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A section of the Waikatos, with feelings awakened by the means I have described, without any special cause of hatred to the European, arrived to join in the conflict. In their marauding expeditions and trapping of the unwary they were but acting up to their instincts as savages, such as undoubtedly they are. I care not who states to the contrary, no race of beings who live amidst dirt and filth, and on meagre diet, when the means of plenty exist around, can be considered in any

shape as connected with true civilization. If a race cannot comprehend the increased value of property by interchange, they are unfit occupants as independent rulers of so important a country, both from climate and geographical position, as that of New Zealand.

Whilst on this subject I would here state, that in the purchase of lands from the natives the English have been blameless. The North Americans had real grounds of complaint, inasmuch as the white man's clearings in their forests drove back the game upon which they chiefly relied to support existence. In New Zealand, on the contrary, the Europeans have alone taken such lands as the Maori has shown a willingness to part with: he received, in return, in the article of agricultural implements alone, that which has increased a thousand-fold the value of the lands retained.

The weather at this period was excessively inclement, exposed to the severities of which, night after night, were the outlying picquets of civilians and military. The sufferings of the former were pitiable, many of them having lost their all, being indifferently clad. No warm, or even clothing of any sort, was served out to these extemporized soldiers, who, notwithstanding their privations and discomforts, have boldly and continually adhered to their duty.

Mr Parris, who had been requested by the Rev. Mr Morgan, of Otawhao, to meet the Waikatos that would return with the party

of Ngatiruanuis and Taranakis who had been visiting Potatau, and endeavour to persuade them to go home in peace, and leave the Government to settle matters with King, whilst endeavouring to carry this into effect was nobly rescued from being murdered by the Ngatiruanuis and Taranakis by the determined conduct of the Waikatos. Epiha, their chief, after placing Mr Parris in safety, in reply to his thanks, told him to attribute his deliverance to God; that he would yet meet him as an enemy by daylight, but that Mr Parris had seen he would not consent to his being murdered. It was the intention of those forming the Taranaki and Ngatiruanui deputation, on learning the presence of Mr Parris, to have shot or otherwise deprived him of life; but the timely protection of the Waikatos effectually prevented the carrying out of this conspiracy.

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With the exception of the excitement attendant on the appearance of a few natives in the distance, at this period nothing worthy of relation was occurring.

May 22nd, a party of natives advanced towards the Bell Blockhouse and endeavoured to cut off a working party engaged in the preparation of timber for building purposes.

At the Waitara an old settler – Mr Richard Brown – whilst seeking for a horse, was fired at by the insurgents and mortally wounded. The Waikatos expressed themselves highly indignant at this attack on Mr Brown, and King repudiated the act and all connected with it, asserting that three men only were concerned in the plot. If this was the case, what a state of society would exist in New Zealand if the natives had alone their own laws to govern them? In poor Brown's loss we have an instance of a chief holding power over the material interests of the individual, without the slightest moral check upon the people.

For diplomatic reasons it was deemed advisable not to attack the natives unless they first recommenced hostilities. It seemed hard for the settlers to be locked up in their forts whilst the rebels roamed with impunity over the country at large, burning and destroying all before them, moving in small bands here, there, and everywhere, in such a rapid manner as to put a stop to all communication with the Waitara by land.

The troops were now withdrawn from the South. As they marched towards the town the whole country in their rear burst into flames; the homesteads being defiantly ignited as a retaliation for the native pas previously destroyed.

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Up to the unfortunate 27th of June all was still very monotonous; the British resignedly awaiting an opportunity, whilst the enemy, who had received extensive reinforcements, were insolently taunting them with inactivity and cowardice.

At Puketakauere the insurgents had been suffered unmolested to erect very strong fortifications, in a position where the physical structure of the country would offer facilities for covering a retreat. The hills on which the pa had been erected were situated about 1,700 yards higher up the valley of the Waitara, beyond the military camp. The country to the south and west of the position was tolerably level, covered with fern and tutu bushes, for the most part exceeding eight feet in height; and intersected with innumerable small gullies and fissures, which conveniently supplied the enemy with naturally formed rifle-pits. Immediately in rear of the hill, between the pa and the river, was a deep toetoe swamp – a very dangerous obstacle in the way of troops not conversant with the country. This was flanked on the north-east by a plateau, ending in a precipitous cliff of considerable height, from which the flat beyond the swamp could be swept by concealed marksmen.

The troops at the Waitara consisted of a detachment of the 40th, under Major Nelson; and a Naval Brigade, under Captain Seymour, of H. M. S. S. Pelorus.

On Saturday, June 23rd, a reconnoitring party of the 40th were fired on from the enemy's now completed works at Puketakauere. This act of aggression loosened the hands of the officer commanding, who determined at once to make preparations for an attack on the pa. Reinforcements of the 40th having arrived overland, on Wednesday, June 27th, he marched the troops from the camp in three divisions. The main body, consisting of the grenadier and light company of the 40th, and 60 blue-jackets, under the command of Captain Richards, supported by the artillery, approached in a direct line with the pa. The second division, of 50 men, under the command of

Captain Messenger, was stationed on the Waitara flat, in order to prevent the possibility of escape on that side. A third division, under Captain Bowdler, advanced up the river bank, with the intention of taking the pa in the rear.³

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The natives, from their exalted position on the plateau, could observe every movement made by our troops, who, on the contrary, could see little or nothing but the palisading in the distance and high fern before them.

The conflict commenced by the enemy firing on the troops in the rear; the natives, at the same time, leaving the pa and seeking the shelter of the gullies and broken country, from whence to pour forth deadly volleys.

For a time it appeared that the determined attack on the rear would succeed; but a short time only elapsed ere reinforcements poured in from King's inland settlements, the men creeping through the high fern deliberately, unseen, and taking silent aim at the advancing soldiers; the enemy, in all probability, being enabled to fire twenty barrels to the attacking party's one. The main body was within 150 yards of the foe, a deep and dangerous gully intervening between them. The greatest loss that this division experienced was when the right wing overlapped the gully, which was filled with rifle-pits held by a strong force. The same reinforcements that supplied men to support the defendants of the rear rapidly spread themselves, under the shelter of the fern, so as to completely outflank Captain Richards' division.

Major Nelson, after awaiting some time, being disappointed in the arrival of the expected reinforcements, ordered the retire to sound. The divisions during their retreat were much harassed by the enemy, losing an officer and many men. This was, in great measure, owing to the difficulties of the ground over which they had

to pass, it being both swampy and covered with scrub.

Captain Seymour, who had, with Major Nelson, accompanied the main body, received a bullet in his leg, which fractured the bone; and Lieut. Brooke, 40th Regt., when with the party in the rear, was

killed in the swamp, but not until a wound had rendered his sword-arm powerless.

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During the engagement, so heavy was the fire of the enemy, that an Indian officer compared it with that of Ferozeshah and Sabraon, and a soldier of the Crimea declared it to be hotter than that of the attack on the Redan. The Maoris could load much quicker than our men, their arms, for the most part, consisting of double-barrelled guns, down which the bullets easily rolled, thus avoiding the loss of time attendant on the use of the ramrod.

Colonel Gold, with the intention of co-operating with Major Nelson, left town early in the morning with a large force and two 24-pounder howitzers; but from the state of the river, or from some other as yet unexplained cause, after passing the Bell Block some two miles marched back to town. Had this force continued the march by the inland Kairau road, it would have been enabled to have passed above the pa and headed the small gullies from which the enemy incessantly fired with such deadly effect, they could easily have reached the plateau and co-operated with Captain Bowdler in his attack on the rear.

The British casualties were 29 killed and 33 wounded. Of the loss of the enemy, as usual, nothing of sufficient correctness for publication could be learned (7 killed is the Maori report). However, reinforcements must have joined in sufficient numbers to fill up any blanks in the garrison, whilst further levies were on the road for the scene of strife.

The next day Major Nelson proceeded with 50 men to recover the bodies of those that had fallen, but the fire of the rebels falling heavily on his small force, he deemed it prudent to retire, not having effected his object.

For days after the affair the natives were busily engaged in repairing the damage caused by the cannonading on their works. Mr Whiteley, one of the missionaries, visited the pa, but was not permitted to enter. A chief told him that they had buried the bodies of eight soldiers; and if Major Nelson would hoist a white flag, indicative of a temporary armistice, they would bury the remainder. Subsequently

some of the skulls of the poor fellows were found frightfully cloven with the tomahawk.

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At this, and in most of the expeditions that followed, the friendly natives, who had been organised and armed for the occasion, were present, but as their deeds were never of sufficient brilliancy to attract attention, I need not again allude to this useless part of our force.

At Puketakauere a fighting flag was constantly flying, and oftentimes the war-dance was performed on the outside; many of the natives being dressed in the red coats of the fallen 40th; Major Nelson occasionally reminding them of his presence by a shot from the nine-pounder gun.

Two of the Iris's 8-inch guns, with ammunition, having been brought from Auckland, were placed in position, so as to command Puketakauere; towards which, at indefinite periods, shells were thrown, which soon caused the pa to be too warm for occupation.

In order to make the best disposition of the force under his command, Colonel Gold entrenched the town, reducing the limits of the pretty scattered village-like appearance to the size of a 50-acre section. The now circumscribed dimensions of the town rendered necessary the removal of all who were unfitted for active service. Consequently, many women and children left for Nelson; some willingly, and others with great reluctance.

Closer and closer did the insurgents crowd around, gradually hemming in the already limited space that could be travelled in safety.

The Bell Block was literally surrounded by natives from Mahau's pa at Mahoetahi; to check whom skirmishing parties were often sent out from the garrison.

From the South the news was still more exciting. Large bodies of natives had congregated and erected no less than ten strongholds on the settlers' grounds at Tataraimaka, and were on their way with the intention of attacking the town, or of destroying all that was yet left in the country. This last threat, to the letter, they have fulfilled.

In order to counteract this movement on the part of the enemy, a force, consisting of detachments from the 40th and 12th, under the command of Major Hutchins, marched out to the Waireka, on to

the summit of the opposite hill from town, where they formed a permanent camp.

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Stirring events began now to remind us that the natives were in real earnest. Corbyn Harris, a Taranaki volunteer, whilst carting wood from the beach at the Waitara, was shot dead. Towards the South Hurford, a militiaman, and an artilleryman, who had wandered into the bush not far distant from the newly formed Waireka camp, were both waylaid and shot. Some others that had accompanied them narrowly escaped uninjured. It was not until after two parties had been sent out that Hurford's body was recovered.

The natives, emboldened by past events, approached and fired at our sentinels at their posts, robbing the houses within a short distance of the entrenchments. It was no uncommon occurrence to hear the alarm guns fired; when immediately the Militia and Volunteers rushed to arms, and the women and children flocked for shelter to the barracks.

At the Henui, barely a mile from the town, an old settler, Mr E. Coad, and another on the race course, Henry Crann, were waylaid and shot dead by the wily savages.

3 For position of troops see Map of the Waitara.

CHAPTER V. Arrival of Major-General Pratt and Staff...

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Arrival of Major-General Pratt and Staff – Force at his disposal – Night attack on the Town anticipated – Compulsory removal of women and children – Major Herbert marches a force to the Waireka – Natives drive the cattle northwards – Expedition to Burton's Hill – Waireka Camp broken up – Destruction of pas in the North – Puketakauere occupied – Huirangi expedition – First and second Kaihihi expeditions – Destruction of native plantations – Battle of Mahoetahi – Murder of John Hawken.

SUCH was the aspect of affairs on the arrival of General Pratt and Staff from Melbourne, in the Victoria steam sloop; the whole country around being in an active state of siege. The Waitara, Bell Block, the town, Omata, and the camp at Waireka, were alike hemmed in by the treacherous and determined native; it being unsafe, without an armed escort, to leave the protection of the fortifications. To check these incursions light troops occasionally reconnoitred the Bell and Omata districts.

General Pratt, in assuming command, had at his disposal a force consisting of the 40th and 65th Regiments, a detachment of the 12th, a Naval Brigade, with about 600 Militia and Volunteers; with an adequate artillery and engineer force.

All and every one appeared of an opinion that a night attack on the town was meditated by the enemy; to be prepared for which, General Pratt organised the town division so that, in case of an alarm, every man would know his place at the trenches. At the same time, an order was issued for all women and children to leave for Nelson or elsewhere; and when affection was found stronger than

fear, and they persisted in not leaving, force was threatened, without avail, many boldly refusing to quit their husbands and sons. They would sooner participate in the anxieties attendant on a residence in a besieged town, than suffer, under the circumstances, the misery of separation. Some even, in their desperation, threatened to meet force with force, having ready at hand a loaded revolver to repel the bayonet, should such as a threat implied be used.

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Towards the middle of August the natives again made their appearance at Ratapihipihi, whence they formed a line of posts by Burton's Hill, round through the bush to the southern side of the Waireka camp; within a few hundred yard* of which, so as to command flanking positions, they had constructed no less than four different sets of earthen field works; and from which, on two sides, Major Hutchins' position, night and day, was exposed to an almost constant fire. Several parties of soldiers sallied forth to the attack; but the works had been so constructed as to enable the natives to effect a rapid retreat down the wooded gullies.

Perhaps no country could have been better chosen for a guerilla system of warfare than that on which the rebels had concentrated. In every direction wooded gullies and ravines intersect the country; and I am certain that, in no one spot, could a level piece of ground of one hundred acres in extent be met with.

The high hills in rear of the Stockade were occupied with the native sentinels, who, from their elevated position, could see and report all the movements of the English; so that no step was taken on our part without being met by a counter one of the enemy. They came between the Omata Stockade and Waireka camp, within only a few hundred yards of fortified positions, igniting in broad daylight the houses in the village.

So bold and glaring had their conduct now become that, after much hesitation, a force was sent out, under the command of Major Herbert, to attack, conjointly with Major Hutchins, and drive them from their positions in the neighbourhood of the Waireka. But, to the annoyance and surprise of many, the force was ordered back to town, without even an attempt being made towards effecting the desired object.

About a week from this a skirmish took place between New Plymouth and the Omata Stockade. Whilst the attention of the troops was directed that way, another body of natives scoured the country, driving the settlers' cattle and horses northwards, towards King's strongholds.

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The Southern, having collected and driven to a place of safety all the stock in the neighbourhood, forsook their fortifications at the Waireka for Burton's hill; to dislodge them from which an expedition was organised, to march in the dead of the night, in three divisions, under the immediate command of the General. Unfortunately, ere the force arrived, the enemy had decamped, and escaped by a path through the bush to the strong-built pas at Tataraimaka. A few days after this the troops were withdrawn from the Waireka.

Almost simultaneous with these Southern movements, Major Nelson, with a party from the Waitara, wended his way towards the Bell Block, uprooting and burning the Ninia and Tima, with the other pas which had sheltered the many marauding parties that had committed such havoc amongst the settlers' stock and dwellings. The next day the indefatigable Major Nelson crossed to the North side of the Waitara, and destroyed two pas of King's – Korihi and Tikorangi. They were found empty, but bore evidence of having but a short period before been occupied, as fires were still burning, near which was a quantity of half-cooked food.

The Puketakauere pa appearing uninhabited was approached with caution and razed to the ground. It was of very strong construction, defended by two ditches, one nearly 20 feet deep; and with a sort of interior parapet, with a side of about 20 or 30 yards. The graves of some of the poor fellows that fell on the 27th of June were discovered and fenced in. To prevent this strong position from again being occupied by a hostile force a blockhouse was erected and garrisoned.

The work of destroying the enemy's strongholds having thus been commenced, the General determined to follow it up, and at once march on to King's territory with fire and sword; for which purpose, on Monday, Sept. 10th, a force, consisting of upwards of 1,400 men, was organised to march early on the next morning, in three divisions,

each accompanied with artillery. No. 1, under the command of Major Nelson, was to continue by the road up the Waitara from the camp: Nos. 2 and 3 marching from town as far as Mahoetahi, where, after crossing the Mangoraka river, they were to encamp for the night.

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Before dawn, at three o'clock in the morning, in perfect silence, the two divisions advanced by different roads; after crossing the Waiongana river, direct inland, reaching the Ngataiparirua and Kairau pas whilst it was yet dark, both of which being uninhabited were soon given to the flames.

Major Nelson's division having now come up, an advance was made towards the Huirangi peach groves, there being several pas in that neighbourhood. After the guns had been brought to the front and placed in position, under the protection of a skirmishing party supplied by the 40th, the work of demolition commenced; when, perfectly unexpected, volleys were poured forth from the bush and gullies, one man falling. The skirmishers immediately retired upon their supports.

After destroying all in the open ground the General ordered the "retire" to sound. As the rear-guard, on its return, again reached Kairau, three several volleys were fired by the natives in token of defiance. The whole force early in the afternoon reached the Waitara, where it encamped for the night. The next morning the town

division returned to their quarters.

Our loss in this fruitless affair was one man shot, whose body was not recovered; and two others wounded.

In this expedition an opportunity was afforded of more fully witnessing the ingenuity of the New Zealander in adopting protective means against an enemy. His pas are so constructed that no shell or rockets of the ordinary kind can inflict serious injury upon them. The spot chosen for a pa is oftentimes the summit of a hill, protected by deep gullies on three sides, a dense bush on the fourth. The interior of the pa being filled with covered rifle-pits is as shell-proof as any fort the Russians ever built. The mere term rifle-pit does not in reality convey a true idea of these subterranean dwellings, some of which were lined with the toetoe, or New Zealand reed, and fitted with an aperture for fireplace and chimney. The peculiar volcanic

soils of Taranaki are well adapted for the Maori system of fortification.

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A few days after the return from the North another expedition for the South was set on foot, to attack the rebels and destroy their fortifications where and whenever they could be met with.

Early on Tuesday morning, September 18th, 600 men, including artillery, under the command of Major Hutchins, commenced their march towards Kaihihi. Passing on their way the stockade and village of the Omata, through the valley of the Waireka, and ascending the hill on the brow of which the military camp was formerly situated, the beautiful and picturesque lands of Tataraimaka appeared in the distance, with the pas to destroy which we were then on our way.

Early on the second day the Oakura was crossed, Tataraimaka reached, and the forsaken pas destroyed. As usual, they were of strong construction, and must have cost a considerable amount of labour, from the heavy timber having been necessarily brought from a long distance.

After continuing the march some two miles farther on to the rebels' country, and arriving at a beautiful plot of grass land known as Johnny's Flat, the baggage train was left with a guard, whilst a reconnoitring party advanced as far as Porikapa's old residence; near which three strong pas were reported as being occupied by a considerable native force. Having ascertained this, the expedition, after a few days' delay, returned to town. Scarcely had the reconnoitring party rejoined the baggage train ere the natives advanced within a few hundred yards, and fired volleys of defiance.

Of the homes that formerly appeared dotted about these beautiful districts, all that remained were the blackened chimneys, which stood forth as monuments of utter and complete ruin.

At Waitara all was quiet; the military camp having been strengthened by the head-quarters of the 40th, under the command of Colonel Leslie, who advanced with a party towards Kairau, for the purpose of filling in the rifle-pits of the pas that had been destroyed on the 11th of September. The party was fired on by the natives, when the soldiers retired, they having been forbidden, for some unknown reason, to answer the fire of the enemy.

Tuesday, October 11th, a large force, under the personal com-

mand of General Pratt, accompanied by artillery, including the 8-inch guns from the Waitara, marched towards the South, with the intention of destroying the pas reported by Major Hutchins. After encamping for the night on the far end of the Tataraimaka block, an advance was made to Porikapa's old pa, near which an encampment was formed, and parties of observation sent out, between which and the enemy an exchange of shots ensued.

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An advanced force having reached within a few hundred yards of the nearest pa, entrenchments were thrown up, and the 8-inch guns and other artillery placed in position. It was not until the guns were moving up that the enemy opened fire. They evidently imagined that the entrenchments were intended as a shelter for the supports of those who were to rush the pa; consequently, as in the case at Huirangi, the fire had been retained for a determined fusilade; but, finding themselves mistaken, and the artillery too hot for them, they made their escape during the night. The next morning the fortifications, under the hands of the attacking parties, soon ceased to exist.

No. 1 (Pukekakariki) in the distance appeared surrounded by bush, but, on approaching, clearings and potato plantations were found. No. 2 (Orongomaihangai) had evidently been built as their centre. It was situated in a commanding position on the precipitous cliff of the Kaihihi river, down the face of which was an ingeniously constructed path, protected by rifle-pits near the river's edge. The third (Mataiaio) was higher up the river, on the opposite bank.

After an absence of five days the troops returned to town. During the reduction of the pas we had five wounded, including Captain Pasley, of the Royal Engineers.

This being the season for cropping, an endeavour was now made, by sending out armed parties in various directions, to prevent the natives from planting; and, at the same time, complete the destruction of all that might yet remain of their dwellings or produce in the open country.

The success that the enemy had of late met with in out-maneuvring the English had given him so great an amount of confidence as to induce something of carelessness on his part. The Waikatos who had lately joined King had been taught to believe that they only

required to fire a few shots, when, if the military did not retire, all that remained for them to do, when over pressed, was to retreat rapidly; this, they made certain, from past events, could be effected without fear of being followed.

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A party of Waikatos had temporarily taken up their quarters at Mahoetahi, on a hill partly surrounded by a swamp, situated about midway between the Bell Block and the Waitara. The General, on receiving intimation of this movement on the part of the enemy, completed arrangements for a combined attack, without giving them time to fortify their position.

On Tuesday, November 6th, he marched a force across the Mangoraka direct for Mahoetahi. The artillery, having quickly taken up position on the right, the military and civil forces, in extended order, with fixed bayonets, rushed the hill, driving the reputed unconquerable Waikatos with great slaughter before them.

In the meantime, Major Nelson arrived by the Waitara road, and sent in upon the now retreating enemy a heavy flanking fire. In less than two hours the battle was fought and won. Before returning to town the troops scoured the country from Ngataiparirua to Puketakauere.

The casualties in this decisive engagement were 4 killed and 16 wounded; including one officer wounded and two Volunteers killed, mere boys in years. The enemy leaving in our hands of prisoners, killed, and wounded, 45. On the Thursday following the funerals of those that had fallen took place in town, the soldiers bearing the Volunteers, and the Volunteers the soldiers, to their last resting place.

The day after the battle J. Hawken, contract butcher, imprudently rode from the Waitara towards Mahoetahi, when he was waylaid, shot, and tomahawked. An escort was sent out to seek the body. It was found lightly earthed over near Ngataiparirua.

CHAPTER VI. Troops proceed to Auckland...

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Troops proceed to Auckland – Waikatos seek to revenge their fallen – Blockhouse erected near Mahoetahi – Maori relic found on Mahau's burial ground – Arrival of the 14th Foot in Auckland – General marches a force to the Waitara – Battle of Kairau – Blockhouse built at Matarikoriko – Natives retire on to Huirangi – Nos. 2 and 3 Redoubts completed, and sap commenced – Soldier shot in rear of Kairau, and his body carried off – Southern natives return to the conflict – Capt. Cracroft attempts a boat expedition – Night attack on No. 3 Redoubt – Redoubts to No. 6 thrown up – Huirangi rifle-pits taken possession of – Sailor shot from the grove – Captain W. King, of the Taranaki Militia, shot dead – No. 7 Redoubt and Captain Strange's death – Sap rollers removed – No. 8 Guard Redoubt – Rollers a second time attempted – Hapurona attempts our right.

THE Governor, on receipt of the despatches of the General announcing the battle of Mahoetahi, immediately sent H. M. S. S. Niger and Victoria to fetch 400 troops from New Plymouth to protect Auckland in case of need, and should the news of the battle have a prejudicial effect on the minds of the Waikatos.

At the scene of strife the insurgents were more determined than ever. Numbers from Waikato continued pouring into King's pas; and occasionally issuing forth in small parties to waylay and murder every European they could meet with, to avenge the deaths of their relatives, in accordance with native custom. A large reserve force had also collected in the North, to march either on Taranaki or Auckland. This active sympathy from the North induced King to seek similar aid from the opposite direction. He sent emissaries to the Wanganui and neighbouring tribes, pressing them to join him at the Waitara.

Since the 6th of November the military had completed a block-

house on a hill (Ngapuketurua), 800 yards in advance of the Mahoetahi. During the engagement the hill was covered with karaka trees, the bright green shade, in contrast with the brown tinge of the fern lands giving a very refreshing and beautiful appearance. They have been all felled since.

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In close contiguity to the blockhouse is another hill, formerly held sacred as the burial ground of Mahau's ancestors, imbedded in which several ancient relics were found. One of the most interesting was a hard, trachytic boulder, of an oval shape, about ten inches in length and six in depth; the top had been cut off so as to form a lid, the centre being hollowed out – in which was placed a piece of red ironstone, the shape, but larger, of a man's thumb. This memento of the dead many generations ago was deposited near to the first chief buried in this sacred ground. Afterwards, on any relatives of the departed dying, the stone was uncovered, the lid removed, a fire lighted, and food cooked near the grave; which, on being presented to the piece of ironstone, as an Atua, or God, was handed round to the surviving relatives. The superstitious feelings of the natives are still so great as to induce them to believe that, if a child touched the stone, in a short space of time it would die, unless the relic and its contents were destroyed. Some natives to whom it was shown could not be induced to touch it, but put their hands behind them, and commenced a low moaning cry.

The General at Taranaki endeavoured to harass the natives by marching armed parties of military and civilians towards the North, to drive them back, and destroy their potato and other plantations.

The Waikatos, in large parties, were still pouring into King's pas at Huirangi and Matarikoriko, where strong defences had been completed; to reduce which General Pratt inarched for the Waitara, where he encamped on Friday, December 27th. The next day, with a force consisting of 1,000 men, with all the appurtenances for a protracted siege, he advanced towards Kairau, where the enemy in great strength had formed an extensive series of field-works, consisting of rifle pits in echelon, connected with viaducts that led to gullies bordering the dense bush surrounding the strongly fortified pa at Matarikoriko; which is situated in a commanding position on a hill

very similar to that of the Puketakauere, about one mile nearer the Waitara than Kairau.

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As the troops advanced nothing was seen of the enemy until the skirmishers, after struggling through high fern and broken country, had passed the spot on which the Kairau pa formerly stood; when the black heads of the natives moving amongst the fern were seen, as they opened a heavy and rapid fire, in the face of which No. 1, or Kairau Redoubt, was planned and executed. The enemy tried every ruse, without the slightest effect, to check the progress of the works. At one time they, with a rapid movement, threatened our right; the next, redoubled the attack on our left and front; but all was of small avail. The redoubt was completed and occupied, amidst the heavy firing of both sides.

Towards nightfall the greater portion of the troops returned to Waitara; leaving the 40th, under the command of Colonel Leslie, to garrison the newly formed camp. During the night firing was continued, with but slight intermission, until 4 o'clock on the Sunday morning, when white flags were shown by the enemy.

The General, on his arrival, requested the Rev. Mr Wilson, who had accompanied him from the Waitara, to communicate with the natives, and ascertain the meaning of their flags of truce. It appeared that it was their wish that fighting for the time should cease, in order that the Sabbath might not be desecrated with blood; consequently, beyond the completing of the works, no firing on either side occurred; the troops being massed in columns in the rear. During the armistice a soldier, who had formed one of the line of skirmishers on the Saturday, left the redoubt to seek for a cap that he had dropped during the engagement. Tempted by the quietude and silence around to advance, he came suddenly on some abandoned rifle-pits, which on the Monday fell into our possession. The natives had so far taken advantage of the sacred day as to retire quickly out of harm's way.

The troops that marched towards Kairau on the Monday morning learned, on their arrival, that a portion of the Kairau garrison had approached and taken possession of the forsaken position at Matarikoriko. Under the hands of the engineers, upon the site of the Maori fortification, a blockhouse soon arose; from which the Waitara

camp, Puketakauere, and Mahoetahi, are visible, so as to allow of signal communication between them. In the rear of this naturally strong position is a spur, that continues towards the Waitara flat to the river's edge. On the upper side is a dense bush; and in its front, towards the camp at No. 1 Redoubt, an extensive swamp; the road from Kairau being through heavy fern, scrub, and wooded gullies. The rifle-pits in the neighbourhood were so situated as to yield commanding flanking positions.

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The native tactics were evidently intended to be similar to those of the 28th of June, when the chief defence was in the natural strength of the rugged country around, and not in the pa that was placed in a conspicuous position as an inducement for the English to advance.

The casualties on Saturday and Saturday night were 3 killed and 21 wounded.

The new redoubt was square, with flanking angles. It was garrisoned from the Sunday by the 65th and a detachment of the 12th, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Wyatt.

Although the news from the South was of a threatening character, the General determined, by a gradual advance, to occupy the whole of this portion of the enemy's country; who had retired from the immediate neighbourhood of the newly formed redoubt on to Huirangi, about a mile to the front of Kairau. The country intervening was a large, tolerably level flat, covered with fern, bordered on the right by a dense belt of timber, and on the left by the cliffs of the Waitara flats; intersected in many places by cross gullies, either heavily timbered or swampy.

In accordance with the system of warfare adopted in this part of New Zealand, after an active measure a lull ensued; all being perfectly quiet, with nothing to excite the monotony of camp life but the hearing of now and then the defiant firing of the natives, who crept up the gullies through the bush, and deliberately aimed at the sentinels stationed on the spur in rear of the new blockhouse at Matarikoriko, or were seen passing by the forest on the right in search of means to regenerate their commissariat. To check this system of obtaining supplies, parties were occasionally sent from the Waitara camp round by the Mahoetahi road; whilst some slight check was

given to the enemy's works at Huirangi by the shells from the 8-inch guns, that had been removed, for the purpose, to the front.

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The new year, although it brought reinforcements of the 65th and the 14th, gave us no hope that there would be a speedy termination to our troubles.

It was not until Monday, January 14th, 1861, that the General again took the field, when he advanced towards Huirangi, throwing up No. 2, a small guard redoubt, 570 yards from Kairau; and afterwards No. 3, a three-square redoubt in echelon, left in front, and within three-quarters of a mile of the Huirangi rifle-pits, from whence the longest double sap on record was run towards works unprotected by artillery.⁴ Whilst we were thus gradually creeping on, our flanks and rear were oftentimes annoyed by the wily and quiet movements of the foe. It was some time after the commencement of the sap that two men, who were engaged collecting potatoes in the rear of the Kairau redoubt, were fired on by the Maories, who, under the shelter of the bush, approached them unseen through one of the numerous small gullies. One man was wounded, and another shot dead and carried away.

With the hope of directing the General's attention from the North, the Southern natives again occupied the Waireka and Burton's hills, forming an extensive series of fortifications and field works, so as to command every road, and completely lock up the English within their town and stockades. In an incredibly short space of time they had completed, in a direct line across the country, no less than ten palisaded pas. The exciting times prior to the General's arrival from Melbourne began again to show themselves.

This bold approach of the Southerners to the town and out-stations called for active measures, in order that a little breathing room might be obtained, beyond the immediate protection of the garrisons. To effect this, a combined movement was planned: the boats of H. M. S. S. Niger, were to pull down the coast and land a party of blue jackets and marines, whilst a force consisting of regulars and volunteers was to march by the Omata road towards the Waireka. The latter, on the march, were fired at by the natives in ambush, and one man fell,

mortally wounded. Capt. Cracroft, being unable to effect a landing, returned with his boats; and the land force, much to the regret of those forming it, was ordered back to town after having reached Omata.

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One of the prisoners that had been in hospital at New Plymouth since the engagement at Mahoetahi, was sent back to his tribe at Huirangi. The Rev. Mr Wilson, who accompanied him to the insurgents' lines, returned with the intelligence that the natives evinced no wish for peace, but declared that they were determined to fight to the last. In answer to an address from one of the chiefs, they frantically performed the war dance. The day following Mr Wilson's visit a Maori woman came over from the enemy, with the tale that the natives were short of food. Colonel Wyatt immediately forwarded her, under escort, to Ihaia's pa at the Waitara.

As the sap advanced, firing from the enemy, answered by our rifles and artillery, was steadily continued almost as a matter of routine.

During the night time the sound of voices, accompanied with the blowing of horns, was constantly heard proceeding from the enemy's lines. Amidst the din the well-known voice of a woman was conspicuous, earnestly haranguing, as if endeavouring to excite the natives to some desperate action, by relating the deeds of her forefathers. She was evidently successful in exciting the impulsive feelings of her listeners; for on Wednesday, January 23rd, a party of Waikatos endeavoured, in a most determined manner, to storm No. 3 Redoubt, which was occupied by the 40th, under the command of Col. Leslie.

On this eventful morning, some time before daylight, the sentinels perceived, at about 60 yards to the extreme left, a large number of natives creeping through the high fern, upon whom they immediately fired, when the garrison stood to their arms. The Waikatos, nothing daunted, rushed forward and joined their comrades already ensconced in the ditch; endeavouring, by means of their tomahawks, to establish extemporaneous scaling ladders, by cutting steps in the steeply inclined banks. Finding themselves foiled in this, they strove to pass the parapet by climbing on each other's shoulders; and so to meet the British bayonet with the tomahawk. Many of the soldiers,

in reaching over the parapet, had their bayonets wrenched from their rifles. To clear the ditches lighted 24-pound shells were thrown over.

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After the conflict had lasted some time, the 65th call was sounded; when two companies of that regiment advanced from Kairau, with a detachment of the 12th as a support. By this means the ditches were soon cleared; and the support coming up, charged the reserve of the enemy stationed on the left, putting all to flight with great slaughter.

The casualties were 5 killed and 11 wounded, including Lieut. Jackson, of the 40th, who was shot through the head while firing at the natives in the ditch; and Captain Miller, of the 12th, wounded in the leg whilst preparing for the charge. The loss of the enemy that fell into our hands consisted of 45 dead, 5 wounded prisoners, and 37 stand of arms; besides many tomahawks, meres, and greenstone gods. Two other dead bodies were afterwards found in the fern.

The tactics of the assailants, as explained by one of the prisoners, were excellent. Their intention was to have made a feint on our right; and, so soon as the native sentinels could see that the men occupying the redoubt had rushed to the part attacked, those who had, during the darkness of the night, secreted themselves in the ditch on the left, were to climb over the parapet, and at once commence the onslaught. In selecting the point of real attack they had used great judgment, in taking advantage of an unflanked side.

The same night, as if by concerted plan, No. 3 Blockhouse, near the town, was fired on by a party of natives from one of the many gullies that intersect the country around. This caused but slight confusion in town, the arrival of the 57th Foot from India having restored confidence to the inhabitants.

Houses still continued to be fired in every direction; notwithstanding that armed parties of English oftentimes marched through the country, both towards the North and South, without falling in with the insurgents; the mischief having been effected by small parties of two or three, who escaped detection by means of the bush and broken country.

During this time the sap gradually progressed towards its desti-

nation; and Nos. 4 and 5 Redoubts erected as shelter for the guards requisite for the protection of the works during the night⁵ 770 yards from No. 5 a large square redoubt, with flanking angles, was completed; a single sap continuing 86 yards further, passing beyond the first row of rifle-pits; when those in the rear were rushed, and, as might be expected, found empty.

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The whole of the country near and around Huirangi, comprising a great number of acres, was covered with a growth of thistles as dense as a crop of wheat, and four or five feet in height. In the narrow parts of some of the gullies, where the white seed had been collected by the winds, it was so deep as to take a horse up to its girths. The mischief that must accrue throughout this part of New Zealand from this accumulated means of spreading the thistle can barely be imagined. Our children's children will be greater sufferers than even we shall be. The seed, carried by the winds through the bush, will spread in every direction; and little can be done towards checking the evil without the co-operation of the natives.

About 100 yards from No. 6 was the entrance to the beautiful peach grove avenue. It had formerly been a favorite spot of the natives; consequently, much pains had been bestowed on its cultivation. To the right was a dense bush; to the left a copse of small trees, clothed with leaves of a beautiful olive-green tint; whilst on both flanks of the redoubt were steep and deep gullies, connected by a series of zigzag rifle-pits, extending over a space of half a mile. On the opposite side of the gully, to the right, was a beautiful karaka grove, which, in happier days, had been the resort of riding and picnic parties from New Plymouth.

The avenue and its neighbourhood appearing quiet and void of inhabitants, many were induced rather incautiously to approach the bush. One day a volley was fired from some old Maori huts that injudiciously had been left standing, and a sailor fell, receiving a severe wound in his leg.

Foraging parties of the insurgents were constantly moving through every part of the country in search of food; the soldiers having

possession of most of their potato and corn plantations in the North. By one of these bands Captain W. King, of the Taranaki Militia, was shot dead whilst visiting his property, situated scarcely a mile from town, and in full view of the Marsland Hill barracks. The body, when brought in, was found to have been pierced by six bullets. Notwithstanding this sad warning, a party of armed Volunteers, some little time afterwards, roamed as far as Brooklands, about a mile distant from town, for the purpose of gathering peaches; when they were attacked by natives in ambush. Edward Messenger fell, shot dead; whilst W. Smart received a dangerous wound through the breast. The remainder of the little party bravely held their ground until the arrival of the assistance of which one of their number had gone in search.

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The General still continued to persevere in his slow but sure advance at the Waitara. The distance between the last erected redoubt at Huirangi and Te Arei, where the natives had retired, was about two miles higher up the river Waitara. The road lay through the avenue by a deep wooded gully; the belt of timber to the right continuing to the hills, where the natives had sunk another set of rifle-pits, in sufficiently elevated positions to command the country around.

On Sunday, February 16th, a movement was made from Huirangi towards Te Arei, in two divisions; one passing through the avenue, by the rich cultivations, on to the fern flats; the other round the right of the wooded gully to the left, through an old graveyard situated on rising ground near the steeply inclined banks that lead to the river. The troops advanced about a mile, when another large redoubt was thrown up. At one time the skirmishers in front were so near to the Maories as to be enabled to converse with them.

The occupation of No. 7 was not effected without loss on our part. One officer – Captain Strange, of the 65th – was mortally wounded; whilst nine men of various regiments also received injuries.

At times the firing from the enemy's elevated positions was intensely heavy. The natural features of the country were such that the flanks were as much exposed as the front. On the completion of No. 7 the garrisons of the redoubts between No. 6 and Kairau were

withdrawn; Colonel Leslie, with the 40th, moving to the front.

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Working parties were daily employed in denuding the country, as far as the avenue, of all the timber on the left, so as to leave an open space of communication. The country around the redoubt consisted of a large flat of table land, situated on the summit of the high cliffs of the Waitara; beneath which were the beautiful river flats, dotted here and there with plots of cultivation: whilst the greater part was clothed with a luxurious undergrowth of vegetation, above which the elegant fern tree arose, casting its deep shade over the dark rippling waters. On the opposite side of the river the white, perpendicular cliffs of magnesian limestone, hundreds of feet in height, bore the appearance of the ruins of some vast amphitheatre. Immediately in front were the rough and rugged hills of Te Arei and Pukerangiora, honeycombed in every direction with pits; to reach which a single sap was run forward. During its progress firing by the enemy was so constant that but few days passed without some casualties on our part. A large recently fenced-in grave was discovered by the right skirmishers at the edge of the bush, capable of containing seven or eight bodies; in all probability the remains of some of those that fell at the attack on No. 3 Redoubt.

Of the 8-inch guns formerly at Kairau, one had been placed in No. 6, the other in the front: at dark shells were often sent to where it was imagined the enemy retired for sleeping quarters.

Night after night the Maories were heard blowing horns, howling, hooting, and making other hideous noises. One amongst them often called out in excellent English the various commands, in imitation of the military. A pretty good idea could be formed when any death of consequence occurred, by hearing from the enemy's position the tangi, or lamentations for the dead, poured forth in place of the general hooting and shouting.

The sap had now progressed so far as to bring Hapurona's right position more under the fire of artillery and small arms.

One night, more than usual noise was heard from the enemy's lines; when, presently, a fire was perceived at the head of the sap, which was soon followed by three hearty cheers, given by Hapurona's men; which were immediately responded to by our rifles and artillery.

The next morning it was found that the sap rollers had been removed to the insurgents' pa, with a great many gabions; where, when daylight appeared, they could be seen holding a conspicuous position, whilst an intimation was scrawled on the parapet, in Maori, of Hapurona having visited the works. To check these visits for the future, a small square guard redoubt – No. 8 – was completed, within 200 yards of the first tier of rifle-pits; from whence a double sap daily progressed,

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protected in its course by two demi-parallels. To protect the sap from further molestation, two 10-inch shells were so attached as to explode on the slightest movement of the rollers; that were, ere long, again attempted, the adventurous Maories suffering for their daring.

The rugged state of the country was such, that at times the enemy crawled within a few yards of the working parties, calling out to the soldiers for tobacco, which request was oftener than not acceded to, a small parcel being thrown over the brow of the hill intervening between; when instantly a return was made by a basket of peaches, with a request that they would send the basket back.

The works were now rapidly continued; and, day after day, some pit or position of the enemy was rendered untenable. Several times a rush was made upon the works; when actually sticks were thrown by the secreted Maories at the working parties. These were answered by hand grenades and shells from the cohorn mortars; the shelving rock protecting the assailants from all other missiles. By way of a diversion from our front a movement was occasionally attempted by Hapurona from the bush and gullies on our right. On one occasion we had three killed and nine wounded.

At Omata a large body of Maories had collected, with the intention of attacking the guard escorting the provisions for the Stockade. A skirmish ensued, and five men of the 57th and 65th Regts. wounded.

⁴ For the positions of the sap and various redoubts see Map of the Waitara.

⁵ All the field engineering operations of sap and redoubt were carried out under the personal supervision of Colonel Mould.

CHAPTER VII. Hapurona hoists a white flag...

CHAPTER VII.

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Hapurona hoists a white flag and tenders an offer for peace, which is refused – Armstrong guns and heavy mortars arrive, and are moved to the front – Recommencement of hostilities – Death of Lieut. McNaughten, R. A. – Governor arrives – Second armistice – Insurgents hold a conference with the Government – Terms offered and accepted by some of the Waitara natives – Terms offered and refused -by the Southern – Arrival of Lieut. -General Cameron – Departure of troops for Auckland – Taranaki's future prospects – Departure of Governor Browne and arrival of Sir G. Grey – His policy.

AS the sun arose on Tuesday morning, March 12th, 1861, a white flag fluttering in the morning breeze was visible from the insurgents' lines; at the same time a native was seen approaching the redoubt with a flag of truce and a letter fastened to the end of a supplejack (or New Zealand cane); which, on being forwarded and read by the General, was found to contain such offers of peace that he could not concede to.

During the time the General at the Waitara was considering the contents of the letter, the Maories were seen busily engaged searching for bullets. There is no doubt that they reaped an abundant harvest; as, on some days, as many as 19,000 rounds of Enfield rifle ammunition were fired away, independent of shells and other missiles from the heavy guns.

At the Waitara three 12-pounder Armstrong guns had arrived, with some 10 and 8-inch mortars, and were immediately mounted under the personal superintendence of Captain Mercer, of the Royal Artillery. They had been packed in a mixture of white lead and palm oil, which a very little rubbing removed, allowing the beautiful

finished workmanship of the guns to be seen. A sailor, who was standing by, on seeing the nice-fitting machinery put together, remarked to his comrade, "I say, Jack, before you and I can manage such gunnery as that, we must serve an apprenticeship to a watchmaker!"

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On the General having formally refused Hapurona's offers of peace, the new artillery was quickly forwarded to the front, and the conflict once more renewed, causing an increased loss on our part; Lieut. McNaughten, of the Royal Artillery, being amongst the fallen. This young and promising officer had, from the first engagement at the L pa to the period of his death, been present at almost every affair against the rebels where a heavy gun had been fired. He was laying the cohorn mortar in the demi-parallel in advance of No. 8, when he was shot dead.

We had now at the front a great display of artillery, consisting of two 10-inch, two 8-inch, and five cohorn, mortars; two 24-pounder howitzers, one 9-pound gun, two 8-inch guns, three 12-pounder Armstrong guns, besides rocket tubes.

Well may the Maories fancy they are a great and a brave people, from finding themselves capable, with their imperfect munitions of war, of coping for upwards of three months with such an armament as was before Te Arei and Pukerangiora.

The Governor and suite, with Mr M'Lean and Mr Weld, Native Minister, having arrived from Auckland, accompanied with a number of friendly chiefs, an armistice was agreed to, in order that terms of peace might be discussed. At Te Arei the white flag was again run up; and a lengthened korero (or talk), which lasted several days, took place at the Waitara. After much delay the following terms were accepted by Hapurona and a few followers – King refusing to give his sanction or meet the Government, and the Waikatos agreeing to return to their homes: –

COPY OF THE TERMS OFFERED BY THE GOVERNOR TO THE WAITARA INSURGENTS.

"HAPURONA AND NGATIAWA, – For twelve months you have been carrying arms against Her Majesty the Queen and the authority of the law; you have now laid down your arms and expressed your

desire for peace; believing you to be sincere, I have come from Auckland for the purpose of stating the terms upon which it will be granted, and upon which Her Majesty's gracious pardon and protection will be extended to you.

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"They are as follows: –

"1. The investigation of the Title, and the survey of the land at Waitara, to be continued and completed without interruption.

"2. Every man to be permitted to state his claims without interference, and my decision, or the decision of such persons as I shall appoint, to be conclusive.

"3. All the land in possession of Her Majesty's forces belonging to those who have borne arms against Her Majesty to be disposed of by me as I may think fit.

"4. All guns belonging to the Government to be returned.

"5. All plunder taken from the settlers to be forthwith restored.

6. The Ngatiawa who have borne arms against the Government must submit to the Queen and to the authority of the law, and not resort to force for the redress of wrongs, real or imaginary.

"7. As I did not use force for the acquisition of land, but for the vindication of the law, and for the protection of Her Majesty's native subjects in the exercise of their just rights, I shall divide the land, which I have stated my intention to dispose of, amongst its former owners, but I shall reserve the sites of the blockhouses and redoubts, and a small piece of land round each for the public use, and shall exercise the right of making roads through the Waitara district. In conformity with the declaration made on the 29th of November, 1859, the rights of those who may prove their title to any part of the piece of land at Waitara will be respected.

"On your submission to these terms you will come under the protection of the law, and enjoy your property, both lands and goods, without molestation."

COPY OF THE DECLARATION OF HAPURONA.

"I hereby declare that the Terms of Peace proposed by the Governor have been read and fully explained to me, and that I understand them thoroughly; and I declare that, on behalf of myself

and people, I agree to abide by, and fulfil them.

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HAPURONA PUKERIMU.

"These Terms have been read and explained in our presence and made thoroughly to be understood this 8th day of April, 1861.

J. A. WILSON, Missionary C. M. S., of the District of Auckland,
MORE,
DONALD MCLEAN, Native Secretary.

"I, Hapurona, speak for myself, for all these men whose names are hereunto subscribed, for the women and children.

(Here follow 64 signatures.)

"From me,
From HAPURONA.

Witnesses. MORE, DONALD MCLEAN, Native Secretary."

COPY OF THE DECLARATION OF PATUKAKARIKI.

"I hereby declare that the Terms of Peace proposed by the Governor have been read and fully explained to me, and that I understand them thoroughly; and I declare that, on behalf of myself and people, I agree to abide by and fulfil them.

WIREMU NGAWAKA PATUKAKARIKI, his x mark.

"These Terms have been read and explained in our presence, and made thoroughly to be understood, this 15th day of April, 1861.

TE WAKA NENE, x.
FRED. A. WELD, Native Minister.
DONALD MCLEAN, Native Secretary."

On these preliminary terms being partially agreed to, the Waikatos and the Southernns returned to their respective districts.

The following conditions of peace were sent to the Taranaki and Ngatiruanui: –

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TERMS OFFERED BY THE GOVERNOR TO THE TARANAKI AND NGATIRUANUI INSURGENTS.

To the Taranaki (or Ngatiruanui) Tribe.

"The Governor came down to Waitara at the request of Hapurona, William King, and other Ngatiawa, to state the terms upon which he would grant peace to them. The Governor is now at New Plymouth, and he is informed that you have retired from the European land to your own country, and that you desire peace. If this be true, he is prepared to state the terms upon which he will grant peace to you. The Governor will return in a few days to Auckland, and you must therefore send me an answer to this by Wednesday⁶ morning, the 10th day of April.

(Signed) DONALD MCLEAN.
8th April, 1861."

To the Chiefs of the Taranaki (or Ngatiruanui) Tribe.

"Before I leave New Plymouth I will state to you the terms on which I am willing to grant you peace. In dictating these terms I cannot overlook the outrages that you have committed. Whatever may have been the dispute in reference to the land at Waitara it was a matter with which you had no concern. Without even pretence of quarrel with the Queen's Government, or her European subjects, you have taken advantage of the disturbances caused by another tribe to set the authority of the Queen and the Law at defiance; to attack Her Majesty's troops; to burn, destroy, and steal property; and treacherously kill without provocation Her Majesty's subjects while engaged in their peaceful occupations. Moreover, you have driven off the settlers from land which, years ago, you had sold and been fully paid for, and have avowed your intention of repossessing yourselves of it and retaining it by force. However much I may condemn the offences committed by the Ngatiawa, I look on those perpetrated by you to be of a far more serious nature, and before I can consent to grant you peace I shall require restitution and compensation for the past, and explicit declaration of your intention to conduct your-

selves as peaceable and orderly subjects of Her Majesty for the future."

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I require –

"(1) Entire submission to the Queen and the Law.

"(2) All plunder now in your possession to be forthwith given up, and compensation made for that which is not returned, and for property destroyed and injured.

"(3) That all mails shall be permitted to pass without interruption, and the mail carriers protected.

"(4) That people, goods, and cattle shall be allowed to pass without molestation.

"The grave offence of killing unarmed settlers and children is one against the Queen and the Law, and will not be overlooked. Whenever those men who are charged with having committed that offence are taken by the Officers of Justice they will be tried, and the Law will declare whether they are guilty, and, if guilty, what punishment they shall suffer.

(Signed) T. GORE BROWNE,
Governor."

After considerable hesitation the Southern natives declared that they would neither accept or refuse the terms, but await the result of the Waikato Conference.

On His Excellency's return to Auckland the following warrant and letters patent were issued: –

COPY OF A WARRANT OF APPOINTMENT TO MR ROGAN.

By His Excellency Colonel Thomas Gore Browne, Companion of the Most Honorable Order of the Bath, Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over Her Majesty's Colony of New Zealand, and Vice-Admiral of the same, &c, &c, &c.

To JOHN ROGAN, of Auckland, Esquire, Greeting:

Whereas certain Aboriginal Natives of the Ngatiawa Tribe have lately been in arms at Taranaki, in our Colony of New Zealand, in Insurrection against our Royal authority:

And whereas, in or about the month of April last, I, the Gover-

nor, in stating the terms on which the submission of the said Natives would be accepted on behalf of Her Majesty, did declare that all the land then in possession of Her Majesty's Forces, belonging to those who had borne arms against Her Majesty, should be disposed of by me as I might think fit; and did further declare my intention to divide the said land amongst its former owners, reserving the sites of the Blockhouses and Redoubts erected on, and exercising the right of making roads in the Waitara District at Taranaki as aforesaid:

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And whereas the land so in possession of Her Majesty's Forces is bounded by a line commencing at the mouth of the Waitara River, and proceeding thence along the South bank of the said river to Te Arei pa, thence by a line from Te Arei pa to the southernmost of two roads leading from the said pa to Huirangi Redoubt, thence by a line following the edge of the forest till it strikes the Waiongana River, thence by the Waiongana River to the sea, and thence by the sea to the commencing point:

And whereas for the purpose of carrying into effect the said terms of submission, and of ascertaining who are entitled to the benefit of the said declaration, it is necessary that some person should be appointed for the purpose, and with the powers hereinafter contained.

Now, I, the Governor, having taken into consideration your diligence, ability, and discretion, do hereby appoint you, the said John Rogan, to ascertain and mark out upon the ground the extent, position, and boundaries of the several proprietary rights subsisting prior to the said insurrection of every individual, family, and section of the Ngatiawa tribe who has or have been in arms as aforesaid, to land within the boundaries hereinbefore described, and to make proper surveys and plans of the same, and also to lay out such roads in the Waitara district aforesaid as shall be hereafter designated by me to be reserved for public use, and also to lay out the sites of such blockhouses and redoubts as shall be hereafter directed by me in that behalf.

And you are hereby enjoined, before proceeding to mark out any proprietary right upon the ground, to publish a general notice to all members of the Ngatiawa tribe, calling upon them to come in and point out the claims which they may have to land within the bounda-

ries hereinbefore described, either as individuals, families, or sections of the said Tribe, and warning them that unless they shall appear before you personally or by proxy for the purpose of pointing out such claims upon the ground, at some time, not being less than three, nor more than twelve months from the date of such notice. You will then, for the purpose of giving effect to the said declaration and terms of submission, proceed to lay out and mark off the proprietary rights of the Natives so in arms as aforesaid, according to the best evidence as to such rights as you can procure, or which shall be laid before you on the spot.

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Provided always, and you are expressly hereby enjoined, that if and so often as any matter of difference shall arise as to the ownership of any portion of land, or as to the extent of any such proprietary rights: Then, and in every such case, you shall not proceed to define or mark the same out upon the ground, but shall reserve the same to be enquired into before Her Majesty's Commissioner appointed for the final determination of such differences; unless such difference shall arise in respect of any part of the block commonly known as "Teira's Block," or in respect of the sites of Blockhouses or Redoubts, or in respect of any line of road.

And you are hereby further enjoined in the execution of this Warrant to obey any rules or orders which Her Majesty's said Commissioner shall in pursuance of his commission establish or direct to you for your guidance, and for the more effectual carrying out of the objects of the said Commission and of this Warrant.

Given under my hand at the Government House at Auckland, this twenty-seventh day of May, in the year of our Lord, One thousand eight hundred and sixty-one.

T. GORE BROWNE.

By His Excellency's Command,
FREDERICK A. WELD.

COPY OF HER MAJESTY'S LETTERS PATENT UNDER THE SEAL OF NEW ZEALAND, TO HIS HONOR JUDGE JOHNSTON.

Victoria, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, and so forth.

TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME, GREETING: –

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Whereas certain Aboriginal Natives of the Ngatiawa Tribe have lately been in arms at Taranaki, in our Colony at New Zealand, in insurrection against our Royal Authority.

And whereas Thomas Gore Browne, our Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over our said Colony, did, in or about the month of April last, declare and publish the terms on which he would, on our behalf, receive the submission of the said Aboriginal Natives.

And whereas our said Governor did, in the said terms of submission, declare with respect to the block of land at Waitara in Taranaki aforesaid, commonly known as "Teira's block," that the investigation of the title and the survey of the said land should be continued and completed, and that every man should be permitted to state his claims without interference, and that the decision of our said Governor or of such persons as he should appoint, should be conclusive: and whereas our said Governor in the said terms of submission did further declare that all the land then in possession of our Military Forces, belonging to those who had so borne arms against us, should be disposed of by our said Governor as he might think fit: and that as he did not use force for the acquisition of land, but for the vindication of the law and the protection of our Native subjects in the exercise of their just rights, he should divide the land so in possession of our Forces amongst its former owners, reserving for the public use the sites of our Blockhouses and Redoubts erected thereon, and exercising the right of making roads through the Waitara district at Taranaki aforesaid.

And whereas the land so in possession of our Forces is bounded by a line commencing at the mouth of the Waitara River, and proceeding thence along the South Bank of the said River to Te Arei Pa, thence by a line from Te Arei Pa to the southernmost of two

roads leading from the said Pa to Huirangi Redoubt, thence by a line following the edge of the forest till it strikes the Waiongana River, thence by the Waiongana River to the sea, and thence by the sea to the commencing point:

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And whereas our said Governor, so far as regards the said block of land commonly known as Teira's block, has determined to retain in his own hands the final decision upon any claims which may be preferred to any part thereof, and also to determine the extent of the Reserves so to be made for the public use as aforesaid: But it is expedient that, so far as regards the residue of the land comprised within the boundaries aforesaid, steps should be taken without delay to ascertain who are entitled to the benefit of the declaration secondly hereinbefore recited:

And whereas for the purpose of carrying into effect the said terms of submission, as regards such residue, and in order to enable separate titles to be hereafter granted to such persons as may be respectively entitled thereto under the said declaration, it is necessary that certain proprietary rights, subsisting prior to the said insurrection, in a portion of the said land, should be ascertained, and that no pretended claim of ownership which might be set up on the part of the Ngatiawa tribe, as a whole, should impede the ascertainment of such rights:

And whereas in order to the proper definition of such proprietary rights our said Governor did, by Warrant under his hand, bearing date the twenty-seventh day of May, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, appoint John Rogan, therein described, to investigate and ascertain the same:

And whereas differences may arise as to the extent and boundaries of such proprietary rights: and it is expedient to make provision for the determination of the same.

Now Know Ye, that we do hereby nominate and appoint our trusty and well-beloved Alexander James Johnston, Esquire, a Judge of our Supreme Court of New Zealand, to be our Commissioner to investigate and determine all matters in difference which shall arise as to the extent, position, and boundaries of the proprietary rights subsisting, prior to the said insurrection, of any individual, family, or

section of the Ngatiawa tribe who has, or have been in arms as aforesaid, of land within the boundaries hereinbefore described; but excepting thereout the said block, commonly known as "Teira's Block," and also the said public reserves so to be made as aforesaid, as the same shall respectively be hereafter designated by us, or by our Governor for the time being of our said Colony, before our said Commissioner shall proceed to any final determination upon any such matters. Provided always that no claim, or pretended claim, of a general tribal right, over the whole, or any part of the said land on behalf of the whole Ngatiawa tribe shall be received, entertained, or investigated, under this Commission.

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And, for the purpose of more effectually carrying out the objects of this Commission, we do hereby direct our said Commissioner, from time to time, to associate with himself such Native Chiefs (not exceeding three in number at any one time or place,) as he may in his discretion select and appoint to act as his Assessors, to advise and assist him in the determination of any such matters in difference as aforesaid.

And we do hereby enjoin our said Commissioner to make and publish, from time to time, such Rules and Orders as he shall deem advisable for appointing his sittings for the orderly conduct of business thereat, for the serving of sufficient notice on all persons concerned in the matters to come before him for adjudication, and generally for carrying the objects of this Commission into full effect: Hereby calling upon all our subjects to be aiding and assisting our said Commissioner in the execution of this our Commission.

In Witness whereof we have caused these Letters to be made Patent and the Seal of our said Colony to be hereto affixed.

Witness our Trusty and Well-beloved Colonel THOMAS GORE BROWNE, Companion of the Most Honorable Order of the Bath, our Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over our said Colony of New Zealand, at our Government House at Auckland, this twenty eighth day of May, in the year of our Lord,

One thousand eight hundred and sixty one.

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T. GORE BROWNE.

By His Excellency's command,
E. W. STAFFORD.

About the same time the following Declaration was issued to the Waikatos: –

COPY OF A DECLARATION BY THE GOVERNOR TO THE NATIVES ASSEMBLED AT NGARUAWAHIA.

THOMAS GORE BROWNE, Governor.

In order to avoid misapprehension, the Governor directs the attention of the chiefs and people assembled at Ngaruawahia to the present condition of affairs at New Zealand, and states distinctly the course necessary to be taken in order to avert the calamities that threaten the country.

In the year 1858 a portion of the Maori people, resident in Waikato, pretended to set up a Maori King, and Potatau was chosen for the office. He was chosen at Rangiawhia in the month of June in that year. On Potatau's death, in 1860, Matatuera, his son, was nominated his successor.

Diversity of opinion existed from the commencement as to what would result from this movement. Some were led to believe that its supporters desired only the

establishment of order, and a governing authority amongst themselves; while others viewed with apprehension a confederacy which they deemed fraught with danger to the peace of the colony. The Governor at first inclined towards the more favourable view of the movement, but soon felt misgivings, which have been justified by the event.

The Governor, however, has not interfered to put down the Maori King by force. He has been unwilling to relinquish the hope that the Maories themselves, seeing the danger of the course they were pursuing, and that the institution of an independent authority must prove inefficient for all purposes of good, would of their own accord abandon their attempts.

The Governor can now only look with sorrow and displeasure

on what has been done in the name and by the adherents of the native King: –

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1. An authority has been set up inconsistent with allegiance to the Queen, and in violation of the Treaty of Waitangi.
2. A large number of the adherents of the native King have interfered between the Governor and other native tribes in matters with which they had no concern; have levied war against the Queen, fought against her troops, and burned and destroyed the property of her peaceful subjects.
3. Other adherents of the King have assisted, encouraged, and harboured the men who have committed these outrages.
4. A war party of several hundred men some time since assembled, and advanced to within forty miles of Auckland, for the purpose of interfering with the due course of the administration of justice.
5. Her Majesty's mail has been stopped; jurisdiction has been usurped over Her Majesty's European subjects; and other offences have been committed, to the subversion of her Majesty's sovereignty and of the authority of law.

At this very time the adherents of the native King are using the most strenuous efforts to possess themselves of arms and ammunition for the purpose of effecting their objects by intimidation and violence.

The Governor cannot permit the present state of things to continue. No option now rests with him; he has been commanded by her Majesty the Queen to suppress unlawful combinations, and to establish, beyond a question, Her Majesty's sovereignty in New Zealand.

Submission to her Majesty's sovereignty requires –

1. That every man yield implicit obedience to what the Law (which is the same for all) prescribes for the public welfare. But while the Law exacts what is essential for this object, it confers great benefits, and guarantees freedom and security to the weak as well as to the strong.
2. That rights be sought and protected through the Law, and not by a man's own will and strength. No man in the Queen's dominions is permitted to enforce rights or redress

wrongs by force: he must appeal to the Law.

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3. That men do not enter into combinations for the purpose of preventing other men from acting or from dealing with their own property as they think fit. This is against the Law.
4. That every man, European or Native, under the Queen's sovereignty, submit to have roads and bridges made on his land, wherever the public convenience requires them; but land can only be taken for these purposes under lawful authority, and on payment of a reasonable compensation.

On the other hand, her Majesty's sovereignty secures "to the chiefs and tribes of New Zealand, and to the respective families and individuals thereof, the full, exclusive, and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries, and other properties, which they may collectively or individually possess, so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession." This is the Maories' safeguard for their lands, and it has never been violated. The Governor has been falsely accused of desiring to introduce a new system in dealing with native lands. This he has never attempted, nor has he the power to do so. The Queen's promise in the Treaty of Waitangi cannot be set aside by the Governor. By that treaty, the Queen's name has become a protecting shade for the Maories' land, and will remain such, so long as the Maories yield allegiance to her Majesty and live under her sovereignty, but no longer. Whenever the Maories forfeit this protection, by setting aside the authority of the Queen and the Law, the land will remain their own so long only as they are strong enough to keep it: might, and not right, will become their sole title to possession.

The Governor sincerely hopes that a correct appreciation of the real interests of the Maori race will induce the adherents of the native King to conform to her Majesty's declared wishes, and to abandon the baneful and dangerous course they are pursuing.

Her Majesty has an earnest solicitude for the welfare of her native people, and it will be the duty of the Governor to give the fullest effect to measures calculated to secure that end.

The Maories cannot be more anxious than the Queen and her Governor for the complete establishment of law and order amongst

the Maori people, and that the institutions of the Government should be, as far as practicable, in accordance with their interests and wishes; but the Maories must not forget that these objects are unattainable without their own cordial co-operation.

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The Governor last year convened a meeting of chiefs to consult with him upon native affairs, and has declared his intention again to assemble chiefs, from all parts of these islands, for the same purpose. Her Majesty has been pleased to approve of these proceedings.

It is the Governor's wish that the coming conference should devise measures for the introduction of law and order, and the establishment of useful institutions in native districts, and it will be his earnest desire to give effect to any measures approved by the conference, which appear likely to promote the welfare of the native people, and to bring all her Majesty's subjects in these islands, both European and Maori, under one law, upon terms of equality. The Governor earnestly hopes that the chiefs and people, who are adherents of the Maori King, will abandon their present perilous position; they will then receive the same invitation as the other natives of New Zealand, to choose some of their most respected and influential chiefs to represent them in the approaching conference, and to afford assistance in its deliberations.

The Governor now states specifically what his demands are:

1. From all, – Submission without reserve to the Queen's sovereignty, and the authority of the Law.
2. From those who are in possession of plunder, taken from her Majesty's European or Native subjects, – Restoration of that plunder.
3. From those who have destroyed or made away with property belonging to her Majesty's subjects, European or Native, – Compensation for the losses sustained.

Compliance with these demands will satisfy the Queen and her Governor, no other demand will be made on Waikato, the past will be forgiven, and for the future the well conducted will be protected, offenders punished, and the rights and privileges of all maintained by

Government House, Auckland,
May 21, 1861.

To this a section of the Waikatos, through W. Thompson, returned a long, rambling, and evasive answer, interlarded with endless scriptural quotations, almost blasphemously applied, obtained from the only book in their possession from which they could borrow language for the expression of ideas.

As all, for the time, was thus concluded, a new Commander-in-Chief, in the person of Lieut.-General Cameron, C. B., arrived. Major-General Pratt, C. B., and Staff took their departure for Melbourne in the Victoria steam sloop, which had so kindly been placed at our disposal, in the hour of need, by the Melbourne Government. The kind and brave manner in which Captain Norman and his men practically carried into effect the assistance they came to offer can never be forgotten by the inhabitants of Taranaki.

The departure of General Pratt was soon followed by that of the sailors, who embarked on board their own ships as they rode at anchor at the mouth of the Waitara, amidst the hearty farewells of all. The English sailor's rough and reckless habits peculiarly adapt him for camp life, where he generally succeeds in obtaining the good will and kindly feelings of those around.

Friday, April 12th, the troops, with the exception of the few men left at the blockhouses, were withdrawn from the front. Shortly afterwards, the greater portion took their departure, with the artillery, for Auckland. New Plymouth was now left with the 57th, and a local force of about 600 men, under the command of Colonel Wane, C. B.

The directions published by Colonel Warre in case of an attack on the town are so clear and concise as to have given the inhabitants of this unfortunate Province every confidence for the future. By the arranged plan, in place of the streets being crowded as heretofore with women and children flocking towards the barracks for shelter, the whole in a very short space of time would be surrounded with

skirmishers and their supports; so that, if fighting ensues, it will be clear of the town.

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Whether it is to be peace or war time alone can show. Should it be peace, let us sincerely trust that it may be based on such a firm and unmistakeable footing as to induce prosperity once again to unfurl her standard over this beautiful and prolific land.

CONCLUSION.

THE cessation of the active operations of war gave the unfortunate settlers an opportunity of looking around and enquiring into the amount of their losses, which were found to be far greater than mere figures could convey. Most of them when they landed on these shores, some twenty years ago, were young, robust, and fitted by Nature for the arduous task of subduing the primeval forest. Many of the bush settlers had formed for themselves, on their clearings, homes, with a competence for support in their declining years; all of which has been taken from them or destroyed. The compensation, as yet doled out (three shillings in the pound) by the Government, will go but a very small way towards reinstating these unfortunates in their former comfortable position. Those who have courage to commence bush farming again will no longer feel supported by the energy of youth and the hope of forming shelter for their declining years; they can only strive on, with the prospect of not dying in want. What is in the future for Taranaki it is difficult to state, so much depends upon the working of the policy the present Government may adopt; but it is certain that no great improvement in the condition of the white population can be expected for years to come. Before one step in advance can be taken, all that has been destroyed during the war must be replaced; and the pasture and other lands, by dint of hard labour, restored to their former luxuriant condition.

The unfortunate settlers who may be tied by their property to this devastated district, will have to struggle on and reproduce their capital; for no man of means will think for one moment of investing in Taranaki until perfect confidence is restored. Nor will those who

are compelled to remain build or fence, more than absolute necessity may require. Let it be hoped that the Government, in pity for their position, will endeavour to establish this much desired confidence as quickly and as firmly as possible.⁷

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As to the most certain method of ensuring a firm and substantial peace various opinions exist. At this present time there are no less than three political parties in New Zealand: one forming the war party, whose openly avowed object is to subdue the natives by force of arms alone; a second, consisting of liberal minded, thinking men, who have watched and studied this experiment of civilization in New Zealand with intense interest, approving of war only as a last resource when all honorable diplomatic means should fail; whilst a third, hedged in by bigotry, pretend to have formed such exalted ideas of the perfection of the Maori character as scarcely to recognise amongst them even the common frailties "which flesh is heir to." The whole power of their eloquence has been spent in extolling the half-naked savages, and in depreciating without adequate cause their fellow-countrymen. Like the frogs in the well, they look up and can see no more than a small portion of the blue sky above, from the limited, circumference by which they are bound.

The change from peace to war was soon followed by important alterations in the Ministerial Cabinet. His Excellency's Responsible Advisers, by a vote in the House, were thrown out. This change, if anything, tended to increase the dark uncertainty that was hovering over the country at large.

The uncertainty was rendered still more gloomy by the peculiar Constitution of New Zealand precluding the Governor from taking any steps of importance in native affairs without first communicating with the Powers in Downing-street. Years might pass away before a satisfactory arrangement with the natives could be concluded. Scarcely could one despatch reach England ere circumstances would give rise to another series of questions.

When all were anxiously awaiting some movement or occurrence that would throw light on the future, news arrived that Sir G. Grey, K. C. B., had been appointed

to the Government of New Zealand, and

was on his way from the Cape of Good Hope, armed with large discretionary powers. September 26th, 1861, he arrived in H. M. S. S. Cossack, at Auckland, at once taking upon himself the responsibility of the Government; the late Governor, Colonel Gore Browne, C. B., leaving a few days afterwards for Sydney, amidst the hearty farewells of every grade and denomination. Page 74

As soon as the change in the Government had become generally known, farewell addresses to Colonel Browne poured in from every settlement; that from Taranaki being signed, with few exceptions, by the whole of the male population.⁸

Sir G. Grey, on his landing, was received with every honor, a general confidence being felt that he would eventually succeed in unmistakably re-establishing her Majesty's supremacy over these islands. Sir G. Grey's previous knowledge of Maori character and of his would-be advisers place him beyond the reach of party influence: he has come, no doubt, firmly armed with a determination to pursue a given policy. His first steps, on arriving, were to commence the establishment of Courts of Law, to which the Maori should become amenable; and to promise the Maori every aid towards his advancement in civilization.

The word "civilization," which has been so often used in these pages, to say the least, may be variously defined. Whenever it has appeared it is intended to convey the interpretation given by Guizot in his "History of Civilization," who states it to be "The perfecting of civil life, the development of society, properly so called, and of the relations of men among themselves." "Such is, in fact, the first idea which presents itself to the understanding when the word civilization is pronounced; we at once figure to ourselves the extension of, and the greatest activity in the best organization of the social relations: on the one hand, an increasing production of the means of giving strength and happiness to society; on the other, a more equitable distribution amongst individuals of the strength and happiness produced."

By examining the progress made by the Maories through these ideas of civilization, we shall find their advancement to have been

very trifling. This is more particularly evinced by the locking up of their lands, without showing any desire or endeavour to use them profitably. Page 75
Notwithstanding, this very acquisitiveness so natural to the aboriginal native, may, by proper management, become subservient towards raising him in the social scale. The old teaching was – "Do not part with your lands, even if you cannot use them; keep them for your children." Let the new be – "Consider how much land you can make available, raise townships, build mills and manufactories, and sell your surplus land, so as to have consumers for your produce and manufactured goods." Impress upon them the long-established truth that it is better to possess one acre that energy and intellect has raised to value, than hundreds of acres which, from the deficiency of population and markets, are comparatively useless. Every endeavour should likewise be made, through the newly established Courts of Law, to ascertain the rightful owners of land; and to persuade disputants, in place of fighting, to carry their claims before them for decision.

Some occupation is much needed that would tend, whilst yielding relaxation and amusement, to direct the course of the Maories' thoughts. At present much of their spare time is spent in listening to the tales of their forefathers; and recent events prove there is not the slightest doubt that their still holding out for their own Government is in great measure due to the relations of incidents during the late war. They have not met with one defeat, well followed up, to check the ideas they have formed of their own powers and superiority in out-manoeuvring their opponents.

Could this source of amusement be replaced by a judiciously selected course of literature, good would for a certainty result. A series of simple tales might be translated into the Maori language, illustrative of history or other valuable sources of information; which the young would read to their elders, and thus awaken an ardour within themselves for a solid and true advancement, whilst the long established prejudices of the aged might be weakened. And thus, in place of tales awakening feelings of savage barbarism, their minds would find ample food for thought in contemplating the often troublous, but certain advance in civilization, and the advantages that

have accrued from the cultivation of the arts and manufactures. From these sources they might be taught that a people only rank as great in proportion to the amount of their commercial value.⁹ Page 76

To induce the Maories to build and erect mills, rope, oil, and other manufactories, is the most certain method of establishing peace on a fixed and permanent basis. A people rich in fixed property cannot afford to risk its loss by the casualties of war. There is no doubt that the fear of endangering the large amount of mill and other property in the Waikato district has done much towards saving the Province of Auckland from devastation. The natives of the North cannot close their eyes to the fact that, should unhappily war be renewed, all their small sailing vessels will fall into the hands of the English.

So long as the greater portion of the Maories remain in valueless pas, and possess only stock that can be quickly driven to the hills, there can be no certainty of a continuous peace. On any quarrel occurring with the European, they can afford, without fear of ruin, to risk results by taking the law in their own hands; but, as soon as they possess a fixed and valuable property, retribution can be obtained for wrong done; they are no longer wanderers, – they have become assailable through their fixed property.

In studying civilization as it has marched through the earth, we cannot but observe how every now and then some obstacle has arisen temporarily checking its harmonious progress; but, no sooner is the impediment removed, than the advance becomes more rapid than ever. In like manner may the late disturbances prove but a prelude to the rapid and sound advance in prosperity of the people of both races.

⁶ The time given to the Ngatiruanui tribe was Saturday, the 13th April.

⁷ For Statistics of losses in Taranaki, &c, see Appendix.

⁸ For Address see Appendix.

⁹ For observations on the character of the Natives see Appendix.

APPENDIX.

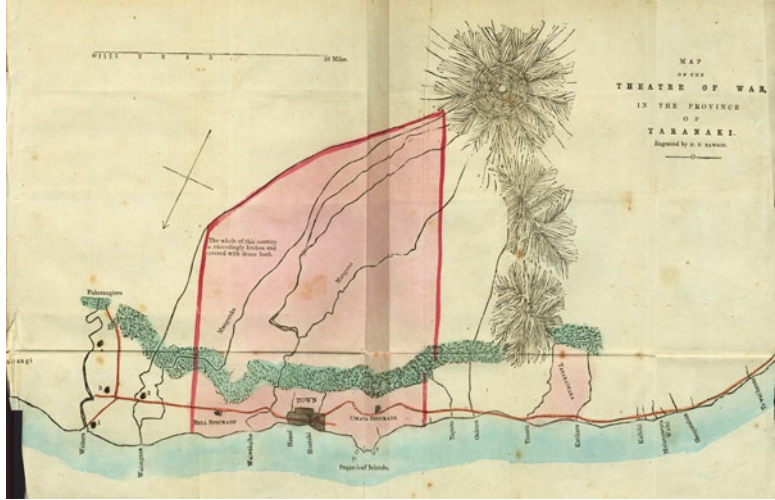
APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX.

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[Inserted unpaginated illustration]



MAP OF THE THEATRE OF WAR IN THE PROVINCE OF TARANAKI.
Engraved by H. F. Rawson.

Reference to General Map of the Theatre of War.

From the Waitara to the Town is about 10 miles; thence to Warea, 25; thence to Patea, the boundary of the Province, 60 miles, which is within 30 miles of Wanganui.

The amount of land owned by the white population is about 74,000 acres, with a coast line of about 12 miles. That owned by the Maories is about 2,300,000 acres, with a coast line of about 116 miles. One-sixth of the country is open land; the remainder being clothed with scrub or forest. The belt of green on the map is only intended to convey the approximate distance of the bush from the coast, the bush itself uninterruptedly extending as far back as the mountain. That coloured pink shews the land that has been purchased at various times by the Government.

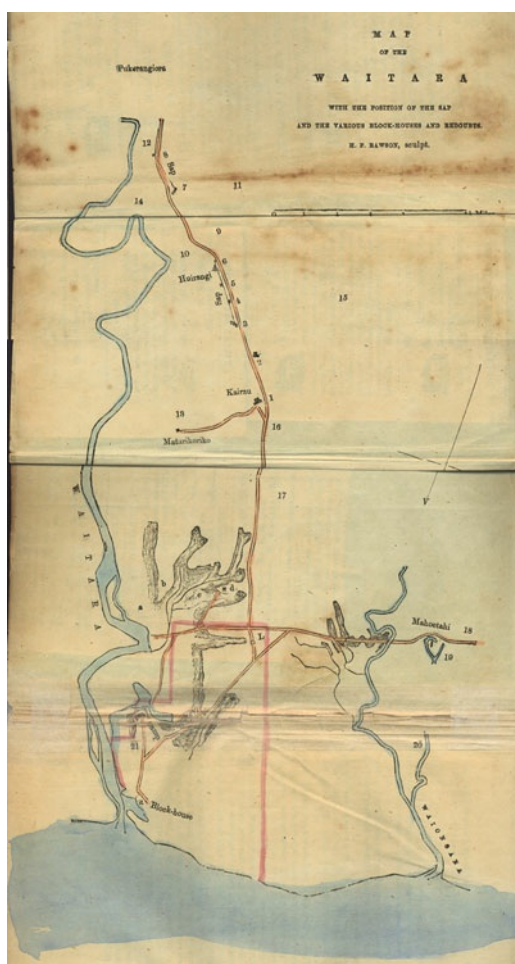
The Town and the various Stockades are marked with black: – No. 1 being the Waitara Camp; No. 2, Ngapuketurua, near Mahoetahi; No. 3, Onukukaitra, near Puketakauere; No. 4, Matarikoriko.

Notwithstanding that the country around Taranaki is much broken, there are some large level plots of bush land, requiring only the energetic use of the axe to make it available towards supporting a large and industrious population.

By means of the telegraphic system introduced by Sergeant Marjouram, R. A., signal communication has been arranged from the Waitara Camp to Onukukaitra; thence to Ngapuketurua, by the Bell Block, to town. During the period which Major Hutchins held the camp at the Waireka, communication with the Town was made via the Omata Stockade.

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MAP OF THE WAITARA WITH THE POSITION OF THE SAP AND THE VARIOUS BLOCK-HOUSES AND REDOUBTS,
H. F. RAWSON, Sculpt.

Reference to Map of the Waitara.

Mr F. A. Carrington, in a pamphlet entitled "The Land Question of Taranaki," thus remarks on the Waitara, "The locality of the Waitara is second to no other part of New Zealand; – the ground on each side of the river, near its embouchure, if in the hands of civilised men, would quickly become very valuable; it has the advantage of a small craft tidal harbour, with a sufficient depth of water for coasters and traders from the adjoining colonies; the climate is salubrious, and the soil on each side of the river, for many miles along the coast and inland, is very fertile; and as it presents an admirable site for building, there cannot be any reasonable doubt but that, in a very short time, a town would spring up of considerable importance in commerce and revenue."

The Waitara district comprehends the country between the Mangoraka and Waitara rivers. The country generally may be described as flat table land, intersected with innumerable fissures and gullies, covered with a luxuriant growth of high fern, with here and there small copses of the beautiful green karaka bush; the table land either ending in a gradual slope towards that immediately adjoining the river, or in steep, and, at places, almost perpendicular cliffs. The whole of this country bears evidence of recent formation. In most of the redoubts wells were sunk for the purpose of obtaining a supply of water for the garrisons; invariably, at the depth of between twenty and thirty feet, large masses of timber were met with, not far advanced in decay; the water was scarcely fitted for general use, it being impregnated with ferruginous and decomposing vegetable matter.

The colours on the map denote – Blue, the rivers and ocean boundary; light red, the roads; pink, boundary of the land in dispute.

1. Kairau, or No. 1 Redoubt, was thrown up by the General in his gradual advance towards Huirangi. Near this spot the pa stood which was destroyed on the 11th September, 1860. Ngataiparua, situated about half-a-mile on the road nearer the coast, fell at the same time. Matarikoriko is situated upon a hill about a mile from Kairau. To the rear of this naturally strong position was a spur, with a steep inclination towards the swampy and scrub-entangled river flats. The Maori fortification was flanked on the right by gullies heavily timbered, and to the left front by a deep swamp and fern gullies. The road from Kairau was through bush and very high fern; whilst some little distance to the right was a deep swamp. The country around Matarikoriko is somewhat similar to that as shown surrounding Puketakauere. On Monday, December 31st, the hill was occupied by a party of the 65th and some blue-jackets, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Wyatt. The old fortifications were destroyed and a blockhouse erected.

2. A small guard redoubt, from which the long 9-pounder gun threw shell into the Maories' reserve on the left front when they so boldly attacked No. 3 Redoubt.

3. A three-square redoubt, in echelon, left in front. The attack made on this redoubt on the morning of the 23rd January, 1861, was chiefly directed towards the extreme left; the reserve being stationed somewhat more towards the front, so as to be enabled to take advantage of the gullies and inclining banks that slope towards the river. Whilst the 65th were enfilading the ditches on the right, the reserve was effectually routed by the gallant charge of the 12th, under the command of Lieut. Lowry – Captain Miller, whilst preparing for the charge, receiving a bullet through his leg. From this redoubt a double sap was run.

4 and 5. Guard redoubts, for protection of works.

6. Large square redoubt, with flanking angles, near the Huirangi Avenue – a beautiful spot, much resorted to in former days by riding parties. The distance from

Kairau to No. 2 is 570 yards; to No. 3, 430 yards; from No. 3 to No. 6, at the end of double sap, 770 yards; from No. 6 a single sap was continued 86 yards further, passing through the first line of rifle pits, which extended from No. 10 to

No. 15.

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7. Large redoubt; on table land, after passing the bush in the neighbourhood of the Avenue. To the right, near the spot marked 11, Captain Strange, of the 65th, was mortally wounded, whilst in charge of the skirmishing party. A single sap was continued from the redoubt towards Pukerangiora. The line of bush passes from the hills immediately in front of No. 7 to Huirangi.

8. Square guard redoubt, thrown up to protect the sap after the rollers had been removed during the night by the Maories, and a considerable amount of damage effected by throwing down the gabions. From No. 8 a deep double sap continued its course, passing through several lines of rifle-pits.

9. Bush near the Avenue, from which the 40th soldier was shot on the 11th September, and his body carried away.

10. Rifle-pits, with a Maori graveyard on a hillock a short distance in the rear, by which the second division, consisting of the 40th, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Leslie, passed on the troops advancing to No. 7.

11. Edge of bush near which Captain Strange was shot, and some time afterwards a large recently covered grave discovered, supposed to contain the bodies of those that met their death on the 93rd of January.

12. Second demi-parallel from double sap beyond No 8, reaching to the nearly perpendicular cliffs of the Waitara, in which Lieutenant McNaughten, of the Royal Artillery, was shot whilst laying the cohorn mortar.

13. Mass of bush, continuing, with an occasional break, to 14.

14. Line of steep cliffs or banks that pass by (13) Puketakauere on to the Waitara Camp.

15. Line of bush, passing from 11, as shown in the large map.

16. From whence a soldier of the 65th, whilst gathering potatoes, was surprised by the enemy, shot, and carried away, some short period after the occupation of Kairau.

17. Road to the front.

18. Devon line of road from the Waitara to Town.

19. Mahoetahi; stormed on the 6th November, 1869 The cir-

cular lines indicate the swamp by which the hill was surrounded; the black mark representing the blockhouse that has been erected on an adjacent hill (Ngapuketurua.)

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20. Mangoraka River, across which the road passes. The course may be traced by reference to the general map.

21. River flat near the Waitara camp, in many places very swampy.

a. Swamp surrounded by tutu, manuka, scrub, and very high fern; to the right of the road is another swamp, with some forest. It was near the swamp (a) that so many of the 40th, with Lieut. Brooke, fell on the 27th of June, 1860.

b. Plateau, from which commanding position the enemy fired with such deadly effect upon the advancing 40th.

c. Puketakauere, a strong Maori fortification, which Major Nelson advanced against on the 27th of June, 1860.

d. Onukukaitara, a hill upon which a blockhouse has been built and signal station erected.

Lpa, the first attacked by Colonel Gold, from which King and his adherents effected their escape, after withstanding for many hours a heavy cannonading and continuous fire from the rifles.

The two uncoloured parts in the Waitara River are islands; the lower one is covered at high water. A little below this was the usual anchoring place of the steamer Tasmanian Maid.

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MAP OF THE OMATA DISTRICT, SHEWING THE RELATIVE POSITIONS OF THE MILITARY AND CIVILIANS AT THE BATTLE OF WAIREKA.
H. F. RAWSON, sculpt.

Reference to Map of the Omata District.

The country included within this map is comprehended between the Omata Stockade and the summit of the Waireka hill, which is situated about a quarter of a mile within the English boundary shown on the large map. With few exceptions, the roads lie between compact furze fences, offering excellent cover for an ambuscaded enemy. The whole country around is broken with gullies, heavily timbered and tangled with supplejacks (New Zealand cane) and creepers; the timber disappearing towards the sea-shore.

Passing through the valley of the Waireka (marked 8 on the map), on either side is a thickly wooded copse, from whence, nearly to the summit of the hill marked Pa, are perpendicular banks, left

from the cuttings made to lower the gradient of the hill.

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The colours denote the positions of the contending forces at the Battle of Waireka, on March 28th, 1860. Red shows the road taken by the military and small naval force under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Murray; the reserve and rocket-tube being stationed at 6. The red marks on the hill after crossing the stream (c) represent the position taken up by Lieut. Urquhart. Blue denotes the sailors, those near 7 being attached to Lieut.-Colonel Murray's party; Capt. Cracroft's progress is shown by the blue colour that passes the village by 8 to the top of the Waireka hill marked Pa. Brown represents the Maories, spread through the shelter of the wooded gullies, completely surrounding the civil force on the military withdrawing. Black – Maori pas, or more properly stockades, defended externally and internally by covered rifle-pits. In some places pits had been dug and lightly earthed over, so as to give way when any weight came upon it. The stockade marked Pa is that from which Captain Cracroft took the flag, its rear being protected by another, situated in the bend of the road that wends towards the sea shore. Yellow – the Militia and Volunteers' line of march by the coast, with then positions until retiring on to Jury's house and the hill marked a.

1. Thick furze fence, dividing the paddock which slopes downwards from pa towards Jury's house.
2. Grayling's farm, on which were many rifle-pits.
3. Direction of Ratapihipihi and Burton's Hill, from whence reinforcements of Maories joined in the conflict on the 28th of March. Sixty men were seen by Captain G. R. Burton (Militia), the commanding officer of the Omata garrison, to cross the road near the village and enter the gullies.
4. Steep sand cliff, crowned on the summit with a luxuriant growth of the phormium tenax, or New Zealand flax, up which the Militia and Volunteers fought their way into the open, and were hotly engaged for fully half-an-hour before the arrival of the support.
5. Road by which the military arrived, passing the Omata Stockade.
6. Position of the rocket tube and military reserve. Before retiring Lieut. Urquhart, who was in command of the advanced force, detached eight of his men, in charge of a corporal, to the civilians' assistance. He did not retire until repeated warnings from the bugle compelled him.
7. Sailors and Volunteers in skirmishing order, where Lieutenant Blake, of the Niger, and Mr Messenger, sen., of the Taranaki Volunteers, were wounded; and P. Fahey, of the Militia, with a marine, shot dead.
8. Steep hill, down which Captain Cracroft led his men prior to rushing the stockade.
9. Rev. H. H. Brown's residence, for which the Militia and Volunteers were bound.
- o. Rifle pits on Grayling's farm, when Major Hutchins held the camp on the Waireka.
- A. Steep gully, from which the party in Jury's house were much annoyed by the fire of the enemy, who were kept in check by the small force under the command of Captain H. Atkinson (T. V. R.), stationed on the hill marked a.

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B. Straw stack, offering shelter to the approaching enemy, near which several Maories were shot.

C. Another straw stack on Armstrong's ground.

a. Captain Atkinson's party, who held this position after the civilians had been left by the military to their fate, prevented, by their active vigilance, the defenders of Jury's house, with their wounded and dead, under the charge of Captains Brown and Stapp, from being outflanked by the Maories.

b. Road near the village inn where the three murdered bodies were found on the 27th of March, the two poor boys not being far distant,

c. Steep gully, with running stream, known as the "sheep-wash," down which the Maories rushed in their endeavour to surround the civilians. On the withdrawal of Lieut.-Colonel Murray's party, several natives were shot by the civilians as they retired on to Jury's bouse. The civilians retired across this gully in good order, under the cover of the night, by the route that the soldiers arrived.

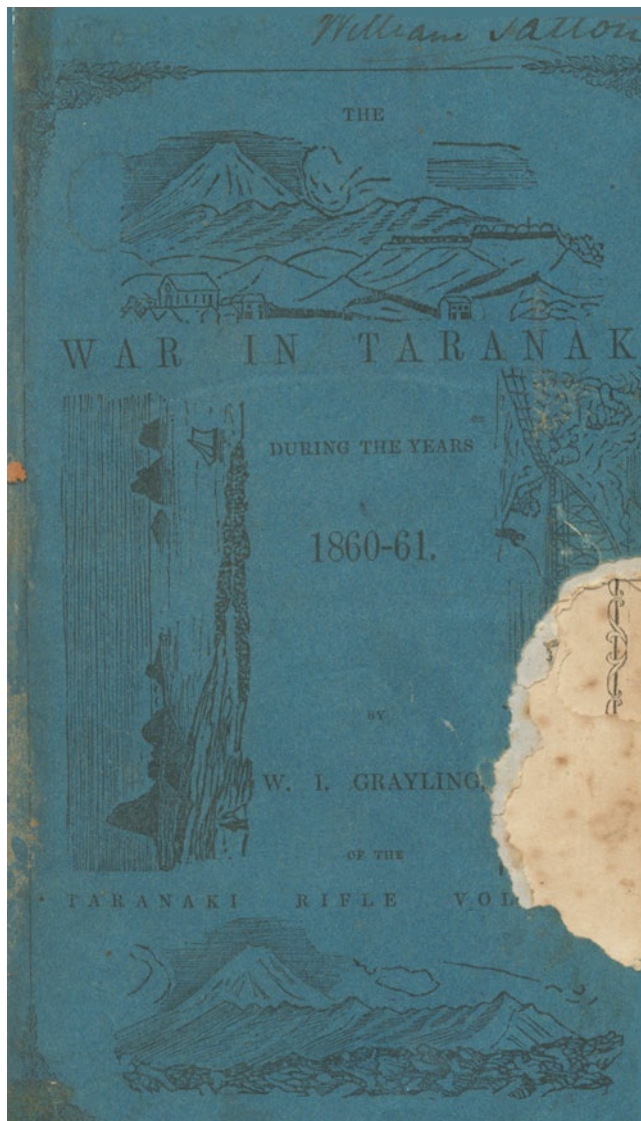
d. Old native fortification, occupied by the Maories several times during the war, for the purpose of annoying the garrison of the

Stockade.

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An examination of the map will give weight to the words afterwards made use of by Captain Stapp, who stated that, from the peculiar structure of the country, he was compelled either to fight or to turn round and run away. Both he and his men had preferred the former.

On leaving the town prior to the Battle of Waireka, the Militia and Volunteers were directed to pass round the rear of the enemy's position and to proceed to Mr Brown's (marked 9); whilst the support was to have awaited at the Whaler's Gate, about half-a-mile nearer the town than the Omata Stockade. The whole affair appears to have been proceeded with regardless of the slightest thought or foresight. Was it at all likely that the natives, with their barbarous and savage feelings excited to the utmost by their war dance and recent murders, would allow a very inferior force to pass close within sight without disputing their progress? Had a combined attack been skilfully planned, nearly every Maori might have fallen into our hands, and the murderers either have fallen by the casualties of battle or been taken prisoners; and thus have relieved the Government of the most difficult task connected with their pending negotiations. The force, with the addition of a 24-pounder howitzer and Captain Cracroft's party, would have amply sufficed. The artillery might have scoured the gullies with case and canister; a small support could have followed Captain Cracroft, and another the Militia and Volunteers; the latter force, by extending their right, could have taken the natives in the rear and have been enabled to effectually carry out the object for which they left town; and there, probably, the war would have ended. So passive were those in power, that even the next day the natives were allowed to stay until two o'clock in the afternoon, and then quietly retire to their own homes, with carts laden with plunder, unnoticed and unpursued.



[Cover]

Explanation of Illustrations on the Cover.

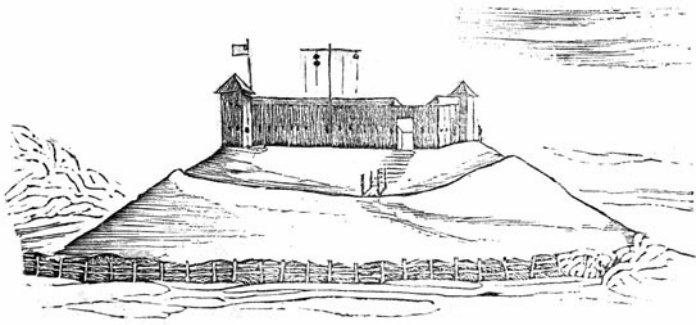
No. 1. View of Mount Egmont and Barracks from the Town. The mountain rises in a perfect cone, from a base of about 30 miles in diameter, to a height of 8, 270 feet above the level of the sea.

From the Town it bears 51 deg. 12 min. W. (true), 14.45 miles.

No. 2. View of the mountain and ranges from the Omata,

No. 3. The Sugar Loaves, which are situated 174 deg. 4 min. 58 sec. N. E. (true), about two and a half miles from the Town, in a conspicuous position, so as effectually to point out the whereabouts of the roadstead. The sea-coast road to Omata passes from the beach over the sand hills by Paritutu, or main Sugar Loaf, to the beach again. Paritutu rises for 400 feet abruptly from amidst the sand hills on the main land, whilst the others are islands surrounded with water.

No. 4. View of the Waiwakaiho River and Bridge, situated on the Waitara road, about a mile and a half from the Town. The bridge is a finished piece of workmanship, crossing the river in a span of 120 feet. It is constructed of the enduring puriri, or New Zealand ironwood.



THE OMATA STOCKADE

Drawn by THOMAS GOOD

THE OMATA STOCKADE

Drawn by THOMAS GOOD.

[This illustration is opposite the title page]

Omata Stockade, or, more properly, Blockhouse.

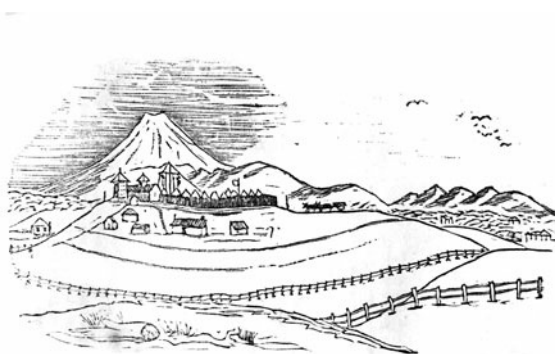
In a description of this outpost something is due to the settlers of the district, who, at a time when so much excitement prevailed, determined to make a stand there in defence of their homes and families. In common justice, it ought also to be stated that, in the erection of the Omata Blockhouse, there was no military assistance or advice in the selection of the site, nor were those so deeply interested in its erection supplied with any plan for their guidance by the military engineers. It is true that the internal comfort of the building is solely due to Captain G. R. Burton, of the Taranaki Militia; but, without doubt, to Mr Good, formerly of Omata, belongs the credit of planning and executing the fortification. He was oftentimes to be seen working alone, before others could be induced to join in the active furtherance of its completion, to the present time sacrificing time and means in a public work without reward or acknowledgment from the Government. The blockhouse can comfortably accommodate 60 men. It is built of rough-hewn timber, 1 1/2 to 2 feet in diameter, split in two, slabbed on the inside to render it ball-proof. The ditch surrounding is 10 feet in depth, having a perpendicular wall on the far side, crossed by a drawbridge from the outside – the

only approach to the building, which is square, and commanded by two flanking towers, situated at opposite angles.

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Omata is between three and four miles from the Town of New Plymouth. There is no longer a house standing of this once pretty village. It was there those horrible murders were perpetrated at the commencement of the war; and as there is still £100 reward for the apprehension of any one of the murderers, it may not be considered out of place here to enumerate the names of those principally concerned: –

The two boys, Pote and Parker, are said to have been killed by Ihaka te Aka, Tahuna, Karira, and Rihara; Ford – Perere, Rihari, and Haneti; Shaw and Passmore – Minarapa and others.



THE BELL BLOCK-HOUSE AND STOCKADE

Drawn & Engraved by H. F. Rawson.

THE BELL BLOCK-HOUSE AND STOCKADE

Drawn and engraved by H. F. Rawson.

[This illustration is opposite page 16]

Bell Blockhouse.

This fort was erected by the settlers of the district for the purpose of shelter and self-protection. On the proclamation of Martial Law, March 5th, 1860, a public meeting was called for the purpose of discussing the position in which the colonists were likely to be placed by the coming hostilities, and to devise some plan for the purpose of mutual protection. A committee was appointed, and, after much deliberation, the plan of the present blockhouse was submitted and approved. It occupies a commanding position, and presents an impregnable fort to any enemy devoid of artillery. Its length is 62 feet; width, 22 feet; height, 11 feet. A ditch

surrounds the fort, enfiladed by two towers, 22 feet high, at its opposite angles. These towers are 11 feet square, and, similarly to the body of the building, judiciously loopholed, and rendered musket and ball proof.

To prepare the material and build this blockhouse were subjects which occupied the most earnest and serious attention of the committee. The resolution of the 72 men who dwelt in the district was unflinching; and, in a short time, upwards of 100 loads of timber were felled, split, and carted to the spot, everyone being in readiness to give their labour towards the completion of the undertaking. At this juncture the military authorities sent a positive order that the building was not to be proceeded with; that there was no immediate danger; and a proclamation was posted which guaranteed to the settlers ample time and notice to remove themselves and their effects.

This notice was posted, but wide latitude was given for all to act for themselves. In the meantime the Militia and Volunteers were drawn out for active service; then came the order for continuing the work; and, having commenced, these peaceful settlers worked all day, and, rifle in hand, guarded their work during the night.

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The first expedition had started for the Waitara, the disputed land occupied by the Queen's troops, and the L. pa shelled, before the blockhouse was completed. It was garrisoned by 50 Militia and Volunteers, and, for many months, no addition was made to the force. Eventually, 150 of her Majesty's troops were sent down, who constructed an entrenched camp immediately adjoining; two 9-pounder field-pieces being placed in position. This force was not materially lessened during the war.

By degrees mess rooms and cook-houses were added, as well as a commodious guard-room, which was built at the Government expense, and the roof of the blockhouse boarded and shingled; whilst the interior of the building was made comfortable by the addition of a floor, and bunks for the men to sleep in.

And thus was completed two blockhouses – the Omata and Bell; an example of the courage and fortitude of those men who refused to be driven quite away by a band of natives; who toiled for no pecuniary consideration, whose claims for payment have never been recognised; and who from their forts, by the want of activity and address on the part of the military authorities, have been doomed to witness their comfortable homes consigned to the flames by a handful of savages.

[Appendices]

APPENDIX.

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Killed and Wounded during the Strife at Taranaki of 1860-61.

40th REGIMENT.

KILLED AND MORTALLY WOUNDED. – June 27th: Lieutenant Brooke; Sergeant O'Callaghan; Corporals David Vahey, Samuel McBurney, Edward Ryan; Privates William Hickey, Thomas Dumphy, Patrick Broderick, J. Douglas, Walter Scott, Patrick Fagan, John Downs, Samuel Alroy, W. F. Perry, James Gore, John Webber, John Fillingham, William Hayes, H. E. Martyn, T. Byrne, J. Allen, Arch. McCann, Peter McCabe, William Cliff, Edward G. Harris, T. Gill, Geo. Marsden, William Markham, Francis Robinson, J. MacGuire. September 11th: Private Ramsay. December 29th Private M. Lehane, J. Chinnery. January 23rd: Lieut. Jackson Privates W. Gilbert, E. Gorrey. February 10th: Private J. Lawrence. March 5th: Privates R. Lawson, T. Watson, M. Roche, R. Jeffery.

WOUNDED. – June 27th: Privates J. Brian, severely, W. Burgess, do., C. Baker, do., J. Channing, do., J. Hogan, do., M. Head, do., J. McCarthy, do., J. Murphy, dangerously, C. Smith, severely, J. Mitton, do., J. Newman, dangerously, J. Lynch, severely, J. Lucas, dangerously, Thos. Logue, severely, J. Smith, slightly, J. Tomney slightly, J. Fisher, severely, J. Plunket, dangerously, P. O'Brien, slightly, A. Ford, do., T. Burke, do. August 9th: Private A. Ash, slightly. September 29th: Corporal T. O'Connor, severely; Privates J. Nester, severely, R. Jones, do. November 6th: Private R. McKay, slightly. December 29th: Sergeants P. Collins, severely, F. Maul, dangerously: Privates B. Greenwood, severely, R. Fitzgerald, do., F. Lulwan, do., J. McBren, do., W. Caplice, dangerously, J. Southwell, do., J. Davy, slightly, J. A. Fox, do., J. Smith, dangerously, R. Lyons, do. Jan. 23rd, 1861: Privates J. Mullins, slightly, T. Officer, dangerously, H. Wakefield, severely, R. Mangan do. February 10th: Captain T. B. Richards, slightly; Private P. Cusack, severely. February 12th: Private H. Daffey, severely. February 26th: Corporal Franklin, slightly. March 4th: Privates G. Watton, severely, H. Nubole, do., A. McMillan, dangerously, C.

Spratt, severely. March 18th: Lieut. Rees, severely, Lieut. Whelan, slightly; Privates J. Cluman, dangerously, P. Casey, slightly.

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12TH REGIMENT.

KILLED. – January 23rd, 1861: Private E. Archer.

WOUNDED. – October 13th: Private Denis Manning, severely. December 29th: Private D. Leonard, severely. January 23rd, 1861: Captain Miller, slightly; Privates E. Crawfoot, severely, P. Cahill, do., E. Power, slightly. January 25th: Private W. Milson, severely.

14th REGIMENT.

WOUNDED. – March 15th and 16th: Private M. Lambert, severely, J. Dusket, slightly.

57th REGIMENT.

MORTALLY WOUNDED. – Feb. 27th, 1861: Private T. Brown.

WOUNDED. – February 23rd; Private P. M. Hogan, severely. February 27th: Corporal R. Lewis, severely; Privates E. Durmett, severely, T. Heale, dangerously, Patrick T. Martin, slightly.

65th REGIMENT.

KILLED AND MORTALLY WOUNDED. – March 17th, 1860; Private Corbett. November 6th: Privates McGivern, F. Rooney. January 16th, 1861: Private J. McKindry. January 23rd: Corporal J. Howard. February 10th: Captain Strange; Private T. Munro. February 22nd: Sergeant T. Burnett. March 2nd: T. Hannah.

WOUNDED. – October 13th: Drummer Greaves. November 6th: Captain H. F. Turner, severely; Sergeant W. Knight, severely; Privates Bernard Boyhan, severely, Thomas Colman, do., Patrick Connolly, do., Dan. McBuerty, do., Cecil W. Ray, do., R. Whillow, do., George Wilmot, dangerously, Hugh Gibson, slightly. December 29th: P. F. Haggan, slightly, M. Kinsilla, severely, T. Weir, do. January 23rd, 1861: Privates J. Robinson, severely, E. Smith, dangerously, F. Honnotton, severely. February 10th: Privates P. O'Heagen, slightly, W. Davis, severely. February 23rd: Privates P. F. Bennett, slightly, J. Fumback, do., J. Glover, do. March

2nd: Privates S. Fern, severely, L. Emerson, do., G. Hewitt, slightly, J. Taylor, do., J. Cartry, do.

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NAVAL BRIGADE.

KILLED AND MORTALLY WOUNDED. – March 28th: Corporal Millard, R. M. December 29th: A. Broome, A. B.

WOUNDED. – March 28th: Lieut. Blake, severely; three sailors. June 27th: Commodore Seymour, severely; H. Jenkins, slightly, J. Freeman, do., G. Delbridge, severely, H. Baker, do., J. Belford, do., C. Churchill, do., W. Henford, do., J. Mitchell, do., J. Currie, do. September 11th: S. Jenkins, slightly. September 29th: W. Hundon, slightly, W. Henford, do.. February 8th: J. Fisher, dangerously, leg amputated.

ROYAL ARTILLERY.

KILLED AND MORTALLY WOUNDED. – June 27th: Gunner W. Weir. August 3rd: Gunner J. Gaffney. March 17th, 1861: Lieut. McNaughten.

WOUNDED. – June 27th: Gunners R. Rodgers, severely, W. West, do. September 11th: Gunner J. Sinclair, severely. December 29th: Gunners M. Smoker, severely, J. Wright, do. January 18th: Gunner H. Brett, severely. January 23rd: Gunner D. Bushnell, severely. February 10th: Gunners J. Green, slightly, A. Fradgley, dangerously. February 24th: Gunner J. Strood, severely. March 18th: Sergeant J. Christie, slightly; Gunner J. Tratford, severely.

ROYAL ENGINEERS.

KILLED. – January 23rd: Private G. Chubb.

WOUNDED. – October 11th: Captain Pasley, severely; Sergeant Howatt, dangerously. December 29th: Private Thomas Johnson, slightly. January 16th: Private J. McKillop, slightly. March 3rd: Private G. Henwood, severely.

MILITIA AND VOLUNTEERS.

KILLED AND MORTALLY WOUNDED. – March 17th: J. Sarten. March 27th: S. Ford, II. Passmore, S. Shaw. March 28th: W. Fahey. May 26th: Captain R. Brown. June 29th: H. C. Harris.

August 10th: R. Sarten. August 20th: E. Coad. August 23rd: J. Hurford, H. Crann. November 0th: H. Edgecombe, F. Brown. November 7th: J. Hawken. February 8th: Captain W. King. March 3rd: E. Messenger.

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WOUNDED. – March 28th: Lieut. Hammerton, severely; F. Rawson, dangerously, J. Hawken, severely, C. Messenger, sen., do., W. Bayly, do., W. Oliver, do., J. Climo, do. August 10th: W. Perry, severely. October 13th: G. Baker, slightly, J. Bishop, severely. November 6th: R. Langman, severely, J. Ward, slightly, W. Vercoe, do., Thos. Veale, do. January 18th, 1861: W. I. Grayling, slightly. February 10th: S. Rundle, severely. March 3rd: W. Smart, severely.

SUMMARY OF KILLED AND WOUNDED.

Regiment.	Killed or died of wounds.	Wounded	Totals.
12th	1	7	8
14th	-	2	2
40th	40	56	96
57th	1	5	6
65th	8	28	36
Naval Brigade	2	16	18
Royal Artillery	3	12	15
Engineers	1	5	6
Militia and Volunteers	16	17	33
	72	148	220

MAORI CASUALTIES.

The return of Maori casualties annexed was kindly obtained by Mr G. W. Woon from various reliable sources. In many instances the numbers given in the body of the work will be found to differ, however – they were those currently reported at the time. The Maori's desire for keeping secret his casualties throws many difficulties in the way of ascertaining the truth.

Maori List of Killed and Wounded.

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ENGAGEMENT.	Number Engaged.	TRIBES.	Killed.	Wounded	TOTAL.	NAMES OF LEADING CHIEFS that have fallen.
Waireka	600	Taranaki and Ngatiruanui.	17	25	42	Paori Kukutai, Paratene Te Kopara, Taraia Te Ruru Takahi Kare – Taranaki : Te Rei Hanataua, Whitikama, Ihairaira – Ngatiruanui.
Puketakauere	400	Waikatos and Ngatiawas.	6	8	14	Matiu Te Waero, Wi Kingi's brother; Pahata Te Waro, Hori Te Korupe – Ngatiawa.
Huirangi, Sept. 11th	100	Ngatiawa.	1	2	3	Te Poka – Ngatiruanui.
Kaihihi	100	Taranaki.	1	1	2	
Mahoetahi	150	Waikatos.	34	59	93	Te Wetini Taiporutu, Hemi Taiporutu, Te Paetae, Mokau, Te Wharangi, Hakopa, Hemi Te Mokorou – Ngatihaua.
Kairau and Matarikoriko	800	Waikatos and Ngatiawas.	7	5	12	Ahitana – Ngatiawa.
No. 3 Redoubt	1,326 ¹	Waikatos and Ngatiawas.	50	70	120	Paora Te Uata, Ratima Te Paewaka, Hare Turere, Hare Kimakima, Te Whikiriwhi, Te Retimana, Hori Karewa, Te Poari Makere.
Te Arei	2,000	"	9	2	11	Wi Ropata, Wi Kingi's brother – Ngatiawa : Hunia, Te Waka – Waikato.
Skirmishes at different places	1,000 ²	Southerns.	7	6	13	Aperahama Weto, Ngatihaumia – Taranaki.

¹ 456 only were engaged in the attack: large reserves were placed near Kairau, at Kotewaianaha, and on the left of Huirangi.

² It is stated that more than this number were encamped on Waireka Hill and its vicinity during the operations at Te Arei.

Note. – The above is a statement derived from native sources. – G. W. WOON.

Despatch to Governor Gore Browne, C. B., from the Duke of Newcastle, intimating his recall.

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To Governor GORE BROWNE, C. B., &c, &c, &c.

SIR, – I have perused with much anxiety the intelligence respecting the progress of the Native War which is contained in your despatches recently arrived.

I cannot but perceive that, in spite of some symptoms of a desire on the part of the natives for the restoration of peace, little effect has really been produced hitherto

by the military operations at Taranaki, and that, notwithstanding all the efforts of yourself and your advisers, the disaffection of the Maories is extending itself to those tribes whose amity, or at least whose neutrality, has hitherto been hoped for, and is assuming a more organised form, and a more definite object.

I am far, indeed, from ascribing this untoward course of events to those who are responsible for the conduct of affairs in New Zealand. On the contrary, I recognise with pleasure the sound and impartial judgment, the integrity, intelligence, and anxiety for the public good, which have characterised your government of the colony for nearly six years. The present conjuncture, however, renders it necessary for her Majesty's Government to leave no expedient untried which is calculated to arrest the course of events now unhappily so unpromising, and at the same time to provide for the future difficulties which there is only too much reason to anticipate, even if the war should happily be soon brought to a conclusion.

Having regard, therefore, to the peculiar qualifications and experience of Sir George Grey, now governing the Cape of Good Hope, I have felt that I should be neglecting a chance of averting a more general and disastrous war, if I omitted to avail myself of the remarkable authority which will attach to his name and character as Governor of New Zealand.

I trust, therefore, that you will not feel it as any slight upon yourself that I should have determined to place the Government of the islands in his hands at a moment when your own term of office has all but expired, and you would have no opportunity of providing against those future difficulties to which I have referred. I hope that, in doing so, I shall not deprive the Crown for any long period

of the advantage of your services.

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I have communicated to Sir George Grey my wish that, as the matter is one of urgency, he should lose no time in proceeding to New Zealand, for the purpose of assuming the government. My confidence in your public spirit assures me that, in transferring it to him, you will give him every assistance and information which is calculated to facilitate his dealings, whether with the local Government or with the friendly or hostile Maoris. I have only to add that, in case you should be disposed to accept another Australian Government, it may be convenient that, instead of repairing to this country, you should remain for a time at Sydney, until I am able to communicate with you more definitely upon that subject.

I have, &c,
NEWCASTLE.
Downing-street, 25th May, 1861.

Address to Governor Browne from Taranaki.

To His Excellency Colonel THOMAS GORE BROWNE, Companion of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over her Majesty's Colony of New Zealand, and Vice-Admiral of the same, &c, &c, &c.

SIR, – We, the undersigned inhabitants of Taranaki, desire, upon your Excellency's approaching departure from New Zealand, to express our appreciation of your administration of the Government of the colony, and more especially of the measures taken by your Excellency in connection with the natives of this district.

Although great suffering and loss to our community have resulted from the hostilities which afterwards ensued in this Province, we cannot hesitate to express our conviction that the measures referred to were proper and necessary, and consistent with the rights and interests of both races. Compelled, as we had been, for years to be passive spectators of the lawlessness of the natives towards ourselves, and latterly of their own internecine feuds, we hailed with unqualified satisfaction the announcement of your Excellency's determination to put an end to so disastrous a state of affairs. That your Excellency's intentions were not more ably seconded we have had ample cause to

deplore, but we look forward with confidence to the eventful success of the policy with which your Excellency's name will always be associated, believing that it is founded in strict justice, and that it will confer on both races a degree of prosperity and happiness that could not otherwise be attained.

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In bidding your Excellency farewell, and expressing a hope that health and happiness may attend your Excellency in your new command, we would wish to associate the name of Mrs Gore Browne.

We have the honor, &c,
Your Excellency's obedient and faithful servants.
(Signed by nearly the whole of the male population.)
New Plymouth, Taranaki, August 26, 1861.

This Address elicited the following answer: –

Government House,
Auckland, September 30th, 1861.

SIR, – I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of an Address signed by almost all the male inhabitants of your Province, and I beg you to accept and convey to those who signed it my most sincere thanks for this gratifying proof of their good will.

I have always felt that the colonists of Taranaki desired only the suppression of lawless violence and the permanent establishment of law and order; and by their gallantry, and the patience with which they have endured suffering and loss, they have proved that they were and are willing to risk all men value most dearly in order to secure them. That neither time nor suffering has altered their sentiments, or weakened their determination, is as honorable to them as it is gratifying to me.

I earnestly hoped to have seen the settlers of Taranaki re-occupying their homes and reaping the harvests of their labour without fear of interruption, and I looked forward to a not distant future when an increased prosperity (the result of established order) would make them forget the past, and consider their exertions not ill required. It is a subject of very great regret to me that I am obliged to leave New Zealand without seeing the fulfilment of this expectation; but I earnestly hope and

believe that the time is not far distant when

they will enjoy the blessings of permanent peace and prosperity, for which they have, and will always have – my earnest prayers and most sincere wishes.

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I have, &c.,

T. GORE BROWNE.

His Honor the Superintendent, Taranaki.

Address from Taranaki to Sir George Grey, K. C. B.

To His Excellency Sir George Grey, K. C. B., Knight, Commander of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Administrator of the Government of the Colony of New Zealand and its Dependencies, &c., &c.

SIR, – We, the undersigned inhabitants of the Province of Taranaki, desire, upon your Excellency's return to New Zealand, to express our respect for the high motives which have led your Excellency to resume the government of the colony at the present critical period, and confidence that your Excellency will be enabled to extricate the Colony from its difficulties. Your Excellency's desire for the improvement of the Native race, and intimate knowledge of its character, assure us that every effort will be made to bring about a peaceful solution of those difficulties; failing this, our Excellency's known determination and energy gives us confidence that the Natives will be compelled to submit to her Majesty's authority. Should, unhappily, war be unavoidable, we beg to assure your Excellency that we shall continue to render the cordial support we afforded the Imperial Government, during the administration of your predecessor, in the effort to establish law and order. This pledge from us may be considered as of more weight since our losses and sufferings from the war have already been heavier than those which usually fall to the lot of British subjects. Apart from the devastation of our farms and homesteads by the rebels, there are few of us who have not to deplore the loss of a relative or near connection by the great mortality that has ensued therefrom. We therefore look to your Excellency with hope and confidence, under our calamities, that peace may be established on such terms as shall ensure the permanent good of both

races.

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We have, &c.

Taranaki, October 25th, 1861.

Sir G. Grey returned the following answer to the Address: –

Government House,
Auckland, 2nd November, 1861.

GENTLEMEN, – I thank you most cordially for your Address of welcome, which Mr J. C. Richmond has placed in my hands.

You tell me that you look to me with hope and confidence, under your calamities, that peace may be established on such terms as shall ensure the permanent good of both races.

I can only reply that I am well aware of the noble patience with which you have borne those calamities, and of the great exertions you have made to struggle against difficulties, and that I hope I may be strengthened to fulfil the hopes reposed in me, which I should, under any circumstances, from a sense of duty, strive to do; but to be an instrument in restoring to Taranaki prosperity and happiness would be a peculiarly grateful and most enviable task to me, from a remembrance of many happy days I have passed in it, and from a sense of strong personal regard to many of its inhabitants.

G. GREY.

To the Gentlemen signing the Address from Taranaki.

Feelings existing between the Native and European Populations.

The Maories have become dissatisfied with their connection with the British Government, not from any mutual unkindness or misunderstandings that have ensued, but from the painful truth that has been so forcibly and gradually breaking upon them. They cannot close their eyes to the fact, that whilst the English are daily increasing in numbers and prosperity, they, on their part, are sinking into insignificance.

Certain pseudo-philanthropists have of late amused audiences in England by relating, with exaggeration and wilful falsehood, tales of the wickedness of the white population, and the exalted and almost perfect character of the Maori. On this subject Bishop Selwyn, the

great friend of the Maori, remarks: –

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"I must not be supposed to be speaking now of acts of violence, injustice, or oppression, of which Christian nations have been guilty, as if such charges lay at the door of this colony. Exaggerated statements drawn from other countries may have been applied to us as if we had been guilty of the same evil deeds. In defence of the colonists of New Zealand, of whom I am one, I say most distinctly and solemnly that I have never known, since the colony began, a single act of wilful injustice or oppression committed by any one in authority against a New Zealander. It may have been difficult to persuade some few individuals that the natives were entitled to equal rights with ourselves, but in practice their rights and liberties have been maintained inviolate, and the result is, that the New Zealanders, almost to a man, look upon it as their highest privilege to be united with ourselves in one faith and in one law."

Regarding the conduct of the Governor in the late war, Chief Justice Arney, in his address to the Grand Jury at Taranaki, emphatically stated that "no wrong had

been done the natives at the Waitara."

In allusion to the subject of force being requisite to teach the natives their position, Mr C. W. Richmond, the Colonial Treasurer under the late Administration, in his masterly answer to Sir W. Martin's pamphlet, goes on to say –

"There are no politicians in New Zealand who maintain, as he (Sir William Martin) alleges, that the Natives can only be governed by demonstrations of physical force, and that justice in our dealings with them may be dispensed with as a needless refinement. Sir William Martin may safely be challenged to make good his words. He may be challenged to adduce one single act, or declaration, of any man of standing in the Colony, which would justify his imputations. No one can check the passions of two such races as have met in New Zealand, can wholly rely upon moral influence. Sir William Martin himself appears to stipulate for a moderate force. This is all which anyone has ever asked for.

"None desire to place exclusive trust in force, but there are not a few who hold that without it our justice will never be believed in;

that without it our moderation will continue to be mistaken by the majority for weakness; that without it our 'plain promises' cannot be 'plainly kept,' that the weak will continue to be the prey of the strong, and those who are ready for friendly union be overborne by a savage horde which forbids escape from the barbarism of tribal life; that without force our policy cannot become, what it should be, 'perfectly open and friendly, and straightforward,' but will remain timid and shifty; that we can never 'deal with the Natives as our fellow-subjects,' until they become such, not in name only, but in deed.

"If the hope of such a consummation is not to be abandoned, the Governor must be enabled to maintain the just and safe position which he has assumed upon the Waitara question, and a mistaken enthusiasm must not be suffered to compass the ruin of the Colony, and the ultimate destruction of the Maori people. To have saved and civilized the Native Race, would deserve to be reckoned amongst the highest achievements of Christian civilization. Sir William Martin assumes that success in this great work lies in our power. It may be so. This, at least, is certain, that success will require the exercise of the active, as much as of the passive virtues, and that acquiescence in the anarchy of a race which we have undertaken to govern, may be as selfish, and almost as shameful as tyranny itself."

Native Character, from various Authorities.

The following is reprinted from the fourteenth Report of the Directors of the New Zealand Company: –

"3. Of the character of the natives of New Zealand there has always been much misapprehension. It has probably arisen in the propensity of mankind to run into extremes on all subjects; and to go from one to the other with the greatest facility. 'Dum vitant stulti vitia, in contraria currunt,' and the opinion in Europe of these natives is a notable example of it. The cold-blooded and wholesale massacres reported not by English alone, but by Frenchmen, Dutchmen, and Spaniards, had made the words New Zealander and murderer almost synonymous. All resort to the islands for commercial purposes was nearly at an end; the South Sea whalers renewed the intercourse and prepared the way for the missionaries. The other

side of the question was heard; and reason was given in some instances for suspecting that outrages previously supposed to spring from purely wanton barbarity, had their origin only in a thirst for sanguinary and indiscriminate revenge. This knowledge and the natural efforts of missionaries to enhance the effects of their labours by making the most of the supposed change in the character of the natives, and of land speculators of all kinds to raise the value of their purchases by removing the horror with which their character was regarded, have turned European opinion quite round, and driven it into excess on the other side. So that 'harmless' and 'inoffensive' are the epithets most commonly applied, in public documents especially, to the once-abused natives. And any attempt to check this over-estimation is sure to be regarded with suspicion. There is a fashion in these matters: and long ago as 1784, the great and good Samuel Johnson was provoked to exclaim, 'Don't cant in defence of savages.'¹⁰ The cant then was in defence of the Otaheitians, and in praise chiefly of their external condition and circumstances. Now, it is of the New Zealanders, and extols their moral qualities. Nevertheless, it is probable they were not quite so bad as believed formerly, nor are quite as good as thought at present. Let us consider this a little.

"A great external change in the native manners has indeed been produced by the missionaries, in those parts where they have carried on their labours. Cannibalism is there nearly extinct, or entirely kept out of sight. And warfare, once so common, is very much less frequent. By this, the colonization of New Zealand has been rendered more feasible, and greatly accelerated. But whether or in what degree this change is internal and influential upon the native character is still a question, Sudden conversions have always been regarded by the wisest teachers of religion with a suspicious eye. And among savages these are more questionable than among the unconverted of a civilized race. * * *

"The New Zealanders' so-called taste for war is rather a desire for revenge without risk, for surprise and murder than for danger and contest. Their very courage is questionable. Opinions on this

point differ almost irreconcilably. Dr Dieffenbach says, 'the New Zealander is no coward,' &c.; Mr Nicholas, 'Native courage they possess in an eminent degree;'¹¹ Mr Campbell, 'They are great cowards if they are aware you have fire-arms or other weapons of defence about you;'¹² Mr Bidwell, 'They are such cowards that they would never fight without some such adventitious excitement;'¹³ and the Rev. Mr Yate declares that 'to call them a brave people were a sad mistake, unless a few instances of utter recklessness may be denominated bravery.' Again, 'But however brave they may have been represented as a people, they are the most arrant cowards, trembling at their own shadows, and never venturing to attack except greatly superior in numbers or in arms and ammunition. They have been represented as brave, because noisy and furious; they have been considered bold, because at times reckless and thoughtless: but their general character only requires to be known to enable any one to distinguish the broad marks of treachery and cowardice which are stamped upon it.'¹⁴ The truth seems to be, they are only bold when under great excitement, and may then become utterly reckless. The boldness under command of the reason – the cool courage, which even in Europe belongs more to the northern than the southern nations, they have nothing of. This peculiarity is quite consistent with the rest of their character. The quickness of intellectual perception – the flexibility of manners – the openness to impressions, are all, equally with the want of hardy courage, and the taste for the wildest cruelty, the result of a soft temperament. They are the Italians of the savage races – the very reverse of the North American Indians. So that the change from a state of warfare to one of peace was not likely to cost themselves or their teachers a very violent struggle.

"But it was not so easy to alter the character so as to produce this external conformity in manners and customs to new doctrines. The moral tuition of savages requires, in an especial degree, a profound knowledge of human nature – a penetrating, subtle, and vigorous

intellect. With uncultivated members of a civilized community, the agency of civilization, though they are unconscious of it, has done half the work. The fundamental moral truths are with them conventionalisms. Custom and habit, if not of their own, yet of the majority of those that have lived among, fight on the side of the teacher in the case of the civilized savage, against him in that of the uncivilized. The teacher himself has to do in the case of the latter what a thousand external influences have done in that of the former. And if the savage, usually so called, have great natural intelligence, though this renders the task lighter to a teacher of an equally powerful, cultivated mind, it renders it hopeless almost and insurmountable to one of duller natural powers and low cultivation. For the grounds of all morals must be argued and defended – the excellence of general effects and long results be clearly shown to prove the excellence of self-denying individual virtues. And with no examples of these effects to point to, how difficult must be this task!"

Hursthouse, in his "Britain of the South," thus describes their moral character: –

"By superficial observers who have had only slight means of judging, the New Zealanders have been both overrated and underrated. The enthusiastic 'missionary-smitten' visitor has entered a picked village, and boldly proclaimed them a noble people, equal to the highest career; the 'anti-aborigines' visitor has entered another village, and denounced them as greedy savages, fit only for extirpation. The good qualities of the Maori have, however, been far more overrated than underrated. Captivated by his bravery, we have forgotten his ferocity; charmed with his missionary conversion, we have excused his mercenary cunning; and dazzled with his aptitude for civilization, have not cared to see his lingering inherent fondness for barbarism. Towards him it has not been 'nothing extenuate nor ought set down in malice,' – but, 'be to his virtues very kind, and to his failings very blind.'

"In their present state of semi-civilization (but assuming that further civilization will educe more good than bad qualities) I should call the Maori race artful, overreaching, suspicious, and designing;

singularly mercenary¹⁵ and ungrateful; and still somewhat passionate, capricious, and revengeful. But not dishonest,¹⁶ generally merry and good-humoured, high spirited, and (to each other) neither ungenerous nor unkind; sensitive of ridicule but fond of a joke, inquisitive, and so femininely communicative as to be incapable of keeping even a life secret."

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Mr F. A. Carrington, formerly Chief Surveyor of the settlement of Taranaki, in a pamphlet on "The Land Question of Taranaki," remarks on the Maori character –

"In conclusion, let me draw your public notice to the following paragraphs, coinciding within my own observations, taken from Fenton's work, published by the Government in 1859, for the purpose of drawing 'attention to the state of the native population, – especially to its decrease in numbers, – with a view to invite inquiry as to the cause, and suggestions of a remedy.'

'Mr H. Halse, late Assistant Native Secretary at Taranaki, writes – 'I am unable to report in any way favourably of the good condition of the natives of the New Plymouth district.'

'The Rev. C. H. Schnackenburg writes: – 'The greatest cause of decrease, I believe, is uncleanness, inwardly and outwardly, in diet, dress, and habitation, in body and mind, in all their thoughts, words, and actions.'

'Mr Fenton says: – 'The social condition of the Maories is inferior to what it was five years ago. Their houses are worse, their cultivations more neglected, and their mode of living not improved. The mills in many places have not run for some time, and the poverty of the people generally is extreme.'

"It also appears" that, with the exception of the debased social habits which usually attend a low condition of civilization, inquiry

has hitherto failed (conclusively) to account for the causes of decrease in numbers.

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"Rapidly and ignobly are the Maories passing away: uncleanness and lethargic habits no doubt are the cause. It is mournful to think that an aboriginal population must perish, and a civilized community be made to suffer needless privations, through the avarice, obstinacy, and ingratitude of these unrelenting, indolent, decaying natives, when it is in the power of Government, with little effort, to rescue the one and to redress the other.

"At the very time that the Colonial Government are publishing authenticated facts, showing the deplorable social condition of the aborigines, and while they are inviting suggestions to remedy these evils, is it not surprising that her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies should be so little informed on these important matters as to pen, on the 18th of May last, to the Governor of this Colony, the following words: – 'Native affairs, the administration of which has been, up to the present time, considering the difficulties and intricacies of the subject, crowned with a very remarkable success, and is paving the way towards that complete civilization and consolidation of the native race with the English colonists which her Majesty's Government, not less than the local Government, desire to see effected.'"

The remarks of the authors quoted go far to prove that the Maori has not, to the present time, succeeded in passing the confines of savage life, notwithstanding the romantic ideas that have been formed to the contrary in England.

A truthful parallel may be drawn between barbarism, in its connection with the human species, and the picturesque in beauty of scenery. In the latter case, some cottage ruins, rising with its dilapidated thatched roof, or, may be, a rudely constructed pigstye, lends perfection to the scene as viewed from the distance. But let us approach, and the discomfort visible around at once dispels all the charms given by mere position. And so it is with barbarism. To sit by a comfortable fireside and to speak of the grandeur of the primeval forests, with their babbling streams; reclining beneath the shadows of the luxuriant overhanging trees are the free children of

Nature, utterly regardless of the troubles and anxieties attached to civilized life, governed only by their own wills and inclinations, and free as the bird of the mountain from all those superfluous conventionalisms considered so necessary for the government of polite society. But on a close inspection of the reality, on finding dirt, filth, and excess of immorality, these ideas are soon wofully changed.

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Computed amount of Property destroyed during the War, with the relative amounts of Land held by the White and Maori Population.

The amount of property destroyed is computed by the Government at –

	£ s. d.
Buildings	42,510 18 4
Fences	3,764 1 6
Cattle, &c.....	35,732 7 6
Crops, &c.....	41,601 7 10
Total	£123,608 15 2

The number of acres of land owned by the English in the Province of Taranaki is 74,000, one-sixth only of which is clear and open land, the remaining five-sixths being bush, through which no plough could pass until the timber has not only been fallen, but the stumps by excessive labour also removed.

New Plymouth being a small farm settlement, where it is expected that a man will be enabled to obtain a living off his 50 acres. Taking the population to be between 2,500 and 2,700, there will be of cleared land something considerably short of five acres to the individual. The bush being but little regarded by the Maori, and only rendered of value to the white man by a heavy expenditure of capital and labour.

The natives' land possessions in the Province, with a population of 3015, is the large amount of 2,300,000 acres, giving above 762 acres to each individual, the greater portion of their lands being clear and open. Similar proportions will be found to hold good throughout the whole of the Northern Island.

The following statistical notes relating to the Maories and their territory is by Mr Charles Heaphy: –

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"The area of the Northern Island of New Zealand, the seat of 23/54 of the total Maori population, is about 29,688,480 acres; and of this area about 7,064,660 are in the hands of the British – while 22,623,320 acres remain to the natives; the latter, then, have an extent of land equal in area to three times that which they have alienated. The numbers of each race, by the last census, were, of Maories 53,056, and of Europeans 42,420. * * * *

* * * The tribes that commenced and fed the rebellion are all in possession of very extensive territories, and some with but an insignificant fraction of their land alienated to the British.

"The Ngatiawa, Wiremu Kingi's tribe, hold about 460,800 acres, with a population of 1,466 souls. Their country, which is very fertile, extends from the Waitara river northward to Mokau, a district to which they returned in 1848, and on which the white people have never shown any intention of encroaching.¹⁷ * * *

"The Taranaki and Ngatiruanui tribes were, by the murder of the unarmed settlers and boys, the first to commence hostilities. They were entirely unconnected with Kingi's land dispute, and had no land grievance of their own; but for many years they had been inimical to the settlers, and had openly discussed a plan for 'driving the white people into the sea,' and occupying their cultivations. These tribes inhabit the fertile and almost plain country extending southward from the New Plymouth settlement along about 97 miles of coast, from the Hauranga stream to within a few miles of Wanganui. Their population is about 2,049; and, of a territory which comprises 1,236,482 acres, they have sold 152,320 acres,¹⁸ leaving, them 1,084,160, or rather more than 529 acres to each person.

"Few tribes in New Zealand had less cause to fear the encroachment of the Pakeha than the Ngatimaniapoto at Kawhia. Out of a territory of 950,000 acres, not more than 53,005 acres have been alienated, leaving 900,395 acres, with a good harbour and 50 miles of coast, to a Maori population of 2,585 persons. The fixed white population of Kawhia amounted, in 1859, to about 47 persons only, and was not fast increasing. Of the three harbours lying in or abutting on the Ngatimaniapoto country, Mokau is entirely without alienated territory, and two others – Aotea and Kawhia – have but small missionary and trading stations on their banks; yet the natives of these places were the first to join Kingi's rebellion. On the adjacent harbour of Whaingaroa, where half the land is European, the natives, and their chief William Naylor, are conspicuous for their loyalty."

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ALPHABETICAL LIST OF EUROPEAN SETTLERS RESIDENT AT TARANAKI, NEW ZEALAND, WHOSE HOMESTEADS, &C, HAVE BEEN BURNED BY THE REBEL MAORIES, BETWEEN THE PERIODS OF THE 17TH MARCH, 1860, AND THE 31ST MARCH, 1861; SHEWING THE APPROXIMATE DISTANCE OF EACH HOMESTEAD FROM THE NEAREST MILITARY POST OR GARRISON.

Names of Settlers.	Name of District.	Approximate distance from the nearest Military Post by Road, and sundry other Remarks.
Adams E.	Henui	1 1/2 miles from Town, and 1 mile from F. N. pa.
Allen Thos.	Omata	do. do. do., Poutoko
Andrews S...	Grey Block	2 1/4 do. do. and 2 1/4 ms. from Omata Stkde
Arden H.	Bell Block	2 do. Bell Block Stockade.
Armstrong J.	Omata	1 1/2 do. Omata Stockade, and 3/4 mile from Friendly Natives' pa, Poutoko.
Atkinson A.	Carrington Road	5 do. Town.
Atkinson H.	"	5 1/2 do. do. – Dairy burned.
Atkinson W.	"	5 1/2 do. do.
Autridge C.	Omata	2 do. Omata Stockade, and 1 from Poutoko
Baldwin W.	"	3 1/2 do. do.
Ball Jas.	"	2 1/4 do. do.
Bayley Jas.	Tataraimaka	7 do. any Military Post.
Bayley Thos.	"	1/2 do. Camp. – Burned while troops were striking camp for Town.
Bayly W.	Blagdon	2 do. Town, and 1 1/2 from Omata Stockade. Flour mill. 1/2 mile from F.N. pa.
"	"	2 do. do. and 1 1/2 from Omata Stockade. – Residence to mill.

Names of Settlers.	Name of District.	Approximate Distance from the nearest Military Post by Road, and sundry other Remarks.
Bayly W.	Blagdon	2 miles from Town, and 1 1/2 from Omata Stockade. – Farm house and Premises.
"	"	1 1/2 do. do. and 1 1/2 from Omata Stockade. – House on road to Omata.
Bayly W., jun.	Tataraimaka	1/2 do. Tataraimaka Camp. – Burned while troops were striking camp.
Berridge J.	Omata	2 1/2 do. Omata Stockade, & 1 1/2 from Poutoko
Broadmore G.	Carrington Road	1 1/2 do. Town – Burned while flag of truce was flying at Waitara.
Brooking A.	Omata	6 do. Omata Stockade.
Brooking F.	"	6 do. do.
Brooks R.	Tataraimaka	7 do. any Military Post.
Bayley Rev.	Omata	1 do. Omata Stockade.
Billing Jas.	Grey Block	2 do. Town, and 1 1/2 from Omata Stockade.
Brown C.	Carrington Road	4 do. " and 3 1/2 from No. 6 blockhouse. – Saw mills.
"	"	4 do. " – Farm House and premises.

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Burton G.	Omata	3 do. Omata Stockade.
Burton W.		2 1/4 do. Town, and 2 1/2 from Omata Stockade.
Blaschke W.	"	2 do. Omata Stockade.
Carrington C.	"	2 3/4 do. do.
Clare C.	Bell Block	1 1/4 do. Bell Block Stockade. – Burned in broad daylight.
Climo J.	Tataraimaka	7 do. Tataraimaka Camp.
Coleman W.	Omata	2 do. Omata Stockade, and 1 1/2 from Poutoko
Colesby J.	"	2 1/2 do. Omata Stockade.
Collins W.	Moturoa	Do. do. do.
Collins	Henui	1 1/4 do. Town, and half a-mile from F.N. pa, Henui. – Burned in broad daylight.
Cowling W.	Mangorei	1 do. Carrington Road Blockhouse.
Crompton W.	Omata	2 1/2 do. Omata Stockade, and 1/4 from Poutoko
Cutfield G.	Tataraimaka	Do. do. from any Military post, 2 miles from F. N. pa.
Curtis G.	Omata	Within rifle range of Omata Stockade.
Davis W.	Carrington Road	One mile and a-half from Town garrison, 3/4 mile from Town blockhouse.
Densey D.	Omata	3 miles from any Military Post.
Devenish W.	Mangorei	4 do. do.
Dingle J.	Grey Block	Two miles and a-half from Town.
Dixon M.	Tataraimaka	3 miles from any Military Post.
Drayton B.	Carrington Road	2 do. Town Garrison.
Elliott P.	Omata	2 do. do., and one mile and a-half from Omata Stockade.
Everett C.	Bell Block	1 do. Bell Block Stockade.
Fishleigh S.	Grey Block	One mile and a-half from Town Garrison. – Burned while flag of truce at Waitara.
Foreman R.	Town Belt	1 1/4 miles from Town Garrison.
Free W.	Tataraimaka	4 do. any Military Post.
Flight J.	Henui	3/4 do. Town Garrison, 1/2 mile from F.N. pa.
Gibson, J.	Omata	One mile and a-half from Omata Stockade.
Goodwin J.	«	4 miles from any Military Post.
Names of Settlers.	Name of District	Approximate Distance from the nearest Military Post by Road, and sundry other Remarks.
Grayling, W.I.	Omata	3 miles from Omata Stockade, 3/4 mile from Poutoko
Greaves F.	"	4 do. any Military Post, back in the bush.
Greenwood R.	Tataraimaka	7 do. do. – Very extensive premises
Ginger G.	"	7 do. do.
Grey W.	Omata	2 1/4 do. Omata stockade.
Gilbert T.	"	One mile and a-half from Omata Stockade.
Grylls J.	"	i mile from do.
Hamblyn C.	Waiwakaiho	1 mile from Bell Block Stockade, 1/2 from F.N. pa.
Harris E.	Grey Block	Two miles and a-half from Town Garrison.
Harrison J.	Omata	3/4 mile from Omata Stockade.
Harrison T.	"	Two miles and a-half from Omata Stockade.
Harrison W.	"	2 miles from do., and half a mile from Poutoko.
Hetley Mrs.	"	2 do do., and half a mile from do.
Hart R.	"	One mile and a-half from do., and 3/4 mile from do.
Hay Jas.	Tataraimaka	7 miles from any Military Post.
Hawke J.	Grey Block	Three miles and a-half from Town.
Hawke J.	Moturoa	2 miles from Town, 1/2 mile from F.N. pa, Moturoa
Hempton T.	Grey Block	4 1/4 do. do.
Hirst T.	Bell Block	3/4 do. Bell Block Stockade.
Hoby G.	"	2 do. do.
Hollis E.	"	1 1/4 do. do.
Hoskin A.	"	1 1/4 do. do.
Hoskin W.	"	1/2 do. do. Burned in broad daylight
Hulke W.	"	3/4 do. do.

"	"	3/4 do. do.
Hurford J.	Omata	Two miles and a-half from any Military Post, 3/4 mile from Friendly Natives' pa, Poutoko.
Hurlstone W.	Carrington Road	2 1/4 miles from Town.
Ibbotson T.	Bell Block	One mile and a-half from Bell Block Stockade.
Ibbotson T.	Henui	1 mile from Town, 1/2 from F. N. pa, Waiwakaiho.
Jupp G.	Omata	2 miles from Omata Stockade, 1 mile from Poutoko
Jury J.	"	One mile and a-half from do., half a mile from do.
Jury R.	"	Do. do., do.
Jury Mrs.	"	1 1/4 mile from do.
Jones W.	"	2 1/4 miles from do.
King H.	Carrington Road	3/4 do. Blockhouse. – Burned at daylight while flag of truce was up at Waitara.
King Thos.	"	2 do. any Military Post.
King W. C.	"	1 1/2 miles from lown. – Burned in broad daylight.
King R.	Omata	5 miles from any Military Post.
King A.	Henui	1 do. Town.
Kingdon C.	Omata	Two miles and a-half from Omata Stockade.
Kingdon Mrs.	"	2 1/4 miles from do.
Langman R.	"	1 mile from Town.
Law R.	"	Half-a-mile from Omata Stockade.
Leatham W.	"	5 miles from any Military Post.
Lethbridge R.	Carrington Road	One mile and a-half from Town.
Lethbridge R.	"	1 mile from do., 3/4 mile from nearest Blockhouse.
McDonald J.	Tataraimaka	3/4 do. Camp. – -Burned in broad daylight, while camp was moving.
Names of Settlers.	Name of District.	Approximate Distance from the nearest Military Post by Road, and Sundry other Remarks.
McKechney.	Henui	One mile and a-half from Town.
Messenger W.	Omata	3 1/4 miles from Omata Stockade.
McKellar Mrs.	"	3/4 do. do. – Burned in open daylight
"	"	1/2 mile from do. – Wool warehouse, a distance from house.
Moyle E.	"	3 miles from any Military Post.
Mungeam T.	Fitzroy Block	One mile and a-half from Town.
Newland J.	Omata	5 miles from any Military Post.
Newman J.	Carrington Road	2 do. Town.
Newsham T.	Omata	3/4 do. Omata Stockade. Store & Bakehouse
"	"	Half a mile from do. – Farm occupied by Mr Good.
"	"	1 mile from do. – Farm occupied by Mr Handy.
"	"	3/4 do. do. – Cottage in Omata Village.
"	"	3/4 do. do. do.
Northcroft W.	Bell Block	1 3/4 miles from Bell Block Stockade.
Nield J. C.	Henui	1 3/4 do. Town.
Oliver J.	Carrington Road	One mile and a-half from Town.
Oliver G.	Mangorei	6 miles from any Military Post.
Oxenham T.	Tataraimaka	7 do. do.
Passmore H.	Omata	2 do. Omata Stockade. 3/4 do. do.
Paynter W.	Waiwakaiho	One mile and a-half from Town.
Patterson G.	Grey Block	4 miles from Town. – Steam saw mill and residence
Perce J.	Tataraimaka	7 do. any Military Post.
Perrottt W.	Carrington Road	2 1/4 do. Town.
Pope G.	Tataraimaka	7 do. any Military Post.
Pope R.		7 do. do.
Pote W.	Omata	1 3/4 do. Omata Stockade.
Priske P.	"	1 do. do.
Priske P.	Tataraimaka	7 do. any Military Post.

Putt H.	Moturoa	One mile and a-half from Omata Stockade, half a mile from Friendly Natives' pa, Moturoa.
Putt J.	Omata	1 mile from do, half a mile from do.
Rawson C.	Tataraimaka	7 miles from any Military Post.
Revell W.	Grey Block	4 do. Town.
Rogers J.	Omata	2 do. Omata Stockade.
Ronalds F.	Carrington Road	6 do. any Military Post.
Rossiter J.	Mangorei	3 do. do.
Rowe W.	Grey Block	2 do. Town.
Rundle R.	Bell Block	3/4 do. Bell Block Stockade. – 3 separate houses burnt.
Richmond H.	Grev Block	5 do. Town.
Richmond J. C.	"	One mile and a-half from Town.
Richmond Jas.	"	5 miles from Town. – Dairy burned, house standing, doors and windows destroyed.
Shuttleworth.	Henui	One mile and a-half from Town.
"	"	Do. do.
Smith T.	Omata	2 3/4 miles from Omata Stockade.
Seccombe W.	"	3/4 do. Omata Stockade. – Public house.
Sole D.	Fitzroy Block	1 do. Town.
Names of Settlers.	Name of District.	Approximate Distance from the nearest Military Post by Road, and sundry other Remarks.
Sole J.	Fitzroy Block	3 miles from Town.
Steer J.	Omata	1 do. Omata Stockade.
Street J.	Bell Block	1 do. Bell Block Stockade. – 2 houses burned in open daylight.
Street Joseph.	"	1 do. do. do.
Street R.	"	1 do. do.
Smith J. S.	Grey Block	1 do. Town.
Smith Mrs.	Henui	1 1/4 do. do.
Tatton W.	Grey Block	2 do. do.
Thompson R.	"	One mile and a-half from Town.
Touet Edward	Omata	2 miles from Omata Stockade, 1/2 mile from Poutoko
Veale T.	Moturoa	1 mile from do., do. do.
Vercoe J.	Grey Block	One mile and a-half from do.
Waite T.	Mangorei	5 miles and a-half from any Military Post.
Walker W.	Grey Block	4 miles from Town.
Waller C.	Bell Block	1 do. Bell Block Stockade.
Waller T.	"	1 3/4 do. do.
Watkins W.	Omata	5 do. any Military Post.
Wilson P.	Henui	1 do. Town.
Weston T.	Omata	2 1/4 do. Omata Stockade.
Wheeler T.	"	3 do. Town. 1 mile from Omata Stockade.
White T.	"	3 miles and a-half from any Military Post.
Wilkinson T.	"	2 miles from Omata Stockade, 1/2 mile from Poutoko
Wills A.	Bell Block	3/4 mile from Bell Block Stockade.
Wills Jas.	"	2 1/2 miles from do.
Wills John.	"	Do.
Wilson W.	Grey Block	4 miles and a-half from Town.
Wright E.	Omata	2 miles and a-half from Omata Stockade.
Wright H.		2 1/4 miles from do.
Woods H. H.	"	6 miles from any Military Post.

THE END.

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[10](#) See Boswell's "Life of Johnson," vol. iv.

[11](#) "Narrative," page 308.

[12](#) "Present State, &c, of New Zealand," page 29.

[13](#) "Rambles in New Zealand," page 83.

[14](#) "Account of New Zealand," pages 114, 128.

[15](#) I trust the reader will not think I relate the following anecdote as any proof of the mercenary disposition of the Race – it is merely an amusing individual instance of the "no pay no work." A gentleman, riding near Auckland, suffered his horse to escape. A Maori approaching on the road caught the beast, and shouted out to the pursuer to know how much he would give him not to let it go again.

[16](#) I mean in the sense of not being thieves or pilferers. Sovereigns might lie about your floor, and the native would not steal one; but if he could "do" you in any bargain, I think he generally would.

[17](#) The Ngatiawa in this Province, who before the war resided at Waitara, the immediate followers of Wi Kingi, do not number 300 souls. Mr Heaphy must include the Puketapus and Huirangi natives, who, we are informed, properly speaking, are not Ngatiawas. – Author.

[18](#) The Waitotara block, near Wanganui, the purchase of which is not yet concluded, and which comprises a large portion of the land ceded by the Ngatiruanui and Ngarauro (the Waitotara tribe), is no doubt included in this statement. The only land yet sold by the Taranaki tribe is the Tataraimaka block, comprising 12,000 acres. – Author.

[Newspaper clippings]

ASSAULT ON KINGI – 11TH SEPT., 1860.

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(Air) "The young Crusader." -

O'er Waitara's broad and lovely plains, all clad with verdant green,
The British trump' of war is heard, and British troops are seen,
With firm step advancing quick, upon the rebel foe,
While the sun shoots down his brightest beams, to gladden all below.
Like wolves into their covert lair, to the bush the rebels fly, –
Too well they know that on the plains, to meet us is to die.
To the forest verge we follow them, led by our General brave.
Oh! let them show us fight, to-day – 'tis all, 'tis all we crave.
Now from the British forces bold, loud sounds of cannon rise,
And quick as Heaven's lightning-flash, the fiery rocket flies!
The shells burst forth like thunder-peals, and spread destruction wide,
While fierce consuming flames arise, from pabs on every side.
Now from the wood-clad hills on high, now from some ravine deep,
The flash of Maori musquetry, through smoke is seen to peep;
But the rebel hands that fire them shake, with paralyzing fear, –
'Tis hard to take a steady aim at Britons though they're near.
Again the roar of cannon loud, is shaking earth and skies,
And with unceasing random shot, the Maori still replies,
Protected by his giant trees, he thinks (in vain), to vie,
With all the force of Britain's pow'r – and has boldness to defy.
The storm of war now rages wild, our hearts are bounding high,
For vengeance on the rebel tribes, and victory seems nigh,
But though the sword is lifted up, we're made withhold the blow,
And from the glorious battle-field, reluctantly we go.
Then proudly wave the British flag, throughout New Zealand's coast, –
United let us round it stand, and vie who loves it most,
We have soldiers and militia bold, brave tars and Volunteers,
Who would bear that flag to Kingi's pah, and hoist it with three cheers!

Between the Waikato river and the Manukau Harbour there is a portage of about a mile in length, over which for some years the natives had been in the habit of carrying their cargoes of wheat and flax, and of dragging their canoes – a simple process, requiring but little capital, but a good stock of back and patience, both of which the natives are possessed of.

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It was thought that by the expenditure of a little money, which the Province might well afford, a canal of a couple of miles in length might be made to allow of the passage for the canoes, and three gentlemen were appointed to examine the swamp and report about the canal.

They were called "The Scientific Commission."

They looked at the swamp, and did not like it.
That it would never do for a canal, was as clear as mud in a wine glass.
They objected to sink floating capital in a canal.
It would incur a debt too heavy to be liquidated, so they threw cold water upon it altogether.
They had been sent to reserve a canal – and they reserved two railroads.
Mr. Ormsby said they were rather too fast.
He tried trigonometry at the Waiuku, and the Provincial Secretary said he was too slow.
It was natural that the slow coach should be in opposition to the railroads.

The Waiuku Improvement Company said they could raise the water to fill the canal, if they could first raise the wind. Difficulties presented themselves, but subscribers did not.

While the "Scientific Commission" declared that the high water level was above the swamps, "a Surveyor" declared that whatever that level might be, to ascertain it was above the level of their abilities. In short what with high water and swamps, and low water and canals, the "tide in the affairs of Man" – is nothing to the tide in the affairs of Manukau!

HOW THE LAND WAS SOLD IN New ZEALAND.

It was first sold in England; this is a bull, but it is true; for it was sold there before it was bought in New Zealand!

It was sold at a pound an acre, and a town lot was thrown in.

Buyers tossed for first choice;
But afterwards complained that it was on the plan of
"Heads, I win; and tails, you lose."
Evidence proved that there was more land bought in New Zealand than the Islands containe; –
The "surplus" was for the use of the Natives!
The land was abused in every possible language: –
At Wellington, it was "nothing but hills";
At Nelson, it was "nothing but swamps";
At the North, it was "rugged and wild" –
At the South, it was "poor and uncultivated": –
So they made College and Grammar School Reserves,
But did not improve the land!

The old claimants demanded titles but could not show what title they had for doing so. Government yielding to outward pressure, Commissioners were appointed to sit on the claims, and the claims were very much compressed by the process. The Commissioners made their Reports, and "report" said they were illiberal: –

"It was sold by those who never saw it,
And bought by those who never paid for it;
Those who sold it had been bought over.
And those who bought it were 'sold.'
It had been bought by Agents for 'the Company' purposes,
It had been bought by whalers, in order to etch whales!

It was sold at the Bay of Islands
For a fig of tobacco!
For a musket!
For a cask of gunpowder!"

So the Commissioners awarded to each claimant 2,560 acres; and the claimants wouldn't take it.

HOW THE LAND WAS SOLD IN AUCKLAND.

The Colonial Minister ordered that "the supply should exceed the demand." Now, the Government had got only a little surveyed, so, in order to comply, they demanded a very high price for the little they were able to supply. But, strange enough! the people paid it, and, like Oliver, "wanted more."

It was sold in large lots.
It was sold in small lots,
It was sold in town lots.
It was sold "in lots to suit purchasers."

It was granted to miners at Kawau; it was granted to majors in the army; to pensioners who had fought in India; to private soldiers who had fought anywhere; but not to those who had fought in New Zealand!

It was sold for £100 an acre,
It was sold for a penny an acre,
It was sold for a pound an acre,
It was sold for 3d. and a pint of beer.

Its history might be described alphabetically: A, was an allotment; B, bid for it; C, conveyed it; D, divided it; F., entered a protest against it; G, got quit of it; his successor H, "hook'd it" – for I, imposed taxes on it; K, kept out of it; L, legislated for it; while "M," mortgaged it, &c, &c.

At Wellington, all this while, the poor land was abused up hill and down dale; until the volcanic soil had good grounds for action; so, being of a hot nature, it turned over a few houses, without giving "notice of motion," and smashed the Bank, where all the land titles were held in security. As the chimneys fell, the price of land fell, for titles were all adrift; so the Legislative Council met on its Standing Orders, and passed a Quieting Titles Bill – which the claimants considered exceedingly unsatisfactory.

After this there was very little land in the market; so having locked up what there was, people turned their attention to its management.

Pasturage regulations were made about it,
Mining regulations were made about it;
Old regulations were made about it;
New regulations were made about it;

Until, at last, after being sufficiently locked up. Sir George Grey let it out again, and the door was opened to speculators: –

"Land at 10s. an acre, with the roads thrown in! Bring your own Surveyors!" was announced, and every one rushed to buy land.

They bought swamps; they bought mud flats;
They bought a fern hill, and called it "Warkworth."
They had Alma-street and Inkermann-street, Raglan-street and Wyndham-street.
Sailors bought inland; and land-sharks bought the water frontages!

THE NEW ZEALAND LAND QUESTION,

Epitomized by "Vox."

How They Surveyed the Land in New Zealand.

First, they surveyed Auckland on board ship!

With a pair of compasses the then Surveyor General drew out Quadrants and Crescents, and "Wheels vithin wheels, Sammy!" which, on landing, he tried to adapt to the ground. But the ground was rugged, and "Nohow"; and had not a mathematical turn; so the Quadrant was turned inside-out; and the Crescent was on too great an incline, yet not at all inclined to look symmetrical. The early Newspapers abused this Crescent, and between the Crescent and the "Cross" the first Surveyor General had no peace.

The Colonial Minister next tried his hand at surveying; and got an Engineer Captain to engage two wood-men, with Bill-hooks, who went to work at six one fine morning, in the "New Forest" to see how long a line they could cut before six at night, while their chiefs went to work to cut up and clear away an amazing quantity of "Venison" and champagne.

Both the Bill-hooks and the bill were charged to the account of the Colony, and some calculations were made which showed clearly that the whole of New Zealand could be surveyed and nicely laid out in about two years.

After cutting down the scrub in the new Forest, the Colonial Minister proceeded to cut down the Colonial expenses – a very scrubby proceeding – and ordered a Chess-board system of survey, cutting the land into square lots of 640 acres, with their halves and quarters. The roads run between the squares, and were all at right angles, running from places no one ever left, through swamps, straight to places no one ever arrived at. The land at the East Tamaki and Pukaki was laid out in this way and remained unsold until surveyed over again in 1850, when it was at once bought up and cultivated.

When Sir George Grey's Regulations came into operation, any one who selected in an out of the way situation might privately get the land surveyed. Thomas, Richard, and Henry, (I dislike nicknames,) were employed, and cut up the land to the best of their ability: but their employers were dissatisfied, and cut up the Survey Staff from the Chief to the Chainman. One claimant was exceedingly affronted about his frontage, and another, whose choice fell on a Reserve, was neither choice or Reserve when speaking about it.

But with all their disadvantages these Regulations were very much suited to the character of the country, and its requirements, on so extended a coast-line, where round every point there is a boat harbour or shipping anchorage, with yet, perhaps, but an inconsiderable extent of good land behind, any large system of Government Survey is most likely to be behind the wants of a continually increasing and enterprising population.

By the system of private survey and immediate possession, each new-comer obtains the spot most suited to his views, as that which he thinks is so, and works on it with twice the energy he would if compelled to select from a narrower field. Mill-sites also, and spots most suited to ship-building are obtained with facility. Trading and sawing stations are legally obtained by those who would otherwise be but squatters.

It was the nearest approach to Free trade in Land!

Now land-selling being no body's business in particular, every one has a crotchet on the subject, every one says "open up the land," and denounces all plans but his own as the very means of shutting it up. One party says "Working Settler's Land won't work," and that Special Occupation lots are not occupied. The other party thinks when a Land Commissioner proposes the yearly payment of interest, that he has interested motives. And the other Commissioner, who explains a system of credit, gets no credit for his system!

Why not have free trade in land, as in corn?

Fancy there being "Working Settlers corn" or
Special Occupation Beef.
Beer for small-holders, or
A particular kind of milk for those who have paid their own passages!

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TARANAKI.

THE VOLUNTEER AND MILITIA OFFICERS.

[OUR readers will remember that allusion was made to an unfortunate dispute between the officers and privates of these corps. The following explanation has been sent to us by one upon whose word we can rely.]

On Thursday eighty men of the militia and volunteers were warned to go on an expedition against the Maoris at Matarikoriko; but it was understood that this was not a general order, as the General said, with justice, that the settlers had lost enough already in lives and property, and he had plenty of troops now; but if any of the settlers liked to volunteer to go they might; but if he took them out to the field he should have to leave soldiers in their place.

Instead of any of the officers saying anything to the men about it (which of course would have been beneath them, as they seem to think them mere machines or ladders on which they may mount to fame and profit) they went and informed the General that eighty men wished to go; and accordingly they detailed that number for it, who are the same men that have been out on every expedition in which militia and volunteers have been engaged. Great dissatisfaction prevailed everywhere on account of the contemptuous manner in which they had been treated, and the greater number said that, come what would, they would not go. Accordingly at bugle call on Friday morning only forty-seven of the men appeared, and on the Sergeant asking the Captain whether he should send for the rest of the men, the Captain said, 'No, let them go ---' The Colonel coming up shortly after and seeing that they had not all assembled, said, 'Is your number correct?' To which the Major replied that it was the men's wish to go, and he could not understand why they were not there. He might have understood had he, and others like him, behaved to the men as if they were Englishmen. However, the Colonel, guessing perhaps how things really stood, dismissed them all, which made the officers to rage.

During the day the men who had not appeared on parade in the morning were summoned to attend at the Militia Office to give a reason why they did not do so, which was merely a form, as no one was [...]

Another inducement taken from [?] that all arms or plunder have to [?] collected by men appointed for the purpose and none of which ever comes to the [?] share. Besides all this the field [?] taken away, and it is reduced to fifteen [?] a day. Under these circumstances the [?] considered their place to be in the town to protect it and their families. However they were sent to a blockhouse in the vicinity of the town, called Fort Murray, and [?] confined, and allowed to go into town once a week.

Two of the men have been imp[?] and had their hair cropped; one, b[?] it was said that he laughed when he was marched off to the blockhouse; the other (who, by the by, had saved a soldier's life by bayoneting a Maori), for refusing to come out of the guardroom, in which he was confined, to go on the expedition.

It is by such conduct that all patience has been driven out of the men of the Province, and all inducements to fighting have been taken away, because if a settler [was] to get disabled in service and is not [able] to get his living by his hands, he is immediately offered his discharge without any promise of pension or support in any way. A case of this kind occurred the other day [?] a man who was wounded in the attack on Kihikihi, by which all the muscles [?] destroyed, so that he will not be able to labor for his bread, he refused his discharge on that plea.

It becomes a serious question to any who have families, how they are to be maintained if the men be killed or wounded.

NEW ZEALAND PROVERBS. – He who is [?] in fight is apt to humble, but he who is v[igorous?] in cultivating food will die of old age.

Fuel is only sought against winter but [?] required all the day long.

We can search every corner of the ho[?] the corner of the heart we cannot.

A small man is not to be despised, [?] thought small, he may be like the tough t[?]

Passing clouds can be seen, but not [passing?] thoughts.

They who give as well as take shall prosper[?]

If a man yawns when fishing, he will catch fish. – Dr. Arthur Thomson's Story of New Zealand.

RE-NAMING NEW ZEALAND.

[ABRIDGED FROM A PAPER BY W. H. BLYTH, CONTRIBUTED TO THE AUCKLAND INSTITUTE BY W. D. CAMPBELL.]

While on the one hand the poet exclaims, "What's in a name? the rose by any other name would smell as sweet," making but a trifle of the matter, on the other hand, an old saying, "Give a dog a bad name, and hang him," views the subject in a much more serious light, maintaining that the ill-gifting is fatal. Though the latter saying doubtless refers to a bad name in a moral sense, yet, without controversy, it is an advantage to have an euphonious name. Even genius is handicapped with a commonplace or ugly one. It is justly felt that worthy things need adequately worthy and appropriate names. Names, however, as a rule, are a matter of inheritance and accident, and so are the more easily acquiesced in, and in a case where the name, however commonplace originally, has been redeemed by a long series of illustrious deeds, one not only gets reconciled to it, but even proud to bear it. Nevertheless, in a literal sense, "A good name is as ointment poured forth."

Many suggestions have been put forth at different times for the correction of the Dutch misappellation, New Zealand, and now that the federation of the Australasian Colonies is becoming realisable, a good opportunity is offered of acquiring a more congenial name. None have more vigorously denounced the present one than the late Mr. Charles Hursthouse in his work, "New Zealand, the Britain of the South." Mr. Hursthouse says: – "It appears to me that the name which New Zealand bears is a very mean and sorry one. No man ever did less for any country he discovered than the Dutchman Tasman did for New Zealand. He came, saw, and left it; he never even set foot on its shores. It is doubtful whether he was even the first discoverer. The name, moreover, which Tasman gave is the name of a flat little province of Holland, no more resembling New Zealand than a jelly-fish resembles a whale. Unfortunate in her name as a country, New Zealand has been equally unfortunate in the matter of the naming of the divisions of the country, New Ulster, New Munster, and New Leinster. Happily, however, these Colonial-Office-born names are gradually becoming a thing of the past, although they, in common with 'Eahino Mawe,' 'Tavai Poenamu,' 'Te Ika-a-Maui,' and the like nomenclatural jargon, still disfigure some of our maps." Mr. Hursthouse goes on to say: – "Swan River has been changed, to West Australia, Port Philip to Victoria, Van Dieman's Land to Tasmania, Moreton Bay to Queensland. I think, then, there are substantial reasons why this re-christening process might be extended to New Zealand."

It may be interesting to enquire, Why it has been so easy a matter re-naming the Australian Colonies and yet so difficult to rename this country? It is plain we have precedents in plenty for such change. The inappropriateness of the name is as urgent an argument in this case as in that of the sister colonies. What hinders, then, the desired consummation? An answer is given, and it is hoped a satisfactory one, in this paper.

It will conduce much to the elucidation of this point to continue the comparative method shadowed out by Mr. Hursthouse, and enquire, What forces operated to bring about the change for the Australian Colonies? Have such forces been active in this country? If so, what counter current may be conjectured to have modified the impact of these influences, and secured the retention of the present name? Is the triumph of this counter current final, or is it still possible to re-name New Zealand? And, if it be yet possible, how is this end to be secured?

The only influence, other than patriotism, that secures the retention of a physically inappropriate name is, so to speak, the mechanical one, retention by authority, in a case where the mother country occupied the territories, or at least maintained her sovereignty over them. Were the rule to pass into other hands, that is, hands alien to the mother nationality, the names would be fated, being unable to bear up against their native inappropriateness, combined, as it would now be, with the inimical influences setting in under the new regime.

As far as the Australian Colonies are concerned, it is undoubted that this influence was most potent in changing the old Dutch names. New Holland gave place to Australia. Edel Land, Nuyts, De Witts, &c, gradually disappeared from the maps. The same influence has in the past clamoured for change of name for this country. On this head, then, the cases of these different colonies are identical, for the same all-powerful agency, still at work, seems undermining the name of the island.

In one respect, however, there seems to be less urgency here for such change than presented itself in the sister colonies. As an able article in the Auckland Weekly News pointed out, the Australians felt the necessity for veiling their antecedents, and for toning down the notoriety that clung to the early English names of the Australian Colonies (there being no prejudice against these from an alien point of view). This is doubtless the true cause provoking the farther change of name. New Zealand is on this head sans reproche. She has nothing in her past to regret in the way of respectability, having at the hands of the mother country enjoyed the advantage of the most favoured nation. But it must be remembered that New South Wales, the oldest of the penal settlements, still retains her original name, and that even the notorious Botany Bay is not interdicted. However, it may be alleged that the view advanced is sufficiently correct, and that the Australians were glad to break from the names of sorrow, and hail the names of brighter import. But, while the Australians were thus desirous to forget, a wish to remember has conserved the name New Zealand beyond its demerits, and this result, conservation, has been mainly due to the interest that has ever attached to its aboriginal people. The Maori, by his native worth, has made the name so conspicuous in the past that its expungement would almost seem as the symbol of the effacement of this most interesting of so-called savage races. Nevertheless, even such sacrifice might advantageously be made, if a really suitable but euphonious name could be substituted. This is the one desideratum, the hitherto suggested names, for the most part, being monstrosities.

The following may serve as specimens: – Amongst the earliest and best, perhaps, is Zealandia. But here we have no severance if the Dutch connection, and the jelly-fish objection is here as valid as in the case of New Zealand. Mr. Hursthouse, who commended this substitute, also advocated the merits of South Britain or the Britain of the South. In the form of Austral Britain it might do. Another proposed Sea Land, but this is simply the Dutch name in an English dress, and the hissing sibilant of the substitute is hardly an improvement on the softer Zealand of the foreigner. Someone else, with an ear attuned, one would suppose, to appreciate a cat concert, thought of Maoria, but Maoria and Maorians are names hardly to be desired. The late Richard Taylor favoured Australbion, but there would be the difficulty of designating the people "Australbions" or "Australbonions" or what? Dr. Haast suggested Cooksland, but there is a certain flavour about this non-euphonious name that very naturally modified the honour sought to be conferred on our country's true discoverer, Captain Cook.

Two forms of names, it will have been seen, have particularly been favoured in the naming of these Southern regions. The classical one already indicated as

Australia, Tasmania, and the combinations with land, as Queensland, Southland, and Westland. The latter were peculiarly favoured by the Dutch in these seas, who, imagining that their discoveries embraced part of the Terra Australia Incognita, the fabled Southern land, gave the names Van Dieman's Land, De Witt's Land, Endraght Land, Edel Land, Nuyt's Land, &c, to the supposed portions. In choosing a name for New Zealand, it would be better perhaps to exclude the forms in land, reserving such for divisions of the country, as the principle has already been adopted to some extent, and consider only the classical candidates, some name with the termination "ia" beside those already examined. It is thought probable that New Zealand was visited earlier than the time of Tasman by the Spaniards, as there exists a remarkably correct Spanish chart of Dusky Bay of very early date, and Dusky Bay was not a place which Tasman appears to have visited. Would that the Spaniards had had the naming of this land, for they were very princes in the art! We should probably have had little cause for change or regret. It is impossible to say exactly what associations would have guided these people to a choice. Most of their names have a religious bearing, but it might be that the name their own country had once borne would have commended itself – Hesperida, the Land of the Evening, or the Setting Sun. The Greeks first gave the name to the lands they discovered to the west of them, that is, Italy. The Latins sent the name to the land to their west, Spain. Spain in turn rendered the name untenable by her discoveries of yet remoter regions to her west. Then, if it be true that from these remoter western lands she yet pushed her discoveries to that debate-able region, "Where the west is east, and the east is west," and found the true land of the evening, what better name could she have given than Hesperia? What hinders the choice now? Is it impossible to revive the old name Hesperia? In its configuration, in the axis of its mountains, its Alpine, its volcanic feature, its general trend in inverted form, there is much in our country to recall the original Hesperia, Italy.

In the event of federation becoming *un fait accompli*, Australia, Tasmania, and Hesperia would go well together. Despite the fact that New Zealand lies to the eastward of Australia and one and a-half degrees, or about 30 miles, on the eastward side of the Greenwich meridian, the name would hold good, as New Zealand belongs to the Western Hemisphere, as recognised by the civilisation of Europe, and is sufficiently distant from Australia to retain her individuality in the new relationship. And, then, Hesperia would be no more a misnomer in her federal connection with Australia than Australia (that is, the Great South Land) would be in her connection with Hesperia (that is, the West Land), seeing the former lies somewhat to the north of the latter, otherwise New Zealand that now is.

The apparent anomalies presented by the names would be rather an advantage than otherwise, symbolising independence with union, and pointing to the mother country (Great Britain) as the grand local point of sympathy. The Australian Colonies would be sisters, as it were, through their relationship to the mother country, Australia and Tasmania the farthest south, Hesperia (New Zealand) the farthest of her daughters west. The beauty of the name Hesperia few will dispute. The continued shiftings, as already indicated, mark the horizons of the old world discoveries. The vaster discoveries of Spain left the name in abeyance, till the possibilities of farther discoveries in the undiscovered west should haply reach the borders of the east, and it would seem, from waiting so long in abeyance the name passed from among the possessions of the earth and lived only as a memory in the world. That land of the west, emphatically the land of the setting, or evening, sun, has been found, and wondrously satisfies the Ideal of the old poets. If names should symbolise thoughts, the dream of such a land, as realised in this our country, should, one would think, from the fitness of things find expression in the revival of the old name.

Does it follow, however, that Hesperia, or, in fact, any name, will succeed in supplanting the old historic New Zealand? Who shall say? It may be that, after all is said, "The gods themselves cannot recall their gifts."

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