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The Waikato War, 1863-64

John Featon

First published by 'Printed and published for the proprietor by J. D. Wickham, Freelance General Printing Office' in [1879]

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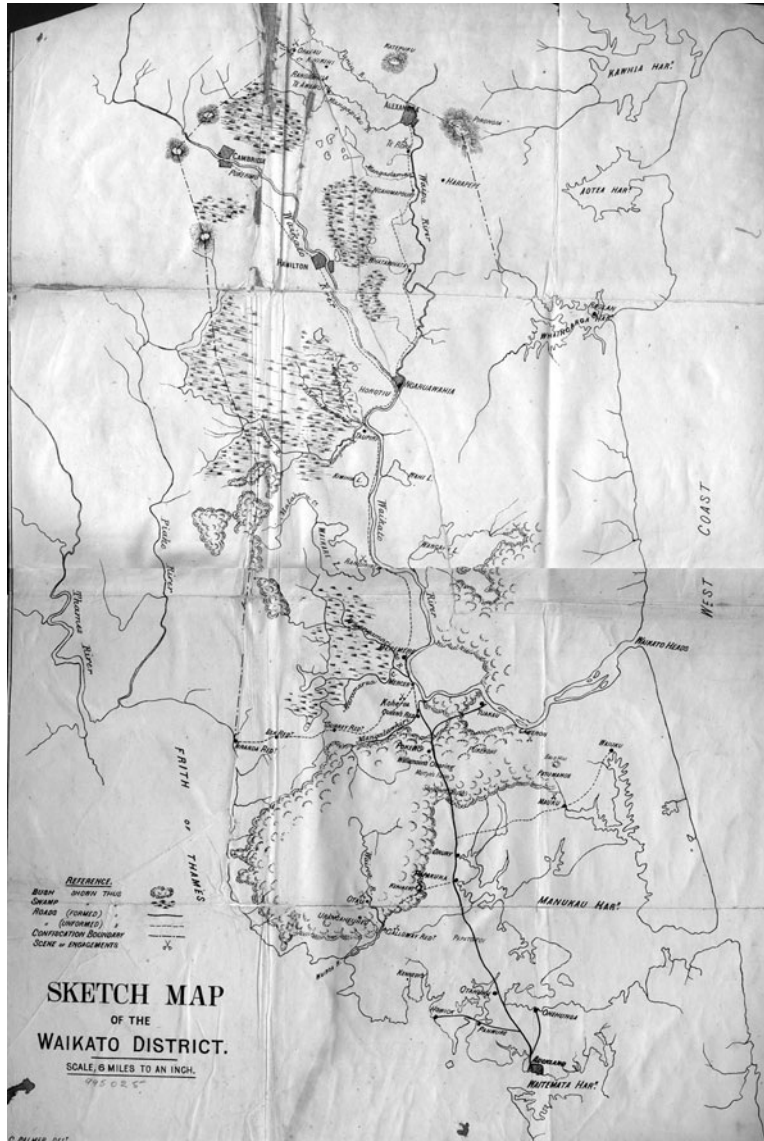
ISBN 978-1-927289-14-3

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SKETCH MAP OF THE WAIKATO DISTRICT.



TA WHIAO.

TAWHIAO.

THE
WAIKATO WAR,
1863-4.

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By John Featon.

AUCKLAND;
Printed and Published for the Proprietor by J. D. WICKHAM, FREE LANCE General Printing Office, Vulcan Lane.

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[PREFACE]

PREFACE.

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SIXTEEN years have glided like phantom ships on the vast ocean of time, and have one by one disappeared below the horizon of the past since the Waikato war convulsed the Province of Auckland. Hundreds who took part in that campaign have since died, and many hundreds are still living, not a few being amongst us at the present time in this Province of Auckland; but the middle-aged have become grey and wrinkled, and the young men middle-aged, whilst those who were at the time of the war but mere children, knowing nothing, understanding nothing of the dread pomp and circumstance of war, are now our young men, the flower and hope of the country. To this class of reader a history of the campaign in which their fathers were actors will no doubt be specially interesting. The numerous enquiries both from England and in this colony for a work on the Waikato war have induced the writer to attempt the present task. One or two works on the subject, written by Imperial Officers, have been published in England, but they are very scarce and cannot now, without some difficulty, be obtained, and, although they are excellent from a military point of view, as detailing the operations of the Imperial Forces, they have almost entirely ignored the services rendered by the Colonial Militia and Volunteers. This important omission the author has endeavoured to rectify, and has given full prominence to the services of the

Colonial Forces wherever found worthy of notice.

Since the war all has changed. Townships have sprung up where clustered the native whare, and cultivated fields have taken the place of barren wastes. The paddle-steamer beats its way against the swift running stream of the Waikato, and the shrill scream of the railway engine startles the pukeko (swamp hen) as it rushes across the morass, over creeks, and through deep cuttings, taking a few hours on its journey when before the canoe took days. All has changed.

In placing the history of the Waikato war before the public, the author has not attempted to dive into the political history of the campaign. To do so would cause much time and trouble in gathering details from musty old Blue Books, and would not greatly interest the general reader. What the author has endeavoured to do is to give an authentic history or detailed account of the operations of both the Imperial and Colonial Forces that were engaged in the Waikato war of 1863 and 1864, obtained from the despatches of General Cameron, the author's own personal observations, and various other authentic sources. The author takes this opportunity of thanking the numerous friends who were present in the campaign and have kindly placed their memoranda at his disposal, thus enabling him to lay before the reader many interesting incidents connected with the war that have hitherto been known only to a few.

J. F.

Auckland, June 23rd, 1879.

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REWI.
Chief of the Ngamaniapotos.
(FROM A PHOTO. BY PULMAN, SHORTLAND ST.)

REWI.
Chief of the Ngamaniapotos.
FROM A PHOTO BY PULMAN, SHORTLAND ST.

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CHAPTER I.

THE WAIKATO WAR.

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CHAPTER I.

IN the early part of the year 1863 the storm clouds of war which had for so long hung like a funeral pall over, and devastated fair Province of Taranaki, banked on the southern horizon of Auckland, and the daily increasing hostile attitude of the Waikato Tribes towards the settlers might have been likened to the thunder which, muttering at a distance, portends the coming storm.

The sugar and flour policy which the government had adopted seemed to do no good, being looked upon as a sign of weakness on the part of the Pakeha, who would give anything to conciliate the proud Waikatos. A road that had been constructed over the Pokeno Ranges towards the Waikato gave great offence to the natives, and at several large meetings that were held, it was decided that if the Pakehas moved one step further towards the Waikato the tribes should at once rise, and sweep the hated white man off the face of the earth.

The temporary cessation of hostilities at Taranaki liberated large numbers of the Waikatos who had been actively assisting the Taranaki Tribes in their operations against the Troops, and these returning to their several districts helped in no small way to fan the glowing embers of rebellion into a flame. The few missionaries and Pakeha Maoris residing with the natives had sharp notice to quit. Their goods and chattels were appropriated, and in some instances the Maori wives and half-cast children of the Pakeha were taken from them. A printing establishment which the government had erected at Te Awamutu was broken into by a mob of natives who smashed the machinery to pieces, and ejected the superintendent, Mr Gorst, who shortly afterwards returned to England, and gained a some what unenviable notoriety by his virulent attacks upon the New Zealand colonists.

One of the Waikato Natives who took a prominent part in destroying the printing press, Aporo by name, had the hardihood to make his appearance in Auckland, where he was promptly seized by the police, tried and sentenced to some two or three years imprisonment. The arrest and incarceration of Aporo increased the wrath of the Waikatos and especially the Ngatimaniapotos to which tribe Aporo belonged. Meetings were held to consider what steps should be taken to recover their lost brother. The result was that an impudent letter was forwarded to the Governor demanding the release of Aporo, and in the event of non-compliance it threatened that the natives would at once march upon Auckland, destroy the town and liberate the prisoner. As the reader will imagine no notice was taken of the natives' threat, and Aporo remained in gaol.

The Kingites, as the Waikatos styled themselves, were so called on account of their having set up for themselves a King. Their reigning potentate was Tawhiao son of their first king, old Potatau, who died a short time before this period. The idea of having a king, or the king movement, was started by Wiremu Thompson, one of

the leading Waikato chiefs, who was afterwards called "The King-maker." This great and good chief, always friendly disposed towards the Pakehas, tried in vain to stem the growing spirit of rebellion amongst his countrymen, and he predicted what he afterwards lived to see, viz., the confiscation of their lands, and before he died, which event took place some years after the war was ended, he exhorted his countrymen to live on friendly terms with the Pakeha.

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The remains of Wiremu Thompson are buried on his ancestral ground at Mata Mata, and an inscription on a stone monument over his grave informs the traveller that it was erected to his memory by his friend, J. C. Firth, Esq., of Auckland.

The Maori king resided, and held his court at Ngaruawahia, which is situated at the junction of the Waipa and Waikato rivers. Here important matters were discussed and decided by the king and leading chiefs, who, when occasion required, assembled from all parts of the Waikato. The following account of a state visit that the late king Potatau paid to Waiuku will give the reader an idea of the pomp which surrounded the dusky monarch upon his travels.

On Thursday morning the 8th of March, 1860, a fleet of canoes from the settlements within the Manukau, manned by a considerable body of natives, arrived at Waiuku laden with dried shark, potatoes, and other eatables. Next day Potatau with a large party of Waikato natives arrived at Pura Pura, and on Saturday the old chief (king) came over to Waiuku in state.

The procession consisted first of from seventy to a hundred natives about four deep, then came a body-guard of from twenty to thirty carrying fowling pieces, next the standard-bearer with a green streamer having painted on it a red cross and the words "The Truth;" old Potatau came next seated on a pony with a tartan shawl thrown over it. The pony was led, and two women of the household walked alongside. Then came the general body of natives, women laden with kai kai and baggage bringing up the rear. On reaching the royal tent the standard was stuck into the earth, and the old chief seating himself on the ground received a general greeting.

The Maoris living in the vicinity of the out-settlers prepared for the coming struggle, which all could see was inevitable, by converting their live stock into cash, with which they bought powder, caps, and guns – from whom? – has long been an open question. No doubt a good deal of ammunition and many stands of arms found their way into the hands of the natives from Sydney traders who ran their schooners into Kawhia for that purpose; the natives have confessed as much to the writer, but we cannot disguise from ourselves the dreadful fact that traitors were in our midst, who trafficked with the natives secretly for the sale of munitions of war, one of the most dreadful of crimes, and for which death alone is the just punishment.

A strict Arms Act was in force, but there were few if any convictions, and to this day there are no doubt some who stalk proudly amongst us, with a bold front, in the full glare of the noonday sun, who live on the fat of the land purchased with their blood money. Their face is fair, but the brand of Cain is upon their brow although invisible to human eyes.

When bullets and caps could not be obtained by the natives, old lead, matches, and boxes of brass eyelets were eagerly sought after, and were used as munitions of war. The heads of the matches were placed in the brass eyelets, which fitted on the nipple of the gun, and made not a bad substitute for caps.

The fire arms that the Maoris possessed were not such as to inspire their owners with confidence, being an assortment of old Tower and ship muskets and single and double fowling pieces. They had very few revolvers or bayonets, for which their tomahawk was supposed to be a substitute. Some of their old muskets were so very ancient that they might have done duty at Waterloo, and were quite as dangerous to the party who fired as to the enemy aimed at.

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The natives growing more insolent day by day the settlers in the outlying districts had an anxious time of it, and became alarmed at the attitude which the Maoris

assumed towards them, with whom in most cases they had been on amicable terms for years. The hitherto friendly greeting and shake of the hands ceased, and each party viewed the other with suspicion.

It was no uncommon thing for armed natives to stalk boldly into the settlers' houses, squat down in the rooms unbidden, walk into the kitchen, appropriate the contents of the pots on the fire, and demand tobacco, pipes, or matches, and if these were not given with a good grace, the unfortunate settler was treated with threats of a bloodthirsty character. To appeal to the law was useless; it was powerless, and the Queen's writ a myth, and it is so to this day in the native districts. The settlers had to put up with the insolence of the natives as best they could, to wait, hope, and pray that if the time for hostilities had nearly come it would come soon, in justice and mercy to both races alike.

CHAPTER II.

THE WAIKATO WAR.

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CHAPTER II.

THE out-districts of Auckland towards Waikato at the commencement of the war extended but little further south than Drury, and the country beyond was almost a terra incognita. From Drury to the Waikato, some sixteen miles, there existed but a short time before only a rough bridle track over the densely-wooded Pokeno Ranges with here and there a few settlers' homesteads cleared out of the primeval forest, but in view of eventualities, the time had come when the solitude of the woods was dispelled, for several detachments of troops had just completed a cart road over the ranges and on towards the Waikato River, which ran gleaming like a silver thread through the king country.

Dr. Hochstetter in his work on New Zealand, speaking of this Prince of New Zealand rivers, says: – "The impression made by the sight of the majestic stream is truly grand. It is only with the Danube or Rhine that I can compare the mighty river which we have just entered. The Waikato is the principal river in the North Island. Both as to the length of its course and quantity of water, it surpasses all the others. The pieces of pumice stone which its waters are continually carrying along, piling them up on its banks and at its confluence with the sea, point to its origin in the vicinity of the extensive volcanic hearth in the centre of the island. Its sources spring from the very core of the land. Its waters roll through the most fertile and most beautiful fields, populated by numerous and most powerful tribes of the natives, who have taken their name from it. No second river of New Zealand has such an importance as the grand thoroughfare for the interior of the country. The Waikato is in truth the main artery of the North Island, and this grand stream wants but one thing, i.e., an open unobstructed entrance from the sea.

"While a great many other rivers of New Zealand, as for example the nearest neighbours of the Waikato, the Piako and Waihou, or the Wairoa in the North are emptying into protected bays of the sea, widening near their mouths into broad estuaries by which the sea penetrates far into the interior of the land, and where the regular change of ebb and flow enables larger and smaller vessels to pass from the river into the sea, there are huge sandbanks piled in front of the mouth of the Waikato upon which the sea breaks in foaming surges. This is a matter of great importance, for those sandbanks which prevent the passing in and out of larger vessels are a natural bulwark for the natives. They look upon the Waikato more than upon any other river of New Zealand as being the river exclusively their own. Never up to the time of my journey (1859) had a boat of European construction been known to float upon the proud native stream, the Mississippi of the Maoris.

"Two mission stations, the one at its mouth (Kohanga), the other at Taupiri, were at that time the only European settlements on the banks of the river where the Maori king had taken up his abode. From his residence at Ngaruawahia, where the Waipa mingles its waters with those of the Waikato, the national flag of Nuitireni was floating proudly in the breeze, and from among the bushes of the flax plant, the toetoe-grass, and the titrees, the Maori huts were everywhere peeping forth, now single, now in clusters of miniature villages, and surrounded by thriving plantations. Flats are alternate along the course of the river, with fern hills, or with dusky wood-clad mountain ridges, and the picturesque landscape sceneries are developing themselves there, where the river in a narrow gorge of rocks is breaking through the mountain chains. The Waikato, at the junction of the Mangatawhiri, has a breadth of about half-a-mile. It encompasses several wood-clad islands, and after having passed in an almost precise south then north direction through extensive low lands, the lower Waikato basin, it makes here a sudden bend to the west. It breaks through a low coast range, and empties twenty miles further below on the West Coast into the sea."

"Never," says Dr. Hochstetter, "never up to the time of my journey had a boat of European construction been known to float upon the proud native stream – the Mississippi of the Maoris," and if the natives had retained possession of the river, no boat of European construction would have floated on it to the present

day, for the canoe is far better adapted to make headway against the rapid river than a boat, be it ever so well manned. Again, running into the main stream, there are numerous small creeks obstructed with logs and snags, which, though retarding the passage of a boat, the canoe, on account of its light draught, floats over easily.

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The quantities of maize, potatoes, flax, and pigs, that the Waikato natives used to ship away, and pour annually into the Auckland market would scarcely be credited. For transit to Auckland the route was down the Waikato River, then up the Awaroa tidal creek not far from the Waikato Heads to Pura Pura, the landing place close to Waiuku. The freight was then carted across the portage some two miles, and shipped in cutters or small schooners to Onehunga. At Pura Pura there was a bacon-curing establishment, that was able to forward bacon to Auckland by the ton, equal in quality to the best Canterbury bacon of the present day.

Sometimes cargoes of maize, wheat, potatoes, and flax were shipped direct from the Waikato to Sydney or other ports in schooners that used to cross the bar for that purpose. Those were halcyon days for the Waikatos. Money they were never short of. The Waikato Heads provided them with an abundance of fish, from the snapper to the dainty "guard," whilst in the fresh water, higher up the river, shoals of whitebait and the esculent eel were to be had for the trouble of getting. Their plantations were luxuriant with maize, wheat, potatoes, pumpkins, and kumeras; and their gullies were swarmed with the wild pig and not a few cattle. For clothing, if they did not care to purchase that of European make, the flax plant rustled in the swamps and on the side of every river bank.

Perhaps no savage tribes that ever existed in any part of the globe had such an abundance of the good things of this world. But a few years had passed since they were cannibals. Many of them still in the prime of life could remember and had partaken of a cannibal feast.

The Rev. B. Y. Ashwell, who is still amongst us, and to whom and his brother missionaries the Waikatos are said to owe so much, mentions in his interesting brochure, entitled "Recollections of a Waikato Missionary," a cannibal feast at which he was a spectator. He says, "On my arrival at Otawhao, I found the Ngatiruru, with their chiefs Puata and Mokoro, had just returned from Rotorua. They had been victorious, and were carrying baskets of human flesh to cook. Not less than sixty backloads were brought into the pah at Otawhao. The next day, July 30th, 1839, was a great feast of human flesh. I quitted the pah in disgust, and I said to the Whare Kura, i. e., those natives disposed to Christianity, 'Come, let us leave this pah, and build a pah for Christ.' This they assented to readily, and more than two hundred left. A site was chosen on the Awamutu (where the barrack and large bridge now stand), and a pah was built; and, at the request of the Whare Kura, I drew up laws and regulations for them."

With the commencement of hostilities, the prosperity of the Waikatos was destroyed, and has not since been restored. They are like a changed people.

What the political cause of the war was it is not my province to enter into here. Some say one thing, some say another. For my own part I do not know, but I do know that apart from all politics the settlers as a body did not want war. To them it meant in many cases ruin and a cruel wasting of the best and strongest years of their lives. I also do know that the Waikatos, some time before hostilities commenced, openly despised the Queen's authority, and assumed such a front and bearing towards their European neighbours that if the Governor had not taken upon himself to have declared war, the settlers would have been compelled to have

done so whatever might have been the consequences, their very existence as a body being menaced.

The Waikatos hated the settlers with an exceeding great hate, and how a native can hate the reader will be able to judge from the fact of its having been known that whilst vehemently declaiming against the pakeha at a meeting the declaimer has worked himself up into such a frightful state of excitement as to fall down dead. Pride and jealousy perhaps, more than anything else, more, perhaps, than land, were the root of the evil, especially as for as the Waikatos were concerned. The wise Wiremu Thompson, son of the great Te Wharoa, knew of the pride and jealousy

that raged in his people's hearts. He cautioned them against it and foretold their doom. They heeded him not. They cared more for the crafty and ferocious Ngatimaniapoto chief, Rewi. The doom that he prophesied was the doom of the pakeha. When he wrote to the Taranakis urging them to attack the soldiers, he said, "Red Plumes! Plumes of the Kaka! The doom has been fixed at Kawhia! Once the fighting! twice! three! four times! Seize your weapons! Twist the fastenings tightly! Bind them fast! Now unbind! Strike! Fell! Let it fall!!"

Shortly after the completion of the military road, Colonel Leslie, with a detachment of the 40th Regiment, took up a position at Pokeno, on the Waikato side of the ranges, and commenced throwing up a large redoubt, which was called the "Queen's." This post commanded the approach to Auckland by an enemy from the Waikato river, and afforded a base from which operations could be directed against the Kingites.

Numbers of natives from the neighbouring settlements came each day, watching the soldiers at work, and holding great arguments amongst themselves concerning it as they squatted on the ground. At times they would mingle with the soldiers, and beg tobacco, matches, &c At last the day arrived when the redoubt was finished, and over which, from the top of a flagstaff, the British ensign flipped and flapped in the breeze, at which the natives stared, and pointed up to it with their dirty pipes, and traced on the ground with a stick a rough outline of the redoubt – flagstaff, flag, and all.

The frontier townships consisted of the Wairoa, Drury, the Mauku, and Waiuku, and at each of these settlements meetings were held by the settlers to discuss the advisability of taking immediate steps to defend themselves against any sudden attack from the natives, who, on the other hand, were afraid that the settlers would suddenly rise and shoot them down. The following incident will illustrate the state of the out-districts at the time, and the mutual distrust that existed between the natives and the settlers.

A few miles from the Maukau, towards the Waikato River a hill called "The Bald Hill" rises up to a great height, and can be seen a long way off. To celebrate a marriage that took place a bonfire was foolishly lighted on the top of the hill by some of the settlers. When night set in the illumination was mistaken as a signal for the natives to rise and attack the settlers, and the natives firmly believed on the other hand that it signified a general rising of the settlers against them. The terrified settlers congregated for mutual protection, and the men stood under arms, some with fowling pieces, old muskets, axes, or any weapon they could lay their hands on, the whole night long, and how long such nights are can, only be known to those who have undergone similar heavy hours of suspense. The sigh of the night wind in the woods, the falling crash of a tree's decayed limb or the distant bark of a watch-dog, denoted the approach of the enemy, and excitement was wrought up to the highest pitch. The natives, alarmed, deserted their whares, and with gun in one hand and tomahawk in the other, hid themselves in the forest. The next morning the affair was explained, and the settlers, re-assured, returned to their usual avocations, but some of the natives did not return to their settlements for two or three days.

And so the early part of the year had slowly passed away, and June dawned on the Auckland district with its cold winds, its rain, and long dark nights. "See the stars," said the natives, "how red they are. It is a sign of war."

CHAPTER III.

CHAPTER III.

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ACTIVE preparations were now made for an invasion of the Waikato. A camp had been formed at Otahuhu, and huts erected for the accommodation of a large number of troops. Colonel Leslie at the Queen's Redoubt had been reinforced, and an advanced post taken up at the Mangatawhiri Creek. In the meanwhile the Waikatos had not been idle. A large number of them had assembled at Rangiriri, and were busy throwing up extensive

earthworks, and a fleet of canoes was collected for the purpose of conveying a force that was to march on and burn Auckland.

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On the 23rd of June, a day memorable to the citizens of Auckland, a circular was issued from Government House by the Governor, Sir George Grey, calling out for active service four hundred militiamen from the first division of the Auckland district. These comprised all unmarried men capable of bearing arms, from sixteen up to forty years of age. The names of the militiamen liable to be drawn were written on separate pieces of paper or card of uniform size, and then placed in a bag. The officer appointed to command the militia, Colonel Thomas Rawlings Mould, of the Royal Engineers, in the presence of a Justice of the Peace, drew from the bag one by one as many pieces of paper or card as there were men required. The men whose names were drawn had to serve. The pay of the militia was 2s 6d per diem and rations such as supplied to Her Majesty's Regular Forces. The clothing consisted of one muffin cap, the same as worn by the troops, one blue shirt or jumper, one pair of trousers with a red stripe down, two pairs of boots, one pair of gaiters and one great coat provided at the expense of the Government. When on service outside the Auckland militia district, one shilling a day extra pay was given.

The Governor's circular, as may be imagined, caused great excitement amongst the bachelors, who, however, did not respond to the call of duty so readily as the authorities desired. Numbers of them, to escape service, delayed no longer, but popped the question, and got married right away, to the great delight of the young ladies concerned, and others, hoping to be tied up in holy bonds some day, objected on principle to run the chance of being cut off in the flower of their youth and beauty. The martial flame of the Auckland citizens had evidently not been yet kindled, and they were not particularly eager to close with the wily savage in his native woods and swamps. The fact of a great many not coming forward for enrolment called forth shortly afterwards from the Deputy Adjutant General of Militia and Volunteers the following unique notice, which will doubtless be interesting to the readers of the present day: –

"Many Militiamen of the first-class (unmarried from sixteen to forty) not having enrolled their names as required by law, I request Militiamen and Volunteers now doing duty, or any other person who may know such individuals who shirk their fair share of duty, to enclose the shirker's name and place of residence in an envelope, and place it in the Post-office, addressed thus:

"On Public Service Only.
Deputy Adjutant General of Militia and Volunteers,
Auckland."

"Legal proceedings will be taken against them. No postage stamps are required on the letter.

H. C. BALNEAVIS,
Deputy Adjutant General of Militia and Volunteers."

On July 3rd the head quarters of the 2nd battalion 18th regiment consisting of 28 officers and 290 rank and file, arrived in Auckland harbour, from England, in the transport Elizabeth Ann Bright. The next morning they disembarked and marched through Queen-street, headed by the band of the 65th regiment, en route to the camp at Otahuhu, where the 14th and detachments of the 12th and 70th regiments had been quartered for some time previously. A few days afterwards, this force, including the newly-arrived 18th, numbering in all about 1,200 men, marched to Pokeno forming on the way a camp at Drury where 170 of the 18th regiment were left behind.

The 65th regiment, then stationed in the Albert Barracks, Auckland, left their quarters at 4 a.m. on the 9th en route for the front, and were followed next day by Captain Mercer's Battery Royal Artillery, consisting of 170 men, 50 of whom were mounted, with 4 six-pounder Armstrong guns, 4 twenty-four pounder howitzers, and 1 nine-pounder. The Volunteers and the Militia mounted guard in the Albert Barracks in place of the troops that had left. Immediately after the Artillery, General Cameron left Auckland for the front. Six large boats and thirty seamen from H. M. S. Harrier went up the Manukau

harbour to Drury. The boats were then carted on to the Mangatawhiri Creek, for river service on the Waikato.

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A strong force of some 2,000 men being now assembled at the Queen's Redoubt, General Cameron upon his arrival immediately advanced, or, as military historians would say, threw the 14th regiment across the Mangatawhiri Creek, and occupied a strong position on the Kohiroa Hills.

The Colonial Defence force, under the command of Colonel Nixon, and which did such good and hard service for the country, was now raised. Placards were posted about the town and suburbs inviting good horsemen to join the corps, the headquarters, which was to be at Otahuhu. Horses, arms, and appointments were furnished to non-commissioned officers and privates. The pay was, for sergeants, 7s 6d; corporals, 6s 6d; and troopers 5s per day finding their own rations, but when required forage for horses was supplied by the Government. A large number of settlers responded to the call, and in a few days one hundred saddles were filled ready for the field.

Simultaneously with the forward movement of the troops the natives living in the southern districts of Auckland received notice to take the oath of allegiance, and give up their arms, or failing which, they would be ejected. The following is a translation of the notice which the natives received: –

NOTICE.

All persons of the native race living in the Manukau district and the Waikato frontier are hereby required immediately to take the oath of allegiance to Her Majesty the Queen, and to give up their arms to an officer appointed by Government for that purpose. Natives who comply with this order will be protected. Natives refusing to do so are hereby warned forthwith to leave the district aforesaid, and retire to Waikato beyond Mangatawhiri. In case of their not complying with this order they will be ejected.

By His Excellency's order.

Auckland, July 9th, 1863.

The Governor's notice to take the oath of allegiance or quit fell like a bombshell amongst the natives, and at almost every settlement they elected to leave, and join their comrades in the Waikato. Unfortunately most of them got away with their arms and ammunition, which they had been storing up for some time. The Princess Sophia came down from the Waikato to Mangere for the avowed purpose of unearthing the bones of her ancestors, and conveying them to a place of security in the Waikato. The ancestral bones were taken away in boxes, the oblong shape of which and heavy weight savored more of arms and ammunition than of bones. A large escort of natives accompanied the Princess and the mysterious boxes in several large canoes across the Manukau at night, to Waiuku. The boxes were then taken overland to the Awaroa Creek where a numerous party of armed Waikatos were awaiting their arrival. The whole party then proceeded in a number of canoes up the Waikato. The writer and several others who were in a cutter lying anchored waiting for the ebb tide in the Manukau Harbour, about sixteen miles below Waiuku, had a narrow escape of being murdered by the escort of the Princess as they passed, and were only prevented by the Princess Sophia herself, she, probably thinking that they might be stopped at Waiuku, if, by any means, the crime should be discovered, and an alarm raised. At most of the settlements the night before the natives departed from their homes for ever was spent in speechifying, tanging, going through the war dance, firing off guns, and rum drinking. A large fire was kept burning in the open, into which was cast nearly everything that they did not intend to take away on the morrow.

The settlers, now that the Governor had taken a decisive step and brought affairs with the natives to a crisis, were alarmed at their exposed and unprotected position. At Waiuku a stockade was commenced on rising ground in the centre of the township, and armed parties went each day into the bush for slabs. At the Mauku it was decided, if attacked, to make a stand in the church, where to this day can be seen the apertures cut for the rifles to be pointed through. The majority of the settlers living with their families isolated in bush clearings, hastily left their homes and crowded into Auckland homeless, and in not a few cases nearly penniless, their cattle wandering untended through the bush, their pigs and poultry running wild, and the severe work of many years left to go to wreck

and ruin. Not a few homesteads were pillaged and burnt, and the live stock killed by the natives, taking in all cases years to repair the damage done.

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And these were the colonists who were basely charged by certain high parties and religious fanatics in England of desiring a war with the natives. God forgive them, for the New Zealand settlers find it difficult to do so, the calumny being so untruthful and wicked.

The Militia shirkers not having been unearthed in sufficient numbers, although a great many old scores were paid off by informing, had to be drawn out, for we find that at this time Colonel Mould, R. E., was instructed by the Governor to draw out with all convenient speed the whole of the first-class Militia. There was no escape this time. The badgers were drawn and had to serve.

Quite a crowd collected each day round the Militia office to give in their names. Auckland was getting intensely military. The young men who served behind the counters in the shops were full privates, and the baker's man who brought the bread was perchance a lance-corporal or a sergeant. The drill instructors had a busy and harrassing time of it. Day after day the recruits endeavoured to form into line, to right-about face, and to form fours, but they got helplessly mixed up together in their frantic efforts to form fours, and when it came to right-about face nose was often pointed to nose amidst the laughs and jeers of the spectators, whose time had not yet come, but did shortly afterwards, when the second-class Militia were called upon, and respectable middle-aged parties who, after their cash, above all things believed in their personal dignity, had in their turn to succumb to the inevitable and become a prey to the drill sergeant. What dignity could possibly stand the goose step and the withering sarcasm of the drill instructor? And then of a night, instead of the cheerful bright fire and warm slippers in a comfortable room to be ordered to go prowling about the outskirts of the town with a loaded gun, looking earnestly for the savage foe that was coming to fire and sack the city, and praying to goodness that he might never see him. No dignity that ever existed could stand such work as this. The constant trickling of water will in time even wear away a stone, and so steady drill wore away the awkwardness of the Militia so observable at first.

All sorts of dodges were tried to evade the Governor's edict. The quick-sighted suddenly became opthalmic, and lost their vision beyond twenty yards, and the slightly rheumatic, helplessly lame, limped painfully before the inspecting doctor. It was in the bones, sir, where even the skilful eye of Esculapius could not penetrate, and many got struck off the roll in this way, real shirkers in every sense of the word.

The value of the Auckland Rifle Volunteers was now again demonstrated, as it had been before when the war first broke out at Taranaki, for here was a force that was already drilled and capable of taking up their duties at once, mustering some 400 bayonets. The battalion was under the command of Major Campbell, and comprised five companies. No. 1, under Captain Howell; No 2, Captain (afterwards Colonel) Lyon; No. 3, Captain Heaphy; No. 5, Captain (now Major) Derrom; and No. 6, Captain J. M. Clarke. There was, for some reason or other, no No. 4 company. The Volunteer Naval Brigade, under Captain Daldy and Lieutenant Guilding, also did good service in relieving the Rifles and Militia of their duties. Shortly afterwards the strength of this Brigade was augmented by a No. 2 company, under the command of Captain John Copeland.

Those of the Militia who had volunteered for active service outside of the Militia district were under the command of Captain St. John (afterwards Colonel St. John), whose brilliant services in the field will long be remembered by New Zealand colonists. The Militia Volunteers were camped at Otahuhu.

To reinforce the Waiuku stockade and the Maukau district, a small number of about twenty-five men were enrolled and sworn in as special constables, their pay being 3s 6d a day and rations. These men seem to have been distinct altogether from the Militia, for they had to apply to Mr Joseph May at Epsom, who being a J.P., no doubt swore them in, and had the corps all to himself.

Several fires taking place at this time in Auckland caused great excitement amongst the inhabitants, who made sure that it was the work of the Maori foe, who were sacking the town. The ringing of bells,

bugles sounding the alarm, the hurried tramp of crowds of Militiamen and Rifles with their arms through the streets, women screaming, and the red glare of the fire overhead rendered more glaring by the blackness of night, throw the whole town into the greatest disorder, so much so that it became necessary for a notice to be issued requesting inhabitants in case of fire to remain in their houses, the Militia to assemble in the barracks, and the Rifles at posts selected in case of alarm.

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THE following notification forwarded to the Waikato chiefs by His Excellency Sir George Grey is specially interesting, showing, as it does, upon what grounds the Governor decided upon taking possession of the Waikato district.

CHIEFS OF WAIKATO.

Europeans quietly living on their own lands in Waikato have been driven away, their property has been plundered, their wives and children have been taken from them. By the instigation of some of you, officers and soldiers were murdered at Taranaki. Others of you have since expressed approval of these murders. Crimes have been committed in other parts of the island, and the criminals have been rescued or sheltered under the order of your authority. You are now assembled in armed bands. You are constantly threatening to ravage the settlement of Auckland, and to murder peaceable settlers. Some of you offered a safe passage through your territories to armed parties contemplating such outrages.

The well-disposed among you are either unable or unwilling to prevent these evil acts. I am therefore compelled, for the protection of all to establish posts at several points on the Waikato River, and to take necessary measures for the future security of persons inhabiting that district.

The lives and property of all well-disposed persons living on the river will be protected, and armed and evil-disposed people will be stopped from passing down the river to rob and murder Europeans.

I now call upon all well-disposed natives to aid the Lieutenant General to establish these posts and to preserve peace and order.

Those who remain peaceably at their own village or move into such districts as may be pointed out by the Government, will be protected in their person, property, and land.

Those who wage war against Her Majesty, or remain in arms, threatening the lives of her peaceable subjects, must take the consequences of their acts, and they must understand that they will forfeit the right to the possession of their lands, guaranteed to them by the Treaty of Waitangi, which lands will be occupied by a population capable of protecting for the future the quiet and unoffending from the violence with which they are now so constantly threatened.

Auckland, July 11th, 1863.

The above notification was no clever stringing of words together by the Governor to cover an aggressive act, it being true in every particular, and it was none too soon when he decided to take steps for protecting for the future the quiet and inoffensive from the violence with which they were so constantly threatened.

This then was the cause of the Waikato war. It was a struggle for supremacy of law and order against no law and no order except that of outrage. Such a state of things could not last – impossible – it being against the natural order of things. Law Courts had been formed and native assessors appointed in the Waikato, but when the Taranaki war commenced all semblance of law and order disappeared. The few well-disposed were unable or unwilling to stay the spirit of rebellion, so the Governor, Sir George Grey, was compelled to take steps for the future safety of the settlers. The time had to come, and may have to come again, and always will have to come, no matter when, whenever law and order comes into juxtaposition with no law and no order.

Sir George Arney, the then Chief Justice of New Zealand, ruled that every man, woman, and child domiciled within these shores are subjects of Her Majesty, and must obey the laws. He stated that it was his duty to say so.

A writer, treating of this subject at the time, says, "The Maoris, who have hitherto had the advantage of living in a sort of political ferry boat always available to convey them to the side most remote from danger or responsibility,

must now be considered by all as bound down to one position. They are British subjects, and must obey British law." It is not, perhaps, very difficult to perceive how an opinion frequently contradicting this first sprung into popularity with a class of persons in this country.

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A generous mind will always be ready to make allowance for many shortcomings in a people situated as the Maori people have been. This indulgence towards individuals naturally extended itself to the race, and the law was in practice allowed to be different in its operation towards the native and the European. Such a practice once admitted, the step was an easy one, which founded that distinction upon some undefined but radical difference in the sovereignty of Her Majesty over the native and European inhabitants of New Zealand.

As we have said, the root of this error was a generous one, but the error was great, and has proved very fatal, notwithstanding. The Maori felt that he was not under the subjection of law as his European neighbour was, and this led him to assert that the Queen and the law belonged to the white man, and another law belonged to the Maori. The European felt that the law did not protect him in his dealings with his native neighbour, while it was always ready to give the very greatest protection to his native neighbour in all transactions with him.

The doctrine that no natives or tribes of natives in this country have a right to wage war against one another or against the Queen's authority has only now been placed plainly before the Maoris.

A large number (about 160) of refugee natives having congregated with the chief Ihaka's (Isaac's) Papakura Maoris, at Keri Keri, near Papakura, a party of the 65th Regiment and Colonel Nixon's Defence Force were ordered to eject them. Bishop Selwyn and another clergyman also went to persuade the natives to leave. Whether it was politic of the Bishop to go and interfere at this crisis, and also on several other occasions, has been much questioned. Certain it is that he was at the time severely censured by a great many, however good may have been his intentions. Upon the arrival of the troops, the natives asked to be allowed to remain over Sunday, that day being Saturday, and the chief Isaac, who was not to be seen, was stated to be laid up in his whare with rheumatism. This was false, for the wily old rascal was as well as ever, but was lying on top of his gun and ammunition and would not move. The other natives had also hidden their arms and ammunition and would not move. After much parleying the time for them to leave was extended until the following Monday evening and the troops returned to camp.

On the next day, Sunday, a strong detachment of the 65th Regiment, under Colonel Wyatt, C. B., marched from the Queen's Redoubt to the native settlement at Tuakau, for the purpose of expelling the Maoris who had not left or given in their allegiance according to the Governor's order. The village was situated on the edge of the river, and justly considered one of the prettiest and most flourishing in the lower Waikato. The land was good; potatoes, kumeras, and corn grew luxuriantly, and each year filled the storehouses of the natives to overflowing. A water mill close by ground their wheat into flour, and their fruit trees were loaded

with apples and peaches, whilst the branches of the vine bending under their juicy weight trailed in the swift running stream. No wonder the natives were loth to leave their beloved home. The 65th debouched suddenly from the bush in the rear of the settlement, and surprised the natives, who, hastily collecting their lares and penates, moved mournfully down to their canoes, and with many tears and deep sighs paddled away.

The object of the expedition having been completed, it returned to the Queen's Redoubt, with the exception of a company who were left behind to throw up and occupy a redoubt on a high cliff overlooking the river.

Early on the Tuesday morning most of the natives left Keri Keri, the rheumatic old chief, no doubt, as nimble as the youngest. They dispersed, and prowled, with tomahawk and loaded gun, through the Hunua ranges, and some towards Shepherd's Bush. The mounted orderly as he galloped along the road hard by with despatches from the General to His Excellency the Governor, passed safely through the bush, saw nothing, heard nothing but the piping of the tui, or the, harsh scream of the kaka, and the day wore slowly on and on until the sun went

down and the shades of evening mingled with the gloom of night, and the stars came out one by one, and with their bright twinkling eyes pierced even the deep gloom of the forest, and saw the evidence of a dark crime that had that day been committed. Page 22

Early the next afternoon a rumour reached Auckland which thrilled everyone with horror. It was to the effect that two settlers had been found murdered by the natives. Later on this rumour was confirmed. Extras were issued from the newspaper offices, which stated that Mr Meredith and his young son, a mere lad, had been found in Shepherd's Bush, tomahawked, evidently by the Maoris. They had been out the day before to work as usual, and, not coming home at night, a search party had gone out that morning, and discovered their bodies. The first victims had been sacrificed. Hostilities had commenced. The natives had now struck the first blow, a cowardly one, 'tis true, but they had drawn first blood, and that to the Maori was something. It remained to be seen where the next blow would be struck.

Although the natives opposed to us possessed but inferior arms, they had a great advantage over the troops in their intimate knowledge of the country, and could number altogether nearly 3,000 fighting men, that is counting the tribes outside of the Waikato, who in various ways assisted the Kingites. These dispersed into bands of from 200 to 400 men roving through, and having the advantage of the deep cover afforded by the extensive bush, over thirty miles in length, by twelve in breadth, which fringed our frontier settlements from the Wairoa to Waiuku, rendering them a formidable foe, as they could, if so minded, strike suddenly for outlying districts, and retreat back into the bush. To guard all the frontier settlements, and at the same time push forward a strong force into the heart of the Waikato, would require all and more than all the men and means at the disposal of the General. Most of our townships at this period were almost defenceless, and each expecting to be attacked. No one could tell when or where a party of natives would emerge from the long fringe of bush.

The troops were, except those at Drury, all at the front at the Queen's Redoubt and Mangatawhiri, and the rifles and Militia were still in Auckland. Each hour was an anxious one.

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HEAVY rains now set in, and made the roads almost impassable. Fortunately the road to the Queen's Redoubt, or the Great South Road, was metalled, otherwise it would have been a most difficult task to have conveyed stores to the troops already at the front. As it was the teams were sorely tried, and the escorts, composed on the first stage from Auckland of Militia and Volunteers, and thence on to the front of Regulars, were, day after day, soaked to the skin. The little township of Otahuhu at this time was a scene of bustle and excitement; all day long the main street was thronged with Regulars, Militia, and Volunteers, whilst convoys, on their way to the front, halting, blocked up the road, and from the reveille to tattoo bugles were sounding.

On the morning of the 17th July, some hours before the break of day, 60 Volunteer Cavalry, under Colonel Nixon and Captain Walmsley, were in saddle and galloping along the road to Papakura, where they joined about 400 Regulars, under Colonel Murray, of the 65th Regiment. At 6 a.m. they were on the march for Keri Keri, where a large number of natives had occupied a pa, the same no doubt who were concerned in the murder of Mr Meredith and his son. The natives surprised, made no opposition, and the troops took the chief, Ihaka (Isaacs), and eighteen men, women, and children prisoners, together with a flag, a keg of power, on which a native was sitting, and twelve stands of arms. A large number of natives who were camped in the pa, which was erected in the bush, fled with their arms and ammunition.

The prisoners were escorted to Drury, and the Hon. Dillon Bell, the Native Minister, for some reason best known to

himself, but which has never been found out by anyone else, forwarded to his Maori pets several mats of sugar and a quantity of tobacco. It will be, however, a satisfaction for the reader to know that after passing through the hands of the troops very little of it reached those for whom it was intended.

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Four horses that had been taken at the game time as Isaacs' party were sold for £20 each, and the money, to the astonishment of everyone, was handed over to the prisoners. They also were allowed far better rations than the troops, who not unnaturally grumbled considerably. It appeared that by some great stretch of imagination on the part of the authorities, Isaacs' party were considered to have voluntarily given themselves up, although they had refused to take the oath of allegiance, and were captured with arms and ammunition in their possession. Numerous similar gross acts of favouritism shown towards the rebel natives during the progress of the war by the colonial authorities, who were said to be influenced in no small way by the clergy, and afterwards by certain religious fanatics, who held their meetings in Exeter Hall, London, caused the war to be very unpopular with the troops, both Imperial and Colonial.

The prisoners were conveyed under a guard, and accompanied by Bishop Selwyn to Otahuhu, and were there received by a crowd of settlers, who hissed and hooted both at the Bishop and the prisoners. The tumult increasing, Ihaka and his party were removed into the Military Stockade.

The chief Ihaka, on account of his good behaviour in having given himself up, did not have his land in the Papakura Valley confiscated, and at the present time it is in the hands of his family, and of very considerable value.

The roads beyond Drury were now declared not safe, and warning of their insecurity was given to the out settlers who had not already come in. The church at Drury was converted into a depot for the reception of the refugees until they could be forwarded under escort to Auckland.

It has been stated by one writer, a missionary, that the reason why the Maoris were incited to commit murder was because directly the natives left their settlements the settlers came with carts and carried away their goods and chattels, the Maoris watching this operation from the bush. Such may have been the case in one solitary instance, but, as a general rule, the goods and chattels left behind by the natives were not worth mentioning, and they were astute enough to know that directly they left their settlements to take up arms against the Queen and her subjects that they were outlawed, were in open rebellion, and that their lands and effects from that moment were confiscated, as stated in the notice which they had received from the Governor.

At most of the settlements deserted by the natives, greater or less quantities of potatoes and kumeras were left, for the reason that the Maoris did not care to be hampered with their carriage. These were, as might be expected, appropriated either by the settlers or the troops.

The writer passed through several deserted settlements shortly after the natives had left, but never saw anything that would tempt anyone to take the trouble of even picking up. There was, however, one notable exception to the usual heap of old rags, for, of all things in the world, there stood a piano, an article of furniture that could not be conveniently carried away. The popular supposition that music soothes the savage breast did not seem to hold good in this instance, or it may have been that the owner was unable to produce from his instrument other than discordant sounds, which perhaps rather tended to irritate than soothe. The Maori chief to whom the piano belonged was, I believe, shot dead at Rangiriri.

Whether the settlers had taken anything from the native whares or not, murder, no doubt, would have been committed all the same, it being the Maori method of declaring war.

Some of the soldiers at the Queen's Redoubt, thinking that the natives had left their settlement at Pokeno, went to seek for potatoes, but the Maoris, not having departed, opened fire upon them, but without effect. The marauders beat a hasty retreat. A detachment of troops marched out the next morning from the Redoubt, but found the settlement deserted.

For service in the field the troops, who were armed with the Enfield rifle, were provided with a serviceable blue serge tunic in place of the regulation red coat,

which was left at the headquarters in Auckland, and their shakos were discarded for the time being. The regimental colours were also left behind, as well as the mess plate of the officers, and the bandmen put on one side their instruments and joined the ranks of their several corps at the front.

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No pomp or splendour of war could attend the "fight" that was about to ensue. The struggle would be carried on in an almost wild uncultivated country in the deep tangled forest, amid swamps or barren fern hills.

The Kingites opposed to our forces could not be considered as organised. They had no one leader or chief, for their King, Tawhiao, was a mere puppet, taking no active personal part in the affairs. His council of chiefs arranged and decided everything of moment. Of the chiefs who took the most prominent part in the war, Rewi, perhaps, stands first. Before hostilities commenced he it was who incited his tribe, the Ngatimaniapotos, to break into and destroy the printing establishment at Te Awamutu, and when Apora was incarcerated, Rewi strongly advocated a raid upon Auckland. During the struggle Rewi, no doubt, had more

than any other chief to do with directing the native operations.

In the matter of commissariat the natives were not badly provided. Large supplies of flour, potatoes, and kumeras could be sent down the river from the Upper Waikato, where were situated several flour mills and their most extensive cultivations. Supposing that this resource should fail or be cut off, nature gave them an almost inexhaustable supply of food, for when in the bush the nikau was at their side, and when on the open ranges the fern root was at their feet.

CHAPTER VI.

THE WAIKATO WAR.

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AT daybreak on the 17th of July, the same day that Ihaka and his party were captured at Kiri Kiri, the outposts of the 14th Regt. on the Koheroa, reported the Natives in considerable force about two miles off, entrenching themselves in rifle pits, evidently with the intention of arresting the further advance of the troops. The Koheroa range extends in a horse-shoe shape some three or four miles from the Mangatawhiri Creek to the Waikato River and the Whangamerino Creek, which skirts the base of the range in the south, in the same manner as the Mangatawhiri in the north. The elevation of the range is greatest where it rises up from the Mangatawhiri Creek; at this point the 14th Regt. was posted. The range then slopes away to its extremities at the Waikato River. Colonel Austen, the officer commanding the advanced post at the Koheroa, at once made his disposition for dislodging the Natives; but having to wait for reinforcements from the Queen's Redoubt, consisting of detachments from the 12th and 70th Regts., which were followed by General Cameron, it was 11 o'clock before he was able to advance. The 14th Regt. led the way, Supported by the 12th and 70th Regts., in all about 500 men. After marching some two miles, the advance guard came into collision with the Maori skirmishers, who had been thrown forward some distance in front of their rifle pits. As the 14th advanced, the Natives retreated, firing, to their intrenchments, which the Maoris occupied in force. When the 14th. were within 200 yards of the rifle pits, the Natives opened on the attacking column such a heavy fire that the advance was checked, and here and there some men of the 14th staggered and fell. This regiment being a newly formed 2nd Battalion, was composed in a great part of young soldiers, many of them growing lads, new to war, and who had never been under fire. From the veterans of the 65th, 12th, and 40th Regts. they had heard of the savage character of the foe they now confronted; and the destruction of the grenadier company of the 40th Regt. in the Taranaki swamps was still fresh in their memory, General Cameron – the same Cameron who led the Black Watch up the blood-stained heights of Alma nine years before – was close up with the attacking column, and seeing them waver, ran forward some yards in front of the 14th, and waving his cap in the air called upon his young soldiers – not in vain. Captains Strange and Phelps with Lieuts. Glancy and Armstrong, rushed forward sword in hand in front of their companies, who with loud cheers charged the Maori intrenchments which they carried at the point of the bayonet. The main body of the Natives who had not time to re-load, hastily retreated, those who remained were bayoneted.

The routed Natives, pressed by the 14th, 12th, and 70th supports, fled over the range and down into a swamp which they had to cross before they could get cover in a belt of bush that edged the river-side. In crossing the swamp, the Natives suffered severely from the heavy fire which the troops poured into them from the range above.

The remnant of the Natives who had crossed the creek were allowed to retreat without further pursuit, the troops having no means of crossing.

In this engagement the troops lost only one killed and twelve wounded, amongst whom was Colonel Austin slightly wounded in the arm. The casualties were confined to the 14th Regt. The Natives opposed to the troops numbered about 300, of whom 150 were killed and wounded. One Native, a boy, was taken prisoner, he having been found lying on his face in the fern, shamming dead.

The reason that the troops lost so few men, was, no doubt, due to the fact that the Natives rarely take deliberate aim. They get too excited, and fire very often without even raising their piece to the shoulder.

The Natives left on the field a number of spades, some double-barrelled fowling-pieces and flint muskets, two or three tomahawks, and a quantity of ammunition.

General Cameron sent word by some friendly Natives to the enemy, that he would allow one of his surgeons to attend their wounded, whom the Maoris had managed to carry away. This very generous offer was, however, refused, the Natives conveying their wounded up the river in several canoes. It so hap-

pened that they were passed on their way up by two Europeans who had been detained at Ngaruawahia by the Kingites. One of them, Mr. England, a shoemaker, had been kept behind by the Natives for the purpose of making leather covers for cartridge boxes, which were of wood with a number of small auger-holes bored for the reception of the cartridges. The Natives did not molest Mr. England's party, who paddled swiftly down the stream and reached Waiuku where they resided in safety. The Maori treatment of their wounded is very simple; for a gun-shot wound they plug up the orifice made by the ball with clay, to exclude the air, and the patient has to take his chance. Some remarkable and speedy cures have been effected in this way. The dock-root is also used extensively for wounds and sores. The following is the official account of the engagement: –

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Head Quarters, Queen's Redoubt,
July 18th, 1863.

SIR, – I have to inform your Excellency that, at eleven o'clock yesterday morning, Lieutenant Colonel Austen, 2nd Battalion, 14th Regt., commanding the camp at the Koheroa, having observed a large body of natives collecting on the hills in his front, instantly ordered his battalion to get under arms, and moved with praiseworthy promptitude against them, followed by detachments of the 12th and 70th Regts., which had just arrived at the camp as a reinforcement, the whole force amounting to about 500 men. A report of the circumstances reached me as I was on my way to the Koheroa, and I hastened towards the column, which I overtook on its march. After we had proceeded in skirmishing order about two miles, the rebels opened fire upon us, and as we advanced upon them they retired along the narrow crest of the hills towards the Maramarua, making a stand on every favourable position which the ground presented. Some of their positions which had been recently fortified by lines of rifle pits, and which, from the nature of the ground, could not be turned – they defended with great obstinacy; and, as we had no artillery in the field, they could only be dislodged from them by successive attacks with the bayonet, which were executed by the 2nd Battalion, 14th Regt., with great gallantry and success. We pursued them from one position to another, a distance of about five miles, until we drove them in great confusion across the mouth of the Maramarua, some escaping up the Waikato in canoes, and others along its right bank, after crossing the Maramarua. A considerable portion of them, however, before reaching the Maramarua, escaped down a gully to the left, seeking shelter in a swamp, and suffered severely from the fire of our men on the heights. As we had no means of crossing the Maramarua, I ordered the troops to return to camp. All the troops behaved remarkably well. I am greatly indebted to Lieutenant Colonel Austen, 2nd Battalion, 14th Regt., (who was wounded in the arm), to Major Ryan, commanding detachment 70th Regt., and Brevet-Major Miller, commanding 12th Regt., for the manner in which they led and directed the movements of the men under their respective commands. Among the officers conspicuous for their forwardness in the attack were Captain Strange, 14th Regt., who commanded the leading company of the column; Captain Phelps, who greatly distinguished himself at the head of his company when charging a line of rifle pits, and Lieutenants Glancy and Armstrong, also of the 2nd Battalion, 14th Regt.; Colonel Mould, C. B., Royal Engineers, was with the column during the engagement, and ready to give his valuable services if required. I enclose a list of casualties, which are small, considering the time the engagement lasted, and the nature of the ground, which was exceedingly favourable for defence. The enemy must have had fully 300 men in the field, almost the whole of them belonging to tribes of the Waikato. There can be no doubt his loss was considerable,

upwards of twenty dead having been counted by us on the ground, several of whom were chiefs of consequence, and among them an uncle of the King.

D. A. CAMERON,
Lieutenant-General.

His Excellency, Sir GEORGE GREY, K. C. B., &c, &c.

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STANDING on the highest point of the Pokeno range, where the bush is cut away for the road, leaving a blank in the skyline that can be seen miles away, a beautiful scene presents itself to the wandering eye of the traveller. To the north is stretched, like a panorama, a large expanse of seeming level country, dotted here and there with patches of bright

green, and white specks that you know are bouses; and here and there dense clumps of bush; whilst on the horizon, like dark clouds, rise up the cones of extinct volcanos, looking dim and blue in the distance. The largest of the cones is the Mount of Eden, and under its shadow, by the waters of the Waitemata, rests Auckland City. To the west the broad bosom of the Manukau glitters in the sun like an immense sheet of glass; and the hills that girt its western shore are the ranges that ward off the stormy seas of the wild Pacific. If the wind should chance to be light and westerly, at times even the distant boom of the ocean as it bursts upon the Manukau bar can be heard. On this bar it was that on the 7th of February, 1863, was totally lost H. M. S. Orpheus, 21 guns, together with Commodore Burnett, 22 officers, and 167 seamen and marines. This ill-fated ship left Sydney for the Manukau, on her first voyage to New Zealand, with a crew of some 250; and had on board a large quantity of stores for the different ships of war stationed in New Zealand. On the morning of the 7th February the New Zealand coast was sighted, and before noon the vessel had come up with the land. Earlier than usual the hands had been piped down to dinner, which, being finished, the vessel headed straight for the bar, coming in from seaward through the north (or main) channel. This passage runs between two long sandbanks that stretch some four or five miles out to sea, which, excepting in very calm weather, breaks heavily on the banks, especially with the flood. The wind was fair, blowing a stiff breeze from the west; the sun was shining brightly, and, under steam and press of canvas, the Orpheus entered the north channel. She had scarcely done so when she struck heavily several times, and then, swinging round, settled firmly on the bank. Several boats were lowered, but were immediately smashed against the side of the ship, and the crews drowned – the first lieutenant being in charge of the first boat that was lowered. One boat and crew, however, got away clear, in charge of the paymaster, Mr. Amphlett, who made for the Pilot Station to get assistance. At the Pilot Station there was, beside the usual pilot boats, a lifeboat (but it was scarcely, if ever, used), and the hands at the station, unable to launch it, had to proceed to the wreck with the boats they had in use. The steamer Wonga Wonga, bound south, on her way through the south channel observed the Orpheus on the bank and went to her assistance. When she arrived, the crew of the Orpheus were on the yards and rigging, with a heavy sea bursting over the decks. Having no rocket apparatus, the Wonga Wonga could only lay-by in the channel as close as possible to the bowsprit of the Orpheus. Some of the Orpheus' men, sliding down the foretop-mast-stay, jumped into the sea, and were picked up by the people of the Wonga Wonga; others, in the attempt, were drowned. At this time the masts of the Orpheus suddenly went over the side, carrying with them the unfortunate seamen and marines who were clinging to the yards. With a loud cry they disappeared in the heavy surf that was breaking over the doomed ship. Whilst this dreadful tragedy was being enacted on the bar, another ship-of-war, the Harrier, was lying calmly at anchor at Onehunga – only some 22 miles from the scene of the wreck – but it was night before the sad news of the wreck reached that ship, and it was then, of course, too late to render assistance. In those days there was no telegraph. Out of the whole of the ship's company only about 70 or 80 were saved. One seaman – a coloured man – was picked up inside the heads, floating in with the flood tide. He was completely doubled up like a ball, and had floated in that strange position. Although in a dreadful state of exhaustion when picked up he afterwards recovered. Parties of settlers went on the coast the morning after the wreck, but no bodies had been washed ashore, and the only indications of any disaster having taken place were some spars pounded to pieces with the action of the surf. It was nearly a week after the wreck before any bodies came ashore. The loss of the Orpheus is said to have been caused through the sandbank (a shifting one) on which she struck not being marked on the Admiralty chart. Owing to the recent hostilities at Taranaki, men-of-war were continually crossing and recrossing the bar in nearly all weathers; in fact, when H. M. S. Harrier first crossed the Manukau bar it was blowing a hard gale with a tremendous sea running, yet she came safely through the same channel taken by

the Orpheus. Official information that should have been in the hands of the commodore was evidently not there, or if there was, not used. The following "Ode to the Manukau" gives a description of the Manukau Harbour and the loss of the Orpheus: –

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ODE TO THE MANUKAU.

Back from the sun, the morning mists are roll'd,
And, glistening at my feet, behold
Broad Manukau's pellucid streams
Flash back the sun's bright beams.
With rapturous gaze, I view each mountain top;
Each sandy bay, adorned with rustic cot,
While distance shows, in panoramic view,
Some richer prospect of a purple hue.
Here stands a cot, close by the river side,
Where crimson pohutakawha hangs o'er the tide,
And wooded hills rise sloping up behind,
Affording shelter from the wintry wind
In such a calm and peaceful spot.
Methinks one tired with his lot,
Sick of the hum and smoke of town,
Might make his home and settle down;
Pass a bright and joyous measure
Of his life in healthful leisure;
Bask in the sunbright ferny glade,
Or loiter 'neath the greenwood shade;
Watch from the shore the modern ark,
The steamer swift, or white-sailed barque,
As, spectre like, they softly glide
O'er Manukau's quick flowing tide.
But other thoughts do now arise
Of bygone days – and savage battle cries.
I see again on yonder strand
Proud Hongi with his warrior band,
To the conflict rush with tribal cry,
These warriors come to conquer or to die.
The battle waned then fiercer grew,
Till Hongi's band had conquered Awitu.
But now, no more upon thy sandy shore
Is heard the sound of savage war;
No more the music of the native song
Cheers the swift canoe along;
And where the nikau whare stood,
On the margin of the rising flood,
Now sheltering stands in calm repose,
The Saxon cot, encircled with the rose.

On either side the eye may turn –
 Behold sweet grass, in lieu of fern.
 The low of kine uprises in the air,
 And all around shows peace and plenty there:
 Whilst floating o'er yon wooded hill –
 Hark! the music of the busy mill.
 Revolving time will surely soon efface
 The passing glories of the Maori race.
 Now westward comes booming on my ear
 A rumbling sound, monotonous and drear,
 Like distant thunder, or the roar
 Of ocean waves, breaking on the shore.
 I turn, and yonder faraway,
 Where the sea-bird skims the frothy spray;
 Where yonder distant breakers are,
 I see, oh, Manukau, thy funeral bar,
 And like a vision, bright and glorious,
 Behold England's pride, majestic Orpheus,
 Rise from the sea – each towering sail
 Swelled out before the western gale;
 On, proudly on, no danger dreaming,
 Comes the doomed ship – swiftly steaming;
 Dashing the spray from her giant sides –
 As o'er the heaving wave she rides.
 "Heavens," must this noble ship and band
 Find a watery grave in yonder strand!
 Can no friendly chart or seaman guide
 Them safely o'er the channel's tide?
 Alas, no! for see, with sudden bound,
 She strikes upon the treacherous ground;
 Trembles with the shock each tapering spar
 As rocks her hull upon the bar.
 In haste the hardy seamen swarm
 High on the yards in dread alarm,
 And anxious glances scan the rugged land.
 A steamer comes; there's succour close at hand.
 Now with hope each heart beat stronger.
 As nearer comes the Wonga Wonga.
 But sea is rough and waves are high,
 The Wonga dare not come too nigh.
 Some few are saved – when fiercer than before
 Great hurtling seas come rushing to the shore,
 Wave piled on wave in tones of thunder,
 Now crashing, tear the decks asunder;
 Unceasing, sweep in legions to the fray,
 Like famished wolves upon their prey.
 The swaying spars o'erstrained with weight,
 Fall by the board with their living freight.
 Then hark I from the sea a dreadful wail,
 That rises on the summer gale –
 'Tis the British sailors' sad farewell,
 As they sink beneath the ocean swell.
 Thy Wonga turns, and slowly steams away,
 For all is o'er, she need no longer stay.
 The sun that eve as it sank to rest
 In its ocean bed, the far off west,
 Each glittering ray ere dying threw
 O'er ocean – o'er land – a crimson hue –
 Roll on, O sea, thy surges roar,
 In funeral anthems on the shore.
 Sad requiems pealing o'er every wave,
 That curls upon the sailors' grave.

On the southern side of the Pokeno range the view is altogether different – here, the range falls abruptly to the flat, in the centre of which was situated the Queen's Redoubt; further on rise up the fern hills of Koheroa, with the Mangatawhiri stream at its base, running through a swampy tract until it joins the Waikato, which glides like a silver thread through

the King country. At the back of the river, broken wood and fern-clad ridges obstruct the further view. The road over the Pokeno ranges cut through a dense bush, is rough and uneven, up hill and down dale, with here and there sharp pinches difficult for the transport of stores. Several streams crossing the road were roughly bridged over. Whilst the fight was taking place in the Koheroa hills, the distant rattle of musketry being plainly heard on the Pokeno ranges, a convoy of six carts, escorted by 50 soldiers of the 2nd Battalion 18th Regiment, under command of Major Turner and Captain Ring, wound its way slowly along the road over the Pokeno range en route from the Queen's Redoubt to Drury. Arriving at a part of the road called the "Stone Depot," so-called on account of the metal for the road being stored there, the convoy halted to water and feed the horses. Whilst so engaged, a detachment of the 18th passed by on its way to the Queen's Redoubt; they reported the road all clear of natives. Thus assured, Major Turner rode on by himself, leaving the escort to follow in charge of Captain Ring. The horses having been fed and watered, the convoy resumed its march, the rear guard consisting of 14 men, being some little distance behind the last cart. The escort, not dreaming of danger, were marching at ease, when suddenly, near Martin's Farm, a heavy fire was opened on the convoy from the bush on both sides of the road. Major Turner, who by this time was some distance on in front, must have ridden unknowingly through the ambushade. The suddenness of the attack threw the convoy momentarily into confusion; the horses plunged and reared, and some being hit, fell on the road in their traces. Quickly recovering from the surprise, the escort, with great coolness, returned the fire of the natives, who kept under cover of the bush. The natives seeing the rear guard some distance behind the main body, attempted to cut them off; a mob of about 40 rushed across the road. Four of the rear guard were already hors de combat, when the remaining ten brought their bayonets to the charge and rushed at the Maoris, who, although four to one, declined the contest, and scrambled back hastily under cover of the bush, thus enabling the rear guard to double up to the main body. Gallantly fighting as it went, the convoy continued its march until they were reinforced by the detachment of the 18th which had passed them at the stone depot; but hearing the firing, had doubled back to assist their comrades. Upon their arrival the natives retreated. Shortly afterwards more reinforcements arrived from Drury. In this affair the escort lost five men killed and eleven wounded. Some of the bodies were dreadfully mutilated; one soldier was found with his tongue cut out. Where the convoy was attacked, the road was strewn with pieces of harness, broken boxes, pools of blood, and the bodies of the killed and wounded soldiers; these being lifted on to the carts, the troops returned with the convoy to Drury. How many men the natives lost is not known, as they managed to carry their dead and wounded away with them. The camp at Drury was that evening reinforced by the arrival of the Naval Brigade, some 200 strong, under Captain Sullivan of H. M. S. Harrier. The Naval Brigade was composed of seamen and marines belonging to the different ships of war on the station; they had several boats with them for service on the Waikato river. The Brigade arrived in the Harrier, which crossed the Manukau and steamed up the Papakura channel, landing the men in boats up the Drury creek.

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THE attack on the escort proved that the natives intended not to retreat to the Waikato, but to hover in the long belt of bush which covers the Hunuia and Pokeno ranges, and so threaten the General's communication between the Queen's Redoubt and Auckland.

It, therefore, became necessary to establish posts at intervals along the road passing over the Pokeno ranges. This duty absorbed about 400 men, composed of drafts from the 40th and 2nd Batt. 18th Regiments and 60 of the Volunteer Militia, under Ensign Jones, who held one post at Baird's Farm. Whilst the redoubts were

being thrown up, the troops were in tents, and had to keep continual watch day and night, each picket taking turn and turn about every four hours, during which time the picket lay concealed behind logs and stumps waiting for the enemy to make his appearance. He, however, did not do so, being evidently well posted up in the strength and tactics of the troops. During this time the soldiers suffered severely, the weather being wet and cold.

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The regiments in the field with General Cameron at the commencement of hostilities consisted of the 65th, 40th, 12th (except one company, which was at Hobart Town, but arrived shortly afterwards), the 70th, 2nd Batt. 14th (less three companies stationed at Wellington), and one wing head quarters of the 2nd Batt. 18th Royal Irish; Captain Mercer's Field Battery Royal Artillery, and a company of Royal Engineers – in all, about 4000 Imperial troops. The 57th Regiment was in New Zealand, but stationed at Taranaki and Wanganui, and did not take an active part in the subjugation of the Waikato tribes. To supplement the above forces, considerably over 1000 Militia and Volunteers were placed in the field. (At a later period of the campaign the General received further large reinforcements in the shape of the remaining wing of the 2nd Batt. 18th Regiment, the 50th, 43rd, and 68th Regiments of Foot, together with another Field Battery of Artillery, the Military Train, Detachments of Royal Engineers and Army Hospital Corps). To these Imperial troops were added four Regiments of Colonial Militia recruited in the Australasian colonies, each regiment being 1000 strong. These, were destined for the permanent military occupation of the Waikato. The above army was materially assisted by the Naval Brigade, formed of seamen and marines landed from the different ships of war on the station, under the direction of Commodore Wiseman, H. M. S. Curacoa.

Immediately after the engagement at Koheroa and the attack on the escort, the citizens of Auckland were called upon to take the field and share with her Majesty's forces the honours and fatigues of war. Accordingly, on Saturday, July 18th, the Albert Barracks, Auckland, presented an unusual scene of bustle and excitement. The Militia and Volunteers were ordered to Otahuhu for active service. Crowds of citizens assembled to give "God speed" to their relations and friends. There were many aching hearts in Auckland city that day. Fathers pressed the hands of their sons; mothers embraced their boys – many of them but 16, and not strong enough to bear the fatigues of a march hampered with the heavy rifle and accoutrements served out. Some of these lads, it is said, fell down on the march exhausted. Sweethearts came to cry, and waive their handkerchiefs to their beloved; and numbers came out of curiosity to see them off, as they would have come to have seen a regiment of regulars, or a spectacle of any sort. The detachments would not be away long, only a week, it was said – delusive hope to the fond mothers who tried to console themselves with the idea that their boys would be with them again in a few days. The days passed and they did not come; weeks went; and it was over a month before they returned. Many of them, never; and many came back only to pine away, and die – for they had been smitten by a foe more terrible than the Maori, a foe called Fever and Ague, wrestled with in wet tents and the malarious camp at Drury. But the bugles are sounding the fall-in, the detachments form into line, and the command is given, "Fours right; quick march!" the Volunteer Band in front strikes up a lively air, the sentry at the gate presents arms, and the companies march out, followed by a cheering, surging crowd.

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CAPTAIN Mackintosh, of the 1st Class Militia, and Captain Derrom, of the Volunteers, were in command of the detachments that marched out to Otahuhu. This advance force numbered about 200 bayonets, drafted from the different companies of Militia and Volunteers. Other detachments followed shortly afterwards. All classes of society were represented by

these citizen soldiers, as may be seen by the roll of one company of the 1st Class Militia, which consisted of 1 Custom-house officer, 29 clerks, 3 surveyors, 1 seedsman, 4 farmers, 3 builders, 1 cabinetmaker, 14 carpenters, 2 shipwrights, 1 boat builder, 1 painter, 1 grainer, 1 mason, 2 bricklayers, 5 blacksmiths, 1 tinsmith, 2 bootmakers, 2 printers, 1 storeman, 1 storekeeper, 1 grocer, 1 chemist, 2 carters, 4 labourers, 2 teachers, 1 photographer, 1 keeper lunatic asylum, 3 gentlemen, 8 servants, 1 ostler, and 2 without either trade or calling.

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The sudden withdrawal of so many artisans from their business occasioned great loss and inconvenience to the tradespeople. Some trades were completely paralyzed for a time, and one newspaper had to suspend its issue, having no compositors to set up the type – they had gone to the front.

Fifty of the Auckland Naval Brigade, under Lieutenant Guilding and Sub-Lieutenant Stevenson, marched to Onehunga on the same day as the Militia and Volunteers left the Barracks, with the object of cruising round the Manukau in boats to pick up and destroy any canoes that they might find. They were to have been accompanied by 50 friendly natives who had arrived from Rotorua and were armed with rifles supplied by the Government, but the Navals refused to march in company with armed natives. The townspeople took the matter up, and a deputation waited on the Governor and Native Minister, the Hon. Dillon Bell, and the result was that the natives were disarmed.

Five hundred of the 1st Class Militia were required for service outside of Auckland, and the departure of so many able men from the capital caused great uneasiness to the inhabitants, who were afraid that they might be attacked. Auckland in 1863 was very different from the Auckland of the present day, and although the capital of the colony and seat of Government, did not contain more than about 10,000 inhabitants, including men, women, and children. Where the densest part of Newton now stands there were fern ridges and gullies. Ponsonby did not exist, and Parnell was but a mere straggling suburb. Those who were not on the Militia roll offered to do night patrol duty, and, amongst others at Parnell, Bishop Selwyn himself came forward to act as a night watchman unarmed, although what use an unarmed watchman, if attacked, would be against an armed Maori it is difficult to see. One night the sentry on duty in Freeman's Bay fired his piece at what he supposed to be a Maori, and caused such an alarm that the excited inhabitants in that quarter turned out en masse. But it was nothing; no natives made their appearance. The sentry had fired at a stump or something of the sort, and the trembling denizens returned again to their troubled couches, most of them to pass the remainder of the night in anxious suspense.

The following letter written at the time by one of the Militia, forcibly illustrates the gross incompetence and neglect of the Militia authorities in caring for the welfare of the men, many of whom they had literally dragged from their homes. In the midst of abundance of supplies there was no excuse for the wretched ignorance and want of forethought displayed by the Colonial authorities. The writer says: –

"The men marched out in good spirits, and, though somewhat disheartened with the prospects of the incumbrance which sixty rounds presented to their progress, they marched cheerily. Tired and weary, they arrived at Otahuhu only to find that they were not to return, and that no preparations had been made for their reception at the camp. After a long delay, the men standing all the time in the wet and mud, numbers of them actually shivering with cold; these men were packed into huts which were dirty, cold and miserable. The camp authorities had only received notice that 200 men were coming, and no stores were sent. Six officers and 223 men were sent on Saturday night. On Sunday two officers and 100 men came in from Onehunga, and one officer and 50 men from Panmure and Otahuhu, being, nine officers and 373 men sent to camp without stores and without other preparations. Those who have felt the piercing cold (with continual wet boots and stockings) of the last few days will now be able to appreciate the delights of damp, cold, miserable and cheerless huts; with wind whistling through the crevices; no fire; and huddled together like sheep, with one candle to each hut, and nothing to eat. This was our situation; nor is it yet much improved. On Saturday night, short commons; on Sunday, no bread served

out till after 10 p.m. Raining fast, we could not stir from the huts without being up to ankles in mud. After dark, no stirring out at all without the chance of falling into ditches which intersect one another like cobwebs, varying from ten inches to five feet in depth; mud on the floor of the huts from four to six inches thick; my hand, from cold, is almost numbed, and I can scarcely feel the pen with which I scrawl these lines. We receive rations – but what are they? bread that smells like vinegar, and sugar more black than brown. The men were drawn from their homes without warning; they were not supplied with anything, but just as they stood in Albert Barracks, were marched through the mud of the Otahuhu road and the still heavier slush of the Otahuhu camp; wet and cold feet were the consequences, and leave has been refused to go to Auckland for an outfit. My boots were wet on Saturday night; they were wet when I put them on on Sunday morning, and they have not been dry since, and so wet are they that they will not be dry for two days. Yet I am one of the lucky ones, having put on a pair of strong boots. Others, thinking they would be home on Saturday night, came away in the boots they were wearing in dry and comfortable workshops. What is the consequence? Their paper boots are gone, and they have nothing to replace them with. I do not want a featherbed, but, with the rest of my comrades, expect to have necessaries as far as practicable."

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BEFORE the Auckland Militia were fully formed, Colonel Moule had resigned his command, and was with the General at the front. The Militia, however, were fortunate in having, as Colonel Moule's successor, Major-General Galloway, who had lately been gazetted from the colonelcy of the 70th Regiment, and who, instead of returning to England, at the request of General Cameron, accepted the command of the Militia and Volunteer forces in the Auckland district. Two days after the arrival of the Auckland Rifle Volunteers at Otahuhu they, together with the Onehunga Volunteers – in all, about 400 men – were moved on towards Drury, under command of Major Lyons. The column that night encamped at Papakura, and the next day General Galloway arrived, and forwarded Major Lyons with a strong detachment of Rifles and Militia Volunteers over to the Wairoa for the purpose of taking up a position there and throwing up a redoubt. Building redoubts was now the order of the day. An officer of the Royal Engineers marked out the position of the earth works to be thrown up, and the citizens of Auckland had no help for it but to set to with pick and shovel. The majority of the men, unused to laborious work, made but slow progress in building redoubts; their hands blistered, and their backs ached not a little, and many glances of envy were cast at their more fortunate comrades with corporal's or sergeant's stripes, who had nothing to do but look on, and give, now and again, the back-aching, hand-blistered diggers and delvers a gentle hint, that they were awfully slow, and if they did not look out they would have the natives upon them before they were finished; and this was not altogether a jest, for numbers of the enemy were prowling about in the dense fern and bush with which the country was covered. At night time the sentinels could see the fires of the enemy all along the ranges, and the wonder is that the natives did not make a dash at the Rifles whilst throwing up their earthworks. Major Campbell, at this time, was in charge of the camp at Papakura, and pushed the works forward as fast as he could; but it was impossible for him to transform, even on an emergency, men and lads who had never done two days work in their lives with pick and shovel, into navvies.

Colonel Wyatt, of the 65th, having arrived to inspect the redoubt, severely lectured the men for the slow progress they had made, and they duly felt the enormity of their crime in not being able to handle such ancient and well-known instruments as the pick and the shovel. After a great deal of grumbling and growling, the redoubt was at length finished, to the satisfaction of all parties, and the na-

tives had then lost the opportunity of making a dash.

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Not accustomed to anything approaching strict discipline, and used to the great freedom and independence of colonial life, it was some time before the Militia and Volunteers could be made to understand their true position, which event only took place when many of them got into serious trouble for disobedience of orders, and found themselves in the military cells minus their thick crop of curly black or brown hair, as one well-known citizen soldier sadly remarked, looking more like convicts than gentlemen Volunteers.

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AFTER the murder of Mr Meredith and his son it might have been expected that the settlers would have been careful not to have ventured in the bush – especially in the vicinity of where the natives were known to be. The Government had given those settlers who had not come in, warning of their insecurity, but notwithstanding this, and the fact that the natives had already, on two occasions, been engaged with the troops, and at Koheroa, with severe loss to themselves, many families still persisted in clinging to their homesteads, at the imminent peril of their lives.

On July 22, a Mr Greenacre and three men went into the bush, not far from Mr Hay's house, between Papakura and Drury, for the purpose of cutting wood. Whilst so engaged, they were suddenly attacked by about 50 Maoris, who fired a volley at them. Mr Greenacre and party dropped their axes and ran off as fast as they could out of the bush and back to Mr Hay's house, followed by the natives, who kept on firing. Not very far from Mr Hay's house, in the open ground, one of the men, named James Hunt, received a ball in the back and fell mortally wounded; the natives ceasing further pursuit, Mr Greenacre and the other two men escaped, and gave the alarm to the troops stationed at Drury and Papakura. A party of the 65th and some Marines from Drury were soon on the spot; they skirmished through the bush, but the natives had gone. The body of James Hunt was found where he had been shot, and was not tomahawked. The troops returned to Drury with the body. They had no sooner arrived than news was brought by Mr Anderson, veterinary surgeon, R. A., that a detachment of the 18th was surrounded in the bush at Keri Keri by a large force of Maoris. Colonel Wyatt, with the 65th, immediately marched towards Keri Keri, where heavy firing was going on, accompanied by Mr Anderson and Ensign Hay, of the Militia, as guide. When the alarm was given at Papakura that the natives were in the bush near Mr Hay's house, and had killed a settler, Capt. Clare, of the Militia, at once started with a detachment of his men, and sent an orderly to Captain Ring, who had charge of the 18th camp on the Wairoa road. Captain Ring, with his detachment of the 18th, soon joined the Militia, and they advanced towards the bush at Keri Keri. Lieutenant Rait, with some Mounted Artillery, scoured the open ground. The 18th and Militia entered the bush in skirmishing order, some distance to the left of where the 65th had been, and came immediately into collision with the natives, who at once opened fire and fell back, followed by the troops. The Militia now, for the first time in the Waikato War exchanged shots with the enemy. The detachment was composed principally of men used to the bush, and eager spirits who had volunteered for active service outside of the Militia district. Whilst advancing, the men kept well up with the 18th, and brought one native to the ground, shot by Private Jackson. Continuing to follow the retreating Maoris into the heart of the bush, Captain Ring's party were suddenly outflanked by a superior force of the enemy. At this time the troops were in a clearing surrounded by dense bush, and whilst endeavoring to charge the natives one of the 18th was killed and one severely wounded. The natives having splendid cover in the bush, kept up a heavy fire on Captain Ring's party. Fortunately, in the clearing was an earthwork that had been thrown up a few days before by the 18th, but afterwards abandoned. Captain Ring at once availed himself of this position, and, under cover of the earthworks kept

the natives from emerging into the open. Several desperate attempts were made by the enemy to get possession of the body of the 18th man who had been shot, but the fire of the troops was too severe for them to effect their object, although, after losing several men, they succeeded in obtaining the soldier's rifle and bayonet. Clouds of powder smoke hovered amongst the dense foliage surrounding the combatants, and the rattle of the firing was incessant, the bullets pinging and pattering against the trees like hailstones. Captain Ring's party had evidently fallen into a trap, and if no relief should soon arrive, their case was desperate. The afternoon was fast passing away, and already the shades of evening were beginning to fall upon the bush. The sharp rattle of rifles was now heard rolling through the forest and approaching nearer every minute, and the fire of the natives somewhat slackened. A bugle call sounded clear above the din – it was the regimental call of the 65th, which, with a loud cheer, charged through the bush, driving the enemy off. The 18th had one man killed and three wounded, and the 65th had one man killed. It being nearly dark, the troops hastily returned with their dead and wounded to the camp at Drury. Loss of the natives not known. Appended is Captain Ring's official account of the affair: –

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"Camp near Keri Keri,
"Wairoa road, July 23rd, 1863."

Sir, – I have the honour to state for your information, that at noon, the 22nd instant, I received information that two settlers had been fired upon by a body of natives, and that one of the settlers was killed, and hearing firing in the vicinity of Pukikiwereke, about two miles from my camp, I immediately proceeded with 100 men of the detachment under my command, and close to the above named place I fell in with natives who were engaged with a party of Militia Volunteers. I opened fire, and the natives retreated to my former entrenchment above the whare at Keri Keri. The fire of the skirmishers drove them down the hill into the brushwood, the leading skirmishers on the right, under Lieutenant Wray, took possession of the hill and kept up fire on them. I, with another body of skirmishers, proceeded to take them on the right flank, but found that the natives, who mustered a strong force, nearly surrounded me. Here I lost one man killed, whose rifle and bayonet were taken possession of by the natives, though not without serious loss to them. I then concentrated my men in the entrenchment, and having heard from an Artillery officer who rode up to my position, that the 65th Regiment was in my immediate vicinity, I requested that he would inform the officer commanding the 65th that there was a track on the enemy's rear, and if an attack were made in that direction it would be of great service, as it was quite impossible for me to follow so strong a force of the enemy into the bush with my small force. I remained in the entrenched position until close on sunset, keeping a steady fire on the enemy, who were endeavoring to obtain possession of the body and ammunition of the private who was killed, and whom I would not leave. I repeatedly tried to obtain possession of the body by sending out volunteers of the man's company, but desisted, finding it would entail greater loss. I was about retiring, leaving a rear guard in the entrenchment, when the Mounted Artillery arrived; immediately after I saw the 65th appear. The natives then drew off their right flanking movement and retreating into the bush, enabled me to obtain the body of the man of my detachment; this accomplished, the whole force withdrew. Casualties: 1 private killed and 3 wounded. The officers engaged on this occasion were Lieutenant Wray, Ensign Jackson, and Ensign Butts, whose assistance, coupled with the steadiness of my men, merits unqualified approbation. – I have, &c,

"JAMES RING,
"Captain Royal Irish, Commanding.

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DISCOVERING that it was much easier and safer to obtain a victory-over one or more surprised settlers than the troops, the natives accordingly, on July 24, started on the war path to hunt for victims. Early in the morning one party of braves surrounded the house of Captain Calvert, which was

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situated on the Wairoa road, near Papakura, and not very distant from the 18th Camp. Fortunately at the time the only occupants of the house were Captain Calvert and his son. Several natives having effected an entrance into the kitchen alarmed the inmates, who no sooner appeared than they were fired at. Young Mr. Calvert fell mortally wounded, and Captain Calvert, discharging his revolver amongst the natives, rushed at them with his sword, when the intruders beat a hasty retreat. Help being obtained, young Mr. Calvert was carried to the camp and shortly afterwards expired. On the same morning a Mr. Cooper, living at the Wairoa, was out in his paddocks looking after his cows when suddenly a volley was fired upon him by a party of Maoris. The unfortunate man fell dead, a ball passing through his head. The savages afterwards set fire to his clothing, his body when found being partially burnt. The Maori braves, when they returned to their camp that night, no doubt around the whare fire recounted to their admiring brethren the glorious deeds that they had done that day and were prepared to do again if an opportunity occurred. These murders caused great excitement and consternation in Auckland, but it was impossible to protect every settler who persisted in remaining upon his isolated and exposed homestead. Many settlers no doubt preferred to run the risk of the natives, to leaving their homes and having their houses ransacked which, in almost all cases, invariably took place directly they were left; and it must be said that the natives were not always the guilty parties, for there is good reason for supposing that more than one deserted farm house was looted and the furniture destroyed by some of the rough and lawless characters that are always to be found amongst a body of troops, who, in war time, consider they have a right to take and destroy everything they can lay their hands upon, notwithstanding regimental orders to the contrary. The natives, reinforced on the Hunuia and Pokeno ranges, had now evidently command of the long belt of bush, and threatened General Cameron's positions on all sides. The General, until he could organise a force to sweep the natives out of these ranges, was compelled to remain on the defensive. To advance further up the Waikato could not well be done until a steamer could be placed at his disposal on the River. To supply this want a small light-draught paddle steamer, named the Avon, had been purchased by the Government and fitted out for the service at Onehunga. The Avon was supplied with bullet-proof iron plating, and pipes were fixed in connection with the boiler, so that a stream or jets of scalding water could be thrown upon any party of natives attempting to board. For armament she had one 12lb. Armstrong gun at the bows. Captain Hunt, of Onehunga, was in charge of the vessel, under the command of Commander Mayne, H. M. S. Eclipse, upon whom devolved the onerous duty of taking the Avon up to the General's position on the Waikato River – a difficult and dangerous task on account of the many (then unknown) shallows with which the river abounds, and in the face of an enemy who could easily obstruct the passage of the steamer. It had been blowing a hard westerly gale for several days, but on the morning of the 25th of July, 1863 – a momentous day for the Waikato, as it hailed the advent of steam and the march of civilisation – the weather was fine and clear on the Waikato bar. The sea broke white as Alpine snow, bright and sparkling, on the sandbanks on either side, but the bar itself was clear of break. About mid-day the natives at the settlement of Putataka, overlooking the bar, discerned the smoke of two steamers making for the entrance. Approaching closer, the vessels stopped for some little time, then the smaller of the two made straight and swift for the bar, the larger one turned round and steamed back from whence she came and ere long was lost to sight under the land. The small steamer approached the bar, a long heaving swell catches her up and carries her safely on its crest; another long heaving swell runs up behind and sends her riding swiftly along. The sea now breaks in curling waves on each side, but the channel ahead is clear, and the natives looking on know that the eye of the Waikato is put out, that a Pakeha steamer for the first time, floats on the Waikato River. The natives intended to greet her with a volley, but were dissuaded from doing so by Mr. W. Spargo, an old settler who resided near the heads. The Avon steamed up the river, but got ashore on the flats before reaching

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Kohanga, where she took on board Mr. Strand, who had a knowledge of the channel and acted as pilot. After taking the ground several more times on her passage, the Avon reached the Bluff on the afternoon of the 27th, without having been molested by the enemy in any way, although they were doubtless aware of her arrival in the river. The following official letter gives an interesting and detailed account of the passage of the p.s. Avon from the Manukau to the Waikato River:

Avon, off the Bluff,
Waikato, 27th July, 1863.

SIR, – I have the honour to inform you that I left Onehunga in her Majesty's ship under my command, with the steamer Avon in tow, on the morning of the 10th, and steamed to the Manukau Heads. The signal, "Bar unsafe," being made from the station, we anchored on the Huia bank, and remained there till Monday, the 20th. The ship dragging into shoal water, we then shifted berth round Puonga, and remained there till Saturday, the 25th. On the morning of the 25th, proceeded over the bar, with the Avon in tow, and reached the Waikato Heads at 1 o'clock. Took 30 of our men on board the Avon and sent Eclipse back to Manukau, and crossed the Waikato bar in the Avon at 2 o'clock.

After grounding several times on the flat which crosses the river inside the entrance, we ran on the bank about two miles below Kohanga, and had to remain there until 4 o'clock next morning.

We then hauled off, and steamed on till nearly daylight, when we again grounded.

During the day we lightened the vessel as much as possible by putting coal and some other heavy things into a large canoe which we towed up, and at high water (4. 30 p.m.) the vessel again floated. Steamed on till 6, and anchored eight miles below Tuakau; started at daylight next morning, and reached the Bluff at 4 p.m.

The only natives we saw were a few at the Heads, who hoisted a white flag as we passed; 20 or 30 at Kohanga, and as many at Cameron. No one appeared the least disposed to dispute our passage.

Capt. Greaves, Deputy-Assistant Quarter-Master-General, accompanied the vessel, and it is owing to his knowledge of the river and unflagging energy that the service was accomplished so successfully. He preceded the vessel the whole way, sounding and showing the channel. I request that you will bring to the notice of the Colonial Government the services of Mr. Strand, of Kohanga,

He accompanied the vessel from that place to Cameron, and materially assisted Captain Graves in conducting her over one or two difficult places in which the channel had lately shifted.

I have, &c.,
J. C. MAYNE,
Commander H. M. S. Eclipse.

The ship Norwood arrived in Auckland Harbour from Portsmouth, Aug. 2nd, with left wing of the 2nd Batt. 18th Royal Irish, under Col. Carey; also 132 officers and men of the Royal Engineers, under command of Captain Brooke. On Sunday night, August 2, it being moonlight, General Cameron made a reconnaissance of a position at Paparata, which the natives had formed and occupied in force. From this place, situated about 10 miles from the Koheroa Redoubts towards the East or Hauraki Gulf, the natives could direct their operations against the troops over the ranges, and could also receive reinforcements and supplies from the interior by way of the Piako. Colonel Mould, of the Royal Engineers, was in command of the reconnoitering force, which consisted of 300 officers and men. The object of the expedition having been fulfilled, the troops after a weary march returned to camp. A few shots were exchanged with the enemy, one soldier being dangerously wounded. It was in connection with Paparata that the gallant Von Tempsky first came into special notice in New Zealand. General Cameron desiring a plan or sketch of the enemy's works, Von Tempsky undertook the dangerous task, which he successfully carried out. Lying concealed amongst the dense scrub and flax in the very midst of the natives and their prowling dogs, he sketched the enemy's position and returned safely to camp. For this service Von Tempsky received his first commission in the Colonial Forces; for less than what he did at Paparata many a soldier has received the Victoria Cross. Several years afterwards this gallant officer lost his life in attempting to storm a rebel stockade on the West Coast, between Wanganui and Taranaki. His loss was deeply regretted by his comrades in arms and all who knew him.

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A FORCE was now organised by General Cameron for the purpose of scouring the bush and contesting the possession of the same with the enemy. This force consisted of a flying column composed of volunteers from the Regulars, about 200 strong, and a corps of Forest Rangers under Lieutenant Jackson, consisting of volunteers from the Militia, numbering 50. These men were armed with revolvers and a breech-loading carbine, a much handier weapon in the bush than the long Enfield rifle. Another corps of Forest Rangers was shortly afterwards raised under the command of Von Tempsky. The pay of the Forest Rangers was 8s. per diem, without rations, the men finding their own. Lieutenant Jackson had almost a roving commission, and his corps, in a great measure, were free from the strict discipline of the troops; the work they had to do was the most harassing and exciting that the soldier is called upon to perform. From day to day their lives hung upon a chance; for on each expedition they were liable to be surrounded in the heart of the dense hush and cut off to a man; assistance could not be, and was not, relied upon.

A correspondent who accompanied Lieutenant Jackson on one of his expeditions, gives the following interesting account of his journey. The writer says:—"On my way to the Wairoa I received an invitation from Lieutenant Jackson, commanding the Forest Rangers, to accompany him on an expedition through the ranges. I gladly complied, and we started the following day (Thursday) at 9 a.m.; a delay in forwarding biscuit from Papakura prevented an earlier start. Smith's Inn being the head-quarters of the corps, we proceeded thence in a south-easterly direction towards the Hunuia. Passing the spot where Mr Cooper was shot, close to his house on the first slope of the range, we ascended through some clearings on to the first ridge. A narrow bush track led us after that down the other side, a luxuriant vegetation obscuring any chance of a fair view of the country. Towards 12 o'clock a sudden turn of the track brought the bright light of an open country across our forest-roof, and the Hunuia opening, the old lair of the enemy, came in sight. Carefully we approached this neighborhood, but, after a little scouting, were satisfied that the field was still unoccupied, and we had our dinner in the neighborhood of Williams's hut. While the men were resting, Lieutenant Jackson, Ensign Hay, Sergeant Cole (the corps guide), and myself, went to scan the surrounding district with our glasses. A magnificent view of valleys, ridges, fern and forest land lay before us—the heights of Paparata to the far south-east, and the thin line of our track towards the junction of the Tiara Keenu Block serpentine through the fern. No signs of anything new or unusual denoting an enemy's presence could be discovered, and the order for the march was given. We passed the blackened site of Williams's hut, burnt to the ground by the retiring enemy; and after turning a flanking height of the high forest ground, the abodes of the Hunuia war party came in sight. They are still in good repair, as the attempt of Lieutenant Steele's party to fire them failed through the wetness of the thatch. Two hours' march through high fern brought us to the remains of Warner's hut, close on the forest; that was after having hit upon the enemy's track on his retreat, pointing evidently towards Paparata. This was an important discovery, and Lieutenant Jackson would have followed it up had his force been stronger, our whole complement consisting only of two officers, forty privates, eight non-commissioned officers, one volunteer, in all fifty. We next entered the forest, intending to hit by a cross-cut through the bush, a piece of unfinished road in the neighborhood of the Mangawheau, a tributary of the upper course of the Wairoa. Up to this we had been guided by men thoroughly acquainted with the neighborhood, their knowledge being correct, and proving the inestimable importance of having such guides. Later in the afternoon the labyrinth of gullies and hills, interwoven by a most provoking network of supplejack, proved even too much for the most experienced, and we had to consult the never erring guide, the compass. During the struggle with supplejacks the judicious equipment of our party became apparent, the short carbine and the general light style of accoutrements, making it alone possible to wind our way through the interminable mazes. The capabilities of the men, too.

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men, were displayed in a most satisfactory manner. They carried a swag composed of one blanket, one great coat, twenty rounds of ammunition, all enveloped in a so-called waterproof, and a haversack containing three days' rations of meat and biscuit, half a bottle of rum, a revolver, cartridge-box, carbine, some with sword-bayonets, others with tomahawks, and all these little items hanging from their bodies, made it a work of considerable difficulty to get along through the New Zealand forest without being thrown off one's equilibrium. Darkness soon added to our difficulties, and after one hour's scramble down precipitous hillsides closely set with supplejack traps, a little stream invited us to encamp. No fires were lit; each groped his way to some lair, spread out the components of his swag, and a violent attack on meat and biscuit ensued. Sentinels for night-watch were told off, posted and appointed, and those not thus engaged threw themselves with hearty good will into the arms of the forest Morpheus, a rough but kindly deity, seldom disappointing his votary. Lieutenant Jackson, Ensign Hay, and myself, had, with the eye of connoisseurs, taken instant possession of the shelter of a most comfortable lair, tenanted probably the night previous by some knowing old boar. The rain that fell that night did not wet us much, as the slanting position of the old trunk and its forest parasites proved a perfect roof, at least for two of us. Before daylight the sentinels were doubled, that time being the hour for Maori surprises. At daylight we bolted biscuit and meat to our contentment, and, with belted swag and haversack, away we glided through the dripping forest with the rain rattling through the foliage. After a couple of hours our guides were nonplussed, confessed their helpless condition, and Mr Hay, compass in hand, took the lead—to some purpose, as it became apparent shortly after. By his guidance we hit upon the point we intended to make, proving thus the superiority of a general knowledge of country to that of a minute, though circumscribed, acquaintance with one locality. It rained heavily all day long. Of fern openings, we came upon two; the first is called Wharehinau nue, the second Wharehinau nuke—both old native plantations, and presenting the quintessence of rich volcanic soil.

"Towards 4 in the afternoon, after traversing a third opening of an old plantation overgrown with dense scrub, we encamped on a hill at an early hour, to be enabled to erect some shelter for the night. Soon a little forest township springs into life, nikau and fern-palms being handy, and with eagerness we piled up shelter against the dropping rain. No fires were allowed till darkness had well set in, but all the wood was ready collected. At last the welcome word of 'fire' was heard, and here and there and everywhere through the thick forest gloom, carefully-tended sparks began to appear till the light of the fire, as it increased, shone upon men in all positions drying themselves with a grateful expression of countenance.

"The night-watch was once more told off, and let me tell you young men so eager for the eight shillings per day for bushranging, that unless you have a sound, well-seasoned constitution to boast of, you had better think twice before you venture on such work; for night-watching after a hard day's scramble; night-watching with rain filling your boots, will give you a trial too costly if unsuccessful. In a small corps such night duty comes round from man to man very often, in fact, almost too often. With daylight we were on the march again, Mr. Hay once more taking the lead. After an hour's march we came at last upon the Mangawheau River—certainly in a roundabout way, but we hit it, anyhow, thanks to our intelligent Ensign. The river contains a considerable quantity of water; we crossed it over some rocks above a little fall, and came thus, at last, into the mysterious precincts of one of our enemy's natural strongholds. Up to this we had seen no tracks; no traces of Maories except at the Hunuia, and some scattered cattle tracks. Now, however, the scene changed. Here and there nikau was found freshly cut, and soon a distinct track was come upon. Sergeant Henry Southee was placed at the head, and the track was followed up. Mr. Hay had repeatedly told me that we would have to cross the track from Paparata to Maketu if we earned out our original intention of scouring all the openings down to Pokeno. He now believed that the track we did hit was the one referred to, and after a little it was deemed advisable to follow it up in preference to crossing it, as the signs increased in freshness and number. Tem-

porary whares for war parties of 60 to 100 men were come upon; and spots with pigeon snares for the summer season were passed. They consist of a hole – square or round – cut into some broad surface root of a large tree, filled with water and surrounded by snares attached to an adjoining little upright frame, and they are used in summer season when water gets scarce. We were traversing a magnificent forest, topping long and sharp-backed spurs, sloping to the south-east coast. Before descending a very marked one, however, we resorted to our usual mode of observation, viz., in climbing some large trees. Two of our most expert climbers, Henry Southee and little Rowland – both of marine extraction – were this time assisted by Mr. Cole, and the following result was obtained: – A wide, open fern country stretched to the south east; a broad distinct track led up a heavy fern hill; a large house or whare also visible in a hollow; a ridge due south and another north-west. It was then decided, instead of proceeding to Pokeno, to follow this track at all hazard. Very silently and carefully our long blue-shirted Indian file wound through the green bushes, and considering the short time of enrolment, the men were careful enough in the all-important necessity of silence and stealthy step. Matters were becoming decidedly interesting now, and a little wholesome excitement tingling in one's blood gave spring and elasticity to the physical man. The signs became more and more pregnant with importance. We had seen soldier's trousers – two pairs – in one hut; remains of stretchers for the wounded, in another place; but now we came upon the most significant of all – a double track, one leading open to the right, and another hidden by artfully-laid branches to the left. Here was evidence of this path leading to something worth finding, and we slipped into it with eager curiosity and bated breath. Traces of pigs abounded; and the track of a dog rivetted our attention. Something like a distant bark had been heard previously, and the certainty of something being close at hand took possession of every one. The forest was dense in every direction around us – we could seldom see above 20 yards ahead – when suddenly, "Poaka, poak, poak," was heard ahead of us. Rivetted with the excitement of coming events we hailed. A distant voice began speaking to some audience – Henry Southee acting as interpreter for me. I heard one say, "Ah! if we had the Pakehas before us now we would give it them." Then followed a war dance. "Come on! come on!" was the last sentence we heard, which was shouted close at hand, and then we threw ourselves in ambush; when alas! a cap went off on the piece of some eager man struggling among supplejacks. A long silence ensued on the part of the hidden enemy, and Lieutenant Jackson thought it advisable to take up a position further back on the high ground. The talking could again be heard as we retreated silently as we had come, halting once more on some eminence. Here it was decided that as the exact locality was not positively known by our leaders, and as we knew that we were in the heart of the enemy's country, and were totally in the dark as to the number we might rouse by any engagement; and as the explosion of the cap without igniting the charge showed that, in spite of all possible precautions, perhaps many pieces were in a similar condition, it was deemed necessary to retreat. By the same track we re-ascended the spur about half-past 2 in the afternoon, and pushed on through the forest till long after dark, when, losing the track, we retraced our steps to a clearing that we had passed, and camped for the night. The next morning we made an early start, and found that the track we had travelled was the one from Paparata to Maketu, as Mr. Hay had expected. Three hours' march brought us in sight of the old pa at Maketu. A woodland scenery of undulating ground appeared to the south; to the north were hilly gullies, where another pa and now abandoned huts were situated. To the west, right in front from Maketu village and plantations, appeared, and in the same direction, marking the distant South Road, rose the white peaks over the redoubt of Lieutenant Rixon, at the entrance to Shepherds' bush, – the whole with a bright gleam of the distant Manukau, forming a most beautiful landscape. A hearty tramp of a few hours brought us to the camp at Drury.

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ON the 7th of August the steamer Avon left her moorings and steamed past the Koheroa for some miles up the Waikato river. Owing to the heavy rains during the winter, the lead indicated a good depth of water. On her way she was fired into by a party of natives lying in ambuscade on the river bank; the Avon returned the fire with her 12-pounder Armstrong, and the shells bursting amongst the brushwood close to where the natives were concealed quickly dispersed them. A few days afterwards a large number of natives commenced to entrench themselves on the Mere Mere – a slightly elevated ridge that runs up from the Waikato river some little distance beyond the Whangamarino creek. From the British outposts, with the aid of a glass, the Maories could be plainly discerned throwing up rifle-pits in all directions; and from the numbers of them that swarmed the hill side it was evident that they intended to make a determined stand at this point against the further advance of the troops. The natives who had taken up the position at Mere Mere consisted mainly of the Ngatimaniapotos, who, with their chief Rewi, had come down the river to assist the Lower Waikatos after their disastrous defeat on the Koheroa. The Ngatimaniapotos considered themselves the fighting men par excellence of the Waikato. A great many of them had been in several skirmishes with the troops at Taranaki, and on one or two occasions with partial success, and they doubted not but that in their own country or district they would be able to give a good account of themselves and the soldiers. With the Ngatimaniapotos appeared the King's standard, which was set up on a ridge on the extreme left of the position. For a long time it was generally believed that, man for man and aimed with the same weapons, that the Maori was quite, if not more than, a match for the British soldier; but Dr. Thompson, one of the surgeons of the 58th Regiment, while stationed in New Zealand, upset this idea by the following experiment: The doctor had 147 Maories measured, their average height being 5ft. 6 3/4 in.; whilst 617 men of the 58th Regiment averaged 5ft. 7 3/4 in. The average weight of the Maoris was 141 lbs.; that of the men of the 58th Regiment, 143 lbs. The average weight the Maoris raised was 367 lbs.; the average weight raised by the soldiers was 422 lbs. – being 55 lbs. more than the Maoris. In circumference of chest the Maoris averaged from 35 to 36 inches, and the 58th, from 35 to 71 inches. By the above it will thus be seen that in sheer weight and strength alone the Maori is inferior and would have to give way, whatever some writers may say to the contrary.

Unmolested by General Cameron, the natives were enabled, in a short space of time, to complete their extensive works of defence on the Mere Mere range. On the west side the position was protected by the Waikato river, and on the east by the extensive swamps that stretch away towards Paparata. Close to the river side the natives had placed in position two old ship guns which they had picked up from some wreck on the coast, and dragged or carried some 200 miles to their present position. For shot, the Maories used sash weights and pieces of old iron – any shape did so long as it would go into the muzzle. Weeks now passed, and the General made no sign. Some guns were brought forward and placed in position in the Redoubts on the Koheroa, overlooking the Whangamarino creek and Mere Mere. Now and again a shell was sent whizzing towards the enemy's works, and the natives, in reply, at times skirmished through the belt of bush that lay between Mere Mere and the redoubts, and took long shots at the sentries. Once or twice they crept up in the early dawn and surprised an unwary sentinel, but they made no attempt to storm the redoubts – that feat had been tried at Taranaki, and the success that they achieved was not calculated to inspire them with the idea of performing the same operation again. The Flying Column and Jackson's Forest Rangers scoured the bush from the Wairoa on one side to Waiuku on the other but the natives had disappeared. They were evidently concentrated at Mere Mere waiting to push back the troops who they expected daily to advance, but they were disappointed, for the General made no forward march.

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THE City and suburbs of Auckland and Otahuhu district were at this time placed under the command of Colonel Carey, of the 18th. The majority of the men under his command in Auckland were composed of the Militia and Volunteers, who were not in the field, and, except when on parade, were pursuing their several and peaceable avocations in all parts of the town. In case of emergency it was most desirable that Col. Carey should be enabled to collect his scattered forces together at the shortest possible notice at any hour of the day or night. To accustom the men to assemble in case of attack, Colonel Carey issued a notice to the effect that he intended, within a few days, to sound the alarm by the firing of a certain number of guns, when the Militia and Volunteers were immediately to hasten to the Albert Barracks with their arms and accoutrements. Accordingly, in the daytime on the 20th of August, the sound of guns was suddenly heard booming over the town. It was the alarm! The scene that then followed baffles description. The whole town was instantly in an uproar. Figures in an excited state, came rushing out of doors and passages, clutching in their hands a rifle, and their belts, pouch, and bayonet slung round their necks. The clerk threw his pen down; the draper's young man suddenly disappeared from his astonished lady customer, vaulted over the counter, and made off; the baker left his dough, the tailor his goose, the tinsmith his soldering iron; the bricklayer his bricks; and the carpenter his chips – all were off to the Barracks, through the streets like mad, followed by cheering boys and yelping curs; whilst the natives in the town squatted on the ground and stared, open-mouthed, at the strange spectacle. When the guns had ceased booming, the buglers took up the alarm, and in an incredible short space of time there was in the Albert Barracks a very large muster of Militia and Volunteers, although, through not having time to put on their uniform, they presented a somewhat motley appearance. But the men were there, and could have shown a good front to a large force of Maories. The moral effect of this turn out was very great. Henceforth Auckland was considered comparatively safe from being surprised; and each citizen knew and felt that in case of any sudden attack they could rely upon one another. That both General Cameron and Colonel Carey were pleased at the alacrity shown by the citizens in assembling so smartly when suddenly called upon, may be seen by the following correspondence: –

Head Quarters Colonial Forces.
Auckland, August 24, 1863.

SIR, – I have the honour to forward for the information of Government, the accompanying letter from the Lieut.-General commanding the forces, giving cover to a letter from the officer commanding at Auckland and Otahuhu.

It is a source of much pleasure to me that the conduct and soldier-like bearing of the force under my command should have merited and called forth such a gratifying mark of approval from the Lieut.-General commanding in New Zealand. – I have, &c,

T. J. GALLOWAY,
Major-General Commanding Colonial Forces.

To the Hon. the Minister for Colonial Defence.

Head Quarters, Queen's Redoubt.
23rd August, 1863.

SIR, – I am directed by the Lieut.-General commanding to forward for your information the enclosed copy of a letter, which he has received from Colonel Carey, commanding at Auckland and Otahuhu; and he feels sure that you will feel equally gratified with himself by that officer's account of the alertness and promptitude displayed by the Volunteers and Militia in repairing to their several posts on the occasion of the alarm being sounded in Auckland on the 20th inst. The Lieut.-General avails himself of this opportunity to express, through you, his approbation of the conduct and services of all the corps of Volunteers and Militia since the outbreak of hostilities in this province. Having been called out suddenly for service in the field at the most inclement season of the year, encamped at great distances from their homes, and required to perform duties most trying and harassing even to regular troops, they have been subject to many hardships and privations, which they have endured with a constancy and cheerfulness reflecting the highest credit upon them.

The Lieut.-General is fully aware how much your personal influence and example

have contributed to call forth and encourage this soldier-like spirit on the part of the Militia and Volunteers, and begs you will accept his warm thanks for the timely assistance given by you in accepting your present command at a very critical period, and for the cordial manner in which you have co-operated with him in all his arrangements for the defence of this province. – I have, &c,

W. F. HUTCHINS,
Lieut.-Colonel, Assistant Military Secretary.

Major-General Galloway,
Commanding Colonial Forces, Auckland.

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The following sketch will give the reader an idea of the kind of hardship endured by the Militia and Volunteers referred to by General Cameron in his complimentary letter: – Imagine a force of some 200 men composed of Militia and Volunteers, marching along the road between Otahuhu and Drury. The route is ankle deep in mud, and with great difficulty the baggage carts keep up with the column. The men, marching four abreast, have no choice but to take the road as it comes; sometimes the mud reaches half-way up their leather gaiters. The baggage carts covered with tarpaulins are behind the main body, and are followed by a rearguard. Two brown blankets rolled horse-shoe fashion over the shoulder, in which was stowed their lares and penates, consisting mainly of one shirt, a comb, one towel, a piece of soap, and one pair of socks; some had great-coats served out to them, others had none, a rifle, bayonet, belts, and an enormous pouch containing fifty rounds of ammunition, completed the costume of the Militia, when in full marching order. No martial strains of music enlivened the march, but in lieu thereof the men break out singing popular airs. Those in demand at the time were "Maryland," "Marching through Georgia," "We'll hang John Brown on a sour apple tree," and other American ballads handed down from the Civil War. A smart driving shower of rain now chills the musical ardour of the men, and the

damp rises from their heated bodies like steam. It is afternoon before the force, wet and weary, reaches their camping ground at Drury. The bugles sound the welcome halt; the arms are piled, waggons unloaded, tents into which is thrown wet fern for beds, are pitched, fragments of damp wood are somehow seduced into a blaze, and the kettles are under way for tea. Each man is then served with a tot of rum, and then! turn in? No! for the bugles are sounding, and some of the unfortunates are told off for outlying and inlying pickets, for they are now in front of the enemy. Some hot tea and biscuit is bolted, and they are marched out to do sentry go, till relieved, in the fern, where they are soon lost to sight in the gloom of a winter's afternoon. But the camp is not attacked by the enemy, for through the long hours of the night occasionally is heard a cry from No. 1 sentry that "all's well," then No. 2 repeats the signal "all's well," No. 3 "all's well," and so on along the line of sentries. At daybreak the bugles sound the reveille, the camp is roused up, and the men, stiff, aching, and as tired as when they turned in the night before, tumble out to breakfast and fatigue duty, cutting wood, throwing up trenches, &c, until picket time comes round again. And all along the Militia and Volunteers were villainously fed on the very worst of provisions. Many of those that had money used to buy extra provisions at the store, while others for a meal had to thank the generosity of the men of the 65th and 18th Regts., who were quartered in the same camp, the regulars having far better rations than the Militia and Volunteers. Why this should have been the case is best known to the officers at the head of the Colonial Commissariat, who must have had some motive for winking at the inferior quality of the rations served out to the unfortunate Militia and Volunteers.

One Sunday morning, the men at Drury were ordered out for fatigue duty to clean out the slaughter-house and assist to unload two cutters that had arrived with coals. The men refused duty, and were accordingly placed under arrest, tried, and sentenced to have their hair cut and seven days cells. A detachment of the 18th unloaded the cutters, the coals being urgently required for the steamer on the Waikato river, whence it was conveyed by carts over the Pokeno range.

Occasionally an alarm was sounded by a sentry firing at what he imagined to be a Maori, and the whole camp turned out standing, shivering in the early frosty morning. Several fatal accidents occurred through an excited sentry fir-

ing at one of his comrades whom he had mistaken in the darkness for one of the enemy. At the Papatoitoi Redoubt, a sentry fired at what he supposed to be a native. The whole of the gallant defenders, at the sound of the bugle, quickly lined the banquette of the Redoubt, and poured for some time a smart fusillade into the supposed enemy, who, strange to say, did not return the fire. The next morning it was discovered that the gallant defenders had been firing into an unfortunate grindstone that had lain hors de combat on the ground. This affair was spoken of as the "Battle of the Grindstone." At Waiuku, one dark, windy night, the brave garrison of the Stockade rushed out, headed by their lieutenant, sword in hand, and charged a band-box, which being blown by the wind through the fern, caused a noise that might be mistaken for a moving body of natives. Dr. Topp, the medical man of the district, happened to be outside of the Stockade at the time; fortunately he tripped up and fell. A storm of bullets instantly swept over him, cutting away the fern just above his prostrate form. Many of the men to this day believe that they charged a body of natives, who were crawling up through the fern to attack the Stockade.

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SHORTLY after the Military posts had been established at different points over the Pokeno ranges, contracts were let for clearing away the bush for some distance on each side of the road. This work accomplished, the natives would not have the advantage of such good cover as heretofore in the event of their again attacking our escorts. The bushmen engaged on the contract received, on account of the danger attending their work, a high rate of pay; and whilst felling the trees were escorted each day by a party of soldiers, who also assisted in the chopping. At about 11 o'clock on the morning of the 25th August, some bush-men and a party of the 40th Regiment, 25 in number, were busy at work felling and clearing away the bush alongside the road, a short distance past Williamson's Clearing. The enemy were not supposed to be in the vicinity of the road, and the rifles of the 40th were piled in the usual manner, the men being busy with axes – suddenly, and without warning, a volley was fired from the bush, and two of the 40th fell dead. At the same instant a party of natives dashed out of the bush and seized the rifles that were stacked, 23 in number. A detachment of the 18th which was marching along the road, arrived just at this time, and instantly opened fire on the Maoris retreating into the bush with their booty. Two of the enemy were shot by the fire of the 18th, and a third, before he could get away, was attacked and dragged down by a dog of the bloodhound breed belonging to one of the bushmen, and was shot on the ground. In this skirmish one of the 18th was wounded. The rest of the natives, with the 23 stand of arms, made good their retreat.

The enemy, evidently tired of waiting at Meremere for the advance of the General, had determined to take the initiative and send a force out to attack the troops. Three days after the attack on the 40th, a Mr Scott, an old settler, 70 years of age, who resided at Pukekohe, was shot at and severely wounded by the natives; the unfortunate old gentleman, managed to crawl some distance to a house belonging to Mr Hawk, where he laid for 30 hours, when he was found in an exhausted state by a party of Militia from the Pukekohe stockade who were scouring the bush in the vicinity. Mr Scott was conveyed to Auckland, where he afterwards expired. On the morning of September 2nd a picket of the 18th at Pokeno, near the Queen's Redoubt, in charge of Ensign Dawson, was attacked by a party of natives. Ensign Dawson at once charged and drove the Maoris across the country for about half-a-mile to their village in the direction of Paparata. Here the natives, who were in force made a stand. Ensign Dawson extending his men in skirmishing order held the enemy in check until he was reinforced by Captain, the Hon. F. Le Poor Trench, with a detachment of the 40th Regiment, when the enemy retreated. In this skirmish no casualties are reported as having occurred.

The barque Isabella arrived in Auckland Harbour, Sept. 2nd from Hobart Town, with 109 rank and file of the 12th Regiment and the following officers, under command of Major Eager. Captains Cole and Hinds, Lieutenants Featherstonhaugh, Ensign Cooper, and Staff Surgeon Scott. The next day the first detachment of the Waikato military settlers arrived in the barque Kate, Sherlock, master, from Sydney. The detachment consisted of 80 men under Captain Drury, Lieutenant Abbott, Ensign R. J. Coulter, and Dr. Drake. On the 7th the s.s. Corio, Captain Turner, steamed into Auckland Harbour, from Dunedin, with 75 Waikato military settlers under Captain Horne.

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General Cameron being desirous of utilising, as a highway, the Waikato River from the Heads to his advanced posts on the river side, made arrangements for the conveyance of stores by water as well as land. The conduct of the water transport was placed in the hands of Mr. Armitage, a gentleman who had been a Resident Magistrate for some time connected with the lower Waikato, and he engaged with Kukutai, and other friendly natives, to convey by means of canoes up the river a quantity of stores from the barque City of Melbourne, which had arrived at the Waikato Heads laden with commissariat stores. Kukutai was a chief very friendly disposed to Europeans; his settlement was near Kohanga, not far from the Heads, where Dr. Maunsell had for many years his mission station. Mr. Armitage made two trips up the river with stores, and the new route promised to be successful. On board the City of Melbourne, in case of attack, was stationed a guard of Militia, under Captain Lloyd from Waiuku. The Captain of the vessel had discharged half of his cargo when information was received that the enemy intended to come down the river in force and capture the barque. The first favourable wind the captain sent the Militia ashore, tripped his anchor, and made sail for the Manukau, where he unloaded the remainder of his cargo which was taken by cutters up to Drury, and thence carted on to the Waikato. About half-way between the General's position on the Waikato and the Heads, a depot (called Cameron, after the General) was formed for the deposit of stores. On the 7th of September, Mr. Armitage started from the Bluff, a military post on the river, for the Heads. He was accompanied by two or three other canoes full of the chief Te Wheoro's tribe (friendly natives). On reaching Tuakau there was some delay on the part of the other canoes, and it so happened that Mr. Armitage got ahead of them, and reached the depot at Cameron some half-an-hour before them, at about 8 o'clock a.m. On arriving, Mr. Armitage got out of his canoe and went over to a house about 200 yards from the bank of the river, where there were two Europeans, Robert McKeown and William Strand – the former was a blacksmith who acted as clerk to Mr. Armitage, the latter was a carpenter engaged in erecting a store at Cameron. A stockade had been erected at the depot for the protection of the stores, and was manned by a party of friendly natives under a chief named Toka. Accompanied by McKeown and Strand, Mr. Armitage returned to the river bank, and they were about to get into the canoe for the purpose of proceeding to the Heads, when a volley was fired by some natives who were concealed in a bush close by. Mr. Armitage and his companions managed to scramble into the canoe and push off into the river. The natives, coming out of their ambush, kept on firing. One ball struck Mr. Armitage, and although severely wounded in the abdomen, he jumped over the side of the canoe and directed his companions to do the same, so as to be under cover of the canoe and at the same time float down the stream. The so-called friendly natives in the stockade, as soon as the hostile natives opened fire, ran away into the bush. Some of the enemy getting into a canoe followed Mr. Armitage and chopped off the hands of the unfortunate men that were clinging to the canoe; they then shot and tomahawked them in the water till they sank. Their bodies were not discovered for some time afterwards. The wretches tore from the body of Mr. Armitage, before it sank, a portion of his clothes, together with his watch, chain, and ring. The victims having been dispatched, the natives, who altogether were estimated at over 200 strong, disappeared in the dark recesses of the bush. They had no sooner done so than the natives who had fled when the firing commenced reappeared, and came down to the river side, fired a volley in the air, and rubbed noses with

those natives who were suspiciously detained in their canoes, and who had just arrived too late to render any assistance, but in time to contemplate the clouds of smoke that rose up from about £600 worth of commissariat stores that the enemy had fired. Besides Mr. Armitage, McKeown, and Strand, a half-caste named Wade, and a friendly native were killed.

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The death of Mr. Armstrong was keenly felt by the citizens of Auckland, by whom he was much liked and respected. The following notification of his death bears record to his great worth to both his fellow-colonists, and the natives: –

Colonial Secretary's Office.
Auckland, 11th September, 1863.

The Governor directs it to be notified that it is with great regret he has received a dispatch acquainting him with the sad death of that useful and active public officer, Mr.

Armitage, the Resident Magistrate of the lower Waikato – who was a sincere and faithful friend to the Native race, and whose loss is most especially to be deplored at this juncture of affairs.

ALFRED DOMETT.

At the time Mr. Armitage and his companions were murdered, the Rev. Dr. Maunsell, his wife and family, together with Mrs. Spargo, the wife of an old settler at the Waikato Heads, were at the Kohanga mission station, a few miles below Cameron, but were protected from the enemy by Wata Kukatai, who, however, lost a number of sheep, pigs, and cattle, killed by the murderers.

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THE firing at Cameron was heard by the troops stationed at Tuakau, and the dense clouds of smoke rising up through the bush indicated that the depot was in flames. About noon, five friendly natives arrived in a canoe and reported the death of Mr. Armitage and the burning of the commissariat stores by the rebels. Captain Swift, of the 65th, the officer in charge of the Tuakau Redoubt, determined to at once proceed in the direction of the depot at Cameron, which he did, taking with him Lieutenant Butler and 50 men. After a march of two hours over a rough track, a distance of about seven miles, Captain Swift reached a clearing, which he passed through, and with his detachment ascended the top of a hill, from which he could discern some whares. At this time an advance guard was sent forward, but taking a different track, got separated from the main body, which they did not rejoin until the next morning. Captain Swift's party, moving on, passed along a track which led through some bush. After following this for about 200 yards, some Maoris were heard talking. Thinking that the natives were coming in his direction, Captain Swift prepared an ambuscade for them by extending his men on both sides of the track. Finding that the natives did not come on as expected. Captain Swift ordered his men to fix bayonets. The 65th then moved forward for about twenty yards, and when at a turn of the track, the natives, who were evidently aware of the approach of the troops, opened fire upon them. Captain Swift fell at the first volley, mortally wounded. Lieutenant Butler then charged the natives, and while so doing, being a few yards in advance of his men, was brought to the ground. Drawing his revolver he shot two natives, and requested Color-Sergeant McKenna to take charge of the party. A smart skirmish then ensued for about half-an-hour; the fire of the 65th driving the natives back about 300 yards, with a loss of seven or eight men who were seen to fall. Darkness now put an end to the conflict, and the brave little band of the 65th, which had been holding its own against fearful odds, remained all night on the ground, At daybreak, the next morning, the detachment in charge of Color-Sergeant McKenna with some difficulty got out of the bush, and reached the Tuakau Redoubt shortly before noon. Captain Swift died about 7 o'clock in the evening. He had been shot through one lung and the side. Corporal Ryan and Private Bulford remained with their respected Captain until he expired. They then secreted his body in the bush, and joined Lieutenant Butler, with whom were Privates Thomas and Cole. The night was bitterly cold, and

Private Thomas taking off his coat wrapped it round his wounded lieutenant. At early dawn, Corporal Ryan and the three privates conveyed their wounded officer back through the bush to the Tuakau Re-doubt. On the road they were met by a strong detachment of the 65th. under Colonel Murray, who were pushing forward to support them, and with the view of searching for some men of the 65th who were missing. Corporal Ryan turned back with Colonel Murray to point out the spot where ho had secreted the body of Captain Swift.

Color-Sergeant McKenna, in his official report of the engagement, gives the following graphic account of the severe struggle that took place: –

Alexandra Redoubt.
Tuakau, 8th September, 1880.

SIR, – I beg to state for the information of the Lieutenant-General commanding, that at 10 o'clock p.m. on the 7th September, 1863, I proceeded under command of Captain Swift, with the force as per margin, to attack a party of natives who had set fire to the friendly native pa erected on the township of Cameron for the purpose of trying to rescue Mr Armitage and a party of friendly natives who were known to have been down there; also a quantity of commissariat supplies brought up from Waiuku. Proceeding in skirmishing order, we arrived at about 2.30 p.m. at the skirt of the bush leading to the ranges on which the pa was situated, and after an hour's struggle through the bush, we came to a clearing. Halting, our captain ordered our half ration of rum to be distributed, sending on the advance guard immediately after. When, on having proceeded a few hundred yards, it became apparent that the advance guard had lost or struck off the track, but that we had gained it. I then proposed to Captain Swift to advance and act as scout to the party, to which he immediately assented, cautioning me not to proceed more than thirty yards in front of the main body. After advancing in this order for about three-quarters of a mile I observed tracks of natives, and in large numbers; this I pointed out to the captain, and a little further on I heard the natives in loud debate, on which (expecting that they were returning on the track that they were pursuing) I again informed Captain Swift, –who ordered the men to lie down in the bush, at the same time ordering them not to fire until he gave them the word of command. However, on finding that the natives were not advancing, I crept up to within twelve yards of them, when, from their conversation, I judged they were under the influence of liquor. Captain Swift immediately called to advance, ordering the men to fix bayonets and charge, we advanced to within six yards of them, when they opened a most terrific fire; Captain Swift and Lieutenant Butler were at the time leading on the men, and after receiving the enemy's fire, the men gave a cheer and returned it in grand style; Lieutenant Butler shooting down a native on his right, turned his revolver to the left as quick as thought. I saw him come on his knee, at the same time discharging the remainder of the barrels of his revolver, bringing another native down at the same time that he fell himself. Seeing that he was wounded, I ordered Corporal Ryan and one of the men to take him to the rear; when he ordered me to lead the men to the front; on turning to my left I found Captain Swift mortally wounded, and after speaking a few words to him, he desired me to take his revolver and lead on the men, as at that time I was loading. With one loud hurrah, we charged, burning to avenge our officers. I now found myself in an open clearing of a few yards, the rebels flying to cover on our right and left, where they opened fire on my small party, who at this time numbered 2 sergeants, 1 bugler, and 35 men. Seeing that we were greatly outnumbered, I determined to hold onto our position if possible till dark, trusting that the men in charge of Captain Swift and Lieutenant Butler had retired well to the rear, and been joined by our lost advance guard; if so, I knew they would be able to make well towards the redoubt before darkness set in, when probably I should be enabled to join them; but I found at about a quarter to 6 o'clock that the enemy had got round to our rear, thereby cutting off our retreat by the way we came. I immediately ordered a charge, but was met by a volley that killed 1 and wounded 3 men. On trying again, I found it hopeless to attempt it; I therefore determined to retreat down the hill which was covered with fern, and, sending on our wounded, I threw out a line of skirmishers, ordering the front rank to "fire and retire." In this order we retired down the hill in a steady and orderly manner, the natives coming out of the bush and raining down a complete shower of bullets on us, when, although we were not above 100 or 150 yards from them, not a man was hit. At this time it was near dark, but we managed to scramble through the bush, until at last we lost the track, when I ordered the men around me, and told them that I should stay there till morning, ordering not a word to be spoken, or a pipe to be lighted. I now found that four men were missing, and knowing that it would be completely useless to attempt at that time

to find them, I determined to wait until morning, hoping in the meantime to hear them about in the bush. At 4. 3/4 o'clock a.m. on the morning of the 8th, we commenced to try and gain a track out of the bush, and at about 8 o'clock a. m. we succeeded, and were met about half-way from the redoubt by Colonel Murray and his party, and then learned that our esteemed captain was dead. After detailing a man to return as guide to Colonel Murray, I continued my march to the camp, which we reached at about 11 o'clock a.m. completely exhausted. I am sorry to report our casualties were very great, but taking into consideration the number to which we were opposed – being near seven to one – we have every reason to be thankful that it was not greater. I hope it may not appear presumptuous on my part to bear testimony to the cool and gallant behaviour displayed by the late Captain Swift and Lieutenant Butler in this desperate affair; the Captain issuing his commands as if on parade, and even when wounded, refusing to take one man from the force to take him to the rear, until he was told that I would not be able to keep my position much longer; and Lieutenant Butler, even when brought on his knee, in the coolest manner possible, deliberately fired the shots from his revolver into a crowd of Maoris. I need scarcely add, that the men behaved most gallantly; in fact, it would be impossible to recapitulate the many acts of individual courage where each man emulated the other in acts of heroic bravery. I, however, beg to bring to your favourable consideration the valuable assistance I received from Sergeant Bracegirdle, who supported me throughout in a most intrepid manner; as also Lance-Corporal Ryan, Privates William Bulford, John Talbot, John Cole, and Benjamin Thomas, for the devotion they manifested to their

officers, by staying with them until half-past seven p.m. on the night of the 7th inst. Captain Swift died at that time, after which they hid his body in the bush and waited until morning, and then, carrying Lieutenant Butler in their arms, they returned, meeting Colonel Murray and force. Corporal Ryan returned with Colonel Murray and pointed out the spot in which Captain Swift's body was hidden. I should estimate the loss of the enemy to be between 20 or 30 killed and wounded, 7 of whom I myself distinctly saw shot dead and dragged into the bush by the rebels. – I have, &c.,

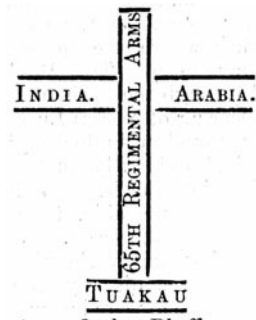
R. MCKENNA,
Color-Sergeant 65th Regt.

W. Hutchinson, Lieut-Colonel,
Assistant Military Secretary.

The 65th lost 1 officer and 2 privates killed and 1 officer and 3 privates wounded and 1 private named Bryan missing. It afterwards transpired that the unfortunate man, becoming separated from his comrades, wandered about the bush in a demented state for two days, when he was discovered by a party of natives and killed. Two other men who had lost their way afterwards returned to the redoubt at Tuakau. The enemy lost upwards of 30 men. The body of Captain Swift was conveyed to Auckland and. buried with military honours in the Church of England cemetery. Lieutenant Talbot, although severely wounded, soon recovered and rejoined his company in the field.

For his services at Cameron, Color-sergeant McKenna afterwards received a commission and the Victoria Cross. Corporal Ryan, who remained with Private Bulford in charge of Captain Swift until he expired, also was awarded the Victoria Cross, but, unfortunately, never lived to wear it, being a short time after the engagement at Cameron town drowned whilst trying to save a drunken comrade who had fallen into the water. Private Bulford, and Privates Talbot, Cole, and Thomas, who attended to and remained with Lieutenant Butler, each received a medal for distinguished conduct in the field.

At Tuakau, the 65th put up a memorial of their visit, formed of three blocks of sandstone raised on the stump of a tree by the river-side, which bore the following inscription: –



At the top of the Bluff, near the redoubt, the body of Private Stephen Grace, 65th, killed in the action at Cameron, was buried. A wooden slab was erected over the grave in memorium, and contained the following verse: –

No sound, no harmony, no joy,
Can art or music frame;
No thoughts can reach, no words can say
The sweet of thy blest name.

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WHILST colour-sergeant McKenna and his small band of heroes were yet struggling through the bush on their way to the redoubt at Tuakau on the morning of the 8th, a mixed force of Volunteers, consisting of 20 of the Mauku Rifle Volunteers, under Lieutenant Lusk, and the Forest Rangers, under Lieutenant Jackson, in all some sixty men, started from the Mauku stockade to reconnoitre the country in the direction of Patumahoe. After passing through some bush, the party came upon the deserted house of Mr Lusk, which was found to have been pillaged by the natives – thence some clearings were traversed and the bush once more entered. Signs of fresh Maori trails put the force on the alert, and in a short time a shot was heard some distance in their rear, then a volley. The order was given to right-about and return in the direction of the firing. After marching some distance, the halt was given, and the sound of Maori voices could be plainly heard. One party, under Lieutenant Jackson and Lieutenant Lusk, with the Mauku Rifles, proceeded towards the direction in which the shots were fired, and the Forest Rangers, under Ensign Hay, with Mr Hill as guide, went through the bush in an opposite direction, to cut off any natives between Lieutenant Jackson's party and the clearing where the firing was supposed to have been. The Mauku Rifles advanced through the bush, and came out into the clearing of Messrs Lusk and Hill. Here they found a bullock lying on its side that had evidently just been shot, the blood still oozing from a bullet-wound. No natives being visible, the party commenced skinning the beast. Whilst thus engaged, a shot was suddenly fired from the bush, followed directly afterwards by another. The men were instantly on their feet, and made a dash towards the smoke which was still hanging about the trees. The bush was here very dense, and cumbered with fallen trees and supplejack vines, and the men with Lieutenants Jackson and Lusk had some difficulty in getting through. Forcing their way in, they suddenly confronted the enemy, who opened fire at the distance of a few yards, the white smoke from the fire covering Lieutenant Jackson's party like a cloud. The bush was so dense that the natives could not be seen, although only a short distance off. Directly after they had fired, the Maoris commenced shouting to the white skins to come on. Lieutenant Jackson's party answered this challenge by pouring a volley into the thicket. Some of the enemy were hit, for they directly commenced howling, and opened fire again, which was replied to with vigor by the Mauku Rifles, who extended themselves in skirmishing order, remaining all the time well under cover. After keeping up the duel for about half-an-hour, Lieut. Jackson gave the order to "Charge," which, with a loud cheer, was instantly done; but the natives finding at this juncture that Ensign Hay with the Forest Rangers was cutting off their retreat, fled precipitately. Lieutenant Jackson's party had no casualties, although several privates of the Mauku Rifles had narrow escapes. John Wheeler received a shot through his coat; Alfred Speedy one through his cap, and Worthington one through his trousers. After following the enemy through the bush for some distance, the party returned to the Mauku stockade.

On the same day as the above skirmish occurred a party of natives took up a position on some high ground overlooking the Razorback Redoubt on the Pokeno range. After exchanging shots with the defenders for about an hour, they retired. A few days afterwards the Maoris again put in an appearance in the vicinity of Cameron, and moving towards Tuakau under cover of a belt of bush adjoining the redoubt, opened a heavy fire on the position, which was returned by the 65th with interest. After wasting a good deal of ammunition the natives withdrew, not daring to make any attempt to storm the redoubt, but taking care to keep all the time well under cover.

The natives being again in force, roaming through the bush, the orderly duty between the Queen's Redoubt and Drury was attended with great risk. This duty was entrusted to troopers of the Mounted Artillery, who carried the despatches and mail. The orderlies, generally three in number – never less than two – used to start from the Queen's Redoubt in the evening after dark, and spurred their horses

into a hard gallop the whole of the road over the Pokeno ranges to Drury. Strange to say, they were not molested by the enemy; probably on account of their travelling at night, the natives having a great antipathy to be abroad after sunset, being superstitious and afraid of the evil spirit Taipo. From Drury, if necessary, communication could be obtained with Auckland by telegraph, the wires at this time having been laid as far as Drury.

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PUKEKOHE Stockade, an isolated post situated in the heart of the dense bush, some two miles from Martin's Farm, on the west side of the road, over the Pokeno ranges, was attacked by a strong force of natives on Monday, September 14th. The stockade, in charge of Sergeant Perry, was held by a small party of Militia from Auckland, and Volunteers belonging to the district, who, in preference to deserting their homesteads, had decided to remain in the vicinity and guard their property. Although the garrison of the stockade did not number more than 30 men, Sergeant Perry, who arrived at Pukekohe but some three or four weeks before the attack, decided to utilise the church, and having collected the few Volunteers in the district, took possession of the sacred edifice. The church was a small building, measuring only 30ft. by 20ft., situated in the centre of a 10-acre paddock, which had but a short time before been cleared, and the stumps of the trees were still standing. Heavy bush surrounded it on all sides. Finding that the walls of the church, composed of 3/4-inch weather-boards, and unlined, would not protect his men from the enemy's bullets if they were attacked, Sergeant Perry determined to build a bullet-proof wall, 7ft. high, all round the church, at about 10ft. from the building. The wall was pierced for rifles, and outside there was a ditch. To complete this the men went early and late vigorously to work. The wall was composed of young trees about a foot in diameter and 20ft. long, placed one on top of the other, and fastened with wooden treenails to stout posts on the inside. Whilst hauling the logs out of the bush, the men were more than once fired upon by the natives, who, for some reason, deferred their attack on the stockade until it was nearly completed. On the evening of the 13th (Sunday) Major-General Galloway and staff visited the post, and advised the men to be on the alert, as there was a large force of natives in the vicinity; and promising to send them a reinforcement, the General returned to Drury. Sergeant Perry and his little garrison passed the night in anxious suspense, the men lying down with their arms loaded and capped, the sentries, peering through the loop-holes in the stockade wall across the clearing, could scarcely tell whether the objects they saw in the gloom were Maoris or stumps, and each ear was strained to catch the faintest sound. Occasionally during the night a kaka would scream, or a decayed branch fall in the bush, and startle the garrison; and so the long night passed away, and when morning dawned there was no sign of the enemy, but the stumps in the clearing stood up sharp and distinct in the morning light. At about 9 a.m. on the Monday morning some of the men were at breakfast inside the church, and others were in the cook-house which was built outside the stockade. The sudden report of firearms caused the men who were in the cook house to beat a hasty retreat inside the stockade and to close the gate. Several bullets striking the shingle roof of the church dropped through. Quickly manning the stockade wall, the garrison returned the fire of the natives, who were seen issuing from the bush in large numbers, taking cover behind the stumps in the clearing, and gradually advancing nearer to the stockade. At the time of the attack a horse and cart was standing outside, as one of the men intended to start that morning to Drury, a distance of some seven miles, for provisions. The poor beast soon fell pierced with bullets, and the natives, making a

dash, got good cover behind the cart, close up to the stockade. The enemy, who were estimated at considerably over 200, kept up a rapid fire – the bullets, however, striking harmlessly against the wooden wall of the stockade. Each stump in the clearing concealed one of the enemy, and a thick cloud of smoke hung over the stockade and 10-acre paddock. When the natives made a forward movement from one stump to another the garrison poured a volley into them, frequently sending some of them, with a loud yell, to the ground. At 11 o'clock the enemy had advanced to within 30 or 40 yards of the stockade, and although they were evidently aware of the small number of men defending the church, they had not the soul to storm the position, which the garrison expected every minute they would do. Instead of attempting to carry the position by assault, the natives fired for a few seconds as fast as they could, and then retreated into the bush, where they could be heard shouting to one another. The garrison still keeping to their posts – although some of the men desired to go out into the clearing and search for any dead or wounded that might have been left – waited to see what would be the next move on the part of the enemy. They had not long to wait, for in a short time the natives reappeared, again took cover behind the stumps, and poured volley after volley at the stockade – the thick wall, as before, stopping the bullets from doing any harm. One of the Maoris shouted out, in good English, for those inside the stockade to come outside and fight – an invitation declined by the garrison. Finding their fire had no effect, some of the natives commenced throwing stones over the stockade wall. At about 1 o'clock a detachment of 1 officer and 20 men arrived to reinforce the garrison. They came out of the bush on the opposite side to where the natives were, and making a dash across the clearing, managed to join the defenders of the stockade without losing a man. With 50 men inside the stockade the garrison felt themselves able to cope with the natives, and a flame of fire leapt out from each loophole of the stockade wall, sending a shower of bullets across the clearing, and keeping the natives well down in their cover. In about half-an-hour after the arrival of the first relief bugles were heard sounding in the bush, and the garrison knew that substantial aid was at hand; and very soon a number of soldiers issued from the forest into the clearing in skirmishing order. The force that had arrived consisted of 150 men belonging to the 65th and 18th Regiments, under Majors Saltmarsh and Inman. Having advanced into the clearing at the back of the stockade, they could not see the gate way, and called out to be shown the way. Sergeant Perry ran out to one end of the stockade, and pointed the road in, and as he was returning to the gate the natives crouching behind the stumps fired a volley after him, but without effect. At the same time a heavy fire was opened on the advancing soldiers, killing 3 and wounding 8, amongst whom was Major Saltmarsh. The troops at once charged the enemy, who fled precipitately into the bush, two, in their flight, stumbling over the logs that covered the ground, were bayoneted. The Maori bodies, with three other natives who were found in the clearing with supplejack tied to their heels for the purpose of dragging them away, were mortally wounded, and dying the same evening were buried the next day. The natives lost on this occasion more than 14 men, killed and wounded. So late as a year-and-a-half ago, two skeletons of natives were discovered in the bush, not very far from the scene of the attack, who were supposed to have been killed in the fight, and after being dragged some distance no doubt were left by the enemy in their hasty retreat. The next day a force of Militia arrived, under Captain Moir, who relieved the garrison, which returned to Auckland, where Sergeant Perry, in consideration of the stubborn defence that he had made, received a commission as ensign in the 2nd Regiment Waikato Militia.

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ON Monday, September 14th, a large detachment of Military Settlers disembarked from the ship 'Star of India,' which had arrived from Melbourne in Auckland harbour on the 12th. The force consisted of 407 officers and men under Captain Goldsmith, Lieutenants Lomax, Minnington, and Smith. The men raised in Victoria were called Pitt's Militia, on account of Colonel Pitt having superintended the enrolment of Volunteers in Melbourne for service and settlement in the Waikato. The Military Settlers as they arrived were clothed in the Militia uniform, drilled and drafted into Regiments – known as the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Waikatos, the latter being mostly married men. As soon as possible, these regiments were moved forward to the posts held by the Auckland Militia and Volunteers, who, being relieved, returned to Auckland. Many of them, however, having acquired a taste for military service, to which was added the prospect of 50 acres of land, joined the Military Settlers or Waikato Militia. Several companies were raised in Auckland, and tempting advertisements, like the following, which appeared in the newspapers, soon filled their ranks with smart young men.



Rich Waikato Land.

WANTED Twelve Men for the Company forming under Lieutenant Spencer. Fifty Acres of Land and a Town Allotment for all men who join this Company. Apply at the Daily Southern Cross Office.

WAIKATO! WAIKATO!

Epsom Company.

WANTED, a few young men of good character to complete Captain Hill's Company.

Apply at Exchange Hotel to Sergeant George Panter.

The conditions upon which the Military Settlers agreed to serve in the Waikato were published in the New Zealand Gazette, as follows: –

MILITARY SETTLERS.

Conditions upon which land in the North Island will be granted to settlers willing to perform the after-mentioned military services: –

- (1) No man above the age of 40 years will be accepted, and every applicant will be subject to an examination by an officer appointed by the Governor, and must produce such certificates of good character, health, and general fitness for the service.
- (2) Each accepted applicant, if not already in the Northern Island, will be provided with a free passage to a port to be designated by an agent of the Governor. Before embarkation he will be required to sign a declaration and agreement to the effect that he understands and will be bound by and fulfil these conditions.
- (3) On arrival the men will be enrolled in the Militia for service in the Northern Island of the Colony and formed into companies, constituted as nearly as may be as follows: – 1 captain, 1 subaltern, 5 sergeants, 5 corporals, and 100 privates.
- (4) Each man, according to his rank, will be entitled to pay, rations, and allowances until he is authorised by the Government to take possession of his land, when he will be relieved from actual service.
- (5) Settlements will be surveyed and marked out at the expense of the Government in such localities in the Northern Island as the Government may select for that purpose.
- (6) Each settlement will comprise not less than 100 town allotments and 100 farm sections.
- (7) A stockade on the most eligible site in each settlement will be erected at the expense of the Government.
- (8) A town will be laid out around or as near as conveniently may be to the stockade in one-acre allotments.
- (9) Farms will be laid out around or as near as conveniently may be to the town. The size of the farm section allotted to each will be according to his rank in the Militia: –

For a Field Officer 400 acres

" " Captain 300 acres

" " Surgeon 250 acres

" " Subaltern 200 acres

" " Sergeant 80 acres

" " Corporal 60 acres

" " Private 50 acres

- (10) Every settler, under these conditions, who, upon being relieved from actual service, receives a certificate of good conduct, will be entitled to one town allotment and one farm section.

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- (11) Priority of choice for each rank will be determined by lot.

- (12) After taking possession he will be entitled to receive rations free of cost for twelve months, upon the same scale as supplied to Her Majesty's troops. He will be allowed to retain possession, as a Militiaman, of his arms and accoutrements, and he will be supplied with ammunition for use, according to Militia regulations.

- (13) No settler, after taking possession, will be permitted during the first three years after his enrolment in the Militia, to absent himself from his settlement for more than one calendar month in any one year without the leave of the Governor first obtained.

- (14) During such three years he will be liable to be trained and exercised as other Militiamen; and whenever a portion only of the Militia shall be called out for actual service, each settler will be deemed a Volunteer Militiaman, and will be required to serve as such anywhere that may be required in the Northern Island of the Colony. During such

service he will be entitled to the same pay, rations, and allowances as other Militiamen.

(15) On the expiration of three years from his enrolment, each settler having fulfilled the conditions, but not otherwise, will be entitled to a Crown Grant of the town allotment, and farm section allotted to him, and will thenceforth be subject only to the same Militia service as other colonists.

(16) Any settler will be permitted to dispose of his land to any person approved of by the Government, and such person undertaking to be subject to the same liabilities will be entitled to the same privileges as the settler whose place he takes.

(17) In case of death of any settler before he shall have become entitled to his Crown Grant, the land to which he is entitled will be granted to his wife or children, or to such other person as he shall by writing appoint – or it may be taken for the location of another settler under these conditions, or for any other purpose; but the value thereof, in such latter case, will be determined by valuation, and the amount paid by the Government to the settler's widow or children, or other person appointed as aforesaid: The pay of the Militia and Volunteers serving in New Zealand, with rations and other allowances, is as follows: –

s. d.

Captains	11s 7d per diem
Lieutenants	6s 6d per diem
Ensigns	5s 3d per diem
Sergeants.....	3s 6d per diem
Corporals.....	3s 0d per diem
Privates	2s 6d per diem

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The natives, on the 16th of September, appeared in the Wairoa district in force, and commenced ransacking the settler's homesteads. The Wairoa (Lower) is on the river of the same name, which discharges its waters into the Auckland Harbour, some 28 miles south of the city. The river runs through the centre of a valley formed by rich alluvial flats, and surrounded by high wooded hills. Major Lyon commanded the district, the defence of which consisted of a redoubt (the Galloway) overlooking the river on the north, and a stockade on the south bank. Their position was about 8 miles from the mouth of the river, and in the heart of the valley settlement, and was defended mainly by a force composed of Wairoa Rifles, and of men from the different companies of the Auckland Rifle Volunteers, under the command of Captain J. McCosh Clark, No. 6 company, with Lieutenant Tabuteau and Ensign D. A. Tole; this company, some time afterwards, had a uniform of green cloth, and were dubbed the "Grasshoppers." To strengthen their defences two detachments of the Volunteers, under Sergeants Gatland and Phillips, were detailed to cut slabs in the bush. Whilst so engaged they were suddenly fired upon by a party of natives, and returning the fire, fell back upon the redoubt, when the Maories retired.

Major Lyon desiring to prevent the enemy, who were plundering the settlers houses, from returning to their settlement at Otau, pushed forward with a small party to intercept them. This force consisted of a detachment of the Auckland Volunteers and 20 men of the Wairoa Rifles, with Lieutenant Steele. Coming upon the natives, the Volunteers at once, with the

steadiness of regular troops, opened fire – killing two Maoris. The enemy returned the fire, and hastily retreating, made good their escape. From the body of one of the natives shot, Private Elley, of the Auckland Volunteers, obtained a gold watch, which was supposed to have been stolen from one of the settlers. Night at this time setting in, the force returned to camp; on the road they were met by a party under Captain Clark, A. R. V., and Lieutenant Russell, 18th Regiment, which was hastening to their support.

Lieutenant Russell declining to acknowledge Captain Clark as his superior officer, was the means of settling a moot point concerning the relative positions of the Regular and Volunteer Officers when on duty. Lieutenant Russell was placed under arrest, and his superior officers decided that he was in fault, a captain in the Volunteers taking precedence over a Lieutenant in the Regulars. The next morning at 4 a.m., Major Lyon marched from the Galloway Redoubt to attack the enemy in their settlement at Otau – where they were known to be in considerable numbers. The force detailed for this service consisted of 75 men under Lieutenant Jones and Ensign Johnstone; on the way the body of one of the natives, killed in the skirmish of the afternoon before, was found. The detachment arrived at daybreak on the bank of the river, on the opposite side of which stood the whares of the enemy, who were still wrapped in slumber. Placing his men under cover, Major Lyon ordered them to commence firing – instantly a stream of fire shot out along the river bank, and a shower of bullets whizzed across the stream and plunged into the whares, causing the occupants to rush out in all directions. As soon as the enemy had recovered from the surprise they returned the fire, but without effect. The range between the contending parties was about 300 yards. After keeping up a brisk fusillade for some time the Maoris retreated, Major Lyon not being able to follow on account of the swollen state of the river, which prevented his force from crossing, returned to the Redoubt without any casualties. The following is the official account of the affair: –

Galloway Redoubt, Wairoa,
17th September, 1863.

SIR, – I have the honour to report for the information of the Major-General commanding Colonial Forces, that firing was heard in the bush on the other side of the river at different intervals, in the course of the day.

About 4 p. m. a settler came to the Redoubt stating that two men were exchanging shots with some natives in the act of pillaging a house.

Lieutenant Steele, Wairoa Rifles, started immediately with 20 men, and I followed with 30. On arriving at the place, two bundles were found. I followed the track, passed through a chain and a-half of bush, and came out on rising ground. I could see the Maoris in a line with loads on their backs.

The men under my command were in skirmishing order, and fired into them. I then gave chase; many of them dropped their loads, making for Otau. Two Maoris were killed. I did not deem it advisable to advance further, from the number of shots proceeding from the bush and bank of the river; the natives must have been in strong force; it was also getting dark.

On our return I was met by Lieutenant Russell, 18th Royal Irish, with a party of 16 men, coming to our assistance, and Captain Clark, Auckland Rifle Volunteers, thinking we might require support.

This morning I started at 4 o'clock with 50 men from the redoubt, and 20 men from the Wairoa Rifles under the command of Mr. Johnstone. We took the same direction and arrived within 300 yards of the Maori Whares at daybreak.

The river was so swollen with the late rains that it was impossible to cross it. The Maoris were plainly visible, and many rounds were fired at them. They returned the fire, but without any effect, the men being well under cover. I sounded the cease firing, and proceeded to bury the body of one of the Maoris killed yesterday; he had been shot through the heart – the other we could not find.

It appears that the firing heard in the bush was for the purpose of diverting our attention while the natives were ransacking the houses. The men of the different detachments behaved, on both occasions, with great coolness.

I have the honour to bring under the notice of the Lieutenant-General commanding, the names of Lieutenant Russell, 2nd Battalion, 18th Royal Irish; Lieutenant Jones, Militia Volunteers; Ensign Tole, Auckland Rifle Volunteers; and Mr. McDonald, Native Interpreter. The exemplary conduct and soldier-like bearing of the non-commissioned officers and men of the different detachments, who have been with me on these several occasions, cannot be too highly commended;

and more especially that of Quarter-master Sergeant Davis, of the 3rd Battalion, Auckland Militia. – I have, &c,

WILLIAM C. LYON,
Major-Commanding Galloway Redoubt, Wairoa.

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After the force under Major Lyon had returned to the Redoubt, the same afternoon they crossed the river over a bridge opposite the Redoubt, and skirmished

through the bush with the view of getting in rear of the native settlement. Upon arriving at the village they found the whares deserted, the enemy having retreated. The Maoris had evidently suffered severely from the concentrated fire poured into them in the morning. The whares were riddled with shot, and there were pools of blood both inside and out. Two Maori mats, one covered with gore, and having a bullet-hole through it, were also picked up. Likewise two guns, a few tomahawks, and a variety of articles, were taken. A quantity of plunder which had been looted from the settler's houses in the district, was also recovered. No signs of the natives being near, the force returned to camp, after destroying the settlement.

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WHEN the natives retreated, after their attack on the stockade at Pukekohe, they did not leave the district, but dividing their force into small bands, ransacked the settlers' deserted homesteads lying between Drury and Waiuku. One party of natives leaving the bush the morning after the attack, surprised the occupants of a farm house belonging to Mr. Burt. A boy, the son of Mr. Watson, who occupied the farm, was shot, – also one of the farm hands named McLean – the rest of the family managed to escape. At the time of the attack the boy Watson and Mr. McLean were working on the farm some distance from the house, in which was Mrs. Watson, who was bedridden, and her two daughters. James Hamilton, who resided on a neighbouring farm with a man called Sandy, hearing of the attack, prevailed upon Sandy to go with him to the rescue of Mrs. Watson and her two daughters. Upon arriving at the farm house, Hamilton found the Maoris firing into it and shouting out pukeru (kill) the pakehas. Hamilton and Sandy, armed with a rifle and revolver, at once opened fire on the natives, who decamped. The courageous conduct of Mr. Hamilton, on this occasion, was not overlooked by the Government, who awarded him a medal. Another party of natives plundered the houses in the vicinity of Waiuku; they broke into a deserted flax mill, owned by Messrs. Ninnis and Purchas, at the Waitangi, within gun-shot of the township, broke some of the machinery, and set the water-wheel going. At this time the cutter Undine arrived in the creek opposite the mill, loaded with stores, and several cases of arms and ammunition for the Waiuku Stockade. Strange to say, she was not fired upon by the natives. The cutter having been observed from the look-out on the top of the stockade, a boat with an armed party soon came alongside, and guarded her passage up the creek to the wharf.

On the 18th, Captain Lloyd, the officer in charge at Waiuku, whilst skirmishing through the paddocks with a party of his men, suddenly came across the natives, who had just been plundering one of the settlers' houses. The enemy not observing Captain Lloyd's men, passed into the bush; one of them, however, a splendid specimen of the genus Maori, turned round, at the same instant the front men of Captain Lloyd's party fired, and a bullet struck the native dead, and his gun and ammunition were retained as a souvenir by one of the Waiuku Volunteers.

Having reason to believe that the enemy were in force in the bush, Captain Lloyd ordered his men back to camp.

Returning to the British advanced posts

overlooking the enemy's position at Mere Mere, we still find that General Cameron did not appear to be making any preparations for an immediate advance. The natives, thinking that the troops had a difficulty in procuring stores, considerably sent a canoe load of provisions from Mere Mere, under cover of a white flag, as a present to the General.

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The General, however, was not idle; he was collecting a quantity of stores at the Queen's Redoubt, and was waiting for some large boats that were being built at Onehunga for the Waikato, and also for the arrival of the steamer Pioneer, a stern paddle-wheel vessel of large size and power, which had been constructed at Sydney from designs prepared especially for service on the Waikato River. On Saturday, October 3rd, the Pioneer arrived in the Manukau, after a stormy passage from Sydney, in charge of Captain Breton, Lieutenant O'Callaghan, Mr. Jeffrey, engineer, and 25 men, – part of the passage she had been towed by H. M. S. Eclipse; but in a heavy gale the tow-line broke, and the vessels parted company. The Pioneer, although only drawing some 2 feet of water, made better weather than the Man-of-war. The Pioneer was 140 feet in length, 20 feet beam, 8 feet 6 inches depth of hold, and drew only 2 feet 6 inches of water – built of iron, bullet-proof, and fitted with four water-tight compartments. The propelling power consisted of an overhanging stern wheel with feathering floats driven by two engines of thirty horse-power each, supplied with steam from two boilers placed 54 feet forward of the engines, for the purpose of keeping the vessel on an even keel, – on deck was placed two cupolas, each of 7 feet diameter. The cupolars, pierced for rifles, were placed, one forward, and the other aft, the communication being from below. To prevent her from being boarded, in the event of going aground, a three-inch pipe ran fore and aft, flush with the gunwale, and connected with one of the boilers; the pipe was pierced with a series of holes, so that a continuous jet of hot water could be thrown from her gunwale if an enemy came alongside. This fine vessel, some time after the War, broke from her moorings at the Waikato Heads, and drifted over the bar out to sea. Mr. Lodder, the officer then in charge of the vessel, started after her with several men, in an open boat, and succeeded in boarding her. There being no coals in the bunkers, portions of the wood-work of the vessel were torn down, and the fires lighted – steam was got up, and an attempt made to fetch the Manukau. Unfortunately, when close to the bar, the Pioneer became unmanageable, and they were compelled to abandon the vessel, which broke to pieces, Mr. Lodder and his party miraculously escaping in their boat.

The natives on the Wairoa side of the ranges, after having been driven from their settlement at Otau, still continued to prowl about the district; and, on the 13th of October, murdered Mr. Job Hamlin, and tomahawked a boy named Wallace, at Henderson's farm, on the Wairoa road. Mr. Hamlin, accompanied by the boy Wallace, was, at the time, engaged with a bullock-team, in removing goods from the farm house, when they were surprised by the Maoris. The body of Mr. Hamlin, who had been shot through the head, was found lying in the road between Henderson's farm and Steele's. The boy Wallace was also found some distance from Mr. Hamlin, dreadfully tomahawked, the blow having fractured his skull, but he was still alive.

Wallace was carefully attended to, and his life saved, by Dr. Thompson of the 18th Regiment. A silver plate was placed over the fracture, inside the skin of his forehead, and he eventually recovered, being at this present time a strong young man; the silver plate is not visible, the skin having grown over it. The next afternoon, two men named Jackson and Sutherland, whilst engaged fencing behind Mr. Hay's house near Papakura, were fired upon by a party of the enemy. Jackson was shot and afterwards tomahawked, and Sutherland was found severely wounded. On October 15, Mr. and Mrs. Fahey, residing at Rama Rama, went out as usual to milk their cows, when the Maoris appeared, and fired upon them. When found, Mrs. Fahey was quite dead, and Mr. Fahey expired shortly afterwards.

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AT about 10 o'clock on the morning of the 23rd of October, the force stationed at the Mauku were alarmed by the sound of heavy firing in the bush on Mr Wheeler's farm at the Ti-Ti. On this farm a portion only of the bush had been cleared and burned, and in the centre of the clearing there remained several acres of felled timber that had not been burned off, but had been piled up in heaps ready for the brand. The fore-ground is open fern land, partially broken and intersected by a fresh-water stream and one or two shallow gullies. A detachment of 25 men of the Mauku Volunteers, under Lieutenant Lusk, advanced to the church from the Stockade, and the Maoris were then seen in considerable numbers about two miles off. Lieutenant Lusk immediately sent a request to Lieutenant Perceval, of the 1st Waikato Regiment (a detachment of which was stationed in the stockade), to advance without delay and reinforce him at the church. Lieutenant Percival at once started from the stockade with 12 men, but instead of marching straight to the church, struck into the bush with the object of attacking the natives in the rear. Lieutenant Perceval's small party soon came into collision with the natives, but after keeping up a steady fire for some time had to retire on account of the superior force of the enemy. Step by step the gallant little band were forced back out of the bush into the clearing, and in full view of Lieutenant Lusk's party at the church. Seeing the natives closing rapidly on Lieutenant Perceval's small party Lieutenant Lusk immediately advanced at the double to their support with the Mauku Volunteers. Upon observing Lieutenant Lusk's party advancing, the Maoris retreated and took up a position behind the logs and brushwood that had been piled up in the clearing. Lieutenant Lusk having joined Lieutenant Perceval, the two detachments, numbering altogether some 60 men, moved forward in skirmishing order and opened fire on the natives who replied vigorously, but without effect. Lieutenant Norman, who had just arrived at the Mauku from Drury, obtained a rifle and ammunition, and at about this time joined Lieutenant Perceval's party, to which regiment he belonged. He had with him at the time the men's pay, amounting to about £50. The volunteers continuing to advance, firing all the while, the natives suddenly broke from their cover and retired hastily over the crest of a hill in the direction of the Bald Hill, followed by the volunteers, who were halted when they reached the crest over which the natives had retreated. On each side of the clearing through which the advance had been made, there was a strip of bush, and in order to prevent being lured into an ambush, the volunteers were ordered to retire. They had no sooner commenced to do so than fire was opened upon them from the bush on their right, the natives appearing immediately afterwards in force in front and on both flanks, opening a heavy fire on Lieutenant Lusk's force, which immediately took cover behind the stumps, logs, and brushwood, which lay about the clearing. The natives having developed their strength, which consisted of over 200 men, boldly advanced on the handful of volunteers opposed to them, swarming behind every stump and log all over the clearing. Here a desperate and unequal contest took place and lasted for some time. Every volunteer was fighting for dear life. A hasty retreat would have doomed the whole force to destruction. Each retiring step had therefore to be contested. Behind a log fell the gallant Perceval, foremost among his men, but not before several of the enemy had dropped by his hand. Lieutenant Norman also was shot, after an heroic struggle in which five or six natives bit the dust from his rifle. The retreat of Lieutenant Lusk's party being cut off by the way they had advanced, they were compelled to retire through an angle of the bush which projected into the clearing. In effecting this, they had to dislodge some of the Maoris stationed there, which they succeeded in doing, but several of the men got cut off from the main body and had to run through a heavy cross-fire, in which one was shot, and Worthington, of the Mauku Rifles, running in another direction from the main body, was pursued through the bush by the natives and tomahawked. Lieutenant Lusk's party having got fairly under cover of the dense bush, the natives

ceased following the retreating volunteers, who without further molestation returned to camp. They had however suffered severely, having lost two officers and six men killed, and one man wounded. The natives, owing to the desperate resistance made by the volunteers, must have lost at least 20 or 30 men killed and wounded, as a number of rough stretchers used by the Maoris was afterwards found. The flying column, under Captain Rutherford of the 70th Regiment, arrived from Drury the same evening, and the next morning started off in pursuit of the enemy. Crossing the clearing where the fight had taken place, the bodies of the volunteers who had fallen were found laid out, partially stripped of their clothes, and frightfully tomahawked. A pole, on which a white haversack was fastened, marked the spot. The flying column reached the crossing place at Camerontown in time to see the last of the retreating natives escaping to the other side of the river in canoes. Captain Rutherford's force opened fire and must have caused some loss to the enemy, as several Maoris were seen dragged out of the canoes and into the flax bushes on the opposite side. Having no means of crossing the Waikato in pursuit, the flying column, which had been joined by Jackson's company of Forest Rangers, returned to the Mauku.

The following is the official account of the affair: –

Mauku Stockade.
24 October, 1863.

SIR, – I have the honour to report that I started yesterday morning, with a force, as per margin,¹ to attack a body of the enemy who were shooting cattle on Mr Wheeler's farm at the Ti-ti. An advance party of my force, under Lieutenant Perceval, got close up to the enemy's position under cover of the bush. When discovered they were hotly pressed by the enemy and retired, skirmishing, in good order on the main body, without loss. I then advanced, having been joined by Lieutenant Norman with eight men, I drove the enemy through a strip of fallen timber on to the open ground beyond; but seeing that they wheeled round into the standing forest on my left flank, where they were largely reinforced, I deemed it prudent to retire. While re-crossing the fallen timber, the enemy, numbering from two to three hundred, charged us from the bush on the left, and after about ten minutes' very heavy firing at very short range (from ten to twenty yards) where both parties suffered severely. I, being out-flanked on both sides, retired into the forest on the right. The enemy did not venture to advance on us after we were under cover of the forest. I then re-formed my men and retired leisurely on the stockade. Our loss was 1 lieutenant (Perceval) and 5 men killed; 1 man dangerously wounded; 1 lieutenant (Norman) and 1 private missing. The enemy's loss I believe to be about 16 killed and a large number wounded. Sergeant Hill and Private John Wheeler especially distinguished themselves by their determined gallantry under most trying circumstances. I have, &c,

D. H. LUSK,
Lieut. commanding Mauku Volunteers.

N.B. – I omitted to mention that Mr. Norman on the right, and Mr. Perceval on the centre, displayed great gallantry in endeavouring to stem the rush of the enemy, and fell fighting in front of their men.

D. H. LUSK.

Lieutenant John Spencer Perceval was the son of Spencer Perceval, Esq., for some years a leading member of the House of Commons, and grandson of Spencer

Perceval, First Lord of the Treasury, and Prime Minister in 1809, who was assassinated on May 11, 1812, by Bellingham, in the lobby of the House of Commons. Both Lieutenants Perceval and Norman had but a short time before their untimely deaths arrived in the Colony from Victoria, with the Militia Volunteers.

[1](#) Mauku Volunteers: 1 subaltern, 2 sergeants, 1 corporal, 21 privates; No. 9 company, 1st Battalion Waikato Militia: 1 subaltern, 1 sergeant, 1 corporal, 17 privates; No. 4 Company Militia: 1 subaltern, 1 sergeant, 1 corporal, 13 privates.

CHAPTER XXIV.

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NOT satisfied with the murders already committed, the natives, on Saturday, 26th October, made their appearance in the vicinity of Howick, and shot and tomahawked two boys, named Richard and Nicholas Trust, sons of Mr. Trust, who resided on Kennedy's farm. When the intelligence reached Auckland it caused the greatest excitement and consternation amongst the

inhabitants. The enemy were evidently getting bolder, and had now made an attack on a settlement within a few miles of the city. The bugles at once sounded the alarm, and that same evening a force of 200 men, consisting of 100 of the Rifle Volunteers, and 100 of the Volunteer Naval Brigade, embarked on board H. M. S. Miranda, which immediately steamed for the scene of the murder. The Rifle Volunteers were under the command of Major de Quincy, Capt. and Adjutant Mitchell, No. 2 Company; Capt. Clark, No. 6; Ensign Andrews, No. 3; and Ensign Batger, No. 5 Company. The Naval Brigade was in charge of Captains Daldy and Copland and Lieutenant Guilding. Upon arrival the force skirmished through the neighbourhood where the natives had appeared, but the enemy, long before the Volunteers had arrived, had decamped through the bush towards the Wairoa. The force not being prepared to follow, returned to Auckland.

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The steamer Pioneer, together with several gunboats, having arrived on the Waikato, General Cameron made preparations for an immediate advance. Whilst steaming past the enemy's works at Mere Mere, on a reconnoitering expedition, the natives opened fire on the Pioneer from their two guns. One 14 lb. weight, striking the bulwarks, passed through, and embedded itself in a cask of beef that was on deck. The natives had been instructed to fire their guns – one a 12-pounder and the other a 24-pounder, by an old Indian artilleryman. At the time of the war he was in the Waikato district, and was detained by the natives. He, however, managed to escape from the Maoris at Mere Mere to the British lines, and was enabled to give the General some reliable information respecting the enemy.

On Friday, the 30th of October, a strong force of 500 officers and men embarked on board the steamers Pioneer and Avon, both vessels immediately steaming up the Waikato River. When abreast of Mere Mere the natives opened a brisk fire from their two guns and small arms, but did no damage, the steamers continuing their passage. Upon arriving at a high bluff called Tapokau, 8 miles beyond Mere Mere, the troops were landed without opposition, and immediately commenced to throw up a redoubt. At about 3 o'clock the next morning one of the sentries, seeing a dark shadow moving in the fern, fired. A picket of the 40th, under Ensign Ducrow, at once advanced and patrolled for some distance round, but not discovering any signs of the enemy, retreated. Whilst so doing a heavy fire was suddenly opened upon them by the natives, who had been lying concealed among the fern and tea-tree. The troops, under cover of their earthworks, returned the fire, the position of the enemy being ascertained by the lightning-like flashes of fire that darted out in the gloom of night from the thick scrub. After keeping up the fusillade for about an hour the natives retired. The troops lost 1 private Royal Engineers killed; Captain Hon. Le Poer Trench, 40th Regiment, 2 privates, and 1 seaman wounded.

The natives finding that General Cameron, by the position he had taken up at Tapokau, had turned their stronghold at Mere Mere, which was consequently no longer tenable, at once retreated. On November 1 the General received information that the enemy had abandoned their position at Mere Mere, and a force of 500 men – consisting of 250 seamen under Commander Mayne, and 250 troops, detachments of the 12th, 14th, 18th and 70th Regiments, under Colonel Austin, of the 14th, at once moved forward and took possession of the deserted entrenchments, and threw up a redoubt. Capt. Heaphy, of the Auckland Rifle Volunteers, who was on survey duty, accompanied the troops.

One of the Mauku Volunteers, named James Droomgould, on November 3 was shot and afterwards brained with the butt end of a gun by the natives who were prowling about the Maukau settlement. Droomgould at the time was in company with Felix McGuire, a corporal in the 1st Regiment Waikatos, engaged in collecting horses, when they were surprised by the enemy. They were both unarmed. Felix McGuire, hearing the shots fired, escaped to the stockade and gave the alarm. A force immediately marched out and brought in the body of Droomgould, but the enemy had decamped. About five months after the above occurrence a native was arrested for the murder of Droomgould. Some friendly natives swore they had heard him boast of having shot and brained one of the Maukau settlers at the time, and the noble savage being found guilty was sentenced to death.

It being rumoured that a number of natives had returned to their settlement between the Manukau Heads and Waiuku, an expedition was despatched on the 7th of November to capture them. The force embarked at Onehunga in the steamer Lady Barkly, Capt. Hunt, and consisted of detachments of the Onehunga Naval and Rifle Volunteers, under Capt. Parnell and Lieutenant Harris, accompanied by Dr. Weekes and Mr. Rice, Government Native Interpreter. The Lady Barkly arrived at Waiuku the next morning, and landed the expedition. Captain Lloyd, the officer in charge at Waiuku, arranged to join the expedition with 30 of his men. Accordingly, after dark that evening, the force marched out of Waiuku towards Awitu, the native settlement at the Manukau South Head. The Onehunga detachments took one route, the Waiuku another: the two corps to join at a place agreed upon, viz., at Pehiakuru, a native settlement. On the march no natives were seen, and the two corps having joined, resumed their route towards Awitu. Before starting from Waiuku, news arrived that the natives had crossed the Manukau to North Head, and cut down the signal staff that was erected on a rock adjoining the main land called Paratutai. The natives accomplished this daring feat at night time, and, as it were, in the very face of a party of Militia who were specially detailed to protect the flagstaff. The night being dark and windy the sentry did not hear the natives cutting down the staff. From Pehiakuru the expedition struck a path that led them down to the west coast, which they followed for some distance, Mr. Mactier, an Awitu settler, acting as guide. Some few miles before reaching the South Head, a deep gorge in the cliffs was reached. The expedition passed through this, and moved up on to the high land through several of the settlers' cultivations, and then down into the Awitu Valley, at the mouth of which was situated the native settlement. Upon arriving at the village it was found deserted, but Maori foot-tracks denoted that the enemy were not far off. One of the Maories who was reported to have assisted in cutting down the flagstaff had six toes, and as a natural curiosity would have made the fortune of a Barnum. The tracks of "six-toed Jack" were discernable, but he, with the other natives, was no doubt concealed in the dense and tangled forest that clothed the precipitous sides of the valley, and from some ambush was probably narrowly watching the movements of the expedition.

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The Lady Barkly having steamed along the shore from Waiuku arrived at Awitu, re-embarked the expedition, and returned to Waiuku, passing on the passage the deserted homesteads of Messrs Logan, Graham, Featon and Garland. Arriving at a creek called Rangiriri the steamer anchored and a party went on shore to launch a large war canoe that was lying in a shed by the side of the creek. The canoe was over 70 feet in length, was elaborately carved, and would carry 150 men; its estimated cost was about £500. This celebrated specimen of Maori marine architecture was afterwards conveyed to England by one of the men-of-war. The canoe having been launched, was taken in tow by the Lady Barkly to Waiuku. The next day the expedition marched out again, and surprised several natives with arms in their possession. Lead and bullet moulds were also found in their whares. They were taken prisoners, but afterwards released, as it was stated they were friendlies. Bad weather setting in, the Lady Barkly with Captain Parnell's detachment, steamed back to Onehunga.

A few days afterwards, news arrived in Onehunga that the natives were at the Awitu settlement in considerable numbers. Captain Parnell again started with a detachment of his Naval Volunteers in the Lady Barkly. The vessel at some distance passed the settlement, and steaming round a point, landed a party at Graham's to march overland and attack the settlement in the rear; the Lady Barkly to steam swiftly back and land a party on the beach to take the natives in front. The steamer arriving at the appointed time opposite the Awitu settlement, at once landed her shore party under Captain Hunt, who, extending his men in skirmishing order, rushed the settlement. The natives, however, retreated into the bush. The party under Captain Parnell shortly afterwards arrived and the bush was scoured, but was too dense to get at the enemy. The force then re-embarked on board the Lady Barkly and returned to Onehunga.

The troopship Himalaya, 3,570 tons, Captain Lacy, arrived in Auckland harbour

November 14th, with the 50th Regiment, consisting of 793 rank and file and 37 officers, under Colonel Waddy.

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Queen-street Wharf, Auckland, presented a scene of great bustle and excitement on Monday, November 16th. A large force of nearly 900 men were under orders for the Thames. The troops embarked on board H.M.Ss. Miranda and Esk, and the horses and baggage on board the s.s. Corio. The gunboat Sandfly, Captain Marks, also accompanied the expedition. The force consisted of detachments of the 12th and 70th, 1st Regiment of Waikato Militia, with 50 of the Defence Force under Captain Walmsley, and 100 of the Auckland Naval Volunteers, under Captain Daldy – the whole being under the command of Colonel Carey, 18th Regiment. The troops as they marched down to the place of embarkation were enthusiastically cheered by the crowds of citizens who thronged the wharf, the Auckland Navals having at their head the indispensable fiddler, who scraped away with great energy. The force having embarked, the transports steamed away down the harbour; but the weather coming on very rough the expedition anchored in the Waiheke Channel and remained there, owing to the tempestuous weather, for a week. On the Monday morning, a week from the date of embarkation, the expedition arrived at the Thames and landed at Pukorokoro without opposition, although several lines of earthworks had been thrown up by the enemy for the purpose of opposing the landing of the troops. The natives had but just retired, for the fires in the whares were still burning. After much pulling and hauling, in which the Auckland Navals displayed great zeal, the whole of the troops, horses and baggage were safely landed, and a redoubt was thrown up called the Miranda. The object of the expedition was to occupy the country between the Thames and the Queen's Redoubt, and so prevent the natives having free access to the Auckland district. As soon as possible, Colonel Carey advanced his force and opened communication with the Queen's Redoubt, having thrown up and garrisoned three redoubts, viz., the Miranda, the Esk, and the Surrey, communication being established by means of signal staffs, the Surrey communicating with the Queen's Redoubt. In those days the military ardour of the Auckland citizens was at its highest pitch; everyone capable of bearing arms was a soldier, and the apathetic Volunteer of these piping times of peace has but a faint idea of the enthusiasm that prevailed when grim-visaged war displayed its wrinkled front.

CHAPTER XXV.

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THE natives, when they retreated from Mere Mere, fell back upon their entrenched position at Rangiriri, on the river bank, about 13 miles above Mere Mere. The enemy's works consisted of a line of entrenchments with a double ditch, across the narrow ridge which divides the Waikato River from Lake Waikare, and in the centre of the works at the highest point there was a strong square redoubt with a high parapet, very similar in construction to the redoubts thrown up by the troops. On the 18th General Cameron proceeded up the river in the Pioneer, and reconnoitred the enemy's position, which he determined to attack without delay. Accordingly, on the morning of the 20th of November, the head-quarters of the 40th Regiment, consisting of 19 officers and 300 rank and file, under Colonel Leslie, Major Bligh, Capt. and Brevet Major Bowdler, Captains Hon. Le P. Trench, Cooke, Clarke, and Hines, embarked on board the steamers Pioneer and Avon, and steamed up the Waikato River. The Pioneer and Avon had in tow four gunboats. The steamers and gunboats were under the command of Commodore Sir William Wiseman, Bart., and Commanders Sullivan, H. M. S. Harrier; Mayne, H. M. S. Eclipse; and Philmore, M. M. S. Curacoa. The Avon was in charge of Lieut. Easter. At the same time a force of 28 officers and 723 rank and file marched from Mere Mere to attack the enemy's position in front. This force consisted of the following detachments: –

Royal Engineers. – 2 officers and 13

rank and file, under Colonel Mould, C. B., and Captain Brooke.

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Royal Artillery. – 3 officers and 51 rank and file, under Captain Mercer, Lieutenant Pickard, and Assistant S. S. Temple, with two Armstrong guns.

12th Regiment. – 4 officers and 108 rank and file, under Capt. Cole.

14th Regiment. – 9 officers and 175 rank and file, under Colonel Austen and Capts. Strange and Phelps.

65th Regiment. – 10 officers and 376 rank and file, under Col. Wyatt and Capt. Gresson.

A party of seamen, with a 6-pounder Armstrong, in charge of Lieut. Alexander, H.M.S. Curacoa, also marched with the force.

General Cameron, C. B., commanded the troops, with the following staff: Major McNeill, A. D. C.; Lieut. St. Hill, A. D. C.; Col. Carey, C. B.; Col. Gamble, D. Qr.-M. G.; Lieutenant-Colonels Sir H. Havelock, V.C. and P. M. O. Mouatt, OB. and V.C. Capt. Lacey, of the troopship Himalaya, also accompanied the staff.

The country between Mere Mere and Rangiriri is open undulating fern land, and presented no serious obstacles to the advance of the troops. The force, unmolested on the march by the natives, arrived in front of the enemy's position at Rangiriri at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The steamers Pioneer and Avon, with the gunboats, also arrived at about the same time, but owing to the strength of the current and the strong wind blowing, they were unable to take up their proper positions. This unforeseen occurrence caused considerable delay to the General, who, however, commenced shelling the enemy's works with Capt. Mercer's two Armstrong guns and the 6-pounder under Lieutenant Alexander, the troops in the meantime being halted under the brow of a hill about 600 yards from the enemy's advanced works. Some distance up the stream a party of natives crossing in a canoe became a fair target for Lieut. Alexander's 6-pounder, who fired a shell, which burst right on the canoe, splitting it into pieces and leaving the occupants who were not killed, struggling in the water. After shelling the enemy's position for nearly two hours – two out of the four gunboats assisting – although the fire, owing to the nature of the enemy's earthworks, was not so effective as was expected, General Cameron gave the signal for the assault. The storming party consisted of detachments of the 65th Regiment, and advanced in the following order: No. 1 Company, under Lieutenant Toker, with scaling ladders and planks, accompanied by Capt. Brooke and 10 men of the Royal Engineers in the centre; No. 2 Company on the right, under Captain Gresson; and No. 10 Company on the left, under Lieut. Talbot. No. 9 Company, about 100 strong, under Lieutenant Pennyfather, formed the support.

Upon the bugles sounding the advance, the storming-party, led by their officers, rushed forward through the thick ti-tree scrub that lay between them and the enemy's rifle pits. Under a heavy fire the ladders were planted, and the storming-party followed by their supports burst into the enemy's works and drove them out of the first line of rifle pits. In the advance, Captain Gresson fell, a ball having fractured his right arm; several men were also killed and wounded. Driven out of the first line of defence, the natives hastily fell back and made a desperate stand in the second line. The storming party being reinforced, immediately with great gallantry swept over into the second line of entrenchments, dislodging the natives. At the rear of the rifle pits was the main position of the enemy, consisting of a square redoubt with parapets about 20 feet high. Numbers of the Maoris, after having been driven from their rifle pits, fled into the redoubt, whilst a great many attempted to make their escape through Lake Waikare swamp, but suffered severely from the fire of a party of the 65th under Lieutenant Pennyfather which pursued them. The outer works having been captured, the troops attempted to storm the redoubt, but owing to the shortness of the scaling ladders, were unable to gain the parapet in sufficient numbers to ensure success. The natives meanwhile kept up an incessant fire on the stormers, who were reluctantly compelled to fall back under cover of the captured earthworks, after losing many brave men. The 40th at this time had landed from the Pioneer and Avon, and a party under Captain Clarke attacking a line of rifle pits on a ridge in rear of the enemy's position, dislodged the natives, who lost heavily. The 40th were supported by a detachment

of the 65th, which had moved round from the front attack. Gen. Cameron then gave an order which I believe to be unparalleled in annals of warfare. He directed Captain Mercer, with a detachment of his artillery-men, 36 in number, to assault the enemy's position. At the time over 600 British infantry were lying under cover – as brave men as ever marched on to a battle field. Captain Mercer immediately obeyed the command of his General, and the brave little band, armed each with a sword and revolver, rushed under a murderous fire to the assault. Sergeant-major Hamilton gained the top of the parapet and discharged his revolver amongst the natives. He was severely wounded in the right arm, which was subsequently amputated. The Artillery, however, were driven back with the loss of their officer and several men. Captain Mercer fell before reaching the redoubt, a ball having struck him in the mouth, cut away part of his tongue, and shattered his jaw – it was a mortal wound. Although a very strict disciplinarian, and on that account not over popular with many of his men, the service, when he fell, lost a man devoted to his profession, a brave soldier, and an expert artilleryman, and one who could ill be spared by his country.

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Commander Mayne, of H.M.S. Eclipse, with 90 seamen, was the next ordered to make an assault, but they, like the Artillery, were compelled to fall back from the heavy fire kept up by the natives. Mr Watkins, midshipman, and several men reached the top of the parapet and were shot. Watkins, H.M.S. Curacoa, was shot through the forehead and fell back into the trench at the foot of the redoubt amongst a crowd of soldiers and sailors who were there protected from the fire of the natives, the shots passing over their heads. Staggering to his feet. Mr Watkins asked for a drink of water, and directly fell back dead. In the assault Commander Mayne was severely wounded. Captain Mercer for some time lay on the ground where he fell; the spot was particularly exposed to the fire of the enemy, every one

passing being struck. At length Lieutenant Pickard and Sergeants Houston and Mackay, under the heavy fire that was kept up, managed to drag their captain under cover, where he was immediately attended to by Assistant-Surgeon Temple. For assisting his commanding officer under a heavy fire Lieutenant Pickard afterwards received the Victoria Cross. It being at this time dark, General Cameron decided not to make any more attempts to capture the enemy's position until the next morning. The troops were accordingly disposed round the enemy's position so as to prevent their escape; but notwithstanding the precautions taken by the General, numbers of the natives, with most of their wounded, managed during the night to escape through the swamp to Waikare Lake. Amongst the wounded who got away was the chief Te Wharepu, who, although wounded in six places, had, with his blanket wrapped tightly round his bleeding wounds, encouraged his countrymen to continue the fight. During the night the natives kept up a continual fire, all the while shouting and yelling, especially when a shower of hand grenades was thrown over amongst them by the men in the trench outside the redoubt. The wounded were collected and carried on board the Pioneer, where they were attended to by the Regimental surgeons. The dead soldiers and Maoris lay stiff and stark where they fell in the outlying earthworks and on the hill-side in front of the redoubt. Shortly before daybreak a party of the Royal Engineers, under the direction of Colonel Mould, C. B., commenced to mine under an angle of the redoubt with the intention of blowing up a part of the parapet so as to make a breach. Before the mine was ready, shortly after daybreak, the natives ceased firing and hoisted a white flag as a signal of surrender.

Mr Gundry, Interpreter to the Forces, upon communicating with the enemy, ascertained that they agreed to surrender unconditionally. The chiefs in command at the time of the surrender was Te Piori and Te-ori-ori. The chief Rewi was not present. After some hesitation they gave up their arms, 175 in number. The number of natives that surrendered was 185. The troops immediately took possession of the redoubt, and had scarcely done so when a large body of natives were observed some distance off, who, seeing that Rangiriri was in the hands of the General, began to retire. Mr Edwards, interpreter with the troops, was sent by General Cameron to ascertain who they were. He returned with the intelligence that it was a force of natives under William

Thompson, who himself was desirous of surrendering, but his men would not. William Thompson sent to the General his mere or chief's greenstone as a sign of his desire for peace. He, however, retired with his men, in number about 400. The number of natives defending Rangiriri has been estimated at over 600 men, of whom about 100 men were killed and wounded and 185 taken prisoners; total killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, about 285 men. The remainder escaped. The troops suffered severely, the casualties amounting to 2 officers killed, 13 wounded; 37 men killed, 80 wounded; total, 132 killed and wounded. The prisoners were sent to Auckland under a strong escort and placed on board H.M.S. Curacoa, but were shortly afterwards transferred to the hulk Marion, which had been fitted up for their reception, Captain Krippner of the Waikato Militia being in charge. Eventually the prisoners were forwarded to the Kawau, from which place, one dark night, they made their escape.

When the prisoners were being marched through Otahuhu en route to Auckland a large number of soldiers' wives and settlers assembled, hooting and hissing them, and would have handled them rather roughly if they had not been prevented by the escort.

Most of the dead natives who were lying in the rifle pits were buried where they had fallen, the parapet being thrown over on top of them. The soldiers who were killed were buried in separate graves alongside the native church, Archdeacon Maunsell reading the service for the dead. Close by the soldiers' graves a large mound testifies to the last home of a number of the enemy, who were buried in one pit. The following is General Cameron's official account of the engagement: –

Head Quarters, Camp Rangiriri,
November 24th, 1863.

SIR, – I have the honor to report to your Excellency that on the morning of the 20th instant I moved from Mere Mere (with the force as detailed) up the right bank of the Waikato River, with the intention of attacking the enemy's entrenched position at Rangiriri, in which operation Commodore Sir William Wiseman, Bart., had arranged to co-operate with the Pioneer and Avon steamers and the four gunboats.

The troops under my command, and the steamers and gunboats arrived near Rangiriri at the same hour – 3 p.m.

The enemy's position consisted of a main line of entrenchments across the narrow isthmus which divides the Waikato River from Lake Waikare. This line had a double ditch and high parapet, and was strengthened in the centre (its highest point) by a square redoubt of very formidable construction. Behind the left centre of the main line, and at right angles to it, there was an entrenched line of rifle pits parallel to the Waikato River obstructing the advance of the troops from that direction. On a reconnoissance being made on the 18th, I had determined on landing a force in rear of the position simultaneously with attacking it in front, with the view of turning and gaining possession of a ridge 500 yards behind the main entrenchment, and thus intercepting the retreat of the enemy.

With this object 300 men of the 40th Regiment were embarked in the Pioneer and Avon, to land on a preconcerted signal at a point which I had selected.

Unfortunately, the strength of the wind and current was such that the Pioneer and Avon were unable to reach this point, notwithstanding the persevering efforts of Sir William Wiseman and the officers and men under his command. This same cause deprived us of the assistance of two of the gunboats. After shelling the position of the enemy for a considerable time from Captain Mercer's two 12-pounder Armstrongs and the Naval 6-pounder under Lieut. Alexander, R.N., in which the two gunboats joined, and it being now nearly 5 o'clock, I determined not to wait any longer for the landing of the 40th from the steamers, and gave the word for the assault. This was brilliantly executed by the troops, who had to pass over a distance of 600 yds. in the face of a heavy fire – the 65th Regiment leading and escalating the enemy's entrenchment on the left.

After passing the main line of entrenchments the troops wheeled to the left towards the enemy's centre, and came under fire of the line of rifle pits facing the Waikato River. This they at once stormed and carried, driving the enemy before them to the centre redoubt, which they now defended with desperate resolution.

While the troops were forcing their way over the parapet of the main line, as already described, I was glad to perceive that the 40th was landing sufficiently near the point I had indicated, to enable them to carry and occupy the ridge in rear, and to pour a heavy fire on a body of the enemy who were driven by them from that part of the position, and fled by the Waikare Swamp. In this part of

the attack they were joined by a portion of the 65th Regiment detached from the main body, after the latter had passed the main line of entrenchment. The troops who carried the main line being still checked by the fire from the centre redoubt – two separate assaults were made on this work. The first by 36 of the Royal Artillery, armed with revolvers, and led by Captain Mercer; the second by 90 seamen of the Royal Navy, armed in a similar manner, and led by Commander Mayne, under the personal direction of Sir William Wiseman.

Both attacks were unsuccessful, on account of the formidable nature of the work, and the overwhelming fire which was brought to bear on the assailants. An attempt was also made by a party of seamen, under Commander Phillimore, to dislodge the enemy with hand grenades thrown into the work.

It being now nearly dark, I resolved to wait the return of daylight before undertaking further operations, the troop remaining in the several positions they had gained, in which they almost completely enveloped the enemy. Shortly after daybreak on the 21st the white flag was hoisted by the enemy, of whom 183 surrendered, unconditionally gave up their arms and became prisoners of war.

The exact strength and loss of the enemy I have been unable to ascertain, but he must have suffered severely. We buried 36 bodies, and there is no doubt a large number were shot or drowned in attempting to escape across the swamp of Waikare Lake.

Their wounded must have been removed during the night, as there were none among the prisoners. Our loss, necessarily severe in carrying so formidable a position, testifies to the gallantry of the troops I have the honour to command; and also, I am bound to say, to the bravery and determination of its defenders. I enclose a list of casualties. Your Excellency will observe that it includes a large proportion of officers, most of those who led in the different attacks being severely wounded.

It will afford me the highest gratification to report to the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for War and to his Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief the admirable conduct of the troops engaged on this occasion, and to bring to their special notice the names of those officers and men who more particularly distinguished themselves. – I have, &c,

D. A. Cameron

Lieut.-General.

His Excellency Sir George Grey, K. C. B.

The following list contains the names of the officers who were killed and wounded. Those to which is affixed an asterisk shortly afterwards died of their wounds: –

OFFICERS KILLED.

Lieut. Murphy, 1st Battalion 12th Regt. Mr Watkins, Midshipman H.M.s. Curacoa.

OFFICERS WOUNDED.

Lieut.-Colonel Austen, 2nd Battalion 14th Regt., wound of thigh, severe. *

Capt. Mercer, R. A., gunshot wound of face, dangerous. *

Capt. Brooke, R. E., wound of finger, slight.

Capt. Gresson, 65th Regt., gunshot fracture right arm, very severe.

Capt. Phelps, 2nd Battalion 14th Regt., gunshot wound, abdomen, dangerous. *

Commander Mayne, R. N., H.M.s. Eclipse, gunshot wound, left hip, severe.

Lieut. Downes, H.M.s. Miranda, gunshot wound, left shoulder, severe.

Lieut. Alexander, H.M.s. Curacoa, gunshot wound, right shoulder, severe.

Lieut. Hotham, H.M.s. Curacoa, gunshot wound, right leg, severe.

Lieut. and Adjutant Lewis, 65th Regt., gunshot wound, left arm, severe.

Lieut. Chevalier, 65th Regt., wound of left leg, severe.

Lieut. Talbot, 65th Regiment, gunshot wound of jaw, left shoulder, and chest, dangerous.

Ensign Ducrow, 40th Regt., gunshot wound of left knee-joint, very severe. *

Officers. Men.

Killed..2 Killed..... 37

Wounded..13 Wounded... 80

Total.. 15 Total117

The bodies of the officers killed in the field and of those who shortly afterwards died of their wounds were removed to Auckland and buried in the Church of England cemetery, Symonds-street. The graves lie in a cluster and are carefully looked after by the officers of Her Majesty's ships of war on the station.

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WITH the fall of Rangiriri was destroyed the power of the Lower Waikato tribes. The flower of their fighting men had fallen at Koheroa and Rangiriri, or were taken prisoners of war, and the remnant that escaped retreated to the Upper Waikato, where Rewi and his Ngatimaniapotos had decided to make a stand against the troops. Rewi did not aid in the defence of Rangiriri, on account of his objecting to the position. He was in favour of making a stand at Taupiri, about 15 miles above Rangiriri, where the high ranges and deep gorge presented a natural fortress that might have been rendered almost impregnable. Being however, over-ruled, Rewi withdrew his men, and left the Lower Waikatos to fight their own battle at Rangiriri.

General Cameron, immediately after the capture of Rangiriri, threw up a redoubt, and pushed forward an advanced post at Armitage's, a few miles further up the river. The Governor, Sir George Grey, at this time received the following letter from the chiefs who had escaped from Rangiriri, requesting him to liberate the prisoners that had been taken: –

Ngaruawahia, Nov. 23, 1863.

OH FRIEND GOVERNOR, – Salutations. This is to say to you. The fight has been fought and some are dead; some live. Restore to us Waikato. Let it suffice for you the men who are dead. Restore to us those who live. Enough. From your friends,

PENE TE WHAREPU, PENE PUKEWHAU.

From all the Chiefs of Waikato.

To the Governor, Sir George Grey.

An answer was sent to the above letter by the Hon. Mr. Fox, the Premier, to the effect that the Governor would hold no communication with them whilst they continued in arms, but, upon their giving up all their guns, powder, and all their arms, communications would be opened with them, but not without.

On the 7th of December, General Cameron had moved forward and taken up a position about seven miles past Rangiriri, at Rahuipukeko – not far from where the Huntly coal mines are now being worked. At this part of the river, the country is flat for some distance on each side. A few miles further on, the river passes through the Taupiri Gorge, and runs swiftly between high wooded ranges, the highest part being the Peak of Taupiri, which rises 800 feet above the stream. From this spot a magnificent view is obtained of the Waikato district, which lies stretched like a panorama before the spectator. At the foot of Taupiri, was the sacred burying-ground of the natives, and on the opposite bank, stood the Mission Station of the Rev. Mr. Ashwell, nestled amidst a grove of peach trees. Far away to the southward, like a dark cloud, the giant Pirongia rears its lofty head. To the eastward, the Mangawara and Komakarau streams wind their silent courses, till lost in the distant swamps, which as far as the eye can reach look like an immense prairie of flax.

On December 8th the British flag was flying on the King's flagstaff at Ngaruawahia the headquarters of the Maori King. Early that morning General Cameron had made a reconnaissance in the Pioneer, and found the place deserted. He immediately returned to Rahuipukeko, and having embarked a force of 400 men, consisting of detachments of the 65th and 40th Regiments, under Colonel Wyatt of the 65th, returned and took possession of Ngaruawahia, unmolested. Upon landing, it was evident from the rifle-pits and a half-finished redoubt, that the natives at first intended to have made a stand, but the position being bad for defence – a neck of land at the junction of the Waipa and Horatiu rivers – they had wisely abandoned the idea, and retreated further inland. The next day the post at Ngaruawahia was strengthened by a reinforcement of 250 men of the 40th Regiment, under Colonel Leslie. At Ngaruawahia. King Potatau the 1st was buried, but upon the capture of Rangiriri, the Ngatimaniapotos took the bones of the old king up, and carried them away, although the fact at the time was not known even by some of the Lower Waikato natives themselves, for the General, upon his arrival, found a letter addressed to the officers of the army, signed "W. Barton," requesting that the whares might not be destroyed, and that the grave of Potatau might be held sacred. A sentry was accordingly posted

over the regal tomb. William Barton, the writer of the letter, was a native Wesleyan missionary, living at Whata Whata, some few miles up the Waipa.

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On Dec 9th the chief Pene Te Wharipu forwarded the following unique letter to the Governor: –

Te Kauri, Dec. 9th, 1863.

OH FRIEND, THE GOVERNOR, – Salutations. Your letter has reached me. William Te Wheoro brought it to me. It is right. Yes. the Queen's flag is over us. Yes. I am pleased at it. Now let us talk. The first letter you wrote I have not seen. This ends my letter, from

PENE TE WHAREPU.

The writer of the above letter, Wharepu, was the fighting chief of the Lower Waikatos, who made a most heroic stand at Rangiriri. As an earnest of his desire for peace, Wharepu forwarded his granddaughter, a girl of 12 years of age, as a hostage to the General; but the brave Wharepu dying of his wounds a day or two afterwards, the girl was liberated.

* * * * *

The steam transport Lady Jocelyn arrived in Auckland Harbour on Thursday Dec 10th, with the Head Quarters of the 43rd Regiment, consisting of 21 officers and 646 rank and file, under Lieut-Colonel Booth.

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SOON after noon on Friday, December 11th, Captain Jackson, with Ensign Westrupp, and his corps of Forest Rangers started from his camp at Papakura, to reconnoitre the country towards the Wairoa and Hunuia Ranges, Mr. Alexander Hill acting as guide. On the road to the Wairoa they discovered newly-made tracks of natives leading in the direction of the ranges, the trail was diligently followed up; the force bivouacking for the night in the forest. All the next day (Saturday), the tracks were visible, leading the corps towards the ranges, in the vicinity of Paparata. Captain Jackson pushing forward on the Sunday morning, December 14th, came upon the enemy in their encampment and surprised them. The natives, about 40 strong, were, there is little doubt, the same party that had been plundering and murdering the settler's in the Wairoa and adjoining district, evidently clearing out with their spoil. Captain Jackson, as it were, caught them red-handed; heretofore they had been surprising and murdering defenceless men, women, and children; this time they were surprised themselves, a fatal volley being poured into them whilst they were cleaning their guns and engaged in various other occupations, little suspecting the presence of the Forest Rangers. After the first volley the rangers closed on the natives with their revolvers, when those of them who had not been shot fled hastily through the bush. With the enemy were several women who assisted in getting away the wounded. The natives lost 7 or 8 men killed, and several wounded. Captain Jackson collecting what he could conveniently carry of the plunder that the natives had left, consisting of 3 flags, rings, watches, and articles stolen from the settler's, returned to Papakura camp. The following is Captain Jackson's version of the affair:—

Papakura, Dec 14, 1863.

SIR, — I have the honour to report for the information of the Lieutenant-General Commanding, that in accordance with your instructions, I started on Friday, the 11th inst., at 1.15 p.m., with a force of my company of Forest Rangers, as per margin,² on an expedition towards the Wairoa River. At 6.30 p.m. on that day, I camped on the Hunua River, and started from thence at 4.30 next morning; at 6.30 we struck native tracks which appeared to be quite fresh; at 10.30 a.m. we found a camping-ground, which was capable of accommodating 30 or 40 natives. One of the fires here was still hot. At 4.30 p.m. we got to another camping-ground, the fires of which were quite hot; we had evidently gained a day's

march on the enemy. I continued our march until 6.15 p.m., when finding we had overrun the track, I camped for the night. On Sunday, Dec. 13th, I broke camp at 5.30 a.m. and turned back to re-examine the path, and found tracks diverging to the left. I then posted some men to look out for smoke, which we soon discovered rising out of the ranges. We went very quietly towards it, and by using great caution succeeded in surprising the enemy about 8.40 a.m. We had got between their sentry and their camp.

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When about twelve or fifteen yards from the enemy, I halted my men on an eminence, to give them breath, and gave orders that they should first attack the enemy with their carbines, and then rush them with their revolvers. The Maoris were then cleaning their guns. The surprise was complete. After our carbines were discharged, the enemy apparently expecting we had only empty pieces, turned upon us with their guns and tomahawks, &c. but the revolvers soon sent them to the rightabout. Several of the enemy who were wounded by the discharge of the carbines were assisted away by the women, who were very busy removing arms, dead and wounded. I saw two or three natives hit who were immediately helped away by women. I had directed my men not to fire at the women, and I am happy to say they did not, though it is very possible that some of the women and children may have got hurt in the affray, but I only know of one instance, a woman I believe was wounded in the leg by a stray shot. The affair lasted only four or five minutes. I saw three dead men taken off, and four of their dead were left in our hands. Two of the natives, when surrounded, endeavoured to stab my men, one using a bowie knife and the other a large carving knife, but the revolver made short work of them. One native at great risk returned and attempted to carry away a small tin box, but a bullet made him drop it and run off. Many of those who escaped were wounded. Had my party been larger, I think I could easily have surrounded the enemy and taken them all prisoners. None of my men were hurt as only those of the enemy who were on the outskirts of Their camp could find time to load and fire on us, and they were just as likely to hit their own men as mine. I estimate the number of the enemy to have been over 40 men. One of the natives, before he died, told me there were 28, and on being asked again said there were 28 double, holding up two of his fingers. He also said his tribe was the Ngatipaoa. He would not tell his own name, but said the man next him was a chief named Matariki. The scene of the engagement was in the ranges, about five miles north of Paparata. The natives retreated in an easterly direction. One of the sentries I had posted informed me, some time after we had left the place, that a broad track led easterly from near where he was posted, and that he saw a man on horseback go up it. The enemy appeared to have plenty of provisions; we found a good deal of tea and sugar and some flour; there was abundance of fern-root, three or four iron pots had meat in them, and a good quantity of pork was hanging up. In the box which the native tried to secure, mentioned above, were three flags, one, a large red flag on which was embroidered a white cross and star and the word "Aotearoa" in white letters. It is made of silk and is neat and handsome. Another flag is a large red pendant with a white cross, the remaining flag is a handkerchief, of the Union Jack pattern. The other spoils are a double-barrelled gun, a large horse pistol, and a smaller pistol, three or four cartridge-boxes, a great deal of property which had belonged to settlers, such as scarlet hangings, fancy window blinds, small workboxes, &c., some papers belonging to Mr. Richardson of Wairoa, and a coat belonging to Mr. Johnson of the same place, several articles which had been stolen by the natives from Mr. McDonald at the time Trust's children were murdered, near Howick. I therefore conclude these natives were of the party who committed those murders. One of my men has two small packets of hair, I think European. They are evidently relics. He will give them up to any one who may claim them. We could not bring away much of the "loot," as we were heavily loaded with our arms, blankets, &c., but I think I brought away sufficient to prove the character of the party we fell in with. We destroyed several packages and tins of gunpowder, and threw a great number of bullets into the creek.

I have great pleasure in reporting that my men behaved with great coolness and courage. There was no firing at random. I am anxious to bring to your special notice the brave and cool conduct of Ensign Westrupp, who was foremost in the attack, and made every shot of his revolver tell; also of Private John Smith, who had a severe hand to hand struggle with a powerful native. — I have, &c,

WM. JACKSON,
Captain Commanding Forest Rangers.
Lieutenant-Colonel Nixon, Commanding Moveable Column.

² 1 Subaltern, 1 Sergeant, 2 Corporals, 23 Privates.

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NOW that the troops had advanced well into the King country the transport of stores to the front became an important part of the operations against the natives. To meet the sudden and increased demands on the commissariat department a large force had to be detached from the strength of the General's army for the transport of stores.

The Land Transport Corps, which hitherto had only to travel as far as the Queen's Redoubt, was largely reinforced, Captain Bishop, of the 2nd Battalion 18th Regt. being in command. This corps was in the Imperial pay, and was composed of volunteers both from the regulars and Militia. As a distinguishing badge they wore a red band round their cap. To supplement the land force a Water Transport Corps was raised, Captain Breton, who arrived from Sydney in command of the Pioneer, being in charge. The duties that this corps had to perform were very arduous, they having to row large fiat-bottomed boats loaded with stores from the Mangatawhiri Creek as far as Rangiriri – a distance of about 20 miles – against the swift current of the Waikato. From Rangiriri to the camp at Rahuipukeko the boats were towed by horses, the river at that season of the year – December – being very low, and obstructed with large snags dangerous to a steamer. From Rahuipukeko to Ngaruawahia the river had a deeper channel, enabling the Pioneer to convey the stores to head-quarters. Colonel Gamble superintended the formation of the Transport Corps, Commissary-General Jones being the officer in command of the Commissariat Department. Colonel Gamble also organised an efficient store department for the colonial forces, Militia and Volunteers, at the head of which was Colonel Kenny, a retired officer from Her Majesty's service, with Messrs. Reid, Ed. King, and George P. Pierce as chief clerks or superintendents. Mr. R. J. Feltus, A. R. V., No. 1 Company Commissariat Issuer, being travelling clerk in charge of stores in transitu. At the commencement of the war Mr. Feltus, whilst on duty, happened to be with the escort under Capt. Ring, when they were attacked by the natives near Martin's farm, and received several slight wounds.

The first meat contractors were Messrs. Walters and Scarrott, and the contractor for the supply of groceries was Mr Ralph Simpson, who at every camp occupied by the troops had a canteen, where could be obtained, during canteen hours, wines, spirits and beer, and almost everything that a soldier would require from a needle to an anchor.

At Putataka, Waikato Heads, a large depot was formed for the reception of military stores. Workshops were erected for fitting and repairing the steamers on the Waikato. This post, called Port Waikato, was garrisoned by a strong force of Regulars and Waikato Militia; and with the large number of workmen employed in building the substantial stone wharf and erecting large stores and workshops, presented a busy aspect. Vessels, sailing and steam, arrived here from Sydney with Government stores, and owing to the good depth of water were enabled to discharge their cargoes direct on to the wharf or quay in close proximity to the sheds. The largest vessel that crossed the bar and anchored in the river during the war, was H.M.S. Eclipse, drawing about 18 feet of water.

The blacksmith's shop, at Port Waikato, presented a scene of great activity, the iron plates and machinery for a new stern wheel steamer had arrived from Sydney, and were fitted up under the direct supervision of Mr. James Stewart, C.E., of Auckland. This vessel, designed by Mr. Stewart, was much smaller than the Pioneer, and was to draw, if anything, less water, but like her larger sister was to be a stern wheeler, and was to act as a gunboat, and also, when required, to tow two large barges that were being built for her. To get this steamer ready as soon as possible, the clang of the blacksmith's hammer was heard at Port Waikato day and night.

As if nature favored the advent of steam on the Waikato, a seam of good coal cropped up out of the range on the proper left bank of the river, near the Taupiri Gorge. The General immediately

took advantage of Nature's gift, and a party of miners, under the superintendence of Mr. W. Rowe, arrived from Auckland, and opened the seam. The miners in their operations were assisted and protected by a covering party of soldiers. Huts and tents were erected, and a coaling station formed. The river channel at that point was deep enough to allow the Pioneer and Avon to come close up to the bank, and the coal seam cropped out some distance above, on the side of the range.

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The majority of the men who volunteered for the Water Transport Corps, were, as may be imagined, those who had been used to a sea-faring life, and accustomed to boats and rowing. They were a rough-and-tumble lot, and many are the wild stories told of their escapades. The boats' crews (8 and 12 oars), used generally to sweep up against the stream to the chorus of a sailors shanty song, "I'm bound away," or "Ye rolling rivers," usurping the canoe chant of the natives. When the boats' cargoes consisted of rum, large puncheons of real commissariat, 30 o.p then it was a field day, and the passage was generally a tedious one. Boat accidents are of daily occurrence and were then: all sorts of stores fell overboard, sometimes even a cask of rum reached not its proper destination, but a soft bed amidst the tangled weeds and rank vegetation on one of the numerous islands that dot the river Waikato. For some time afterwards the boat from which the cask was lost always somehow stopped near the scene of the sad mishap. Rumour hath it that to this day in the swamp by the river side, not very distant from Mere Mere, there lies a large puncheon of commissariat. Amongst the men in the Transport Corps were several who had fought in the American Civil War, and the following strange incident is perhaps worth recording. Two of the Transport Corps, who had been in the American Civil War, were relating their experiences to each other. One had been in the Federal Navy and the other in the Navy of the Confederates. On comparing notes, it transpired that they had both been in the same naval engagement as adversaries, the ex-federal transport corps man having been one of the crew of the frigate that destroyed the confederate gunboat in which was his companion who was taken prisoner. Victor and vanquished, both Englishmen, had met again on the Waikato, brothers in arms under their own flag. Such are the fortunes of war. Amongst a large body of men there are always to be found some who by a peculiarity in their manner come prominently before their fellows. Many will still remember Lieutenant Fraser, Waikato Militia, attached to the Water Transport Corps, who by his brusque manner and a free use of strong adjectives, earned for himself the soubriquet of Bully Fraser. Another oddity was the voluble Lieutenant Lomax, of the 1st Waikatos, of slight figure, and long Dundreary whiskers, that he was everlastingly twiddling about. "I'm Lomax, sir, Lieutenant Lomax, by Gad!" which emphatic exclamation after some doubtful yarn, generally annihilated his audience, who at once, meekly, and without argument, accepted his asseverations as the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Entering one day the tent of Major St. John, the gallant Lieutenant espied on the table two half-crowns, which taking up, he thus quaintly expressed himself, "Major! Lomax is in a state of impecuniosity, by gad! Lomax will borrow five shillings from the Major, by gad! And wishing the Major good morning, Lomax took his departure, by gad. After the war, Lomax left the colony, by gad, and is reported to have returned to England, where walking along Oxford St., in London one day, he was accosted by a Serjeant of a Light Cavalry Regiment, who asserted that Lomax, by gad! sir, had deserted some few years before from his regiment, and Lomax, by gad! sir, had to accompany him to enquire further into the matter, by gad!

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THE New Zealand Ministry of the day thought when General Cameron took possession of Ngaruawahia, that the time had arrived for peace to be made with the natives. It was therefore arranged that the Governor, Sir George Grey, should proceed to Ngaruawahia and interview those chiefs who were inclined to submit to the Queen's authority. On the appointed day a carriage and horses was ready to convey His Excellency on his journey. But the Governor changed his mind and decided not to go. The Ministry at once waited upon the Governor, urging him to proceed on his journey. The result was that the carriage and horses were ordered back again. His Excellency, however, when about to step into the carriage, again altered his mind and would not go. The Ministry begged His Excellency to reconsider his determination, and after some time Sir George agreed once more to go, and again, at the last moment, finally resolved not to go; the carriage and horses were consequently sent back to the stables. The fickleness displayed by Sir George Grey upon this occasion can perhaps only be satisfactorily accounted for by himself. In all probability he was trying to please the Ministry against his own inclination, and was consequently unsuccessful in the attempt. Looking back from this period of time, it is not very plain to see what good Sir George Grey could have done if he had gone on his journey, for the natives that most desired peace had already been conquered, the Ngatimaniapotos and others being still full of fight, and showing a bold front. Any overtures of peace to them at that time would most likely have done more harm than good, and if it is reasonable to suppose that that was the private opinion of His Excellency the Governor at the time.

On Saturday, December 26th, the township of Onehunga was a scene of great bustle consequent upon the arrival of 300 rank and file of the 50th Regiment, under Colonel Waddy, who marched from Auckland and embarked on board the steamers Alexandra and Kangaroo, en route to Raglan. Two days afterwards 250 of the Waikato Militia also embarked in the s.s. Alexandra for the same destination. This force was commanded by Colonel Haultain with the following officers: – Captain Freer, Lieutenants Abbott, Johnson, and Storey, and Ensigns White and Speedy – Dr. Stuart, Medical Officer.

General Cameron did not remain long at Ngaruawahia, for after establishing a strong post at that important position, he moved forward to Whata Whata, and thence on to Tuhi Karama, where he established his head quarters on January 1st. The river Waipa being narrow and having sharp bends, was not navigable by the Pioneer, but the little Avon was enabled to do good service in transporting stores to head quarters from Ngaruawahia.

The force under Colonel Waddy at Raglan having advanced over the ranges towards the Waipa, communication was successfully opened with the head Quarters camp at Tuhi Karama without opposition from the natives. The Militia and Volunteers had now once again to leave Auckland and take the field. On Thursday, January 7th, a force of 150 men marched from the Albert Barracks for Papakura and Drury. This party consisted of 100 of the Auckland Militia, under Captain Brophy, Lieutenant Morrow, and Ensigns Kelly, Nation, and Home, and 50 of the Rifle Volunteers, under Major Campbell, Captain Mitchell, Lieutenants Waddell, LeRoy and Tabuteau, and Ensigns Brighton, Tole, and Batger. The next day, January 8th, two large transports arrived in Auckland harbour with troops, viz.: the s.s. Australian from Rangoon with the head quarters of the 68th Regiment Light Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Morant, and the ship Chariot of Fame, from Queenstown, with 510 rank and file consisting of Army Hospital Corps and drafts for the Royal Engineers and the different regiments.

It having been known that for some time the natives of Tauranga had been aiding the Waikato tribes, which they were now joining in large numbers, it was decided to despatch a strong force to Tauranga for the purpose of retaining the attention of the natives in that district, and diverting them from the scene of operations in the Waikato. Tauranga, a settlement on the East Coast, in the Bay of Plenty, about 180 miles by sea from

Auckland, possesses a good harbour which can be entered by vessels of large size in almost any weather. The settlement at the time of the war, consisted only of two or three stores, the trade being principally with the "natives. On January 20th, Colonel Carey, with a force of about 700 men, embarked in Auckland for Tauranga where they landed without opposition and found an entrenched camp.

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AT early dawn on January 28th, the troops broke camp and commenced the march from Tuhi Karamea for the enemy's position at Paterangi. The column consisted of nearly 3,000 officers and men, and were about seven hours on the march, the force being delayed through having to cross several creeks, over which the engineers had to construct rough pontoons, and it was noon before General Cameron arrived in front of the enemy's strongholds. Although the natives were in strong force they did not molest the troops, but allowed them to take up a position at Te Rore by the river side, where General Cameron, close by the ruins of a house belonging to Mr. John Cowell, that had been fired by the natives upon the advance of the soldiers, fixed his head quarters. A redoubt was thrown up on each side of the river, and a post was also established at Ngahinapouri, between Tui Karamea and Te Rore. The native position was very formidable, consisting of three large redoubts connected with strong lines of rifle pits, and held by about 3,000 warriors – over twenty different tribes being represented. Upon the arrival of the troops the natives swarmed on the parapets of their works, and here and there, one, probably a chief, could be seen dancing about and waving his shawl, evidently haranguing his dusky followers. The engineering skill displayed by the natives in the construction of their works was of the highest order, and was a matter of much wonder to General Cameron and his officers, who could scarcely believe that a savage race without any education in military tactics could have designed and so thoroughly carried out the details of such a complete system of defence. Forming a cordon outside their trenches, the natives had a chevaux de frise made of sharp-pointed ti-tree stakes. Within the lines of the enemy was the homestead of Mr. Macfarlane, who was married to a native woman, and had resided amongst the Maoris for many years. Mr. Macfarlane was not interfered with by the natives, and he remained with his family at his house during the operation of the troops. Upon the arrival of the forces the hitherto solitary fern hills of Te Rore became imbued with life, and a large canvas town sprang into existence. The steamer Avon, Lieutenant Mitchell, R. N., steamed up to the landing place at Te Rore with stores, and made almost daily trips between Ngaruawahia and the front. The transport corps with their teams moved up from Whatawhata on the left bank of the river under strong escort. Owing to the many times the stores had to be unloaded and then loaded, first into drays, then boats, then shifted into steamer, then again steamer and drays, it was with the greatest difficulty that the commissariat could supply the troops at head quarters.

The extreme end of the enemy's works at Paterangi, was about three miles distant from the Head Quarter's camp at Te Rore, and Colonel Waddy, C.B., of the 50th, with 600 men, moved forward and took up his position within 1,500 yards of the enemy's entrenchment. An Armstrong gun was also placed in position, which at intervals fired shell into the native works. At night strong pickets were thrown out in front of the British lines, and occasionally shots were exchanged with the enemy's sentries in the fern. The sailors under Lieutenant Hill, H.M.S. Curacoa, had their camp close to the landing place: and these jolly tars, to relieve the monoton of camp life, had by some means contrive to obtain a set of cricketing materials, and on fine afternoons, the stumps were set up and play commenced as earnestly and unconcernedly as if there were no such thing as a Maori foe within a few hundred yards of them. Watching the game sometimes, might have been seen with a

sang-froid peculiarly his own, smoking a cigar, oftener a cigarette, Von Tempsky, who was with his own and Captain Jackson's Forest Rangers, with head quarters, and invaluable as scouts to the General. The Rangers had most perilous duty to perform. If the troops advanced, the Rangers scoured the country in front. Did the General desire any particular and specially dangerous duty performed miles away from the camp, the Rangers did it, frequently lying out for two or three nights in the open with a bundle of fern for pillows, and the stars for blankets. A few biscuits and a ration of rum or water, very often constituted the commissariat, yet to many, such a life was fascinating and had a peculiar charm. Von Tempsky, or Von as his men loved to call him, was the beau-ideal of a Forest Ranger; of a wiry form, rather above the middle height, keen eyes, high cheek bones, and sharp features; a forage cap with oak leafband sat jauntily on the side of his head, over a mass of dark curling hair, hanging almost to his shoulders. Often, instead of his regulation coat, he wore a blue jumper thrown open at the neck, military trousers, with the thin red stripe, and knee boots or gaiters. Round his waist a red silk sash with revolver and sword belt. In his trousers was a pocket or case to hold a bowie knife, in the use of which he was an expert. Von Tempsky, trained in the Mexican war, believed in the knife, and instructed his company how to use it effectively against an enemy, especially when thrown with precision. It was a saying amongst the troops that Von Tempsky could scent out a native if he was a mile away. As an illustration of his keenness in ferretting out a party of natives while lying in ambush, the following anecdote will perhaps not be amiss, although the occurrence took place some time after the Waikato war. When General Chute made his memorable march through the bush round Mount Egmont to Taranaki, Von Tempsky, then Major, with his Forest Rangers marched with the column. Whilst passing through the dense bush Von Tempsky suddenly left the track with his men, and disappeared in the forest. The troops thought that he had taken a wrong path; but very soon was heard the sound of sharp firing, which lasted but a few seconds, and then appeared in front of the column, forcing his way through the tangled supple-jacks, Von Tempsky, a sword in one hand, a revolver in the other, the smoke still hovering about one of the barrels; and between his teeth he held his knife, dripping with the blood of a native. Von Tempsky had detected and destroyed an ambuscade that was laid by the natives for the advancing troops.

On February 1st Lieutenant Mitchell was fired at by a party of natives and mortally wounded. He expired at Ngaruawahia two days after. At the time Lieutenant Mitchell was standing with Mr. Foljambe, midshipman, on the bridge of the Avon, whilst on her passage down the Waipa. Some natives who were seen in the fern on the river bank were fired at; they returned the fire, one of the bullets striking Lieutenant Mitchell. Shortly after the above affair the Avon struck a snag not very far from Ngaruawahia, and sank near the river bank. This accident occurring at the time it did, was a most serious mishap, – the troops at head quarters largely depending on her for supplies. Orders were at once sent down to Port Waikato to get the new steamer ready with all speed, the retention of the General's position in front of Paterangi depending, in a great measure, on her arrival up the river at once. At this time the Colonial Defence Force, under the command of Colonel Nixon, arrived at Te Rore to cooperate with the troops in the field, the country being open and suitable for the use of cavalry.

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ABOUT 1000 yards on the South East, from the advanced post of the troops, the Mangopiko stream winds its way through the country, its banks being heavily clothed with dense high scrub, making it difficult to penetrate. At this place the soldiers were in the habit of going to bathe. On Thursday, February 11th, at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, a party of the 40th regiment left the camp for the bathing-place; they were accompanied by a

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small covering party of some 20 men of the same regiment, the whole party being under the command of Lieutenant Simeon. The bathing party had no sooner reached the bank of the stream than a sharp volley was fired into them by a party of natives, who lay concealed on the opposite bank. The covering party immediately returned the fire, and a sharp fusillade commenced on both sides. The sound of the firing being heard at the advanced camp, reinforcements to the number of 200 men of the 40th and 50th regiments were despatched to the scene of action, the whole under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Havelock. The troops separating into two detachments, wound round to the rear of the place, where the natives lay in ambush, and owing to the dense character of the fern and ti-tree, they accomplished the intended movement, and came upon the natives suddenly, close to an old native earthwork, called Waiari, the scene of former native wars, but at this time almost hidden with the heavy growth of scrub. Captain Jackson of the Forest Rangers, and Captain Heaphy of the Auckland Rifle Volunteers, who was attached to the troops as field surveyor, happened at the time to be at the advanced camp, and marched with the supports to the scene of action, where they were soon hotly engaged. Taking cover under the shelter of the old earthworks, the natives made for some time a determined resistance, but were eventually driven away after the 40th regiment had lost several men killed and wounded. Captain Jackson, in advancing through the fern came suddenly upon a native with a double barrelled gun, who at once took aim, but the piece missed fire, and Captain Jackson shot him with his revolver. Captain Heaphy here gained the coveted Victoria Cross, under a heavy fire and at great personal risk he attended a wounded soldier. The escape of Captain Heaphy was miraculous, his clothes being riddled with bullets, one of which struck the buckle of his revolver strap, and the Captain after the fight unbuttoning his coat, showed to the writer the course the ball had taken after it had struck the buckle which it broke – right round the Captain's waist was a red seam as if he had been slashed with a whip, the bullet having circled half round his body. Some time after the fight had commenced, a small reinforcement of 20 men, a detachment belonging to Jackson's and Von Tempsky's Forest Rangers, arrived on the scene from the camp. Captain Von Tempsky and his men were ordered to cross the river and penetrate the dense scrub on the opposite side, where a number of natives were concealed. The manner in which the brave Von Tempsky and his handful of men carried out this order, will for ever redound to the credit of the Colonial Forces. Without a moment's hesitation they struggled across the stream, and dripping with wet plunged into the high fern and ti-tree and rushed on the natives. A most determined hand to hand struggle here ensued, every pop, pop of a revolver denoting the fall of an enemy. Here in the scrub by the Mangopiko stream, several Victoria Crosses were earned but never received. The natives, not able to cope with their adversaries, retreated, leaving in the hands of the Rangers eight dead, whom they lay out side by side on the trampled fern. The Forest Rangers in this brilliant exploit only had two or three men wounded. Mr. C. De Thierry, interpreter to the 50th regiment, who was present, viewed the bodies and recognised several that had been previously employed in Auckland and Newmarket. The sun had now fallen behind the ranges, and the dark mantle of night would soon fall upon the scene of strife, so the recall was sounded, once, twice, three times, before the firing slackened, a body of natives having come out of the Pa at Paterangi to reinforce their comrades, but they were checked by the fire of the 40th skirmishers, who were thrown forward to stop them. Haste was made to collect the dead and wounded. Private Thompson, of the Forest Rangers, was with a soldier carrying one of the wounded on a stretcher, when a ball struck the soldier, causing him to fall, and the weight of the wounded man coming suddenly on Thompson, upset him; and the three went down in the fern. In obedience to orders, the troops returned to camp, the Forest Rangers forming the rear guard, the natives still occasionally firing a shot at the troops from their lairs in the fern.

The casualties on the part of the troops, considering the nature of the engagement, cannot be considered as heavy. They consisted of five men killed and six wounded, of whom one died afterwards. The natives on the other hand suffered severely, losing

over forty men killed and about thirty wounded.

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The morning after the fight, Mr. De Thierry was instructed by General Cameron to proceed to the Pa, which he did with a flag of truce. As soon as the white flag appeared, firing stopped on both sides. Arriving at about 200 yards from the Pa the natives waved their hands to Mr. De Thierry to stop, and four of the Chiefs came to meet him and hear his communication, which was to ask them whether they would prefer taking their dead away or leave them to be buried by Bishop Selwyn. The Chiefs replied that they would fetch their dead away, and a party of about twenty natives afterwards accompanied Mr. De Thierry back to the camp for the bodies which were laid out in a line. On the way to the camp, Mr. De Thierry noticed a party of natives lying in the fern, evidently watching for Bishop Selwyn, who was riding down to the enemy's position, but upon Mr. De Thierry informing him that there was an ambuscade on the road, the Bishop replied that he did not believe that the natives would fire at him. However, at the request of Mr. De Thierry, the Bishop turned back. He had no sooner done so, than the natives opened fire at him, but the distance was too far for the bullets to take effect, and the Bishop put spurs to his horse and galloped back to camp.

One of the natives who came with Mr. De Thierry, named Topi, amongst the bodies recognised that of his son, a lad of about 14 or 15 years of age, and he rerequested that he might be allowed to tangi or cry, after the native custom over him. His request was granted, and hugging the lifeless form to his breast Topi cried bitterly.

Bishop Selwyn read the funeral service over the graves of the soldiers who were killed: and the natives, under a flag of truce, collected the bodies of their slain, most of which they took away to their pah. A few, doubtless slaves, they buried in old potatoe pits near the scene of the fight. The number of Maories engaged at Mangapiko was estimated, according to their own account, at 150, the dense scrub concealing their strength made it difficult to judge; the native account is, however, probably right. A redoubt was afterwards thrown up at Waiari, near the scene of the engagement and occupied by the troops.

The following is Col. Havelock's official account of the affair: –

Camp before Paterangi,
12th Feb., 1864.

SIR, – Having been directed by the Lieut.-General Commanding to report on the successful skirmish of yesterday, on both banks of the Mangapiko River, I have the honor to state that at about 2.30 p.m., on an alarm that a bathing party had been suddenly fired on from an ambush, by apparently 100 Maoris detached from the Paterangi Pah, the inlying picquets of the 40th and 50th Regiments at this camp, turned out promptly and hastened to the scene, being re-inforced immediately by parties of both regiments as fast as the men could seize their arms.

The Maoris retired along the left bank, and a sharp running fight soon commenced between them and the foremost pursuers. Finding themselves so readily met, they took post, while endeavouring to gain their pah, on the site of an ancient entrenchment called Waiari, where the high mounds and deep ditches of an old fortification, densely overgrown with thick cover, gave them, together with their intimate knowledge of the ground, great advantage. On reaching the level plain udder Paterangi, after crossing the Takoutu stream, I found that the pursuit and fight had gone to my right: but as there were threats of large bodies sallying out to cut off those of our men whose eagerness had carried them farthest to the front, I collected every available soldier of both regiments and formed them up in a chain of skirmishers to watch this flank.

Soon after, a considerable party under Captain Trench (40th), having assured our left and rear, I moved rapidly down to where our leading men were hotly engaged and pressed. They were commanded by Captain Fisher (40th), who had hastened here earlier with a few men. Captain Heaphy, Auckland Rifle Volunteers, and Captain Jackson, Forest Rangers (both accidentally on the spot), had lent their services, and reinforced him with some 30 men of the 40th and 50th. These parties, that which I myself brought up and one under Ensign King (40th) united, had now the happiness to come full on the main body of the Maoris retreating towards Patirangi. We turned them back to the shelter of the ancient earthwork above mentioned, which is singularly placed in a double loop of the Mangapiko.

Major Bowdler's party of 40th, who had moved down the right bank, were firing on the front of the Maoris from across the river.

Our arrival on their rear effectually hemmed them in, and sealed their fate.

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After much hot firing, we were able to dash across the river into the entrenchment, over a bridge formed of a single plank. The banks are here from 40 to 60 feet high, precipitous, and densely wooded.

A series of hand to hand encounters here took place, between the Maoris crouching secreted in thick bush, and our men, who displayed if anything too keen an eagerness to dash at and close with their lurking enemies whenever visible. This forwardness cost some valuable lives, but the punishment inflicted on the Maoris was sharp and telling, and read them a severe lesson.

At the time, some 20 men of the Forest Rangers (both companies) arriving from the head-quarters camp, materially assisted in hunting out and destroying the enemy. Eventually, every Maori that could be discovered being either killed, wounded, or made prisoner, the work of removing our wounded (most difficult on account of the narrowness of the planked bridge) and of securing their dead commenced.

Two large parties of the enemy now approaching through thick bush, endeavoured to intercept this. It became necessary to throw Captain Fisher's party, with which were Lieutenant Simeon and Ensign King, again on the right bank where they most steadily covered this operation under a sharp cross-fire.

Finally, near dark, all our wounded having been removed, and as many as possible of the Maori dead brought in, the skirmishers were gradually withdrawn, file by file, across the plank bridge and the troops moved slowly, taking every advantage of ground, towards camp.

This very successful affair cost the Maoris twenty-eight men killed (counted) and two wounded and prisoners in our hands. Both these are said to be chiefs. Our loss was five killed and six wounded (one since dead).

The effect on the Maoris of their insidious attempt at ambuscade being thus promptly met, and signally and completely frustrated with their heavy loss in dead, cannot but be salutary.

It becomes my pleasing duty as senior officer accidentally on the spot, to report that nothing could have been better than the behaviour of men and officers engaged. Where the forwardness of all was distinguished, it is enough to name the officers present as per margin.³ But I would beg specially to bring to notice Adjutant-Surgeon Stiles, 40th Regiment, to whose assiduity in caring for the wounded in the most exposed situations, and under sharp fire, their safe and early removal to camp is mainly attributable.

Captain Heaphy, Auckland Rifle Volunteers, took charge of a party and ably directed it. In gallantly assisting a wounded soldier of the 40th who had fallen into a hollow among the thickest of the concealed Maoris, he became the target for a volley at a few feet distant. Five balls pierced his clothes and cap, and he is slightly wounded in three places. Though hurt himself, he continued to aid the wounded to the end of the day.

Captain Jackson, Forest Rangers, gave great assistance, and Captain Von Tempsky, when I directed him to relieve the soldiers who had been skirmishing for hours, covered the extreme rear of our march with much coolness and judgment. – I have, &c.

H. M. HAVELOCK,
Lieutenant-Colonel, Deputy-Adjutant, Quarter-Master General.

³ Brevet-Major Bowdley, 40th Regiment: Captain Hon. P. LeP. Trench, 40th; Captain Fisher, 40th; lieutenant Simeon, 40th; Ensign King, 40th; Captain Doran, 50th; Lieutenant Leach, 50th; Ensign Campbell, 50th.

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ALTHOUGH the new steamer being put together at Port Waikato was not nearly completed, the demand for her services up the river was so urgent that it was decided to launch her as she was, a mere shell. The vessel was accordingly launched in the presence of the Hon. Thomas Russell, Defence Minister, and named the "Koheroa." After she was launched she unfortunately swung on to the rocks, but a gang of men working all night got her clear again. The engines and stern wheel being in position, a crew of 24 consisting of 12 men belonging to H.M.S. Eclipse, and 12 of the Auckland and Onehunga Naval Volunteers were placed on board, the vessel being in charge of Lieutenant Coddington, H.M.S. Ellipse, and Lieutenant Turner, who arrived from Auckland in charge of the volunteers. Steam having been got up, the Koheroa started on her passage up

the river. Carpenters were placed on board for the purpose of fixing the deck and strengthening the vessel as far as possible. On crossing the flats at Kohanga, near where the Avon grounded when she first entered the river, the Koheroa took the ground and stuck hard and fast, the tide ebbing at the time. Suddenly, with a loud report the iron plates amidships, burst asunder, the vessel having no strengthening band, the strain on the iron rivets had been too great, and they had broken. Great excitement at once prevailed on board amongst the crew, and number of officers who were proceeding in her up the river. The ship's boat, with a crew, at once rowed back to the heads for assistance, which arrived after dark with the flood tide. The aperture or rent was patched up, and when she floated, the unfortunate Koheroa steamed back to the heads. A heavy timber belt was then bolted fore and aft on each of her top sides. Fresh plates were bolted on, and another start was made, this time with more success. Upon the Koheroa passing the military posts at Tuakau, the Bluff and Mere Mere, the men stationed in the redoubts turned out and greeted her with lusty cheers. At Mere Mere, Commodore Sir William Wiseman came on board and proceeded in her up the river. The numerous native settlements passed looked melancholy and deserted, and the cultivations that but one short twelve months before had been luxuriant with maize, wheat, potatoes and kumeras, were already overgrown with weeds; but the peach, with its branches loaded with luscious fruit still kissed the stream as of yore, tempting the Commodore and party to stop the vessel, when a supply of fruit was obtained. On the third night after leaving Port Waikato, the Koheroa arrived at Te Rore with thirty tons of Commissariat Stores, and the General's position was assured. Had a delay of another few days occurred he would have been compelled to fall back. Stores now accumulated rapidly at the front, the Koheroa arriving regularly from Ngaruawahia almost every other day. Orders were issued that the steamer was to anchor for the night at Ngahinapouri if she made that post at dusk, and not to proceed to the front, as it was expected that the natives would attack her. This, however, they did not do, although a party of the enemy were seen in the fern by the river bank one day watching her. The crew stood to their arms, but no shots were exchanged. A covering party of soldiers from Te Rore protected her when she neared the camp. All sorts of rumours were afloat at Head Quarters concerning the expected attack on the enemy's position, and there was great excitement amongst the troops. The night was even stated when the assault was to take place. But the rumours had no foundation in fact, and were no doubt circulated to reach the enemy's ears, for instead of assaulting the Maori position, General Cameron marched with a strong force past Paterangi towards Te Awamutu and Rangiaowhia, the granary of the Maoris in the Waikato. From these places the enemy had been drawing their supplies, and a long string of horses laden with food could frequently be discerned from the British lines entering the enemy's position.

At 11 o'clock on the night of the 20th of February, the night being very dark, a force, consisting of about 1,000 men, paraded in silence and marched towards Te Awamutu, a half-caste named Edwards acting as guide. Von Tempsky's Forest Rangers formed the advance guard, and Capt. Jackson's Rangers the rear guard. With the troops was a detachment of seamen and marines – the Artillery mounted as cavalry, and the Colonial Defence Force, under Colonel Nixon, General Cameron in command. After leaving the British outposts, the column had to pass not very far from the enemy's works, and the chiefs could be plainly heard warning their men to be on the alert, somewhat in the following terms: Be careful, the soldiers are watching us. Take care and let not sleep overcome you. - Be ready to man the pits. Be silent! The strictest silence was observed on the part of the troops as they marched past, but the peculiar dead sound that a large number of men make when marching, especially on a still night, was no doubt detected by the quick ears of the Maori sentinels, for long before daylight this formidable positions at Paterangi were tenantless. Early the next morning Captain Saltmarche, of the 70th Regiment, reported to Colonel Waddy, who was left in command at Te Rore, that he believed the native

positions at Paterangi were abandoned. Colonel Sir H. Havelock, with 100 men of the 70th Regiment, advanced cautiously towards the position on one side, whilst Colonel Waddy skirmished up on the other with the inlying picket. Not a native was seen, and this stronghold of the natives was occupied like Mere-mere, without being assaulted. Two hundred men of the 40th Regiment, under Major Blyth, were left in possession of the Pa. In the centre of the works there was a deep well, and the natives had left behind them large quantities of potatoes. Mr. McFarlane, who was still living in the immediate vicinity of the Pa, informed Colonel Waddy that the natives during the night had evacuated their works and gone towards Rangiaowhia.

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EARLY on the morning after the General had marched, a large convoy of provisions started from Te Rore for Te Awamutu, escorted by the 50th Regiment under Brevet Colonel Weare; a detachment of Royal Artillery and sailors with two six-pounder Armstrong guns and one Naval six-pounder also accompanied the convoy.

General Cameron arrived at Te Awamutu at daybreak on the 21st, and immediately pushed on to Rangiaowhia, which he found nearly deserted. The few natives who were in the place were completely taken by surprise, and, refusing to lay down their arms, fired on the Mounted Royal Artillery and Colonial Defence Force, who who were sent on in advance of the column. The natives were quickly dispersed, and the greater part escaped; but a few of them taking shelter in a whare, made a desperate resistance until the Forest Rangers and a company of the 65th Regt. surrounded the hut, which was set on fire and the defenders either killed or taken prisoners.

Several casualties occurred amongst the troops. Our loss was 2 killed and 6 wounded; about 12 natives were killed and 12 taken prisoners. In attempting to dislodge the natives from the whare as mentioned above, the brave and respected Colonel Nixon fell mortally wounded, a ball penetrating his chest, injuring the lungs. One of the Defence Force, Private McHale, dismounted and endeavored to burst open the door of the whare, but was shot and dragged inside by the natives; another of the Defence Force, Corporal Alexander, was killed, and two wounded, viz., Corporal Dunn, who received a ball in the thigh, and Private Brady, slightly in the hand. Finding it difficult to dislodge the natives from their lair, the Troopers set fire to the whare, which, with its occupants, were consumed by the flames. The buckles alone indicated the remains of the unfortunate Trooper who had been dragged inside the whare previous to the conflagration.

On the morning of the 22nd the General discovered that the natives in force had taken up a strong position blocking the road between Te Awamutu and Rangiaowhia on the site of an old pa called Haeirini. He determined to attack them immediately, and at 1.30 p.m. advanced on their position with a force of 1000 men and two 6-pounder Armstrong guns. The General's skirmishers, consisting of companies of the 50th and 70th Regiments, being pushed forward, soon came into contact with the enemy's pickets who were posted some distance in front of their position. These were driven back, and when within 500 yards the Armstrongs opened fire on their works. After a few rounds, General Cameron ordered Colonel Weare, with the 50th Regt., to carry the position at the point of the bayonet, having the 65th in support and the 70th in reserve, while the Cavalry, consisting of 31 of the Royal Artillery and 38 of the Colonial Defence Force, were formed up on the right behind the brow of a hill, ready to pursue the enemy. The Forest Rangers, 72 strong, were well up in front, and had the honour of charging with the 50th and entered the enemy's works by their side. The storming party, although exposed to a heavy fire, carried the works in splendid style, the natives falling hurriedly back before the leading files could reach them with the bayonet, and retreating through

a swamp in the direction of the Maungatautari road.

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The number of natives defending the position at Haeirini were estimated at about 400, and their loss in killed and wounded at over 30, besides several prisoners. As they were retreating, the Cavalry pursued them for some distance, cutting off a few stragglers. The casualties on the part of the troops consisted of 2 killed and 16 wounded, amongst whom was Ensign Doveton of the 50th, Corporal E. B. Gilmer, and Thomas Little of the Defence Force, and Private James Taylor of the Forest Rangers. Corporal Little after-wards died from the wound which he received in the thigh.

The following is Colonel Weare's official account of the attack on the Maori position at Haeirini: –

Rangiaowhia, 23rd February, 1864.

SIR, – I have the honor to report for the information of the Lieut.-General commanding the Forces, that with reference to his instructions conveyed to me personally for storming the enemy's works on the 22nd inst., I proceeded to carry out his instructions in the following manner: – The enemy's works could only be approached by a narrow road, hemmed in on either side by high fern, through which it was impossible for the men to advance in line or skirmishing order, and necessitating the position being stormed with only a front of four deep, until within a few yards of the trench and rifle-pits. This compelled me to advance the whole regiment in a column of four at the double over some 350 to 400 yards under a very severe and concentrated fire from the enemy, most trying to troops in that formation. I ordered a small storming party of 20 men, under Lieut. White, 50th Regiment, to break cover in the first instance, to endeavour to draw out the first fire of the enemy; this party was almost immediately followed up by the storming party, consisting of Nos. 1 and 10 Companies 50th Regt., under command of Captains Johnson and Thompson respectively, and these three officers entered the enemy's works at the head of their men, at the same time closely followed by the remainder of the regiment.

The nature of the ground and formation left little for the commanding officer to do but to place the men in the first instance and leave the officers commanding companies to fight their men; and I am proud to say officers and men nobly did their duty under very trying circumstances, and while exposed to a fire that must have caused a very large increase to the list of casualties had it not been for the dense dust raised by the men doubling, which partially concealed them.

I beg to bring to the notice of the Lieut.-General commanding the Forces the names of Captains Johnson and Thompson and Lieut. White, 50th Regt.

The medical officers for the regiment, Drs. Davis and Dempster accompanied the regiment into action, and shared their lot attending to the wounded as they fell.

I much regret to say that Ensign Doveton, 50th Regt., fell dangerously wounded by the side of Captain Thompson while gallantly performing his duty. – I am, &c.

H. E. WEARE,
Colonel Commanding 50th Regt.
To the Assistant Military Secretary'.

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WEDNESDAY, March 2nd, 1864, was the day on which the first steamers ascended the rapid Horatiu River; on that day the Koheroa, accompanied by the Pioneer with Sir William Wiseman and a detachment of the 65th on board, steamed up the river as far as Kirikiriroa, where the town of Hamilton West now stands. At that time there were merely a few native huts, which were found deserted. The steamers anchored for the night, and at daylight the next morning the Commodore, Sir William Wiseman, and the detachment of the 65th Regt. under Captain Bulkley, went on board the Koheroa, Lieut. Coddington, of H.M.s. Eclipse in charge. The Koheroa then proceeded up the river, leaving the Pioneer at anchor. After steaming against the strong current for some thirteen miles to Pukerimu, close to where Cambridge now is, the anchor was dropped and Mr Boultain, R. N., and Mr O'Meara, surveyor, with Captain Bulkley and a few soldiers, went on shore and ascended the hill on the left bank of the river (proper right bank); at this spot the steamer's party were then only about 12 miles in a direct line from the General's advanced post, but the country round was swarming with natives,

and the enemy's position at Maungatautari could be plainly seen. Whilst Messrs Boultain and O'Meara were taking a rapid survey with their instruments, the cry was raised that the natives were coming, and, looking over the country on the other side of the river, several natives on horseback were seen. The survey party immediately stopped operations and hurriedly descended the steep hill to the river bank, and scrambling into the boats returned on board the Koheroa. Word was passed to up anchor, but, owing to the foul bottom, it had caught amongst the rocks, and it was some time before it could be lifted – the party on board expecting every minute to be fired on by the natives, who, however, fortunately did not appear, and the steamer drifted stern first for some distance rapidly down the stream. Passing through the Rapids, one of the boats alongside was crushed against the cliff which rises abruptly from the river, and floated away in pieces, the men who were in the boat at the time having a narrow escape from death. After passing through the Narrows the steamer's head was got round and she proceeded at a quicker speed back to the Pioneer. The natives in the meantime had lighted large fires, vast columns of dense black smoke rising up from near where the Koheroa had anchored, evidently a signal by the natives that the pakeha had invaded that part of their territory. The Koheroa having joined the Pioneer, both steamers returned to Ngaruawahia, The object of the expedition was successful; good soundings of from 8 to 20 feet having been found all the way up. Military posts were shortly afterwards established at Kirikiriroa and Pukerimu, without opposition from the natives. The troops derailed for the above service consisted of detachments of the 18th and 70th Regiments, numbering about 400 men. At Kirikiriroa, Ensign Martin, of the 70th Regiment, was accidentally drowned whilst bathing. The above force having junctioned with the General's forces (who had marched from Te Awamutu), the whole proceeded to reconnoitre the enemy's position at Maungatautari, where the natives were discovered in full force, the troops were halted about 1200 yards from the position, when the Maoris hoisted a blood-red flag on a flagstaff – the same flag, no doubt, that had been flying at Paterangi. Skirmishers were thrown forward towards the pah, and halted at about 400 yards, the natives opening fire, without effect, upon them. The General, advancing to the front, took a good survey of the position. The bugles then sounded the recall, and the force returned to camp, the Defence Force capturing a number of horses.

Orderly duty in time of war is the most arduous and dangerous work that the soldier is called upon to perform. Sometimes singly, or at most in parties of two or three together, the orderlies have to keep up communication between the posts of an army in the enemy's country. Sometimes in the dead of night they have suddenly to mount and leave a strongly entrenched post for some other camp miles away, across swamps, rivers, and surrounded by enemies who may strike at them any moment; every clump of scrub or bush may conceal the enemy, and they ride, as it were, with their lives in their hands. Whilst performing orderly duty between Pukerimu (Cambridge) and Te Awamutu – a distance of about 18 miles – Sergt. Kenrick, of the Defence Force, and a civilian named Macarthy, escaped from an ambush laid by the enemy in a way that deserves more than a passing notice. Returning from Pukerimu to the General's Head Quarters at Te Awamutu they proceeded about six miles on the road, and whilst passing a spot where the fern grew high and thick, a party of natives, about 30 in number, - suddenly rose up and fired a volley at the two troopers. Sergeant Kenrick's horse was wounded in seven places, and that of Macarthy's fell dead. Macarthy, extricating himself from his fallen horse, ran after Sergeant Kenrick, whose horse still fortunately held on. The natives instantly left their ambush and started in pursuit, when Sergeant Kenrick, seeing his companion's predicament, immediately turned his horse, and taking steady aim at the foremost of Macarthy's pursuers, fired. The native – a tall, ruffianly-looking fellow – staggered back, and the rest of the natives halted. In an instant Macarthy jumped on behind Sergt. Kenrick, and the brave animal, although severely wounded, brought them safely within a mile of the camp at Te Awamutu, and then dropped exhausted. For the coolness and courage he displayed in saving his comrade's life, Sergeant Kenrick

afterwards received a commission in the Colonial Forces, and was recommended for the Victoria Cross, which, however, for some reason, was not awarded – probably because he did not belong to the regulars.

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A few days after the above incident, Lieutenant-Colonel McNeil, on the staff of General Cameron, whilst proceeding along the same road, attended by a single orderly named Vosper, belonging to the Colonial Defence Force, was fired upon by a party of natives who had secreted themselves in a clump of bush not far from Ohaupo (a native village then held by a detachment of the 40th, and situated between Te Awamutu and Pukerimu. The sudden fire of the natives so startled the horses that Private Vosper was thrown from his seat. Lieutenant-Colonel McNeil succeeded in arresting his fall, and, quickly remounting, they got safely away amidst a shower of bullets that was fired after them. For this service Lieut. -Colonel McNeil received the Victoria Cross.

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A NUMBER of natives under Rewi and other chiefs having taken up a position and thrown up strong earthworks at Orakau, a spot situated about five miles from Rangiaowhia and three miles in a south-east direction from Kihikihi, Brigadier-General Carey, in command of the British advanced forces, determined to dislodge them. At this time a portion of the Waikato Militia had been moved up to the front and assisted in the operations that were about to take place. The siege and capture of Orakau was one of the most important episodes in the Waikato war, on account of the desperate and prolonged defence made by the natives who, for three days and two nights, kept a large force of British troops at bay.

FIRST DAY.

Before daybreak on the morning of Thursday, the 31st of March, a force, consisting of detachments of the Forest Rangers under Captain Von Tempsky, 65th Regt. under Captain Bulkley, and 40th Regt., the whole numbering about 300 men, under Major Blyth, started from Te Awamutu towards Kihikihi under the guidance of Mr Gage, interpreter. The forces marched about six miles beyond Orakau to get in rear of the enemy's position. At 6 o'clock another column, numbering 600 men and two 6-pounder Armstrong guns, under the command of Brigadier-General Carey, moved forward to dislodge the enemy at Orakau. On the road they were joined by a detachment of the 65th Regt. and a company of the Waikato Militia under Colonel Haultain. A third body of troops, consisting of detachments of the 65th and Waikato Militia, under Captains Blewitt and Gower, also marched to Orakau, advancing through the bush to the north-east of the village. The disposition of the troops was excellently planned, and the enemy's position was completely surrounded.

The main body under Brigadier-General Carey advanced to the village, driving in a few Maoris who hastily retreated; the the troops still advancing, were fired upon by a body of natives who had taken up a position in a masked pa. The 18th Regt. under Captain Ring, and Forest Rangers being in front, at once charged the Maoris, a company of the 40th under Captain Hinds, furnishing the supports. The natives retired from their position, and the troops suddenly found themselves confronted by a strong post-and-rail fence, behind which was a deep trench and parapet, the strength of the position being concealed by a grove of peach-trees and high flax-bushes. As Captain Ring advanced to the assault with the 18th and Forest Rangers the natives opened upon them a heavy fire, mortally wounding the brave Captain Ring and killing and wounding eight others. The storming party checked by the heavy fire fell back, but the supports under Captains Hinds and Fisher coming up, another rush was made at the position, which also proved unsuccessful, Captain Fischer who led the attack being severely wounded. The troops again

falling back, the two 6-pounder Armstrongs under Lieutenant Carre were brought forward and commenced to play on the enemy's works, which turned out to be far stronger than was at first suspected. Major Blyth with his force at this time arrived and took up a position at the rear of the pa, the other column under Captains Blewitt and Gower also marched on the ground from Rangiaowhia.

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Seeing that any further attempts to carry the enemy's works by assault would entail a heavy loss of life, and the position being now completely surrounded, Brigadier-General Carey gave orders for a flying sap to be commenced. Some gabions that were on the way from Te Awamutu were brought into requisition and a number of soldiers were detailed to go into the swamp on the south side of the pa and make gabions. Whilst this was being done, an irregular fire was kept up on both sides, and Brigadier-General Carey sent back to head-quarters for reinforcements; these, consisting of detachments of the 12th, 18th, 70th, and Captain Jackson's Forest Rangers, arrived during the evening and brought the number of troops surrounding the native position to close on 1500 men; the number of natives under Rewi defending the pa was estimated at about 300. men. The flying sap under the direction of Lieutenant Hurst of the 12th Regt., was pushed forward the whole night long, the gabions protecting the soldiers from the fire of the natives. So passed the first day's operations against Orakau.

SECOND DAY.

Friday morning, the 1st of April, found the natives still defending their position and the flying sap every hour getting nearer and nearer to their works. During the morning several men were wounded, owing in a great measure to their raising their heads above the gabions to get a shot at the natives. A large number of the enemy appeared on the ranges in the direction of Rangiaowhia with the object of reinforcing their comrades in the pa, but they were kept in check by a party of the 65th, the Forest Rangers, and a company of the Waikato Militia. They did not attempt to reach the native position, but satisfied themselves by firing heavy volleys at too great a distance to do any mischief. Friday went, the sap still drawing nearer and the natives firing intermittent volleys the whole day, which were briskly responded to by the troops. During Friday night the natives mustered up sufficient courage to attack the working party in the trenches; they could be plainly heard shouting, and one, doubtless a chief – perhaps Rewi himself – urging his men to attack the soldiers. About 20 or 30 young braves made the attempt; rushing out of the pa they clambered on the top of the gabions in front of the sap, but they no sooner showed themselves than the Waikato Militia under Captain Herford, Commissariat Transport Corps, who were guarding the trench, fired a volley into them and they fell back in confusion to their pa. The remainder of the night passed away quietly, broken only by the sharp crack of the rifle and intermittent, flashes of flame that lit up the darkness of night like lightning after each discharge of the firearms. All the while figures in shirt and trousers were busy pushing forward the sap.

THIRD DAY.

On Saturday morning, April 2nd, the sap was close up to the enemy's works; under the shelter of the gabions the working party had escaped any serious loss; all had gone well. It was expected that the natives would have surrendered, seeing that they were so closely invested, and no chance of escape – but they did not – no white flag appeared – and the firing on both sides was kept up, although, on the part of the natives, slackier than it had been at first. At noon, General Cameron and staff arrived from Pukerimu, and the escort, a detachment of the Defence Force, under Captain Pye and Lieutenants Macpherson and Hutchinson, accompanying them, brought a quantity of hand grenades. The sap was now only some twenty yards from the palisading in front of the pa, and one of the 6-pounder Armstrong guns was placed in the sap and opened fire with grape, whilst numbers of hand grenades were thrown over into the enemy's position, and a heavy rifle fire from all sides was opened on the pa. The bugles at this time suddenly sounded "cease firing," and Messrs. Mainwaring and Mair, interpreters to the forces, were requested to go as near as possible in the sap to the enemy's position, and summon the natives to surrender. This they accordingly did, – and were answered by one of the chiefs in these

words – the following being a translation: Friends, – This is the word of the Maori – they will fight on, for ever! for ever! for ever! Firing was immediately resumed, and a soldier working in the sap, throwing his cap over into the enemy's trench, rushed after it, followed by about twenty of the Waikato Militia, Forest Rangers, and Regulars, led by Captain Herford. The party succeeded in getting into the trench; but the attack not being followed up, it being premature, the

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natives poured into the brave little band a deadly volley, which killed and wounded half their number. Captain Herford received a severe wound in the eye, from which he afterwards died. Ensign Chater, of the 65th, was shot through the side. Privates Armstrong and Levitt, of the Waikato Militia, were killed, and several others wounded. The natives having discharged their pieces, ran into another trench out of sight, enabling the party to get back to the sap with their dead and wounded. On another side of the pa an attempt was made to get into the enemy's works by a party of 65th and Waikato Militia, but it likewise proved unsuccessful.

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon the sap was within a yard or two of the enemy's trench, and showers of hand grenades were thrown over amongst the natives, under the direction of Sergeant McKay, of the Royal Artillery. At this time, on the south side of the position, and under the brow of a hill leading up to the enemy's works, were posted the 40th Regt., under Colonel Leslie, for the purpose of preventing the escape of any natives who might attempt to retreat that Way. Many of the 40th men were, at the time, cutting ti-tree on the edge of the swamp and making gabions; and at one spot for some distance there were only three or four men, the line of sentries having been removed to enable the fire from an Armstrong gun to be directed in that quarter on the enemy's works. Here a road was cut out of the steep embankment, and the two or three soldiers stationed along it suddenly heard the rush of men corning through the scrub, and immediately a large number of natives who were escaping from the pa jumped across the road and plunged into the high ti-tree and scrub that lined the edge of the swamp close to the road. Several of the 40th men, attempting as well as they could to stay the crowd of natives rushing across the road, got severely wounded. The working party in the sap becoming aware that the natives had escaped from the pa, the bugles sounded cease firing. The men crowding on the parapets fired a volley after the fugitives, and the Forest Rangers leading the way ran at the double round the edge of the swamp with the intention of cutting off the natives. The whole force, Regulars and Militia, mixed together without order or formation, with loud shouts rushed in pursuit. The Mounted Artillery under Lieutenant Rait galloping round the edge of the swamp, cut off the natives as they came out on the other side. The Defence Force also arrived at the same time, and numbers of the unfortunate wretches were cut to pieces. Driven back into the swamp, the remnant of the natives got away out in another direction and retreated across the Punui River, being all the time hotly pursued by the Forest Rangers and some of the infantry. The pursuit ended at the river, several natives being shot whilst in the act of crossing. The chief Rewi escaped, although it was reported that he was amongst the killed, and a reward of £10 was offered for his body. The natives had no water in the pa, and must have suffered terribly from thirst; perhaps as much as anything it was the cause of their retreating when they did.

That Saturday night, 2nd of April, 1864, the sun went slowly down and set in the far west and then a dark shroud, the pall of night, fell upon the scene of blood and strife that had been raging for three days and two nights; and with the setting of the sun also set for ever, never to rise again, the glory and the pride of the Waikatos. Their braves were laying stark and dead in the Orakau swamp, and the remnant, in small bands, were dragging their weary limbs across country as fast as they could, and did not stop, until far out of the reach of pursuit they laid their weary limbs down in some friendly whare to rest. The natives in their retreat suffered severely, 101 dead bodies being found the next day outside. Only the bodies of twenty natives were found in the pa, notwithstanding the heavy fire to which they were exposed for three days and two nights; the remaining bodies were found in the swamp, and a day or two after several more bodies were found – doubtless to this day the bones

of some. Total loss of natives in killed, wounded and prisoners about 130. During the retreat of the natives many interesting incidents occurred, the most noteworthy, perhaps, being the following: – In the pa with the natives were several women, and in the fight one or two were killed and wounded. One woman with a child under her arm escaped with the natives and made towards the bush near the pa. She was seen by Mr Charles De Thierry, interpreter to the 50th, who was present at the fight. Thinking that she was a man, the woman having scarcely any clothing on, Mr De Thierry went after her with his revolver. Seeing herself pursued, the unfortunate, who had been shot through the breast, went down on her knees and begged that her life and that of her child might be saved. Mr De Thierry assured her that she should be safe, and brought her out of the bush on to the road. Here a ruffianly half drunken soldier belonging to the Transport Corps made an attempt to bayonet her, but was kept back by Mr De Thierry, who very properly threatened to shoot the coward if he advanced a step. Mr De Thierry escorted the woman safely into camp, where she was cared for, and ultimately recovered from her wound, severe as it was. In gratitude to her deliverer, the woman gave Mr De Thierry her little boy, which he kept for some time, and, dressing him up in a miniature suit of soldiers clothes, he was the observed of all observers in the camp. Mr Mair, interpreter, also rescued a woman from death. One Maori, refusing to leave the pa, stayed by himself holding a white flag, and was saved from instant death by the exertions of Captain Greaves. Several other Maori's lives were also spared, and the men taken prisoners. The loss on the part of the troops amounted to 68 killed and wounded. No sooner had Orakau fallen than the natives hastily abandoned their last stronghold at Maungatautari and retreated back into the interior. The following is the official account of the capture of Orakau: –

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Camp Te Awamutu, April 3, 1864.

SIR, – I have the honor to state, for the information of the Lieutenant-General commanding the forces, that about mid-day on the 30th ult. it was reported to me by Lieutenant-Colonel Haultain, commanding the Kihikihi Redoubt, that natives were seen in force at the village of Orakau, about two and a-half to three miles distant from his post.

I immediately rode over and made a reconnaissance. Found that the natives were engaged building a pa, and as it was then too late in the day to attack at once, I returned to this camp and made arrangements to march on the enemy's position during the night. Captain Baker, 18th Royal Irish (Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General), fortunately found two men in the camp – Messrs Gage and W. Astle – whom from their local knowledge I at once engaged as guides, which circumstance enabled me to determine on a combined movement. My plan of attack was to advance with the main body along the dray road to Orakau; to detach a force of 250 men under Major Blythe, 40th Regiment, who would take a circuitous route through a somewhat difficult country, crossing and re-crossing the Punui River, and, marching on my right flank, to take the enemy's position in reverse; and thirdly, to draw a force of 160 men from Rangiaowhia and Haeirini under Captain Blewitt, 65th Regiment, who would march across to the enemy's position on my left, the three bodies of troops arriving, if possible, simultaneously before the enemy's stronghold shortly before daylight.

At midnight Major Blythe, 40th Regiment, marched with 250 men, with directions to take the road to the right, to cross and re-cross the Punui River, and to gain the rear of the enemy's position before daylight, halting there until he should hear my attack, and then to dispose of his force so as to cut off the retreat of the enemy.

The road from Rangiaowhia to Orakau I found on enquiry to be very difficult, being intercepted by deep swamp and thick bush. However, having every confidence in Captain Blewitt's energy, I directed that officer, who commands at Rangiaowhia, to march during the night and endeavor to form a junction with me before daylight on the proper right of the enemy's position, bringing with him 100 men.

At 3 o'clock on Thursday morning, the 31st, I marched with the main body along the dray road to Kihikihi, taking on Lieutenant-Colonel Haultain and 150 men from that post, and then proceeded by the same road to the village of Orakau, which I reached without opposition as the day dawned.

The enemy, evidently taken by surprise, opened fire on the advance guard – composed of 120 of the Royal Irish and 20 of the Forest Rangers, gallantly led by Captain King, 18th Royal Irish, and supported by 100 of the 40th Regiment, who immediately rushed forward to the attack in skirmishing order.

The position being found very strong, an

earthwork with strong flank defences, deep ditches with posts and rails outside, and nearly covered from view with flax bushes, peach trees, and high fern – this party were forced to retire; but it at once re-formed, and, being reinforced by another company of the 40th Regiment, again tried to take the place by assault, but with no better success. Here Captain Ring, 18th Royal Irish, fell mortally wounded, and Captain Fischer, 40th Regiment, severely so, besides four men killed and several wounded. On Captain Ring's falling, Captain Baker, 18th Royal Irish (Deputy Adjutant-General), most gallantly galloped up, dismounted, and, calling for volunteers, again endeavored to carry the place by assault. This also failed.

Finding that there was no chance of taking the pa in this manner, from the immense strength, and other men having fallen, I determined to desist from this mode of attack; and having heard that both Major Blythe, 40th Regiment, and Captain Blewitt were at their appointed posts, I decided on surrounding the place and adopting the more slow but sure method of approaching the position by sap, which was shortly after commenced under the very able direction of Lieutenant Hurst, 12th Regiment, attached to the Royal Engineers Department. At this time Lieutenant Carre, Royal Artillery, endeavored to effect a breach in the enemy's works, but could make no impression upon it.

A further supply of entrenching tools and gabions (which latter had most fortunately been prepared at the neighbouring posts for service at head-quarters on the Horatii) were immediately ordered up with the men's blankets, food, &c, and every possible precaution taken by the proper disposition of the force to prevent the escape of the enemy.

During the afternoon a reinforcement of some 150 or 200 of the enemy, from the direction of Maungatautari, appeared in sight, evidently determined on relieving the place. They advanced to a bush situated about 900 yards in rear of our outposts, but seeing that it was scarcely possible to break through the line formed by our troops, they halted and commenced firing volleys, at the same time exciting the men in the pa to increased energy, by dancing the war dance, shouting, &c

The wounded were sent on to Te Awamutu and Kihikihi. The sap was pushed forward vigorously, and the troops, so posted as to prevent any possibility of escape by the natives during the night.

Heavy firing was kept up by the enemy on the troops both in the sap and around the place during the day and night, causing but few casualties, the men contriving to cover themselves in temporary rifle pits, dug out with their bayonets and hands.

A reinforcement of 200 men, under the command of Captain Inman, 18th Royal Irish, reached me from head-quarters during the afternoon.

Having reported my proceedings to the commander of the forces in the morning. I was glad to receive a reinforcement sent by him (148, of 12th Regiment), and guided by Captain Greaves, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General, which arrived about daylight on the morning of April 1, and which enabled me to relieve the men in the sap more constantly, and therefore to carry on the work more quickly. Captain Greaves ever afforded me material assistance in the duties of his department. This day was spent in working at the sap and making rifle pits around the pa, few casualties occurring. Captain Betty, Royal Artillery, arrived during the day and assumed command of the Royal Artillery, which enabled Lieutenant Carre to render some assistance to Lieutenant Hurst in constructing the sap, he having been at it without intermission.

During the night a few of the enemy were perceived trying to effect an escape from the pa, but, being immediately fired upon, returned to their earthwork. I omitted to mention that Captain Betty, Royal Artillery, threw some well directed shells at the Maori reinforcement in the bush and on the hills, which evidently disconcerted them considerably.

At an early hour on the morning of the 2nd April Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Henry Havelock, Bart, (Deputy Assistant Quartermaster General) arrived with the hand grenades, which were at once thrown into the enemy's position with great effect by Sergeant McKay, Royal Artillery, who thus rendered good and gallant service at great personal risk, under a galling fire.

About noon I ordered Captain Betty, Royal Artillery, to have a six-pounder Armstrong gun carried into the sap, an entrance having been made. It opened fire on the enemy's work, destroying the palisading, making a considerable breach and silencing in a great measure the fire of the enemy on the men engaged at the head of the sap.

The commander of the forces, with his staff, &c., arrived on the ground at this time, and witnessed the remainder of the operations.

Colonel Mould, C.B., Royal Engineers, coming up with General Cameron, gave his able assistance towards the completion of the sap into the enemy's work.

As it was known that women and children were in the pa, the enemy was called upon to surrender previous to the concentrated fire-

of the Armstrong gun and hand grenades on their work. They were told that their lives would be spared, and if they declined they were requested at least to have compassion on their women and children, and send them out. They replied that they would not do so, but would fight to the last. The pa was then carried. The enemy, effecting his escape from the opposite side of the work, dashed through a space from which the troops had been thrown back under cover, to enable the gun to open. They were, however, speedily followed up, and suffered a severe loss during a pursuit of nearly six miles, Lieutenant Rait, Royal Artillery, with his troopers, and Captain Pye, Colonial Defence Force, with a small detachment, having headed them and kept them back until the infantry came up. I regret to say that in the pa and in the pursuit some three or four women were killed unavoidably, probably owing to the similarity of dress of both men and women, and their hair being cut equally short, rendering it impossible to distinguish one from the other at any distance.

The troops were recalled about sundown, and bivouacked round the enemy's late position.

At an early hour this morning I caused diligent search to be made for the killed and wounded of the enemy. Their loss was considerable, amounting to 101 killed, besides 18 to 20 reported by native persons as buried in the pa; 26 wounded and taken prisoners, and 7 unwounded taken prisoners. In addition to this number, the natives were seen to be engaged carrying off dead and wounded early in the morning at the most distant point of pursuit, and fresh tracks showed that they had been similarly occupied during the night.

I beg to bring to the special notice of the Lieutenant-General commanding the forces the gallant bearing of Captain Baker, 18th Royal Irish (Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General), during the whole of the operations, but more especially on the occasion already mentioned of the fall of that brave and lamented soldier, Captain Ring.

Also, the determined bravery of Captain Herford, Waikato Militia, who was very severely wounded (loss of eye), and the gallantry of Lieutenant Harrison, Waikato Militia, both of whom remained at the head of the sap nearly the whole time, keeping down the fire of the enemy by the well directed balls of their own rifles. Likewise of Sergeant McKay, Royal Artillery, who, as before mentioned, under a galling fire, threw, with the greatest precision and coolness, hand grenades from the sap and from the lodgment made in the outer work of the enemy into his stronghold.

The wounded received the greatest possible attention on the field from the senior medical officer, Dr White, 65th Regiment., ably seconded by Assistant-Surgeons Spenser, 18th Royal Irish, Jules, 40th Regiment, and Hilston, R.N., until the arrival of Dr Mouat, C.B., V.C., the P.M.O., who left nothing undone in providing for their comfort, &c.

I trust the conduct of the officers and men under my command during this long operation of three days and two nights, without cover and constantly under fire, may meet with the approval of the Commander of the Forces.

The casualties on our side – 16 killed and 52 wounded, of which I enclose a return – are, I regret to say, severe.

GEORGE J. CAREY,
Brigadier-General.

The Assistant Military Secretary, Head-quarters.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

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SIMULTANEOUSLY with the occupation of the Waikato district by the troops, the preliminary arrangements for the permanent occupation of the country were made. The surveyors followed close on the heels of the military, taking flying surveys of the country around, and fixing upon eligible sites for townships. Oftentimes the survey parties were exposed to great danger, frequently working some miles away from the British posts unprotected from the numerous small bands of natives that continued to hover about the neighbourhood of their former homes. It being desirable to ascertain how far beyond Te Rore the Waipa was navigable, Lieutenant Rayner, of the Commissariat Transport Corps was ordered to proceed up the river in charge of two boats. A number of the enemy being in the vicinity of the river rendered the task a dangerous one. It was, however, successfully performed, the men pulling with muffled

oars, and the spot where now stands the township of Alexandra was fixed upon as one of the frontier posts, to be occupied by the Waikato Militia, The telegraph was also pushed rapidly forward: this department was under the supervision of Colonel Gamble, Deputy Quarter-master General, and was efficiently worked by Lieutenant Burton, Deputy Assistant Quarter-master General, and his two able assistants, Corporals Brodie and Butcher, of the Royal Engineers. The telegraphists were selected from the men of various regiments, and soon became able operators.

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When the natives retreated from their last stronghold at Maungatautari and fell back, it was considered advisable by the Governor, Sir George Grey, that communication should be opened with their leading chief, Wiremu Tamehane (William Thompson), the natives being sullen after their severe defeats, and making no overtures for peace, rendered it a difficult and dangerous task to reach Tamehane, who, with a large number of his followers, was reported to be in the vicinity of Mata Mata. At this time one of the members of the House of Representatives, Mr. George Graham, who was well known to Tamehane and many of the Waikato chiefs, came forward and volunteered to go by himself and interview him, with the object of inducing that chief to make peace. The offer of Mr. Graham was accepted by the Governor, and although he was strongly advised by many of his friends, amongst whom was the late Bishop Selwyn, not to attempt so hazardous an undertaking he determined to go, and accordingly started upon his important errand.

The following extract from the "Waikato Handbook" gives an interesting and full account of Mr. George Graham's journey and interview with William Thompson, which resulted in that important chief agreeing to lay down his arms and make peace: –

Going up the Waikato, Mr. George Graham stopped a night at the Narrows Redoubt with his son, Mr. W. A. Graham, who was at the time engaged surveying the town of Hamilton East, and the military farm sections surrounding. The next day he went on to Tamahere, where the neutral chief, Te Raihi Toroa a Tai, cousin of Tamehane, and his wife Riria Raihi with their followers were residing. After advising Mr. Graham to no purpose to return, Raihi and Riria agreed to accompany him. Tamehane at this time was supposed to be across the Maungakawa Mountains at a settlement in the Matamata Valley. The Maungakawa ridges were lined with hostile natives in such force that it was deemed necessary that the troops should stand to their arms from three o'clock a.m. till daylight in anticipation of an attack. The track Mr. Graham had to take to reach Tamehane led across these mountains, necessitating his meeting those armed natives on his way. For some miles after leaving Tamahere the track was over level country, crossing some swamps and creeks till it reached the base of the Maungakawa range. In crossing one of the creeks Mr. Graham was ahead and his horse commenced plunging in the mud which was rather deep. Te Raihi passed at the moment and his horse kicked Mr. Graham severely on the ankle which commenced to swell and became so painful that he had to dismount. His native companions did their utmost to relieve the pain by applying cold water from the creek. They considered it a bad omen, and asked him to desist from going further, as at the top of the spur they had to pass over was encamped the main body of hostile natives. Mr. Graham with great difficulty remounted his horse and pushed on up the hill. On nearing the summit the ground was so steep that Mr. Graham had to dismount, but his ankle was so swollen that he could not put his foot to the ground. Riria Raihi came to his assistance, and although Mr. Graham was no light weight, took him on her back and pikaued him to the top, where he found himself immediately surrounded by armed Kingite natives, one of whom recognised him, having worked in his employ in the building of the old barrack wall at Auckland. He told Mr. Graham that they were made aware of his coming by the "Southern Cross" newspaper, which they got the day after issue. They carried him into their camp and treated him with great kindness, sitting up with him all night and pouring from calabashes a continual stream of water on his ankle, using an ointment of their own manufacture, which greatly subdued the pain. They nevertheless requested him not to proceed any further, as his mission was useless. Mr. Graham replied that he

had made up his mind to see Tamehane, and from him alone would he receive his answer. In the morning he again pushed on, the natives permitting him to pass, no doubt in respect for the motive which actuated him and the determination displayed in coming alone and unarmed into their strongest camp. Nothing further happened till he met Tamehane at his settlement in the Matamata valley. Here an earnest discussion took place between them, which lasted a day and a night, resulting in the admission of the force of Mr. Graham's arguments by Tamehane, who agreed to go with him and make peace. He said, "You have persuaded me, Graham; let us go at once, and do not lose sight of me now or let me go or you will see me no more." At once the horses were saddled, and, although scarcely yet daylight, they started on their return. Passing through the several settlements in silence, Tamehane took no notice of his people's exclamations and invitations to stop and partake of their food. On arrival at the summit of Maungakawa his armed warriors crowded round him and tried to alter his determination; but he rode through them without saying a word, and commenced the descent into Waikato. On seeing this a number of leading chiefs had their horses brought to them and followed their chief down the hill. Arriving at the foot of the hill, Mr. Graham despatched a letter to his son at the Narrows to send General Carey to meet them at Tamahere. On receipt of the despatch the General and his staff came with all speed to the Narrows and proceeded to Tamahere. In the meantime a hasty preparation was being made by the Tamahere natives to receive their guests. Breakwinds of titree and flax were erected, in the centre of which was hoisted the British ensign. The women were busy cooking everything they could lay their hands on, their limited supplies being supplemented by some flour and sugar from Mr. W. A. Graham's survey camp. At Tamehane's special request the General limited his party to a few officers, amongst whom were Majors Blewett and Brett; Mr. Mainwaring, R.M. of Waikato also was present. Arriving at the settlement where the preparations were being made, some time elapsed without any sign of Tamehane's party, and the General began to get impatient at the delay. However, a messenger arrived from Mr. Graham to say that scouts had returned to Tamehane with a report that the General was bringing an army of soldiers, at which Tamehane was inclined to fly. Word was sent to Mr. Graham that such was not the case, only a few principal officers being present. Tamehane still wavered, and his chiefs tried to induce him to return with them; but Mr. Graham spoke strongly to Tamehane, saying he had not feared to come alone into his camp, relying on his knowledge of Tamehane, and the Maoris being a brave but not a murdering people; and, further, offered to stay with the party of chiefs as hostage and let Tamehane go on and meet the General. This decided the question, Tamehane saying, "Come on, we will go together; I trust in you." And the party advanced slowly, All this time messengers from both sides kept coming backwards and forwards. By this means the General was made aware of the near approach of the coming chief. When about half-a-mile distant the General and party walked forward to meet Tamehane. Owing to the luxurious growth of koromiko and flax, fern and other scrub, the parties had reached within 300 yards of each other before coming in view. At a turn of the track they hove in sight, Mr. Graham and Tamehane in front, and about sixty chiefs following in Indian file, all mounted. Tamehane, on seeing the General, dismounted, which was the signal for all his party to do the same. Tamehane then came forward, evidently much excited, but with silent dignity, taking off a gold-band cap (which he had accepted from Mr. Graham at Matamata, and worn through his tribes on the way in token of his ultimatum decided upon), he advanced to the General, stooped slowly down, and laid his taiaha at the General's feet. This was his surrender. The General picked up the taiaha and held out his hand to the chief, which Tamehane convulsively grasped. The General saying "Tamehane, by your valiant acts you have proved yourself and people a brave race, and by your coming in to-day and making peace you will have won the goodwill and respect of every man. To make war is often easier than to make peace. You caused your people to go to war; you have now ended it by making peace. Let this be for ever an end to our fighting." Tamehane replied, "I and my tribes will fight no more.

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The fighting is at an end in Waikato as far as I and my influence goes." The General then shook hands with all the chiefs accompanying Tamehana, and the united parties retired, walking to the settlement, and were received by loud welcomes from the natives waiting to receive them, the women waving their shawls and garments, and calling "Haeremai! Haere-mai!" &c Tamehana and the General walked to the place of honour, and Tamehana seated himself under the ensign. Food was then served up, the General and Tamehana eating together. Afterwards it was suggested that some document should be signed by Tamehana, which resulted in a sheet of paper being handed to him, who wrote on it, "I have made peace, as witness my coming into the presence of my antagonist (hoariri) the General. The laws of the Queen shall be the laws of the King. Signed, Wiremu Tamehana Te Waharoa." This important document was written on the fly-leaf of a private letter, no other writing material being obtainable at the time. Major Brett afterwards handed the pen to Mr. Graham to keep in remembrance of the event. Though simple, the effect was the same as if it had been more elaborate, for peace was then made. Tamehana's surrender made the Native King's cause utterly hopeless. The Waikato war was ended, the troops withdrawn, and peaceful settlement there has extended its operations unimpeded to the present day. The General being anxious to return to Te Awamutu that night, the proceedings were brought to a close early. On parting with the General, Tamehana emphatically urged him that unless coming from his own lips, to heed no rumour that any further attack would be made on the positions of Europeans in Waikato. The General accepted his assurances, and he and his party rode away.

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THE Waikato tribes had no sooner been dispersed, and their positions captured, than their allies at Tauranga began to menace the troops under Colonel Greer, stationed at Te Papa. On Saturday, April 2nd, a force of 300 or 400 natives made their appearance in front of the British outposts, and opened fire on the sentries. A 12-pounder Armstrong was immediately run forward, and opened fire on the enemy with shell. After a few rounds the natives retired a distance of about three miles, to some earthworks, they were busily employed in throwing up at a place called Pukehinahina (Gate Pah). The land at this part formed a narrow neck, having a swamp on one side and a river on the other. At this time the natives were not molested, but allowed to continue their defensive works. General Cameron and staff arrived in H.M.S. Esk on Thursday, April 21st, and took command of the forces at Tauranga. The flying column, 300 strong (being detachments from 12th, 40th, 65th, and 14th Regiments), under Major Ryan, 70th, also arrived.

A tribe of friendly natives, the Arawas, residing at Maketu, a few miles along the coast south of Tauranga, having been threatened by a neighbouring hostile tribe (Ngatiporou), Major Colville, with a detachment of the 43rd Light Infantry and Waikato Militia, was despatched from Tauranga to their assistance. An ambuscade having been laid by the enemy about two miles from the fort on the river bank, near Waihi, Major Colville, Ensign Way of the Waikato Militia, and Private Key, 43rd, who were in a canoe, had a miraculous escape. Whilst paddling across the river the natives opened fire at a distance of about fifty yards, but without effect. Quickly paddling to the bank, Major Colville and his companions jumped ashore and made for the bush, followed by a yelling crowd of Maoris, who had crossed the stream in pursuit. Under cover of the bush, Major Colville's party got safely back to camp. Major Colville at once returned with a party of 50 men under Captain Smith, 43rd Light Infantry, to attack the natives who had crossed the river, but upon arrival found that they had re-crossed and lined the opposite bank in force, and at once opened fire on Captain

Smith's men, who briskly replied, the range across the river being about 400 yards. A reinforcement, consisting of 30 men under Captain Harris, 43rd, and Ensign Way, 3rd Waikatos, with 14 men of the Forest Rangers under Major Drummond Hay and Captain MacDonnell, and a number of the Arawas, having arrived, Major Hay was ordered to cross the river with the Rangers and Arawas. This was done, but the Arawas refusing to advance on the enemy, the party were compelled to return. At dusk the troops retired, Major Colville leaving a strong force of Arawas to guard the crossing-place at Waihi, and watch the movements of the enemy.

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Casualties on the part of the troops – Captain MacDonnell and four privates, wounded. The enemy's loss could not be ascertained.

The following is the official report: –

FORT MAKETU, April 21, 1864.

SIR, – I have the honor to report to you an engagement with the East Coast natives at Waihi, two miles from the fort at Maketu, in which about 110 men of the force under my command were engaged.

An ambuscade was laid near the fort at Waihi this morning, and at least 50 rebels opened fire on Ensign Way (3rd Waikato Regiment), Private Key (43rd Light Infantry) and myself, when we were crossing the river at 10 a.m. in a canoe.

The rebels were certainly not above 50 yards distant at the time, and I consider our escape as most providential and wonderful. They pursued us across the ford on our jumping out of the canoe into the water, and followed us, yelling and firing, till we got into the bush and escaped.

On arrival at the fort I immediately ordered out a party of 50 men of the 43rd Light Infantry and 3rd Waikato Regiments, under the command of Captain Smith, 43rd Light Infantry, to drive the enemy across the ford. We found on arrival that the enemy had re-crossed the river, and had established themselves about 400 yards distant on that side, and kept up a constant fire from the sandhills and bush around, which we returned with interest.

Finding the enemy mustering strong, I sent for a further reinforcement of 30 men, under the command of Captain Harris (43rd Light Infantry) and Ensign Way (3rd Waikatos). Major Drummond Hay and Captain MacDonnell also arrived with the Forest Rangers (14 men), and a number of the friendly Arawa tribe also joined. I requested Major Hay to cross the river with his Rangers and all the native allies.

This he did, but as very few of the natives would follow him, he was reluctantly compelled to retire, after remaining engaged for some time.

My orders are so very stringent not to go far from the settlement of Maketu, that I was compelled to content myself with lining the side of the river and firing at 400 yards and more at the rebels.

The East Coast natives, apparently 300 strong, are now concentrating themselves at the position they occupied to-day, and I hear they are receiving further reinforcements. I have therefore requested Major Hay to attack them across the river in the morning if he can induce the native allies to follow him.

At dusk I withdrew my men and returned to the fort, leaving a strong party of natives to protect the village of Waihi, and give the alarm in the event of any rebels coming on.

My best thanks are due to Captains Smith and Honourable A. E. Harris, 43rd Light Infantry, for the able manner they led their companies into action. Also to Ensign Way, commanding the detachment of 3rd Waikato.

I have the honor to announce the list of wounded (four privates), which I am glad to say is but small, considering we were under fire for between six or seven hours. Besides the enclosed, Captain MacDonnell, of the Forest Rangers, was slightly wounded in the hand.

I consider I am strong enough to hold the settlement provided more ammunition is sent me as soon as possible, as I expect to be engaged again to-morrow.

From the nature of the country, and from our being unable to cross the river, it is impossible to estimate the loss of the enemy. They were, however, seen carrying off killed or wounded men on several occasions during the day. – I have, &c,

J. M. COLVILLE,
Major 43rd L. I., commanding at Maketu.

The next day, according to instructions from Major Colville, Major Hay advanced towards the enemy's position with Captain MacDonnell's Forest Rangers and a force of friendly natives. The enemy were found in considerable force, and after a few hours' desultory firing, Major Hay retired. That night the enemy crossed the river. The friendly native picket posted to give the alarm failed to do so, and the next morning some 600 natives were entrenching themselves in front of Fort Colville, the British post at Maketu, and commenced sapping towards the redoubt.

On the morning of the 26th H.M.S. Falcon, accompanied by the gunboat Sandfly, Captain Marks, having on board Captain Jenkins, of H.M.S. Miranda, arrived off Maketu to relieve the beleaguered troops in Fort Colville. The Falcon anchored on the western side of Maketu, about 1200 yards from the enemy's position, and, swinging broadside on, commenced shelling the native earthworks, driving the enemy out on to the beach. Major Colville immediately left the redoubt and seized the works. The natives, unable to retire inland owing to the formation of the country, were compelled to retreat along the beach, and as they ran along the shore were followed by the gunboat Sandfly, which kept dropping every now and then a shell amongst them from the two Armstrong guns which she had on board. After retreating some miles the natives took up a position in an old pah, but the Falcon coming up, commenced firing into them, one shell bursting in the middle of about 30 natives, making sad havoc, and driving them away inland. The Falcon and Sandfly having cleared the coast, returned to Tauranga. The same evening the seamen belonging to H.M.Ss. Miranda, Esk, and Harrier were landed at Te Papa, to take part in the operations against the enemy's position at Gate Pah.

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GENERAL CAMERON having completed his dispositions for attacking the Maori position at the Gate Pah, the 29th of April, 1864, was the day fixed upon for the assault which ended so disastrously to the British troops. On the night of the 28th, Colonel Greer, with the 68th Regiment – who carried one day's cooked rations and a greatcoat – marched from the head-quarter camp, which was situated about 1200 yards in front of the enemy's works, round to the rear of the enemy, so as to prevent his escape. Mr Purvis acted as guide, and under cover of a feigned attack on the front of the pah, the movement was successfully performed, the 68th being in their assigned position by 2 o'clock on the morning of the 29th. At the time it was dark and raining, and the natives could be plainly heard shouting in their works – evidently unconscious that the 68th were posted in their rear. Before daylight Colonel Gamble, with a detachment of the Naval Brigade under Lieutenant Hotham, joined the 68th, leaving the detachment as a reinforcement for Colonel Greer. Colonel Gamble returned alone in safety to the head-quarters camp.

Shortly after daybreak the artillery posted in front of the enemy's position – consisting of one 110 pounder Armstrong, two 40-pounder Armstrongs, two 6-pounder Armstrongs, two 24 pounder howitzers, two 8-inch mortars, and six cohorn mortars: total, 15 pieces of ordnance – opened fire on the left of the enemy's works. The guns were manned by detachments of the Naval Brigade and Royal Artillery.

At 12 o'clock – the fire on the works having been kept up since it commenced – a breach was made in the left angle of the stockading which was erected in front of the enemy's rifle-pits. At this time the natives made an attempt to escape, but were driven back by the 68th, who were extended across the rear of the pah. The fire of the artillery was at times rather wild, many of the shells passing far over the enemy's works and endangering the men of the 68th, several of whom were slightly wounded from fragments of the bursting shells. The two 24-pounder howitzers (in charge of Captain Smith, R. A.) were well served, and contributed largely in making the breach in the enemy's works. The shells directed at the Maori flagstaff did no damage, owing to the fact of the staff being erected in rear of the pah instead of in the centre, as was at first supposed.

At 4 o'clock, the breach being large enough, a rocket was sent up as a signal for the assault. The storming party – consisting of the Naval Brigade and 43rd Regiment: in all about 300 men – were led by Commander Hay, of H.M.S. Harrier,, and Colonel Booth, 43rd Regiment. The

storming party (four abreast – two soldiers and two sailors), upon the signal for the assault, at once, with hurrahs and cheers, rushed at the double into the breach, under a heavy fire from the natives. At the same time the 68th Regiment, answering the cheers of the storming party, moved up closer to the rear of the pah, and at once opened fire. In a few minutes the storming party, gallantly led by their officers, were in the centre of the pah, the natives falling back before their advance, and attempting to escape by the rear, but were driven back by the tremendous fire that the 68th opened on them. The rifle-pits in the pah were mostly covered over with ti-tree and earth, and formed a network of concealed passages, the roof being raised a few inches above the parapet, so as to enable the natives to fire out on their assailants. In entering the breach the storming party lost most of their officers, who were shot down whilst cheering on their men. When the defenders of the pah were driven back by the 68th – the fire of which must no doubt have struck both friend and foe – the storming party, soldiers and sailors, without leaders and owing to the formation in which they entered the breach, mixed together, appeared at a loss to know what to do.

At this critical moment, instead of occupying the trenches which the natives abandoned, the stormers wavered. As the natives swarmed back into their works, some one, it is said, shouted out "Retire! Retire!" but whether such was the case or not, the stormers at once, in a confused crowd, retreated. The natives having regained their pits, at once opened a murderous fire on the men pouring out of the pah. The reserves under Captain Hamilton arriving, endeavoured to rally and stem the retreating party. Capt. Hamilton, R.N., rushing forward, had no sooner reached the second trench than he fell dead; and the whole force – storming party and reserves – hurriedly fell back to the nearest cover they could find outside the pah. Having rallied his men, General Cameron before dark took up a position about one hundred yards from the pah and threw up a breastwork. Captain Jenkins, of H.M.S. Miranda, who led the supports – an officer of small stature – had a miraculous escape, he being at one time actually in one of the enemy's rifle-pits by himself, not being aware that his men had retired.

The natives, during the early part of the night, which was pitch dark, made a great noise, shouting to the troops to come on. At midnight they were silent, and Major Greaves, D.A.Q.M.G., creeping up to the works, believed that the natives had gone. At 5 a.m. a sailor belonging to H.M.S. Harrier entered the pah, and reported that it was deserted. The troops at once advanced and took possession of the abandoned earthworks which the natives had left during the night, escaping in the darkness through the spaces left in the lines of the 68th Regiment.

When the troops took possession of the pah a sad spectacle presented itself. A correspondent who entered the pah the morning after the assault thus describes the scene: – "Three men of the 43rd Light Infantry were lying dead against the inner paling of the front face. On entering the pah, within a space of a few yards, the bodies of four captains of the 43rd were lying; and further on, in line with the others, Colonel Booth, of the same regiment, was leaning against the rear paling of the pah mortally wounded; officers of the ships of war were lying stark dead in the same line of trenches. As they lay alone they must have been in advance of their men, and fell nobly in the execution of their duty. Captain Hamilton, of H.M.S. Esk, and Captain Muir, of the 43rd, lay in the second trench of the pah, opposite the breach. They fell, leading on their men. Captain Hamilton, of the 43rd, was lying against the fence, and breathed a moment after he was found. He had been mortally wounded, and having been left in the pah lay there neglected amongst the enemy all night. Close by him were the bodies of Captain Utterton, of the 43rd, and Captain Glover, of the same regiment. In the centre rifle pit of the pah lay the body of Lieutenant Hill, of H.M.S. Curacoa, who was the senior officer saved from the wreck of the Orpheus, on the Manukau bar. Poor Hill was shot through both cheeks and through the centre of his neck. He had lived long enough to bind up the wound in his face, for he had his pocket handkerchief tied around his head, covering the face-wound when his body was found. Col. Booth was mortally wounded in the spine, but was

able to speak when relieved from his perilous position. The dead body of a sailor lay in the second trench. There were several tomahawk cuts across the face, and the head was split in two by a tomahawk blow, the contents of the skull being cleared entirely out. The gunner of H.M.S. Miranda (Mr. Watt) had his head severed from the crown to the lower jaw with one cut of a tomahawk – the cut passed right down through the centre of the nose. Captain Hamilton, of the Esk, lay dead with a gunshot wound in his temple, through which the brains were protruding. The bodies were not stripped nor injured; they lay as they fell, and the tomahawk wounds were inflicted during the first encounter when the stormers entered. The watches, rings, money, and clothing of our dead and wounded were untouched. This was the finest act of the enemy during the struggle. No one expected it. No one could believe that the exultant rebels would not satiate their passion for revenge by mutilating the helpless bodies, but thank God, it was not so. They had, it appears, made a law not to hurt the wounded or mutilate the dead that fell into their hands, and they kept their agreement. The dead and wounded were removed. The wounded Maoris were taken on stretchers into camp and attended to; one died the same night. Rewiti was wounded in seven places by bullets and had his legs broken. Others had severe gunshot wounds; one Maori had been cut in two by a shell, and the head, trunk and extremities were carefully gathered and placed in line with the remaining dead in front of the pa. Another

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native had his skull cloven by a blow of a cutlass given by the black sailor of the Miranda, who had already done good service during the war. Poor fellow, he fell dead in turn in the pa."

Colonel Booth, Commander Hay, Capt. Hamilton, and Lieutenant Glover expired shortly after of their wounds, and were buried alongside their comrades in the Tauranga burial ground on the cliff overlooking the harbour.

Samuel Mitchell, captain of the foretop of H.M.s. Harrier was recommended to the Admiralty for the Victoria Cross for bravely bringing Commander Hay, who was severely wounded, out of the pa.

Mr Watt, gunner of H.M.s. Miranda, who was killed, had, before his death, cut down with his sword the native who shot Captain Hamilton of H.M.s. Esk. One seaman belonging to the Curacoa ran after and bayoneted a native outside the pa in front of the 68th Regt.; whilst returning to his messmates he was shot dead.

The casualties on the part of the British was unusually severe, especially in officers, the 43rd Regt. alone losing their colonel, four captains and one lieutenant killed, and one lieutenant and two ensigns severely wounded. Lieutenant Glover was shot whilst endeavoring to recover the dead body of his brother, Captain Glover. The Naval Brigade had nearly all their officers shot down. Most of the non-commissioned officers and privates who were killed and wounded fell outside the pa whilst rushing to the assault and when retiring. The total casualties amounted to 10 officers killed and 4 wounded; non-commissioned officers and privates killed 21, wounded, 76; total killed and wounded, 111 officers and men.

OFFICIAL RETURN OF OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED.

NAVAL BRIGADE.

Killed.

Capt. Hamilton, H.M.s. Esk.

Lieut. Hill (late of Orpheus) H.M.s. Curacoa.

Mr Watts, gunner, H.M.s. Miranda.

Wounded.

Commander Hay (abdomen mortally), H.M.s. Harrier.

Lieut. Hammick (shoulder, severe) H.M.s. Miranda.

Lieut. Duff (back, two places, severe), H.M.s. Esk.

43RD REGIMENT.

Killed.

Capt. R. C. Glover, (head).

Capt. C. R. Muir (tomahawk, right axilla.)

Capt. R. T. Hamilton (head.)

Capt. Edwin Utterton (neck).

Lieut. C. J. Langlands (chest).

Wounded.

Lieut. Colonel Booth (spine and right arm, mortally).

Lieut. T. G. E. Glover (abdomen, mortally).

Ensign W. Clark (right arm, severe).

Ensign S. P. T. Nicholl (scalp, slight).

The natives who so bravely defended the Gate Pa belonged to Tauranga, of the Ngaiterangi tribe, and numbered about 400 men. The loss the natives sustained could not be exactly ascertained, but as they acknowledged to having over 30 men killed, if their casualties are put down at 60 killed and wounded, it will be not far out. Amongst the killed were several chiefs of note. One native taken prisoner belonged to the Bay of Islands, named Niko, of the Ngapuhi tribe.

General Cameron having sent word to the natives that they had his permission to come and bury their slain, twenty of the enemy arrived as a burial party. Mr H. E. Rice of the Native Office, attached to the General's staff as Interpreter, ably conducted what correspondence was required by the General with the natives. The burial party having collected their dead bodies, laid the common men in a row, and the chiefs and more important personages across their stomachs, and then covered them with earth. This was done in accordance with an old Maori saying, "Kati ano ia kia mate hei whariki ano aku rangatira" – it is well (or proper) that he should die to be a couch for my chiefs. The bodies of the leading chiefs who had been killed had been taken away when the natives retreated from the pa.

The official despatch of General Cameron is as follows: –

Head-Quarters,

Tauranga, May 5, 1864.

SIR, – It having been decided by your Excellency and myself, in consequence of information received from Colonel Greer, commanding at Tauranga, that reinforcements should be sent to that station, detachments were embarked without delay in H.M. ships Esk and Falcon, placed at my disposal by Commodore Sir William Wiseman, and by the 26th April all were landed at the mission station, Tauranga, to which place I had transferred my head-quarters on the 21st April.

On the 27th April, I moved the 68th Regt. under Colonel Greer, and a mixed detachment of 170 men under Major Ryan, 70th Regt., towards the rebel entrenchments, of which I made a close reconnaissance.

It was constructed on a neck of land about 600 yards wide, the slopes of which fell off into a swamp on either side. On the highest point of this neck, they had constructed an oblong redoubt, well palisaded and surrounded by a post and rail fence – a formidable obstacle to an assaulting column, and difficult to destroy with artillery. The intervals between the side fences of the redoubt and the swamps were defended by an entrenched line of rifle-pits.

I encamped the 68th Regt. and Major Ryan's detachment about 1,200 yards from the enemy's position on the 27th, and on that and on the following day the guns and mortars intended to breach the position were brought up to camp, which was joined by a large force of sailors and marines, landed at my request from the ships of the squadron by Commodore Sir William Wiseman. The composition and strength of the force, assembled in front of the enemy's position on the evening of the 28th, are shown in the footnote.⁴

Having received information that, by moving along the beach of one of the branches of Tauranga harbour at low water, it was possible for a body of troops to pass outside the swamp on the enemy's right, and gain the rear of his position, I ordered Col. Greer to make the attempt with the 68th Regt., after dark on the evening of the 28th, and in order to divert the attention of the enemy from that side, I ordered a feigned attack to be made in his front.

Colonel Greer's movement succeeded perfectly, and on the morning of the 29th, he had taken up a position in rear of the enemy, which cut off his supply of water and made his retreat in daylight impossible, but was necessarily too extended to prevent his escape by night.

During the same night the guns and mortars were placed in position, and opened fire soon after daybreak on the morning of the 29th. I gave directions that their fire should be directed principally against the left angle of the centre work, which, from the nature of the ground, I considered the most favourable part to attack.

Their practice was excellent, particularly that of the howitzers, and reflects great credit on the officers in command of batteries.

About 12 o'clock, the swamp on the enemy's left having been reported by Capt. Greaves, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General, practicable for the passage of a gun, a six-pounder Armstrong gun was taken across to the high ground on the opposite side, from which its fire completely enfiladed the left of the enemy's position, which he was thus compelled to abandon. The fire of the guns, howitzers, and mortars was continued with short intermissions until 4 p.m, when a large portion of the fence and palisading having been destroyed, and a practicable breach made in the parapet, I ordered the assault.

150 seamen and marines, under Commander Hay, of H.M.s. Harrier, and an equal number of the 43rd Regt., under Lieutenant-Colonel Booth, formed the assaulting party.

Major Ryan's detachment was extended as close to the work as possible, to keep down the fire from the rifle-pits, with orders to follow the assaulting column.

The remainder of the seaman and marines, and of the 43rd Regt., amounting together to 300 men, followed as a reserve.

The assaulting column, protected by the nature of the ground, gained the breach with little loss, and effected an entrance into the main body of the work, when a fierce conflict ensued, in which the natives fought with the greatest desperation. Lieutenant Colonel Booth and Commander Hay, who led into the work, fell mortally wounded. Captain Hamilton was shot dead on the top of the parapet while in the act of encouraging his men to advance, and in a few minutes nearly every officer of the column was either killed or wounded. Up to this moment the men, so nobly led by their officers, fought gallantly, and appeared to have carried the position, when they suddenly gave way and fell back from the work to the nearest cover. This repulse I am at a loss to explain, otherwise than by attributing it to the confusion created among the men by the intricate nature of the interior defences, and the sudden fall of so many of their officers.

On my arrival at the spot I considered it inadvisable to renew the assault, and directed a line of entrenchment to be thrown up within one hundred yards of the work, so as to be able to maintain our advanced position, intending to resume operations the following morning.

The natives, availing themselves of the extreme darkness of the night, abandoned the work, leaving some of their killed and wounded behind.

On taking possession of the work in the morning Lieutenant-Colonel Booth and some men were found still living, and, to the credit of the natives, had not been maltreated; nor had any bodies of the killed been mutilated. I enclose a list of our casualties.

I deeply regret the loss of many brave and valuable officers who fell in the noble discharge of their duty on this occasion.

The 43rd Regiment and the service have sustained a serious loss in the death of Lieutenant-Colonel Booth, which took place on the night after the attack. I have already mentioned the brilliant example shown by this officer in the assault; and when I met him on the following morning, as he was being carried out of the work, his first words were an expression of regret that he had found it impossible to carry out my orders.

The heroism and devotion of Captain Hamilton and Commander Hay reflect the highest credit on the naval service.

The loss of the enemy must have been very heavy, although not more than twenty bodies were found in and about their position. It is admitted by the prisoners that they carried off a large number of killed and wounded during the night, and they also suffered in attempting to make their escape, as described in Colonel Greer's report.

In my reports to his Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief and the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for War, I have brought to their favourable notice the names of the officers who particularly distinguished themselves on this occasion.

Commodore Sir William Wiseman on this, as on every other occasion, co-operated with with me in the most cordial manner, and I am much indebted to him as well as to the whole Royal Navy and Marines who took part in these operations, for their valuable assistance, – I have, &c,

D. A. CAMERON, Lieut-General.

His Excellency Sir George Grey, K. C. B.

⁴ General Staff – 4 field officers, 1 subaltern

Medical Staff – 2 field officers, 1 subaltern

Naval Brigade – 4 field officers, 6 captains, 7 subalterns, 36 sergeants, 5 drummers, 371 rank and file

Royal Artillery – 1 field officer, 1 captain, 3 subalterns, 1 staff, 1 sergeant, 43 rank and file

Royal Engineers – 2 rank and file

Moveable Column – 1 field officer, 2 captains, 3 subalterns, staff, 6 sergeants, 4 drummers, 164 rank and file

43rd Regiment – 1 field officer, 5 captains, 6 subalterns, 3 staff, 17 sergeants, 12 drummers, 250 rank and file

68th Regiment – 3 field officers, 6 captains, 15 subalterns, 3 staff, 34 sergeants, 21 drummers, 650 rank and file

Total – 16 field officers, 20 captains, 35 subalterns 8 staff, 94 sergeants, 42 drummers, 1,480 rank and file

Detail of Artillery employed – One 110-pounder Armstrong, two 40-pounder Armstrongs, two 6-pounder Armstrongs, two 24-pounder howitzers, two 8-inch mortars, six cohorn mortars

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IN a few days nearly all traces of the struggle that had taken place at the Gate Pa were obliterated, the native trenches had been filled in, and a strong redoubt was thrown up which effectually prevented the enemy from making any advance from the interior on Te Papa, if they had been so inclined. From information received Colonel Greer with several companies of the 68th Regt.,

together with the Colonial Defence Force, which corps had arrived at Tauranga a few days before, left head-quarters camp at daybreak on the morning of 12th of May and marched in the direction of the Wairoa, distant about eight miles. The route led the troops across an open country intersected with hills and dales, the land being rich and fertile. One creek had to be crossed, the water reaching to the men's waist. No natives were seen during the march, but when near Wairoa it was found that the Maoris had thrown up a strong line of rifle-pits. The Defence Force, in command of Captain Pye, were at once ordered forward to reconnoitre, and returned with the intelligence that the enemy's works were deserted. The troops at once moved forward and took possession of the position, which was on rising ground surrounded by trees with a fresh water stream running round its base. In the vicinity was a corn water-mill and extensive cultivations of potatoes, corn, pumpkins and melons. Leaving a detachment of 150 men to hold possession of the place, Colonel Greer with his force returned to camp. The next day the post was visited by His Excellency the Governor, who had arrived at Tauranga. He was accompanied by General Cameron and staff. After being held for a few days, the garrison at the Wairoa was withdrawn. On May 15 the Governor had a meeting with a large number of friendly natives. His Excellency expressed a desire for the two races to be at peace, and promised generous treatment to the natives in arms in case of surrender. The friendly natives promised to try and persuade the Ngaiterangi and other tribes fighting against the troops to give up their arms and surrender. The same evening Sir George Grey embarked on board the gunboat Sandfly, Captain Marks, and steamed at once for Auckland. The following day General Cameron and staff left Tauranga for Auckland in H.M.s. Esk. The Miranda and Falcon, with a portion of the Artillery and troops, also steamed for Auckland, leaving H.M.s. Harrier as a guard ship in Tauranga harbour. The sudden departure of the Governor, General Cameron, and a portion of the troops was on account of despatches received respecting the attitude of the natives on the West Coast at Whanganui.

At this time the Arawas and a few Europeans, under the command of Major Drummond Hay and the Arawa chief Winiata, attacked and defeated at Te Awa te Atua, near Maketu, the Ngatiporou, who suffered a loss of about 100 killed and wounded. In this engagement the Arawa chief Winiata was killed whilst leading on his men.

The month of May passed away quietly both in the Waikato and Tauranga districts. Colonel Greer was left in command at Tauranga, and in place of some of the troops which had been withdrawn a reinforcement of 280 of the 1st Waikato Militia arrived from Auckland. June arrived, and Colonel Greer received information that the Ngaiterangi were again collecting in force to attack the troops. On the morning of June 21, Col. Greer, whilst reconnoitering the country in his front, came upon a large number of natives busily engaged entrenching themselves about four miles beyond the Gate Pah at Te Ranga. The force, under Colonel Greer, consisted of detachments of the 68th, 43rd, and 1st Waikato Militia – in all, about 600 men. The Maoris were estimated at about the same strength. A line of sentries in front of the native position was at once attacked by a party of skirmishers thrown forward by Colonel Greer, and driven back under shelter of their works. Colonel Greer having sent back to the camp for an Armstrong gun and 220 men, extended his men in front of the Maori position, and kept up a sharp fire on the natives, who vigorously replied. After the fusillade had been kept up for about two hours, the gun and reinforcement had arrived within a short distance of the attacking party. The troops, who had been with great difficulty restrained from rushing on the Maoris now received the order to attack. The bugle sounded the advance, which was answered by the troops with loud cheers. The 43rd were burning to avenge the death of their comrades at the Gate Pah, and to wipe away the stain which had sullied the glorious laurels gained by the regiment in bloody battles long since fought in the Peninsula and on the burning plains of India. Before the last sound of the bugle had died away, the 43rd, 68th, and 1st Waikato Militia charged. A tremendous fire was poured by the natives upon the rapidly advancing line, but few casualties occurred, the fire of the natives being too high. Before the natives,

numbers of whom fled after the first discharge, had time to reload, the troops were in the rifle pits, and a short but desperate struggle ensued. The natives, using their tomahawks and guns, fought with the greatest determination, but they were unable to resist the torrent of steel that swept upon them like a wave. From the time the bugles sounded the charge until the cheers of the soldiers denoted that they had carried the enemy's works was only a few minutes. The natives who had effected their escape were pursued for several miles by the Defence Force, who sabered many of the enemy. Numbers, however, escaped across gullies and swamps, where they could not be pursued. Most of the natives killed were bayoneted; 68 bodies lay dead in the rifle pits, the flower of the Ngaiterangi tribe – they had dug their own graves.

The loss of the natives altogether was about 120 killed and 37 wounded and taken prisoners. Several natives, however, doubtless perished in the swamps and gullies whilst retreating. Rawiri, a leading chief of the natives, was amongst the slain, also Pauri Tuaia, one of the leaders at the Gate Pah, Poihipi, a chief of the Whakatohea tribe, Bay of Plenty, and several other men of note. The casualties on the part of the troops consisted of 13 non-commissioned officers and privates killed, and 6 officers and 33 non-commissioned officers and privates wounded – total killed and wounded, 52. Officers wounded, 43rd: Captains F. H. Smith and H. Bernards; 68th: Captains H. W. J. Trench and T. Casement, Lieutenant H. J. R. V. Stuart and Ensign W. H. F. Palmer. Capt. Smith, 43rd Regiment, who led the line on the right, was wounded in two places, and was recommended for the Victoria Cross. Sergeant Murray, of the 68th Regiment, was also recommended for the Victoria Cross for saving the life of Corporal J. Bryne, V.C., 68th Regiment. Corporal Bryne had passed his bayonet through a native, who at once seized the bayonet with one hand and was about to tomahawk Corporal Bryne with the other, when he was killed by Sergeant Murray. Private John Smith, 68th Regiment, bayoneted a native, and before he could recover, his antagonist dealt him two severe wounds on the head with his tomahawk. Smith also had a gunshot wound in his left leg.

The behaviour of the 1st Waikato Militia was excellent, the men rushing to the charge led by Captain Moore with the greatest dash and enthusiasm.

A strong force of natives who had been hovering some distance in the rear of the rifle pits, instead of supporting their unfortunate brethren, retreated directly the rifle pits were carried by the troops.

The following is the official despatch: –

Camp Te Papa, Tauranga,
June 21, 1864.

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SIR, – I have the honour to report for the information of the Lieutenant-General Commanding, that I marched out of camp with the following force, viz., 3 field officers, 9 captains, 14 subalterns, 24 sergeants, 13 buglers, 531 rank and file, this morning at 8 a.m. I found a large force of Maoris (about 600), entrenching themselves about four miles beyond Pukehinahina (Gate Pa). They had made a single line of rifle pits of the usual form across the road, in a position exactly similar to Pukehinahina – the commencement of a formidable pa. Having driven in some skirmishers they had thrown out, I extended the 43rd and a portion of the 68th on their flanks as far as practicable, and kept up a sharp fire for about two hours, while I sent back for reinforcements, viz., 1 gun, 220 men. As soon as they were sufficiently near to support. I sounded the advance, when the 43rd, 68th, and 1st Waikatos charged, and carried the rifle pits in the most dashing manner, under a tremendous fire, but which was for the most part too high. For a few minutes the Maoris fought desperately, and then were utterly routed; 68 men killed in the rifle pits. (The position was very favourable for their retreat, otherwise few could have escaped). The Defence Force pursued them several miles, but could not get well at them owing to the deep ravines with which the country is everywhere intersected. The majority pursued as long as they could keep the Maoris in sight. All did their duty gallantly. The 43rd were under the command of Major Synge, whose horse was shot; the 68th, under Major Shuttleworth, the 1st Waikato Militia under Captain Moore; and they each led their men well. It is impossible for me in this hurried report to do justice, I will therefore have the pleasure, in a supplemental report, to bring those to your notice who more particularly distinguished themselves.

I marched the men back to camp this morning. 107 Maoris were found, and carried up to the rifle pits, and we have brought in 27 wounded and 10 prisoners. Many more must have been killed in the

ravines, whom we did not find. I enclose a return of killed and wounded, viz., 43rd Light Infantry: Killed, 5 men; wounded, 2 officers, 13 men; 68th Light Infantry: Killed, 8 men; wounded, 4 officers, 2 sergeants, 18 men – Total, 52 killed and wounded.

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I must not conclude without remarking on the gallant stand made by the Maoris at the rifle pits. They stood the charge without flinching, and did not retire until forced out at the point of the bayonet.

The name of the position which the Maoris occupied is Te Ranga."

I have thought this of sufficient importance to request Captain Phillimore to take my report up in the Esk. – I have, &c,

H. H. GREER,
Colonel Commanding Tauranga District.
The Deputy Quarter-Master-General,

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THE capture of the Maori position at Te Ranga was the closing scene in connection with the Waikato War. The Ngaiteranga tribe surrendered unconditionally, and Sir George Grey promised them that not more than one-fourth of their lands should be confiscated.

It having been deemed advisable not to penetrate further into the interior of the country, the boundary marking the confiscated territory was drawn outside the posts already in the occupation of the military, and the troops were ordered into winter quarters. Along the frontier in the Waikato, redoubts were thrown up and strongly garrisoned, for although the Tauranga natives and Wiremu Thompson's tribe had surrendered, the Maori King, Potatau II., with the chief Rewi and his Ngatimaniapoto tribe still assumed a hostile attitude across the Puniu river – the confiscated boundary – but without powerful aid from their southern neighbours they were too weak to attack the troops with any chance of success. Te Awamutu, where but one short year before Rewi incited his men to destroy the Government Printing Establishment and Press, was the spot fixed upon for the Head-Quarters of the military in the Waikato.

A wooden township of considerable size soon sprang into existence, and the bandsmen of the regiments having once again obtained their instruments, the hills and dales of the Waikato resounded with the inspiring strains of martial music. To relieve the ennui of garrison life a rough theatre was erected, where some capital amateur performances were given. These entertainments were graced by the presence of the fair sex, many of the officers having been joined by their wives. Balls and concerts were of frequent occurrence, and the races, under the able direction of Captain Baker, of the 18th Royal Irish, became an institution.

At Te Awamutu was the military prison, the triangles and cat-o'-nine-tails being often in request. As the winter passed away the regular troops were gradually withdrawn, and their posts occupied by the Waikato Militia, the different regiments being located in the districts where it was decided they should receive their land and serve the remainder of their military term according to the conditions under which they had enlisted. The 1st Regiment of Waikato Militia, under Col, Harrington, were located at Tauranga; the 2nd Regiment, under Colonel Haultain, at Alexandria; the 3rd Regiment, under Col. Lyons, at Cambridge; and the 4th Regiment, under Colonel Moule, at Hamilton. The Forest Rangers had their land apportioned to them at Harapipi and Kihikihi. The Defence Force, who did good service during the war, were not allotted any land. This corps was raised before the Waikato Militia, but on the formation of those regiments a verbal promise was made to the men of the Defence Force that they should have the same land privilege as the military settlers. No record having been made of the promise it was afterwards ignored. At the present time the old members of the Defence Force are petitioning the New Zealand Parliament to inquire into their long standing grievance.

In recognition of the services performed by the forces, a vote of thanks was passed by both Houses of the New Zealand Legislature to General Cameron and the troops under his command; also to Sir William Wiseman and the naval forces who operated with the troops; to General Galloway and the colonial forces, for their gallantry in the field. General Cameron

was made a K.C.B., and upon leaving Auckland for England was presented by the citizens with a very handsome sword, as a token of their appreciation of the services that he had tendered the colony at large, and the Auckland province in particular.

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After the assault on the Gate Pa a newspaper published in Auckland, called the New Zealander, in commenting upon the affair, accused the men belonging to the Naval Brigade of cowardice in deserting their officers and leaving them in the pa. The men forming the brigade having rejoined their several vessels, arrived in Auckland and demanded from the editor an apology, which was refused. A few days afterwards about 200 sailors, having obtained leave, assembled in front of the newspaper office, which was situated at the top of Shortland-street, and again demanded an apology, which was refused a second time. The men then declared their intention of pulling the edifice to the ground, for which purpose they had brought the necessary ropes and tackle. A number of the sailors, entering the building, proceeded to carry their threat into execution. Ropes were passed through the upstairs windows, the purchase tackle rigged, and all made ready, when the newspaper people, seeing affairs looking so serious, agreed to apologise, which they did, and saved their establishment from instant demolition.

Referring to the engagement at the Gate Pa, Dr. Manly, of the Royal Artillery, was stated to have been the last to leave the enemy's works. He was so busily engaged in one of the trenches, binding up the broken arm of a soldier who was wounded, that he did not observe the assaulting column retiring. As soon as he discovered his dilemma he hastily ran out of the pa, and succeeded in reaching the British lines in safety.

Captain Jenkins, of H.M.s. Miranda, who in the attack on the Gate Pa found himself left alone in a part of the enemy's works, was so situated on account of chasing a native up one of the trenches, which were constructed in zigzag fashion. Captain Jenkins, finding that he could not overtake the native, threw at him a telescope which he had in his hand just as the native was about to disappear round a corner of the trench. The telescope was afterwards discovered amongst the debris of the pa by Mr Rice, interpreter to the forces, and forwarded home to its owner, who duly acknowledged the receipt thereof.

The following anecdote, in which Captain Jenkins was a principal actor, will not be amiss: – During the war, when H.M.s. Miranda was anchored in the Manukau, Captain Jenkins, coming on shore, went into the private parlour of the Royal Hotel, then kept by Mr. Hallimore, for some refreshment. Upon looking round he discovered one of the Onehunga Naval Volunteers lying stretched on the sofa, breathing heavily. Such a state of things was of course *infra dig* in the presence of one of Her Majesty's naval officers, so the gallant captain at once stepped over to the sleeper and shook him rather roughly. Christy, the name of the sleeper, after a few growls, uncoiled six feet of humanity and stood before Captain Jenkins, who, looking up fiercely at him, ordered him to leave the room. Instead of obeying this order, Christy, who had been imbibing, saluted the astonished captain with a tremendous volley of adjectives, that would have annihilated any officer but the one in question. Captain Jenkins, becoming excited, placed his hand on his sword hilt, but before he could draw it Christy darted forth a hand as large as a shoulder of mutton, and, grasping the handle, whipped it out of the scabbard and flourished it over the head of the astonished captain, and, in anything but choice language, threatened to cut off the owner's head, and so deprive Her Majesty of the services of a valuable officer for ever. At this juncture Captain Jenkins, seeing that affairs were looking serious, requested Christy to put down the sword and have a drink. This happy thought ended the dilemma in which Captain Jenkins found himself placed. Christy accepted the invitation, and, throwing to the gallant captain his cheese-knife, as Christy called it, drank to his health and prosperity in a glass of brandy. Many incidents that occurred during the war might be enumerated, but they would fill a volume of themselves.

The number of troops engaged in the Waikato War, amounting altogether to about 15,000, has been deemed by many as out of all proportion to the number required; but when the disturbed state of the country at that time is taken into

consideration, the above number of troops was necessary to secure the protection of the settlers and to assert the supremacy of the Queen. The fact of so many soldiers being in the country deterred a number of native tribes from open hostility, and the power of the British, which had hitherto been but imperfectly

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understood, was made patent to all the tribes, both friendly and disaffected. The allegiance of the friendly tribes was strengthened, and the disaffected, to a great extent, deterred from overt acts – the Queen was acknowledged in a way that she had never been before. Of the 15,000 troops enumerated, 6000 were Militia, undrilled, and hastily collected after hostilities had commenced, and were only in a fit state to take the field when the war was nearly finished. If it had so happened that the powerful tribes in the Whanganui district had commenced hostilities and attacked the colonists whilst the Waikato War was in progress – which it was suspected they would have done – General Cameron would have been hard pushed for men; and at that time any serious reverse to the British arms would have driven a number of tribes, both north and south, into the ranks of the hostile army, and placed the position of the colonists in serious peril. These facts were known and considered by the Imperial Government before they decided to despatch the force they did to protect the colonists and uphold the supremacy of the Queen in New Zealand. The Government return of the number of natives in New Zealand at the time of the war in 1863 was put down at 38,807; of this number only some 1,500 resided in the South Island, the remaining 37,307 living in the North Island. Looking at the then strength of the Maoris it is reasonable to suppose that if they had been so minded they could have arrayed against the colonists in the North Island a force of at least 10,000, as their women, in time of war, were very active, performing commissariat duties, and many of them fighting as savagely as the men.

Several years after, when the Imperial troops had left the colony, the success that attended the operations of the Colonial Forces, under Colonel Whitmore, against certain native tribes, was no evidence as many have thought that the first struggles with the natives could have been fought as well, or better, with Colonial troops than Imperial. At the time of the Waikato War the conditions were different, and whilst according every praise to Colonel Whitmore and his men for their bravery, it must be borne in mind that it was on account of what the Imperial troops had before done that enabled the Colonial Forces afterwards to do what they did.

The expenses incurred by the colony in the Waikato War amounted to no less a sum than £3000,000, besides numerous other expenses charged to the colony on War Account by the Imperial Government. It was thought at the time that the sale of the lands confiscated would meet the above debt, as may be seen by the following extract from the Colonial Treasurer's speech delivered on the second reading of the Loan Bill: –

"If we take the total area of land in the rebel districts, it will be found that it amounts to eight and a-half million acres, and we have obtained information from persons well acquainted with the districts and the quality of the land, that one half of it will be available for settlement; therefore we have for settlement 4,250,000 acres. If we deduct from that the quantity required for the location of European settlers and natives, there will be a balance of three millions for sale, reserves, and for the preservation of the territory of those loyal natives who may not be desirous of disposing of their lands. I said there was a balance of 3,000,000 of acres, and supposing we set apart 500,000 acres for roads and reserves, and 1,000,000 for land that may be retained by the loyal natives, it would not be desirable, if it were even possible, to dispose of this land at once; but by bringing it into the market judiciously, it appears that 1,500,000 acres, economically dealt with and properly sold, will realise, at the very least, £2 per acre, and £3,000,000 will be obtained at the time these arrangements are completed."

When the intelligence reached England that the lands of the rebellious natives were about to be confiscated, those no doubt well-meaning but misinformed individuals presided over by Samuel Gurney, M.P., and styling themselves the "Aboriginal Protection Society," at once took active steps to prevent it. An influentially-signed memorial was presented to the Duke of Newcastle, her Majesty's Principal Secretary for the Colonies, stating that they regarded with the

utmost alarm, &c, &c, the passage of such a bill through the Legislature of New Zealand and humbly praying that his Grace would advise her Majesty to withhold the Royal assent from the bill. If the so-called Aborigines Protection Society instead of interfering with affairs that they knew very little about, had formed themselves into a society for the protection and amelioration of the starving poor in London, some good might have resulted from their labours and much valuable time and annoyance to the colonists of New Zealand saved.

It will be sufficient to say that Her Majesty did not withhold her consent, for the bill became law and the lands were confiscated. The price obtained for the land when sold did not, however, fetch near the estimated amount, and the major portion of the debt was afterwards generously written off by the Imperial Government.

If anything, the Maoris were treated too generously, for the broad and rich lands of the Ngatimaniapoto, who had been actively engaged in hostilities from the commencement of the war, were not touched. Neither was the extensive district owned by Wiremu Thompson, and the Ngaiterangi at Tauranga, where a large number of our soldiers' lives had been sacrificed, were promised that only one fourth of their lands should be confiscated. The principal portion of the land confiscated comprised the Lower Waikato district, and the natives belonging to that part were repeatedly offered large tracts for settlement, but persistently refused to accept any without they could have back again the whole, preferring to remain as exiles with the Ngatimaniapoto. A short time back, however, they accepted from the Government, at the hands of the Hon. Mr Whitaker, a valuable block of land suitable for all their requirements at Onewhero.

The losses that the settlers sustained during the war were to some extent mitigated by the Colonial Government, but the effects of the war were severely felt for several years afterwards on account of the great stagnation in trade that ensued.

The settlement and cultivation of the Waikato by the Military Settlers did not progress so satisfactorily as could have been wished. The majority of the men, as soon as their military term had expired, sold their land for what they could get, many 50-acre lots changing hands at as low a figure as £5. The same land at the present time is worth more than that per acre.

The loss of the troops – Imperial and Colonial – in the Waikato War, including the Gate Pa and Te Ranga, from July, 1863, until July, 1864, amounted to 110 officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates killed; and 460 officers, non-commissioned officers and privates wounded – total killed and wounded, 570 men. To this number must be added about 100 (including 18, settlers who were murdered by the natives) who met with their deaths by drowning, 'sickness' through exposure in the field, and various other causes incidental to a campaign. The casualties on the part of the natives it is difficult to ascertain, but if their loss is put down at 800 killed and wounded it will not be over the number. In addition to the above, 220 prisoners were taken by the troops, making altogether a total estimated loss on the part of the Maoris of 1,020 killed, wounded, and taken prisoners,

It is much to be regretted that the New Zealand Government, out of the vast sums of money that this last few years have passed through their hands, did not apportion a small amount that would pay for the erection of a suitable monument in memory of those who fell, both Imperial and Colonial – on behalf of their Queen and country, so that peace, law, and order should reign. throughout these fair isles.

The majority of the soldiers who fell were young men in the prime of life, their ages averaging from eighteen to thirty years. The bones of these once brave men lie scattered over the country, and when gazing on the well-trimmed cemetery grave, or the rough mound, unpaled and overgrown with fern, on some bleak hillside, that marks their resting-place, let us bear in mind that it is not the living, but the dead, who gained the victory.

THE END.

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