REMINISCENCES

OF

TWELVE MONTHS' SERVICE

IN

NEW ZEALAND

AS A MIDSHIPMAN, DURING THE LATE DISTURBANCES IN THAT COLONY.

BY

LIEUT. H. F. McKILLOP, R.N.

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C. WHITING, BEAUFORT HOUSE, STRAND.

TO

ADMIRAL THE

RIGHT HON. SIR GEORGE COCKBURN,

G. C. B., ETC., ETC., ETC.

REAR-ADMIRAL OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

SIR,

THE kind permission which I have obtained, of dedicating this small work to you, makes me regret that, under such distinguished patronage, I have not been able to offer something more worthy of your perusal; but having been employed in New Zealand during the late disturbances there, I was induced on my return to endeavour to give such authentic information as I was able to gain during the time I was serving on that station, as well as

to submit my own reminiscences of the late proceedings against the rebel natives; no one else having written on this subject. Trusting that you will make allowances for the narration of events which occurred in my midshipman's days,

I have the honour to subscribe myself,

With the greatest respect,

Your humble servant,

H. F. McKILLOP, Lieut. R.N.

London, July 20, 1849.

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INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

BEFORE entering on the subject which was the all-important one on my arrival in New Zealand in H.M.S. *Calliope*, in 1845—namely, the native rebellion, or the war between the intruders and excluders—I will endeavour, from the most authentic information, to give a slight sketch of the commencement and gradual growth of the ill-feeling, and the consequent calamitous events which have so unfor-

tunately taken place, between the aborigines of New Zealand and our own countrymen in that colony.

Previous to New Zealand becoming a British colony, England acknowledged it as a free state, and, in compliance with the requests of a confederation of chiefs, offered to afford it protection from foreign aggression. While thus allied, the New Zealand Company sent out a number of emigrants, under the superintendence of an agent, to form a colony on the shores of these extensive islands, leaving the selection of a locality to the agent and principal settlers. The only Europeans in the country prior to this, were those engaged in the whale fisheries, a few sawyers from Sydney, and a number of escaped convicts from the latter place and Van Dieman's Land, who were living a desultory life, without laws or any form of government, mingling with the natives and adopting most of their customs. The early settlers, on leaving England, had entered into

an agreement to live under a voluntarily constituted authority of their own selection from among themselves. This "happy-family" kind of republic was knocked on the head soon after the arrival of Captain Hobson, as Lieutenant-Governor; who, on assuming office, hearing of some of the acts of these self-constituted magistrates, appears to have considered them guilty of high treason, and was very indignant at their presumption. The bulk of the settlers, who were at this time governing themselves on the shores of Cook's Straits, amounted to 14,000, living together without the benefit of an authorised governor; consequently the peaceable portion were subject to many annoyances from the want of laws and discipline, during which time his Excellency was at the other end of the island, some 800 miles distant, with no one but his personal staff to govern. This, and the subsequent selection of Auckland as the seat of government (at the time a serious inconve-

nience to the settlers, from its distance from the port where they had located themselves), caused a deadly feud between the Governor and the Company, which has seriously impeded the advancement of the colony.

A demonstration on the part of France to form a penal settlement in some part of these islands, seems to have been the cause of our assuming the sovereignty over what we had previously considered a free state. Whether our claim by purchase or discovery is the soundest, I will not attempt to say; but it is a very general opinion amongst the natives, particularly those in the southern provinces, that we have gradually assumed the dominion of their country without having any legal claim to such power. From the very earliest date of which we have any accounts of these people, up to the present time, I can find no instance of their having gratuitously committed any of the many outrages of which they have been guilty. Although they have

from time to time committed the most shocking massacres upon what appeared to us slight provocation, still we must take into consideration their natural ferocity in their dealings with each other, and the little restraint they have ever been accustomed to put upon their worst passions when once roused; and, at the same time, divesting ourselves of all prejudice, look fairly at the conduct of our own unhappy countrymen who were the sufferers in these melancholy tragedies.

If we go back as far as 1769, we find that most of the mishaps which befel Captain Cook's people were caused by the thoughtlessness of some of his own party. In mentioning a skirmish which took place between himself and some of the New Zealanders, who had attacked him, imagining that he came to make war on them, he says—"I had much trouble to restrain the seamen and marines, who, either from fear or love of mischief, showed as much impatience to destroy these people as

a sportsman would to kill his game." The disposition to treat this people less as fellow-creatures than as curious animals, has made them as suspicious of us and our good faith as we are of them.

A French navigator, Monsieur De Surville, who visited New Zealand at the same time as Cook (1769), was guilty of a most unwarrantable piece of cruelty and ingratitude towards these unsuspecting savages, after having received great kindness from them: a part of his crew, who were sick, and landed for the benefit of their health, lived on the bounty of the natives, for which the chief would receive no remuneration. He had missed a small boat, which he believed the natives had stolen. In consequence, he made a prisoner of the very chief who had liberally entertained his sick crew; and, not satisfied with that, burnt down the village where they had been lodged. The chief soon afterwards died on board the ship.

In 1810, the ship *Boyd* was at Wangaroar, procuring spars; the captain had been rather too hasty in resenting some slight theft, as well as cruel and impolitic in punishing a New Zealander, whom he had brought from New South Wales, just before he was landed. This man, smarting from his stripes, and burning with a savage desire to revenge his dishonourable treatment, used all his eloquence to excite his friends to wipe out the stain in the white man's blood. He was backed by a chief of some note who had twice visited Sydney, and who had that morning called on the captain of the ill-fated *Boyd* to pay his respects to him, but had been badly received, having been desired to go away and not trouble him, as he was busy. The proud old savage (who had been a constant guest at the Governor's table at Port Jackson) was highly offended at this treatment, immediately left the cabin, and after stamping a few minutes on the deck, went into his canoe. From the accounts of

the savages, it appears that the captain landed soon after this, when he was met by the friends of the man whom he had punished, as well as the individual himself. He was only armed with his fowling-piece; the natives rushed on him, when he fired and killed a child, and was immediately afterwards dispatched. In the mean time the ship was taken possession of by the chief whose dignity had been hurt by his rude reception. Blood having been once shed, a horrible scene ensued; the unsuspecting sailors falling an easy prey to their merciless enemies. The writer of this narrative appears to think that, had the unfortunate captain acted with more discretion, in giving offence to these untamed and highly-excitable people, this sacrifice of life might have been avoided, as nothing of the sort appears to have been premeditated.

Another traveller, in speaking of a similar catastrophe, says, that although no immediate provocation had been received, a hundred of

the natives had been murdered at different times by the crews of the different European ships which had visited the place where this occurred—these people, from their thoughtless cruelty, bringing a dreadful retribution on their innocent countrymen. In this way all confidence seems to have been destroyed on both sides. And when we consider who and what the early European visitors to this colony were, we cannot be so surprised at the length of time it has taken to bring about anything like a mutual good understanding.

Of later years the means used by us to get possession of large tracts of land, has in many instances proved most clearly to the natives that they have been taken advantage of; for it is astonishing how soon and how well they understand anything in which their own interests are concerned. Immediately New Zealand became a British colony, the value of land was increased, and every one on the spot coveted a few acres of the new colony. Many

people from Sydney came down in a hurry, to drive a hard bargain with the natives; knowing that, however lame their claims might be, possession was the great consideration. The missionaries are also accused with having exerted their influence in the land-jobbing way. Unfortunately, in this scramble, the different parties opposed each other, by which all suffered. The Government also purchased large tracts of land, so far from the Company's settlement that the interest of these two places became quite opposite; and whatever was done by the Government to benefit the settlement forming under their patronage, depreciated the value of its rival. This rivalry had the worst effect on the natives; the price of land in the immediate neighbourhood of Auckland was raised to such an exorbitant sum, that the natives, thinking from this that they had been cheated, made new demands upon those who had already purchased land at what they then con-

sidered a fair price. Appeals, in consequence, were made to the authorities, to decide what land had been fairly purchased, and what had not. The verdict was frequently given against the Europeans, which, though just in some cases, had the most pernicious effect on the whole colony; for the natives, once finding that it was possible to obtain more payment for their land, considered themselves entitled to repayment for the whole.

The natives, with their usual cunning, soon discovered that the local Government had no friendly disposition towards the Company; and when Mr. Spain, the land commissioner, was conducting the inquiry and settling the titles to the land, lasting animosities began between the two races, through a few individuals brought into such immediate opposition, that no decision could have prevented one party or the other fancying himself injured. The savage being placed in the witness-box, and knowing at the time that if he made out that

he misunderstood the agreement which he had entered into, he should receive a fresh lot of muskets and tobacco, found this a greater temptation than his honest truth was proof against. The evidence of natives generally, with the exception of a chief or two, simply served to confuse a very plain transaction; and the very nature of the rights to be determined rendered any satisfactory result impossible, even on the best evidence. One tribe wanted payment, having occupied the land which they were told gave them a right; another tribe, who had conquered the former occupants, and only permitted them to reside on their land, advanced another claim; a third tribe declared that they had migrated voluntarily from the spot in former times, and had a right to return. Take, for instance, the claim of Rauparaha (a man who has done about as much harm in the colony as any savage well could) to the valley of Wairou, which led to the deplorable massacre which I shall have to mention elsewhere.

Rauparaha, originally from the interior of the Northern Island, succeeded in getting a footing on the north shore of Cook's Strait, and ultimately planted himself on a small island in the middle of that channel. There he watched his opportunity, stole over with his band to the opposite coast, and after some fighting, succeeded in destroying man, woman, and child of the tribe which he found at Wairou. He had never dwelt there, or anywhere else in the Middle Island; he and his people had no habitation there. For this claim, such as it was, he had been paid; but, hearing that there was a chance of getting more for his ill-gotten property, he determined on preventing the purchasers from taking possession until the land commissioner had decided whether the sum he had received was sufficient. Soon after it was known that no proceedings were to be taken against Rauparaha and the others concerned in this horrible transaction (not even the form of a trial to pronounce who were wrong and

who were right), other maories (natives) equally willing to receive more payment for what they had already sold, repossessed themselves of portions of land far advanced in cultivation by the European occupiers. Had proper steps been taken at once to ascertain how far they were justified (for in some cases squatters had taken temporary possession with no other claim than that of occupation), the subsequent disasters might have been in a great measure prevented; but the feeble authorities allowing these irregularities to proceed unnoticed, caused the aggrieved settlers to take the law in their own hands, as far as retaining the land they had worked so hard to bring into its present state; for in some instances they had been warned to quit their houses, while the natives gained confidence, as every claim advanced by them was tacitly allowed to be just. The consequence of all this was, that some of our sturdy countrymen, who could not brook these

repeated trials of patience, resented pretty sharply the trespasses of the greedy maories; for which, however, they were doomed to suffer bitterly, many being murdered—in some instances whole families falling a sacrifice to the woful mismanagement which, up to the arrival of Captain Grey, had been carried on. Such was the case of the Company's settlers on our arrival at Wellington.

The disturbances in the Bay of Islands had been brought about by the meddling of some ill-disposed Europeans, who, through jealousy of a party of their own countrymen, appear to have incited the turbulent John Heki to make his extraordinary attack on the flag-staff at Kororarika. The missionaries were roundly accused of favouring these ill-disposed natives, as they were supposed to be unwilling to sanction the acquisition of so much land in their own immediate neighbourhood by the settlers, as, previously to their arrival, the whole surrounding country had been under their control.

In what I shall have to say of John Heki and the other chiefs, of whose characters I have given a slight sketch in the next chapter, it will be seen that the civilised and Christian Heki was the instigator of all the ill-doings in that part of the island. It was to keep him in check that troops were first sent to the Bay of Islands; and, unfortunately, the number being so small allowed him to hold them, and the authorities who sent them, in contempt; this had the effect of strengthening Heki's position, and procuring him many more followers, who thus had time given them to prepare to cope with the military force which it was afterwards necessary to send, in order to prevent the whole of the white population from being murdered or driven from the island. A breach of faith on the part of the English, during some negotiations between them and the natives, also produced the worst consequences. At this crisis, Pomare, a chief of some note, being invited on board an

English man-of-war to discuss the point at variance, was detained as a prisoner; which impolitic action the natives have never forgotten. The fall of Kororarika, which was the worst of the many misfortunes attending the first military operations in this colony, unfortunately strengthened the erroneous impression which the natives had formed of our skill in warfare; the termination of the melancholy encounter between the natives and a party of settlers, on the plains of Wairou, having previously become a matter of boast amongst the maories throughout the whole country.

In the early days of the government of New Zealand by us (1840), a treaty was made with the natives, the original intention of which was to prevent any maories from being deprived of their land by our grasping countrymen, and also to secure to them the unmolested exercise of their manners and customs; and notwithstanding the many en-

croachments which from time to time have been made by us on the original treaty, and which the maories have so firmly resisted, we have been obliged to fall back on it. The natural consequences of an established government at first checked the traffic between the natives and the whale ships, and made them both feel the inconvenience of such restrictions as a custom-house, magistrates, police, &c., imposed upon their hitherto free trade. The crews of the numerous whalers felt these restrictions even more than the natives, and urged the latter to stand out against these invasions of their freedom. They found ready listeners in John Heki, his uncle Kawiti, and Pomare, in the Bay of Islands, who were all interested in this matter, having previously been in the habit of supplying ships after a long sea voyage with the different requisites, receiving contraband goods in payment. The actions of Bruce, Wallace, and other patriots, were cited by these mischievous

Europeans to inflame the minds of those excitable people. The fate of the aborigines of the neighbouring colony, as a dreadful example of what they would come to, was also held out as an inducement to them to resist the display of the English flag, which they were led to believe was the badge of their slavery. The war against the flag-staff, mentioned in the succeeding chapter, in the sketch I have given of John Heki's character, was carried on by the natives with the greatest perseverance, and the flag-staff frequently cut down, even after a block-house had been built near it, and a party of soldiers stationed there for its protection. The attack on Kororarika, which their success in the previous aggressions encouraged them to attempt, was fatal in its termination to the peace of the Bay of Islands. The arrangements appear to have been well made, and the town was surprised at daylight, and, much to their own astonishment, fell into their hands.

After a *sauve qui peut* retreat of the settlers, their intention at first seems to have been directed principally to the custom-house, which they were determined to destroy, with the obnoxious "flag-staff," both of which they succeeded in doing; and maybe, had they not met with a severe handling in the town from the *Hazard's* ship's company, who, with their gallant commander, fought desperately, endeavouring to save the place, they might have been contented with the destruction of these: as it was, in the savage delirium of victory, the town was burnt to the ground. However, in the midst of all this, many instances of disinterestedness were exhibited by the natives. Heki himself, whilst the fighting was going on, escorted the signal-man's wife from the hill on which the flag-staff stood, through the town, and delivered her in safety into the hands of her friends. Her child was killed by an accidental shot. The inhabitants were invited to come back before

the place was destroyed, as I shall have to mention elsewhere.

After this unlucky termination of the petty quarrels between the two races, the Kororarika people had to be shipped off to Auckland to find homes where they best might, many of them entirely dependent on the generosity of their fellow-settlers for support. Troops were now sent for from Sydney, and ordered to the Bay of Islands; H.M.S. *North Star* also arrived from China. Skirmishing now took place frequently, with varied success, between the troops and the rebels; the former being reinforced by a party of natives, who, having an old feud against Kawiti and his tribe, were glad of the opportunity of showing their loyalty, and gratifying their feelings of revenge—so powerful in all savages. Kawiti retired to his fortified pahs, out of which he was driven with great difficulty, from the want of artillery, as well as from the mistaken notions

which the military commandant had formed of their strength. Upon one occasion the troops being marched up to storm one of these stockades, lost a third of their number in a few minutes, without making any impression on the tough palisading of this stockade. Artillery from the ships was brought to bear on this place before the enemy could be dislodged. On another occasion the soldiers got at them with the bayonet, which they used with fatal effect, being one of the only instances in which our success was anything like decisive; ever since which the maories have avoided encountering this formidable weapon in the hands of disciplined men. Kawiti and Heki, finding that they were losing ground, determined to make a last stand on a hill, the most inaccessible they could find, on which they built a stockade, the construction of which did them the greatest credit, as well as the selection of the locality. A description of this

fortification I have given farther on. The British, with their native allies, had just taken up their position on a hill near this stronghold, and active preparations were being made for storming it, on the arrival of the naval force.

CHAPTER I.

JOHN HEKI — TOMATI WAKA — RANGAHIATA — RAUPARAHA — HOEPA TARE (OR CHARLEY) — A SKETCH OF THEIR CHARACTERS.

As few of my readers are likely to be acquainted with the dispositions of the aborigines of New Zealand of the present day, I shall endeavour, without presuming to lay claim to an intimate knowledge of them, to give a correct account of their prevailing character, by relating a few instances in which their actions speak for themselves. In their dealings with the Europeans, much depends upon who have been their first friends, and how they have been treated generally by them. But the native character varies a great deal in

different parts of the islands. Of those who have become somewhat public men from their opposition to the Government, we may select a few, beginning with John Heki, who, although far from being a first-rate specimen, has gained a sort of notoriety from his successful proceedings in the Bay of Islands in 1845.

It appears he was employed, when a boy, in a missionary's house, as a servant, and consequently had the advantage of learning English, as well as a smattering of schooling; he also visited Sydney, where he became better acquainted with the habits of white men than his untravelled countrymen; which has been of great service to him. He appears to have been the first of the natives who ever made inquiries as to the result of colonising his country; and some of the settlers, as mischievous as stupid, put it into his head that the flag on the hill was the emblem of slavery to him and his countrymen: they little thought that this would make so deep an impression on

him as it has proved in the sequel to have done. From this circumstance he was led to inquire as to our treatment of the aborigines of other colonies, and found many ready and willing to give him information little calculated to cheer him touching the fate of the nations already colonised by England and other European powers. It seems, by what I could learn, that he frequently alluded to this in any little quarrel which he had with the settlers, and made it a subject on which to display his eloquence when haranguing his own people.

Heki's first hostile visit to Kororarika was occasioned by one of the native women belonging to that place using bad language to him. He demanded a boat from her husband in payment for the offence; which being refused, he became discontented, and threatened to cut down the flag-staff, which no doubt was his original intention. He proceeded at daylight the next morning and cut down the

flag-staff, afterwards crossed over with his party to Pahia, where he was met by a chief of some consequence (Pukututu), who became very angry on learning what had been done. Heki defended himself by saying, that what the white people had told him about the flag was a sufficient reason. Pukututu, though highly displeased, admitted that these statements were correct, as he had himself heard similar remarks made by the white people. A party of natives soon after this seized some horses from one of the settlers, in reparation for the supposed injury done to one of Kawiti's women by some of the police; which, however, could have no connexion with the person from whom the horses were taken; thus showing a decidedly unfriendly disposition towards the English. The flag-staff being again erected, and having no one to defend it, was a second time cut down. Much anxiety was at this time felt by the inhabitants of Kororarika, who, fearing the natives would

think that they were afraid of them, on the arrival of the Government brig from Auckland with a few soldiers again displayed the Union-Jack; which, however, was not destined to fly long, as Heki and his party came over the next morning before daylight and again laid the flag-staff prostrate, the soldiers having been kept close in quarters, leaving only our native allies in charge of it, who were not sufficiently on the alert to defend it. This kind of thing appears to have gone on for some time, every day adding to the confidence which the natives began to feel of intimidating the Europeans. There were several meetings held about this time, for the purpose of explaining the intentions of Government with regard to the natives. Heki, however, observed that the Government promises were "all soap"—very smooth and oily, but treachery was hidden under them: the other chiefs appear to have been satisfied with the explanation.

On March 3, 1845, hostilities commenced: some of Kawiti's tribe coming down the river and committing depredations near the town of Kororarika, and were chased by one of the *Hazard's* boats when they were returning. The boat not being equal to the canoes in speed, did not do much good, and the natives became much elated. There was one man wounded on each side. Heki and Kawiti had joined each other, and having once exchanged shots, were soon reinforced by numbers of the discontented maories.

On the 11th of the same month, ill-fated Kororarika was attacked by the natives, who carried the place. I cannot enter into the particulars of this unfortunate occurrence, but, to illustrate the character of John Heki, who was the leading chief in this affair, will merely say, that when the natives had possession of the town, they gave up the bodies of four soldiers who had been killed, and urged the settlers to come and take away the property; some of Heki's men actually assisting in carry-

ing down the goods to the boats. It is a remarkable trait in this man's, as well as the generality of the native character, that the supplies of provisions, ammunition, and stores were allowed to pass through the country at all times unmolested, when we have known that numbers of the hostile natives have on many occasions seen the drays pass close to them without a guard. Again, during the war between Waka and Heki, a young chief of the latter's tribe was severely wounded in the head, and fell into the hands of the enemy. On the following day he was restored to his friends, Waka sending a message requesting this might be remembered, and the drays not molested. The answer was, "I will remember." This promise was most inviolably kept.

The foregoing is the favourable part of Heki's character. He possesses a great deal of low cunning—has the tact of adapting his conversation to the various characters he has to deal with. In a letter from the Rev. Mr.

Hobbs, he thus mentions Heki: "When he first commenced this war with the Government, he left no means untried which were calculated to enlist the sympathies and gain the assistance of his countrymen. He was aware that if he could make his rebellious proceedings appear consistent with religion, and give them the sanction of Archdeacon Williams's approbation, he would thereby greatly increase the number of his adherents. While, therefore, he pandered to the prejudices of the heathen party, and flattered the vanity of others by entertaining their superstitions, he at the same time influenced many Christian natives by taking the most unwarrantable liberties with the Archdeacon's name; asserting, among other things equally extravagant, that that gentleman approved of his cutting down the flag-staff, affirming constantly that he fought not against man, but against the wood of the flag-staff, which had no blood; and such was the perseverance with which he

went about lecturing on the subject, that he was extensively successful in overcoming the religious scruples of the Christian chiefs, and inducing them to join him. To maintain his interest, he continued during the war to reiterate these statements to his adherents, by whom they were conveyed to Waka's natives, and through them to the British camp." Besides the duplicity and falsehood which this letter accuses him of, he has been at all times the most cruel to his European prisoners, endeavouring, by subjecting them to torture, to strike terrror into the hearts of their companions. It is current among the troops who were present at Ohaiawa, that they heard the screams of two soldiers who had been taken prisoners undergoing a frightful species of torture, having burning gum, from the kawri-tree, poured on their breasts and stomachs.

The next man whom I shall give as an example of the species is Tommy Walker, or Waka Nene, a chief who has, by his faithful services,

rendered himself respected by the Europeans, and by his never-failing good generalship, undaunted courage, and perseverance, looked up to by the natives of his own tribe, and all those who were not amongst the Queen's enemies; the latter fearing him with good cause, as he has on all occasions evinced ready zeal in a loyal cause. He withstood the attack of Heki's people, who were superior to him in number, before he was joined by the English force; and after the arrival of the troops he continued a faithful ally, displaying on many occasions great foresight and discretion, and in several instances saved many a brave fellow from throwing away his life. On one occasion, when the pah at Ruapekapeka was besieged, and it had been ordered that 200 men were to make an attack under cover of the great guns, in hopes of succeeding in storming it, he stood before them with his gun across the leading files, praying that they might not be sent to be murdered; and by

great perseverance succeeded in stopping what would indeed have turned out a most unfortunate catastrophe, as, from after experience, we found the pah such a fortification that two thousand men would have been quite few enough to storm it; even then our loss must have been very great.

He afterwards volunteered to embark with a large party of his maories, to accompany the expedition going to the southern part of the colony, then in a disturbed state. I do not think any other chief could have answered for the willingness of his people to engage in so distant a war, particularly as the women and children would have been obliged to be left behind, which is not their custom when going far from home. They have also a great aversion to be ordered about without understanding the why and wherefore of every thing that is going on; their habit being to discuss every intended movement of the tribe at a general meeting, and in the time of war

to talk over the mode of attack, as well as the policy and likely result of their intended proceedings; at which time any one of experience is at liberty to state the view he takes of the case. Notwithstanding all this, the whole of the tribe were perfectly ready to carry out any engagement which he might enter into with the Governor regarding them. Waka has wisely merged his title of chief into that of an officer, and acts much more in that capacity than any other chief I have met. His faithful services to the Government have secured him a pension for life. He generally dresses in a naval uniform, and when so dressed expects the customary salutation to which his assumed rank entitles him, being that of a post captain; which mark of attention we never failed to pay him when he visited the ship.

He has a nice little wooden house at Kororarika, and does the honours to his visitors very well indeed; he studies to do everything

in European fashion. One of the most difficult habits to drop is to discontinue seating themselves on their ankles—a most peculiar posture, and to our stiff-limbed race as uncomfortable as the use of a chair is to a maori; he, however, seldom or never indulges in this luxurious attitude since his promotion. I have on several occasions dined in company with him, and could scarcely believe that so much good breeding and politeness could be worn with such ease by a man born and brought up a thorough savage. I was amused at his asking those he considered his juniors to take wine with him, and, when the cloth was removed, waiting patiently for her Gracious Majesty's health to be proposed, at which toast he left no heel-tap. He is always ready to know anything concerning Queen Vickytoria, of whom he asks the most particular questions. I should think him about forty-five years of age; but

from being very much tatooed, and from his not knowing his own age, which none of them do, it is difficult to arrive at it.

A most ridiculous scene occurred at the return of his tribe from Ruapekapeka. Waka being in his full uniform—epaulettes, cocked hat, and all—which had been given him by Captain Sir Everard Home of the *North Star*, a war-dance took place in honour of their return: this was a series of the most extravagant distortions of features, accompanied by the most discordant yells and shouts, as well as dancing, which consists in jumping off their feet as high as extreme excitement and great activity alone could accomplish, flourishing their muskets and tomahawks over their heads at each fresh scream; the chief giving the time for these displays of diabolical manœuvres, which, however, they execute in the most excellent measure, keeping the most correct time in these horrible choruses, as well as jumping together with the greatest precision, the

200 muskets acting as one piece of machinery. At the first part of this spectacle Waka stood with the officers who were looking on, merely showing that his mind was with the dancers by a slight movement of the leg, and every now and then slapping his thigh with the palm of his hand, marking time; but gradually becoming more and more excited, forgot the dignity due to his uniform and new station, and in a few minutes snatched a musket from the willing hand of one of the soldiers standing by who had been watching him, and joined in the noisy throng, soon taking the prominent part which his energy of character rendered him so well able to perform, losing all control of his gentlemanly self: this ended in a sad catastrophe happening to his blue dress pants, which could not stand the repeated tests of strength they were put to. We all laughed most heartily; but so excited had our tatooed officer become, that he did not discover the damage done to his limited ward-

robe until the dance was over, when he felt rather ashamed of the figure he had cut.

The next man whose character I shall try to describe, Rangahiata, one of the principal chiefs in the neighbourhood of Cook's Straits, is a regular savage, and glories in it; and, as such, is the best specimen in New Zealand I ever saw. He is averse to Christianity, because it deprives him of the power he formerly possessed over his tribe; to civilisation, because he sees that the chiefs are losing their position by the introduction of new offices, all filled by Englishmen, of whom he is excessively jealous, and has at all times shown his willingness to join in any undertaking likely to succeed in ridding the country of them. He pretends to despise the many luxuries which they have introduced; and, although an inveterate smoker, and passionately fond of spirits, of which he consumes enormous quantities when he can procure them, he continues to assert that he wishes

he had never seen a white man's face; that there has been nothing but misery and disputes ever since their arrival; and that our anti-chivalrous mode of warfare against those we call rebels has quite sickened him. Not that we ever had any such decided advantage in our various skirmishes with his tribe as to dishearten him; and had we been unassisted by the friendly maories, I have no doubt that he would have held out and carried his point—unless the colony had created more interest at home, and been deemed worthy of a large military force, which at the time appeared not to be the case.

He has undergone many privations, and fought hard for what he considers the cause of liberty. He is, and always was, much feared and hated by the Europeans—partly from the prominent part he took in the Wairou massacre, and also from his prompt resentment of the slightest injury, real or imaginary, done to himself or any of his

tribe by the Europeans. He has on several occasions sent to say that he must have a horse, or a pig, or some rum, or any other article he knew to be in the possession of any unfortunate settlers who happened to be located in his neighbourhood; who well knew that to refuse would only bring ruin on themselves, as it would have been a sufficient excuse for making what the natives call a *tower* on their property (which means, coming in such numbers as to defy resistance), and seizing everything on the premises, sometimes murdering the unfortunate possessors, and burning what they cannot remove. At one time, refusing assistance to Rangy would, in his opinion, have justified this treatment.

Frequent attempts have been made at the whale stations (at which places he was even more dreaded than elsewhere) to poison him; and I was credibly informed that on one occasion he swallowed a pint of raw rum

largely drugged with arsenic, which, however, only made him violently sick.

He has been always ready to shelter natives who have been guilty of infringing our laws, as well as to render such assistance to those of his own countrymen whom he fancied unjustly dealt with by the New Zealand Company, or private individuals, regarding their land. He never forgives anything he considers an insult. In his late proceedings against us, he has frequently asked if any of those whom he fancied were very eager in his pursuit were relatives of any of the unfortunate band who were so cruelly murdered by him and his party at Wairou; it being one of his maxims to take life for life, not always being particular whether the person he sacrificed had anything to do with the death of the person for whose fate he suffered, so that he belonged to the same tribe.

Since hostilities have ceased between him and us, two officers of the *Calliope,* Lord

Charles Butler and Mr. Carnegie, started from Wellington to visit him, accompanied by Mr. Servantes of the 96th, the Government Interpreter, and Tommy Rauparaha, son of the "Old Serpent," who is a near relative of Rangy's. They had great difficulty in getting across the country, the position he had chosen not being by any means easy of access. However, by persevering, they reached the swamp which surrounded the small hillock on which his present pah is built; and, meeting some of the natives, they sent them on to know if Rangy would receive them, waiting at some distance for an answer. A message was soon sent to say that Lord Charles Butler and Tommy Rauparaha might come on, but if Ewie (Servantes) showed himself he would be shot; Rangy thinking that he had been a spy in the late proceedings, from the fact of his having been a great deal with the maories previous to hostilities commencing; and from knowing their customs and haunts, as well as

having a perfect knowledge of their language, he had at all times held a most prominent position in every expedition against them, frequently acting with our native allies without any other European being with him. He remained where he was, and Butler and Carnegie proceeded with their sable friend and his guide. On approaching the pah, they heard a deal of shouting, and saw that some excitement was caused by their appearance, which they could not understand; and in a few minutes they saw several maories with their guns marching out to meet them, and some one or two pointing their guns at poor Carnegie, whom they took for Servantes, and abusing him in a very violent manner. The small party, however, continued to advance, and the guides, as soon as they could obtain a hearing, explained the mistake. They were then taken into the pah, where they found Rangy standing leaning against his waré (hut), with a gun in his hand ready pointed at the en-

trance, having quite made up his mind to dispose of Ewie (William).

The introductions having been satisfactorily gone through, he put away his musket, and gave his hand to his guests: this was a signal for all to put away their arms. Accordingly everything was soon quiet, and on Butler's presenting him with a few pounds of tobacco and a red blanket, he became very friendly; they smoked their pipes together, and he soon had some fish and potatoes cooked and served, asking many questions about all the natives who had been prisoners with us, and also about such of the Europeans as he knew by name. He did me the honour of inquiring for me; and on being told I had left the colony, expressed his satisfaction at my conduct in my skirmishes with him, saying that I merely did as I was told. He was very communicative, and spoke of his misfortunes openly; regretting that so few maories had joined him since he had left his old quarters

at Porirua. He complimented Lord Charles on the report he had always heard of him from the natives; and wished them to remain all night, offering to kill a pig and have a great feast. They, however, declined staying, not having much time to get back before their leave would expire. He was told it was quite a private visit, and he therefore sent no messages to any of the authorities. Rangahiata was particularly dirty, but a fine handsome man, very powerfully built, with piercing black eyes.

Last, though not least, I will take old Rauparaha, a brother-in-law of Rangy's, always looked on as the greatest chief in New Zealand. He certainly possessed great influence over most of the southern tribes, amongst whom he had intruded himself with a few followers; and by intrigue and stratagem, often by the most cold-blooded murders, he had rendered himself very conspicuous and notorious. He had on several occasions the most wonderful escapes from his enemies in his

wars with his own countrymen, once making his escape by swimming out to sea, when every one of his party was either killed or made a slave of. He must have been a most powerful man, and, if his mind had been cultivated, would, no doubt, have been a most clever one. As it is, he seldom gets the worst of an argument about his own proceedings; and puts such searching questions, and gives such evasive answers, that he puzzled the best of our logicians on many occasions, when endeavouring to get him to give a decided answer about his not giving us the assistance he promised when we were trying to capture the murderers from Rangy. So well did he play his part, that he brought himself into favour with the superintendent and commanding officer of troops at Wellington, and received several handsome presents from them whilst he was actually enticing natives from the neighbourhood of Wanganui to come down and assist Rangy and himself to expel

us from the country. And, moreover, he went into Wellington, accompanied by the senior officers of the different departments, and took up his residence near the superintendent's house, with an orderly at his door; who, by-the-bye, acted as a guard over him, his share in the Wairou affair making it difficult to some of the unfortunate survivors of that massacre to keep their hands off him. His advice was much sought for, and in many instances acted upon at this time, during the absence of Captain Grey; on whose return, however, the old villain's duplicity was discovered, and then it required the greatest caution to prevent his suspecting its having come to his Excellency's knowledge.

I was with him on board ship for five months, and had frequent opportunities of conversing with him, and hearing him converse with other officers of the ship through the interpreter; I was astonished at his quick perception, particularly of anything meant to

turn him into ridicule, of which he was most sensitive. He frequently became much excited, and very violent; and at other times, when talking of his misfortunes, the tears would run down his cheeks. He was very grateful for any kindness shewn him during his captivity; and on Lieut. Thorpe's leaving the ship to return to England, he expressed the most bitter sorrow, and cried the whole day, repeating his name in piteous accents. This was not merely a temporary feeling, for, a year after, he sent him a very handsome mat, when the *Calliope* left the colony; begging the officer to whom it was entrusted to say how glad he should be to see him again, now that he was once more free, and how well he would treat him. On my leaving the ship, which was during his captivity, he earnestly begged me to tell Queen Victoria how fond he was of her, and how much he would like to see her; but that he was an old man, and had seen a great deal of trouble, and feared the

long voyage; he hoped, however, she would believe that he would always be a great and true friend of hers, and use all his influence with his countrymen to make them treat her subjects well; and that when he became free again there would be no doubt as to his loyalty, as he would himself, old as he was, be the first to engage in a war against any who should offend her or the Governor, of whom he always spoke with the greatest respect.

He became dreadfully angry if any of us ever hinted that the Governor knew of his former doings,—such as murdering the crew of a whale-ship after inviting them to his pah, and also taking the ship round to another part of the coast with an armed band on board, and enticing some natives off, whom he killed whilst unarmed; also that he entered into an engagement with the master of a merchant-brig to take him and his tribe over to Cloudy Bay, where he surprised and murdered the greater portion of another tribe, seizing every-

thing they had; for which piece of service he was to give the master of the brig a cargo of flax: which part of the agreement he however declined, after he had obtained his object. This inhuman Englishman was washed overboard and drowned going round Cape Horn on his way home, being the only one of the crew who was lost. No wonder that, after such dealings with white people, the natives did not form a very high opinion of us. Rauparaha also invited a whole tribe to a feast to make up some old quarrel; and having procured some rum for the occasion, took advantage of them while under its influence, and fell upon them, killing or taking prisoners the whole tribe, and usurping their territory.

These charges, I believe, are well authenticated, but I feel sure that now he would not commit a murder: not that I believe he has any notions of Christianity, although he professes to be a Christian; his long residence on board the *Calliope* not benefiting him so

much in a religious point, as in showing him how little we really thought of the importance of his country and its inhabitants, and what a very minor consideration they were in comparison with our Indian and other colonial subjects. The news of the war in the Sutlej reaching us during his captivity, he, observing the excitement, requested to be informed of the contents of the papers, and listened eagerly to every word as it was translated to him by the interpreter; the other prisoners also showing the same astonishment at the detail of such a war. The numbers engaged were beyond their comprehension; but they began to see their own insignificance, and to learn what our resources really were, on which point they had been very incredulous: but having now been some time with us, and knowing that we could have no object in deceiving them, they became amazingly eager to get any of us who could speak a little of the language to talk of our battles with European nations, both by sea

and by land; and showed great interest, often becoming much excited.

It is remarkable that they evinced no great astonishment the first time they saw the *Driver*, the only steamer that had ever visited this colony; and although dying to know exactly how her machinery was worked, would not on any account show their curiosity, or ask any questions, as they never liked to betray any such feeling. Notwithstanding this, however, during the passage round from Porirua to Wellington, when they were on board they could not conceal their delight and surprise whilst looking down into the engine-room, as well as when watching the paddles. I must not omit to mention that, cruel and bloodthirsty as this man appears to have been, he must occasionally have made exceptions, as one of his slaves voluntarily accompanied him into captivity, waiting on him and paying him every attention for a period of eighteen months; knowing from

the beginning that he was quite free to leave him at any time; for, being a smart and active young fellow, and very good-tempered, he became a general favourite with the sailors, who taught him enough of seamanship to have enabled him to have entered on board any English merchant-ship wanting hands. He was even offered a rating on the *Calliope's* books; which he refused, saying that there would be no one to wait on the old man if he was otherwise employed.

"The history of Rauparaha," says Colonel Wakefield, "is the most eventful, and worthy of record, of any existing New Zealand chief. His expulsion, and that of all his numerous and powerful tribe, from their native district, Kafia, by the Waikato and Bay of Islands hosts, is well known to you, from the mention it has received in numerous works on this country. Their forcible seizure and occupation in their turn of all the coast land on both sides of this strait has also been described;

but the means he has employed for the aggrandisement of his people, and the causes of his pre-eminence and influence amongst all classes and clans, extending also to the foreign residents and visitors in the southern parts of these islands, have not been dwelt on." Rauparaha is at least sixty years old. When a young man, he acquired a reputation for strength and courage, founded on his skill in native warfare, which his wiliness and success in all his undertakings have preserved for him in his old age. He came from Kafia as the fighting general of Ti Pahi; and, after the death of the latter at Otago, by Tairoa and the Southern tribes, became chief of the tribe. To revenge Ti Pahi's death, which was accomplished by tying him up by the heels to a tree and cutting his throat, from which his enemies sucked his blood, Rauparaha engaged with a master of an English vessel, by name Stewart, to carry him and some of his people to Otago, under pretence of a trading voyage, where the

master coaxed on board a leading chief of the tribe and his family. "Some of these were immediately killed; after which Rauparaha and Stewart, with their myrmidons, landed and laid waste the settlements, killing every man, woman, and child that came in their way. The chief who had been enticed on board was made fast in the cabin by a hook through his throat; and, in despair at seeing his daughter about to become the victim of these monsters, killed her with his own hands. During the voyage back to Kapiti, the old man was dispatched; and it is a fact that one of the ship's coppers was in use for cooking human flesh for his guest; and that Stewart and his crew participated, if not in the feast, in the atrocious murder and revolting preparations made for it."

By similar treachery has Rauparaha acquired his power in other parts, and become the terror of all the neighbouring tribes. Unable to cope with the Ngatiawas, whom he was forced to

allow to live on the lands in Queen Charlotte Sound, Port Nicholson, and on the main abreast of Kapiti, when they were driven from Taranaki, he is occasionally in alliance with them; and more than once has led them into an encounter with their mutual southern enemies, for the purpose of deserting them with his people in the midst of the fight, in which manner they have suffered much loss. In all negotiations Rauparaha is considered skilful, and is referred to upon many occasions. In his dealings with Europeans and Americans, he makes use of alternate begging and extorting measures, according to the power of resistance to his demands he may meet with; and might, if he had been prudent, be now extremely rich by his trafficking for supplies for ships, and by the presents he has received.

He receives tribute from numerous petty tribes and slaves; and the stronger tribes are occasionally constrained to purchase peace at

his hands. "No longer since than last week, to afford a treat to the chiefs of Nyatiroco, or Boiling-water tribe, who assembled at Mana upon the occasion of the mourning for his sister's death, he sacrificed a slave of the Rhangatanis, who had come from Admiralty Bay with presents of dried fish;" but my informant, an Englishman, who saw the unfortunate man being dragged to his fate, says that more disguise as to the disposal of the body was made use of than heretofore, in consequence of Rauparaha having of late professed himself a missionary, and that he intended to discourage cannibalism.

In another place, the Colonel writes: "He seldom stays long in any place, but goes from settlement to settlement, often in the night, to avoid any design against his life from his foes on the main. He came on board in the afternoon on one of his pillaging visits, and, after talking largely, dropped into his begging tone. Finding me proof against

threats and entreaties, as a last resource to obtain a present, he proposed to me to go on shore to see a young girl. Notwithstanding the many bad qualities of this old man—his blustering, meanness, and unscrupulous treachery—he possesses some points of character worthy of a chief amongst savages. He is full of resources in emergencies, hardy in his enterprises, and indefatigable in the execution of them.

"Making every allowance for his condition, and knowing how his intercourse with the refuse of European society has affected him, it is impossible for the most charitable to have any feelings towards this old fellow but those of aversion. It will be a most fortunate thing for any settlement formed hereabouts when he dies, for with his life only will end his mischievous scheming and insatiable cupidity.

"In person, Rauparaha is not conspicuous amongst his countrymen, his height being rather under the average. His years sit

lightly on him; he is hale and stout, and his hair but slightly touched with grey. His countenance expresses keenness and vivacity, whilst a receding forehead and deep eyelids, in raising which his eyebrows are elevated into the furrows of his brow, give a resemblance to the ape in the upper part of the face, which I have also remarked in many of the natives. He was cleanly dressed in the ordinary mat and outer blanket worn as the toga; slow and dignified in his action; and, had not his wandering and watchful looks betrayed his doubts as to his safety, perfectly easy in his address."

Dr. Dieffenbach, speaking of the same interview, which took place just after a battle excited by Rauparaha between two neighbouring tribes, and in which sixteen of his allies had been killed and fifty wounded, thus describes his appearance and manner—"We found him sitting on the ground with his wife Etope, wrapped up in mats and blankets,

and painted with red ochre. He is between fifty and sixty years old, with remarkably Jewish features, an aquiline nose, and a cunning physiognomy." In another place Dr. Dieffenbach says—"Individuals are occasionally met with who have six or more toes or fingers on a foot or hand. The well-known chief Rauparaha is distinguished by this peculiarity." "His manner was very restless. He was rather sparing of his words, and seemed much depressed at the issue of the battle. He was very generally considered to have been the instigator of this contest. However, he denied the charge, and said he wished for peace. There seemed no reason to doubt the truth of the accusation, as he bears an old hatred to the Ngatiawas. He went out on the morning of the battle towards Waikanaki, to await (in safety) the issue, and perhaps to partake of the spoil." About fifteen years since, Rauparaha headed an expedition against the natives resident in Blind Bay, and either

drove into the bush or slaughtered the whole of the inhabitants, and divided their land amongst his followers and allies.

I shall conclude my list with Hoepa Tare, better known as Charley, who distinguished himself at the Wairou massacre by cutting out the interpreter's tongue; and has on many occasions displayed a vicious and ferocious disposition. I was struck with the expression of his face and shape of his head, indicating his tendency to brutality. He was one of the three prisoners so long on board the *Calliope*, having taken a prominent part with old Rauparaha in his treacherous design of attacking us whilst professing to be our ally. He was once part owner of a small schooner, and has a turn for trading, as far as making money is concerned; but had not perseverance enough to wait for the profits which this small craft might have brought him and the others, if they had been a little more generous in finding her in stores and other necessaries, as well as

paying a man to navigate her who would have done them justice. As it was, from being badly managed and worse found, no one liked to trust their goods on board; consequently, she remained knocking about at anchor at Porirua, having no one to look after her, the owners going away to plant potatoes: during which time she drifted on shore, and soon after she floated off, leaking very much, and, having no one to pump her, sank.

Charley made a great fuss about this, saying he thought the sailors who were living near them (meaning my party) might have prevented it; he became quite violent when speaking to me on the subject, and kept repeating she had cost £120. Much, however, as this loss grieved him, neither himself nor the other natives who had an interest in the vessel would offer any payment to have an attempt made to raise her, which might have been done at first for a few pounds. They preferred selling her where she was for a very small sum.

During the eighteen months of his captivity he made no friends on board the ship, and was frequently mixed up in some quarrel with the sentry that was kept over them, or any one else with whom he came in contact; and never failed on these occasions to shew the violence of his temper, as well as his dislike to the pakehas (strangers or foreigners); and I understand that since he has been liberated he gives himself great airs, having, in his own opinion, become a hero from his captivity and the notice which the *curious* took of him. He, not knowing why he was sought and looked at by white men, naturally took it all as complimentary, whereas generally he was exhibited to new comers in the colony as the most savage specimen of his savage nation.

If this should ever reach him, which it possibly may, as they delight in hearing about themselves, he will use many a useless threat to do me bodily harm. He and I are old enemies, so allowances may be made for my

prejudice. He once made a *tower* or rush at me with his tomahawk, feigning extreme rage, in order to frighten me and turn me into ridicule before the bystanders: however, as I knew the custom, and disappointed him, he was much annoyed; and to make him still further my enemy, I challenged him to fight with our fists before the people whom he had been endeavouring to shew off before. He is a large, powerful man, big enough to *eat* me, in both senses of the word, but he would not accept my challenge, not knowing whether I was a bruiser or not; and having seen many a big maori thrashed by a small white man, he thought it advisable to decline, as such a defeat as this would have given him a new name amongst his own people, in some way referring to his being beaten by a small man. They are all very apt at giving nick-names, and there is scarcely a man amongst them who has not two or three such sobriquets as

his own deeds may have suggested to his friends.

The following is the statement made by Mr. Barnicoat of the Wairou massacre, in which Rauparaha, Rangahiata, and Charley, all took prominent parts.

On the evening of Thursday, June 15th, and the following morning, the party landed at Wairou, where Mr. Barnicoat and his men joined them. Muskets, and a cartouche-bag of ball cartridges with each, were served out to the men, and cutlasses to as many as chose to avail themselves of them. On Friday afternoon they ascended the right bank of the river about five miles. On the way they met a chief named E. Puaha (a nephew of Rauparaha, and the individual who is favourably mentioned in Colonel Wakefield's early despatches under the name of Ebau), with a small party of natives. They had been engaged in clearing land, but had been stopped,

they said, by Rauparaha, who had gone higher up the river. They appeared alarmed at the sight of the armed force; but their fears were allayed by Mr. Thompson's informing Puaha that the object of his journey had no reference to him or his party, but that he had a warrant against Rauparaha and Rangahiata on a charge of arson. Mr. Thompson also explained to him that no force would be used towards them, but that they would be required to go with him on board the brig, where the case would be investigated by himself and the other magistrates. Puaha replied that those chiefs would not but believe that he came to make war upon them; but agreed to carry them a message to the above effect. He then went off in his whale boat. Higher up, another party of natives was met with, and a similar explanation given. It being now too late to proceed, the magistrates and their followers then encamped for the night at a pine wood called Tua Mautine, and set a watch.

Their movements, it appears, had been all along watched and reported by scouts; and Mr. Cave informed Dr. Dorset that "one of the spies they left behind at the pah went up with and among the English party, counted every man, and, a short time before the fight, crossed over the brook to his own party, gave the required information, and joined in the fight one of the foremost."

On the morning of Saturday, June 17th, two boats having been brought up, the Europeans embarked in them and ascended the river a few miles further. "They now amounted to forty-nine, thirty-three of whom were armed with muskets; one or two carried fowling-pieces; Mr. Howard had a cutlass. The remainder were apparently unarmed, but in general were furnished with pocket-pistols." When mustered, before setting out, Captain Wakefield having called "Order!" said to them, "Men, whatever you do, do not fire unless you get orders." "A caution," says

Mr. Barnicoat, "which was several times repeated to them in the course of the journey."

Having ascended the river about four miles, the party perceived some smoke issuing from a wood, and soon heard the voices of the natives, that of Rangahiata being plainly distinguishable. On advancing they found them posted in the wood, which is about fifty acres in extent, on the right bank of a deep unfordable rivulet, called Tua Marina, which flows into the Wairou on its left bank, and is at this place about thirty feet wide. They were squatting in groups in front of the dense wood, on about a quarter of an acre of cleared ground, with their canoes drawn up on the banks of the stream. The white men halted on the left bank, with a hill behind them covered with fern and manuka, and sloping upwards with several brows or terraces. "All bearing arms were now bidden not to cross the stream, or even shew themselves, until ordered." All accounts agree in estimating

the number of the natives at about one hundred and twenty or twenty-five, including women and children. The men amounted to eighty or ninety, about half of whom were armed with muskets, the rest in the native manner.

At the request of the magistrates, a canoe was placed across the stream to serve as a bridge, by a native named Piccawarro ; and Mr. Thompson, Captain Wakefield, Messrs. Tuckett, Cotterell, and Patchett, Brooks the interpreter, and Maling the chief constable crossed over. The police magistrate then called on Rauparaha and Rangahiata. The former alone came forward; and Mr. Thompson told him that he was the Queen's representative; that he had warrants against him and Rangahiata for the destruction of the property of Mr. Cotterell; and that he must go on board the brig, with such of his followers as he chose, where the matter should be investigated.

Rauparaha said that Mr. Spain would inquire into and settle the business in a little while.

Mr. Thompson explained that Mr. Spain's business lay in deciding as to land claims; that this was a question about destruction of property, and had nothing to do with the ownership of the Wairou. Rauparaha requested to have the matter decided on the spot; and professed his readiness to make the compensation to Mr. Cotterell required by the magistrates, provided their decision pleased him.

Mr. Thompson replied that the case must be heard on board the Government brig, whither Rauparaha must accompany him. On Rauparaha's reiterated refusal to comply with this proposal, put in direct terms to him, Mr. Thompson declared he would compel him. Rauparaha said that he did not want to fight, but that if the white people fought he would fight too.

Mr. Thompson, pointing to the armed men, threatened that he and his party should be fired upon. Sixteen natives immediately sprang to their feet and presented fire-arms. Rangahiata now came forward and vehemently defied the magistrates and their power, exclaiming "that they did not go to England to interfere with the white people, and demanding why the latter came there to interfere with them."

The conversation now became very rapid and violent; and the chief Puaha—who, by frequently attempting to intercede, seems only to have rendered matters worse—again stepped forward with his Bible in his hand, and prayed that there might be no strife. At last Mr. Thompson called out, "Captain England, let the men advance." The conference with the chiefs lasted about twenty minutes or half an hour. Great trouble was taken to explain to them the non-connexion of these proceedings with the land claims; and

every assurance was given them of a fair hearing of what they might have to say in their defence. It was, besides, abundantly explained, that they were not now to be taken to punishment, but to trial; that Mr. Cotterell had complained against them, and that the complaint must be examined into. Mr. Thompson addressed them through the interpreter Brooks; and a native of the Bay of Islands was present, who explained to them every word that was said. In the mean time, the men left on the other side of the stream had been divided into two bodies, consisting of sixteen and seventeen respectively, one under the command of Captain England, the other under that of Mr. Howard.

When the dispute was at the highest, Captain Wakefield, perceiving the danger of being separated from the men should a collision arise, proceeded to the creek with the intention of bringing them over in a canoe, which, as before stated, was laid across it.

Mr. Thompson, it seems, just then called upon Mr. Howard for his men, with some allusion to the number of natives. "I don't care if there are five thousand of them," was that gallant fellow's reply, as he led his party to the stream. In the canoe they met Captain Wakefield, whom the rest of the gentlemen were apparently following. "Keep your eyes on them, my men; they have their guns pointed at us," said Captain Wakefield, with characteristic coolness, to the advancing men. At this moment, observing some movement among the natives towards Mr. Thompson or the gentlemen, he exclaimed in a loud voice, with great energy, "Men, forward!—Englishmen, forward!" and a shot was fired, according to the explicit and consistent evidence of Joseph Morgan, by one of the maories, which laid his comrade Tyrrell dead at his feet.

These two men, with Northam, also killed at almost the same time and spot, were in advance of their party, and on the opposite bank

of the stream, when this occurred. It was then, apparently, that Mr. Thompson gave orders to fire—if any were given at all.

Before he could be obeyed, however, the maories had fired a volley, which was instantly returned. The gentlemen were crossing while this went on; Captain England, the last of them, wading through the water, into which he had fallen, holding on by the side of the canoe. Those of Mr. Howard's party who had reached the other bank, returned at the same time. The firing was kept up briskly on both sides for a few minutes; but in this skirmishing the maories had greatly the advantage, the bushes on their side being much closer, and affording far better concealment. This, and their previous confusion from meeting in the canoe, may account for the greater loss of life among the Englishmen. Immediately after crossing, Mr. Patchett received a shot in his left side. He leapt up, then fell, mortally wounded, on the spot where he had been

standing. Mr. Richardson came to his assistance, and bent over him to receive his last commands. He said, "I am mortally wounded; you can do me no good—make your escape." Northam and Smith fell at this time, near the same spot.

Captain Wakefield, observing his men already retreating—as well, probably, as the disadvantage at which they were fighting would permit, their enemies being almost invisible and themselves exposed—ordered them to retire and form on the hill. At this moment, "it is ascertained that the natives were on the point of taking to flight, when Rauparaha, seeing the retreat—for there is no doubt that they retreated immediately—excited his men, who, raising a war-cry, darted across the stream in pursuit of the Europeans."

These latter retreated, without order, in the direction of the hill; Mr. Thompson, Captain Wakefield, Captain England, and Mr. Howard urging them "for God's sake to keep toge-

ther;" but in vain. On the first brow, the most strenuous efforts were made by these gentlemen to induce the men to stand and form on the brow. Mr. Howard called on them to fix their bayonets and come to the charge; they, however, kept retreating up the hill, firing as they went. Captain Wakefield, therefore, in order to prevent a further sacrifice of life, ordered the firing to cease; and Captain England and Mr. Howard advanced towards the maories with a white handkerchief, in token of peace. Those in advance of the retreating party, however, still kept up a running fire as they pushed up the hill, which was returned by the natives on the whole party indiscriminately. Mr. Thompson was seen about this time, by one who escaped, stamping on the ground, and clutching his hair, as he exclaimed, "Oh, men! men!" in bitter regret and disgust at their conduct. "Here," says Mr. Barnicoat, "when we were assembled on the hill, like so many targets

which the natives were shooting at, Mr. Cotterell stood out from the rest, and said (I suppose, in allusion to his principles as a Friend), "I have nothing to do with business of this kind. If there are any of my men here, they had better follow me." Captain Wakefield then turned round, and in the most earnest manner addressed him: "For God's sake, Mr. Cotterell, don't attempt to run away; you are sure to be shot if you do."

The retreating party and the natives continuing to fire, Captain Wakefield and the gentlemen about him were compelled to proceed further up the hill, in order, if possible, to put an end to the conflict. Mr. Cotterell, after accompanying them a short distance, sat down, intending to deliver himself up. "This is poor work, Dick," said he to one of the men passing him. As the natives came up, he recognised among them one to whom he had frequently shown acts of kindness; to him he advanced with open arms. The maori there-

upon discharged his musket in the air; but two others immediately seized him, and dragged him by the hair down the hill into a manuka bush; there, as was afterwards found, they dispatched him with their tomahawks.

On the second brow, Captain Wakefield said, "Your only chance of life is to throw away your arms and lie down." He and Mr. Thompson, and Brooks, again shouted "Kati!" (peace), and waved a white handkerchief. Besides the last-mentioned persons, there were present Captain England, Mr. Richardson, Mr. Howard, some of the constables, probably Coster and Gardiner, Cropper, Macgregor, and a few others. Messrs. Tuckett, Barnicoat, and others, went off a little before. The rest fled up the hill in different directions, and were pursued a little way by some of the natives, who "had with them a dog, which they shouted to and encouraged in the same manner as when they hunt pigs." The natives now ceased firing, and as they came up the

white men delivered up their arms, at Captain Wakefield's orders. He himself gave up a pistol to one of them. The whole party seem then to have gone a little further down the hill, where most of the natives, with Rauparaha and Rangahiata, immediately joined them. The maories having shaken hands with the prisoners, who were standing in a group, loaded their guns and seated themselves in a half-circle before them, the two chiefs occupying the extremities. Mr. Richardson, who had received a shot in the hip, from which the blood flowed freely, requested Mr. Thompson to examine it, which he did. The maories brandished their tomahawks over the heads of some of the defenceless men. Mr. Thompson observing this, said to Rauparaha, "Kati," which he repeated, and the others then desisted. Rangahiata had wounded his foot by treading on a sharp-pointed stump; and Captain England, seeing the nature of the wound, took a pen-knife from his pocket, which

Bampton handed to him to cut out the splinter with. Having succeeded in doing so, he offered to return the knife, but Captain England signified that he would make him a present of it. Gold was offered as a ransom, but ineffectually. Two natives then approached Captain Wakefield, and, seizing him, attempted to strip off his coat. Colouring highly, it seems he endeavoured to draw another pistol, as Mr. Howard was heard to say, "For God's sake, sir, do nothing rash!" or words to that effect. Other natives laid hold of Mr. Thompson, and were taking his coat and watch.

Up to this point we have the evidence of white men and eye-witnesses for all we have stated. The only man that escaped, of all who surrendered themselves to the natives, and from whose deposition we have gathered the incidents we have related as occurring after the surrender, was George Bampton, who at this moment observing the attention of the natives drawn off him, slipped

into the bush, and succeeded in concealing himself. While lying there, he heard some persons passing near him, one of whom (he believes Mr. Howard) said to the other, "For God's sake, if we are to die, let us die together." To whom this was said he cannot tell. After having lain there nearly ten minutes in all, he heard about five guns fired; and immediately after a heavy dull sound, as it appeared to him, of a beating or chopping on the ground. He heard no cries or screams. Another of the party, who left before the actual surrender, and lay hid at a greater distance, heard guns fired at intervals of about five minutes between each, and much shouting and hallooing by the natives. And this is all we learn of the fate of our unfortunate friends from any of their own party.

According to native accounts given on board the brig, on her second visit to the Wairou, or taken as evidence by the Wellington magistrates after the surrender of the

white men to the natives, Puaha again endeavoured to become a peace-maker, and urged on his countrymen that enough blood had been shed, the number of killed being nearly equal on both sides. This was acceded to by Rauparaha, and the two parties shook hands. Whilst standing quietly in a group, they were joined by Rangahiata, who, having already killed the wounded on his way, demanded the lives of those who had surrendered. To this Rauparaha at first objected; but on Rangahiata's calling on him "not to forget his daughter" (one of Rangahiata's wives, who had been killed before by a chance shot), he offered no further opposition. Standing in the midst of the maories, the white men were easily separated; and whilst in this defenceless situation—perhaps without even a thought of treachery—Rangahiata silently glided round, getting behind each singly, and with his tomahawk brained them all in succession, in spite of the intercession of some of

the women, who cried to him to "save some of the rangitaras (gentlemen), if only to say they had saved some."

With the foregoing remarks about the native chiefs, which I hope may throw some light upon the general character of the maories, I can only say, that I never knew one of them guilty of dishonesty, in any of the frequent dealings which I have had with them, although I have often trusted them with spirits, tobacco, and gunpowder, all of which they covet excessively. I always found them good-natured, and very quick at understanding the many new offices which they were called upon to perform when employed by me. They are more easily led than driven, and will always resent a blow if given in anger. I think that those who profess Christianity shew great care in attending to the forms of their respective faiths, and are mostly sincere. The only hypocrite I ever met amongst them,

on a religious point, was John Heki, and he frequently perverted the Scripture to suit his own ends. His intimate knowledge of the Bible astonished me, making use of several lengthy quotations in my only interview with him; and on hearing that I was the person who took old Rauparaha prisoner, he sarcastically asked me how much the Governor gave me for taking a poor old man out of his hut when he was asleep; and was I not proud of the achievement? On my answering that I did not get much for this old chief, who was a brave man, but, little as I got for that, I would take him for half the amount, as he was a well-known coward,—his people, who were sitting round, laughed heartily at his expense—a point on which all maories are very sensitive. Nearly the whole of his tribe are missionaries, which is what the natives call all Christians; but they are not good examples to take as shewing the success which has attended the missionaries in this colony. Inhabiting a

neighbourhood frequently visited by numerous ships employed in the whale fisheries and other trades, the crews of which have not improved the morals, or in any way assisted by their example or precept in impressing them with as favourable an opinion of their Christian brethren as they might have had if thrown amongst a steadier and better educated class of men, has done much to undo the little good they have ever learnt.

It appears to me unaccountable, but it is nevertheless true, that nearly the whole of the natives who took part with John Heki against the Government in the Bay of Islands were Protestants, and continued most strictly to attend to the forms of their religion throughout the war. They at the same time shewed some good feeling towards the missionaries, by respecting their property when they were destroying every one else's. I have observed, that where the natives had little intercourse with Europeans except the missionaries, not

being in the habit of visiting the large settlements, or being near the harbours frequented by European vessels, they were always the best behaved; this telling greatly in favour of this much abused body of men.

The generality of settlers are not aware of the impressions which their thoughtlessness often makes on these ignorant people, who are very quick at detecting anything in a European inconsistent with what they have been told Christians ought to be. They are very superstitious regarding the rites to be attended to on the death of a chief—the keeping sacred the spot where his remains are deposited, which is called tabu: any one, even through ignorance, guilty of intruding on any spot under this kind of interdict, is likely to suffer for it, even to the loss of life. The principal chiefs hold the power of tabuing a road or plantation, or any other place; for instance, Rangahiata tabued the road leading from the principal settlements on the coast, by

calling it his backbone; and consequently no one dared trespass on such tender ground: thus cutting off the only means which the out-settlers possessed of bringing their cattle and other goods to Wellington for sale. On its being attempted by an Englishman to drive some cattle along this road in spite of the tabu, his cattle were seized, and himself threatened with death. Some persevering natives of another tribe met with no better success in a similar undertaking: this took place after the Governor had strictly forbidden that such stoppages should be made on any account, and was the immediate cause of the commencement of hostilities in Cook's Straits.

Great complaints have been made of the filthiness of the New Zealanders, but I have met with very many exceptions to this imputed defect. Their usual mode of life prevents that cleanly appearance which they might have; they of course become dreadfully smoke-dried from their custom of having fires

in their huts without any chimney, which not only discolours their skin, but their usual garment or mat naturally becomes very dingy. The habit of rubbing shark oil over the body is growing into disuse, and the wholesome substitute of soap and water superseding it. They are creatures of example, but I do not think naturally fond of dirt. As a proof of what may be done with them, I can safely say that the natives employed in the police force at Wellington and Auckland, in their neat green uniform, look as soldier-like and respectable as any of their comrades, their accoutrements always being well cleaned and kept; and it is astonishing how well these men did their mixed duty of soldier and constable. I have seen them walking about with their carbines under their arms when in charge of the prisoners working on the roads; watching them most intently, not allowing anything to take off their attention even for a second.

CHAPTER II.

ARRIVAL AT THE BAY OF ISLANDS—MARCHING UP TO THE CAMP AT RUAPEKAPEKA — PUKUTUTU'S PAH—FIRST NIGHT IN CAMP—BURNING THE HUTS BY ACCIDENT—NATIVE TRIAL—TAKING OF RUAPEKAPEKA—COLONEL DESPARD'S DESPATCH.

We arrived off the Bay of Islands on the 31st of December, 1845; and having spoken a small schooner, we ascertained that the squadron was in the bay, and that in all probability the natives of Kawiti's tribe, with John Heki and a number of the discontented from the neighbouring pahs, would soon be attacked in their stronghold, which they had built some distance up the country: we accordingly gave up the idea of going on to Auckland with the freight of £5000, and

worked into the bay. Before dark we saw a man-of war's boat coming out under sail, which proved to be the *Osprey's* cutter, with the captain and master, who came to shew us the way in, and also to give the senior officer's orders, that on our arrival the marines and a party of blue-jackets were to be immediately disembarked and proceed to join the brigade. The news soon spread through the ship; and we all became warlike, and anxious to be of the party. The marines were to proceed to the camp direct, but our men were to hold a stockade at Pukututu's pah, at the head of a muddy little river, with just sufficient water to allow of the launches getting up with the provisions and guns. Had the natives been so disposed, a small party might have proved very troublesome on the banks of the river to our people going backwards and forwards: they, however, did not take advantage of this.

Taking the guns up to Ruapekapeka, was a feat not accomplished without difficulty and

hard work, the landing and getting the thirty-two pounders up a perpendicular hill being in itself quite an undertaking. They were afterwards moved fourteen miles over the most hilly country it has ever been my fate to travel, without a particle of road, and passing through a dense wood. The only assistance the men had were a few oxen—and they, poor animals! had no sinecure: subsequently some horses were procured by the commissariat; this, however, took place before our arrival, at least the greater part of it. I must now describe what occurred after our landing—a scene not easily forgotten.

As soon as the men were told off, and the officers named who were to compose the army (which, by the bye, included nearly every officer in the ship), the muster of dangerous weapons was alarming, the costumes ludicrous. With few exceptions, we made our wills and wrote home, leaving the letters with the ship-keepers. After we were pretty well prepared, we had a

convivial meeting in the gun-room, which lasted nearly all night: few if any of the junior members indulged in sleep. I was not to be of the fighting party, but managed to get the captain to send me with the despatches for the Lieut.-Governor in his six-oared whale-boat, which we had brought from England, himself taking a passage with the commander of the *Osprey* in his gig. We left the ship at four o'clock in the morning, with a beautiful fresh breeze, and the country looking magnificent—thickly wooded down to the water's edge. We called alongside the *Castor:* she, with the *North Star*, *Racehorse*, and the Hon. Co.'s sloop *Elphinstone*, were lying together at the mouth of the Kawakawa, a small river before mentioned. Having remained there a few minutes we proceeded to the *North Star*, where Captain Stanley very nearly shot one of the officers in the gun-room, whilst showing him what safe things the patent six-barrelled revolving pistols were;

one of the six barrels going off *mal-àpropos*, passed through the bulkhead of one of the cabins. Leaving her, we proceeded—and a precious narrow, muddy ascent we had to make; however, in good time we arrived at Pukututu's pah. There a party of men from the *Racehorse*, under the command of Lieutenant Johnson, senior of the *North Star*, were stationed. The *Calliope's* party were to relieve them, and they were to advance to reinforce the camp at Ruapekapeka; having regaled ourselves with a glass of beer at the pah, which was made very comfortable by the addition of a table and stools in one of the huts, with plenty of dry fern for a carpet. As this was our residence for several weeks after, I may as well give a slight sketch of the place.

It was a clear space of ground, including about two acres of land on the top of a hill, enclosed by stakes of various dimensions, the largest being about the size of a man's thigh, and the smallest mere sticks, rather neatly

arranged, and tied together with flax: the shape was an indescribable one; it had probably been added to at various times, to suit the number of inhabitants. The huts had undergone considerable improvement since the arrival of the English, both in appearance and comfort; the grass roofing having been made water-tight, and doors put up, as well as a window in the one appropriated to the officers. The fires were lighted in the open air, and all the cooking done outside the stockade, for a time; our houses being composed of such combustible matter that a spark would have set the whole of them in a blaze: and as we had a considerable quantity of ammunition of various descriptions in a magazine, made by the boatswain of the *North Star*, in the stockade, it would have been a catastrophe not to be desired. To proceed: we left this, with our despatches carried by the gig's crew, and two days' provisions, as well as a tin box containing ammunition for guns and pistols,

belonging to the captain. We had not gone far before we met a midshipman returning from the camp on horseback; and Captain Stanley, being rather lame, relieved him of his steed and mounted, finding he could not march very well with a sprained leg.

We found the road along the ridge of hills very warm; and I and the captain's clerks, who accompanied me as amateurs, frequently relieved the men from carrying the boxes. Their feet beginning to get very sore, we took a rest, having proceeded about eight miles, and began our lunch, or dinner, the tin box quite repaying us for the trouble of carrying it. We then took to the road again: the captain pushing on as fast as his own lameness would allow him to ride, we soon lost sight of him; and in about an hour after the second start, two of our men were completely knocked up, and obliged to lie down on the road; they were, moreover, parched with thirst, having eaten raw salt pork; and not a

drop of water could we get for miles. We met Sir Everard Home, the captain of the *North Star*, who had been for some time the senior officer, but was now relieved by Captain Graham, of the *Castor*, on his way to Pukututu, to whom Captain Stanley introduced himself. He seemed to think us crazy, carrying the boxes of despatches across such a country on such a scorching day. We made sad travelling of it; and, considering the weight of what we carried, I don't wonder at it; the distance being about fourteen miles, and the hills so fearfully steep, that when the guns were taken up they were obliged to use hawsers rove through blocks to get them up one side of the hill and to lower them down on the other. The boats' crews had pulled some eight or ten miles before we started on our march; and we had none of us been refreshed with a night's rest, which fully accounted for our bad condition. As we proceeded, every one of us showed a dead-

beaten countenance; and we were obliged to leave one of the clerks a long way behind, with cramp, after having supported him for a mile or two, finding it impossible to give him any more assistance.

We at last came to a river in the valley, thickly wooded, and beautifully cool, where we threw ourselves down and eagerly drank the delicious water. Here we made up our minds to await our straggling companions, who would of course exert themselves to their utmost in getting on, as they were at the mercy of the natives in their present situation. We also held a council of war over the tin box, the key of which the captain had taken with him. It was unanimously voted we should break it open and satisfy our hunger, now become insupportable since we had relieved the more pressing want of thirst. My sword was accordingly applied to the hasp which held the padlock, and open it flew. We did not take

long in carving the remaining cold fowl, and whatever else it contained. We were, in the mean time, rejoined by our lame friend, who revived considerably after taking a glass of the captain's port wine. We soon reached the camp after this last halt, and finding out the Governor's tent, delivered our despatches; we then proceeded to the head-quarters of the naval brigade, where we were kindly received by the officers of the *North Star* and *Race-horse*, who had a rough shed for a mess-place, which we shared with them.

One of the mids of the *North Star* good-naturedly invited me to partake of his hut; there were a few burning fagots in the middle, and, with my blanket, I made myself comfortable, and was introduced to some distinguished guests in the shape of maories, who joined us in our pipes, and favoured us with several songs, which I will describe hereafter. I gave all the news I could to those who had not been fortu-

nate in receiving letters from their friends by the mail we brought out.

At the eight o'clock muster we were shown the trenches; and the position we were to take in them was pointed out to us, should there be an attack in the night, which was thought very probable; consequently, we all turned in like troopers' horses, fully accoutred. I for one should have slept soundly enough, notwithstanding this, had I been allowed; but the first interruption we had was a musket-shot, fired by one of the sentries at some imaginary spy from the enemy's pah; which complaint being very catching, about a dozen more sentries fired because the first had done so. The bugles immediately sounded the alarm, and the boatswain's mate piped all hands to the trenches; and out we turned, helter-skelter, jumped into a muddy wet ditch, and placed ourselves in a stooping position, which soon brought on the cramp in my legs.

There was, however, no enemy to be seen; the night was dark and pretty cool; and the bushes and stumps of trees, to my uninitiated eyes, took the forms and faces of the tatooed tribes whose acquaintance I had so lately made. After cooling our courage for about an hour and a half, we were quietly dismissed without having had a chance of satisfying the craving for fight, which comes to all beginners stronger than it ever returns after it has been once gratified. The next morning, although not much refreshed by our night's rest, having had a second interruption soon after the false alarm, by one of the sentries nearly shooting an officer of the *North Star* when going his rounds, we started for Pukututu's pah, where we were to join our own party. We walked down much better from having nothing to carry, and reached the half-way camp very well. There we rested while the men had their dinner; my companions lying down in a hut to take a nap,

while I was endeavouring to boil some water in a glass bottle to make coffee. Unfortunately the wind was very high, and the fuel very light; consequently the sparks flew to the roofs of the huts, and in a minute or less the whole camp of twenty or thirty grass houses was in flames. I ran in and roused my comrades, the blaze saving me the trouble of telling them what was the matter. The men who had dozed off were soon made aware that there was no time to be lost in getting the arms and ammunition, as well as themselves, into a place of safety; and having a barrel of ball cartridge, it was as much as we could do, by running into the flames, to prevent an explosion. We had to retreat as fast as we could: the grass being very dry, and catching fire, the whole country was soon in a blaze for a mile or two round our late quarters. We reached our destination without any more mishaps, and were enrolled as part of the force for the protection of the place. Here

we lived as it were on a perpetual picnic. Our duties not being very arduous, enabled us to drill our awkward squad, which they much wanted. We were frequently warned of an intended attack. The excitement kept the men on the alert, and, consequently, many a poor stray pig and dog lost his life for not answering the sentries' challenge. We were all in light marching order, having nothing but a havresack and blanket besides our arms, and were obliged to wash our own clothes in the river, whenever we got a good drying day; and many a laugh we had at the first attempts of some few among us in the laundry line.

Whilst stationed here, I witnessed the trial and punishment of two delinquents for *crim. con.;* the man was a slave of Pukututu's, and the woman the wife of a minor chief belonging to the same tribe, who was absent with the British force. We were astonished one morning to see our quiet neighbours running out

of the pah, and shouting most lustily, taking the direction of the old camp formerly occupied by the troops, on a hill just outside the stockade, in which we all lived together. They were mostly old men and boys, left to take care of the women and children; there were a few young men amongst them, who were employed taking parcels backwards and forwards to and from the camp. Several of us ran out to see what caused this extraordinary excitement. Just as we joined them, they had found the unfortunate woman, whom they had stripped quite naked in a very rough manner, and were dragging her down the hill to the lower pah, on the bank of the river, by the hair. She never uttered a scream, although she was much bruised and cut in her rapid descent. The man was brought down in a similar manner, only he was dragged by the heels instead of the hair. We ran down, and, not knowing what was about to take place, endeavoured to intercede

for the culprits, who we fancied would be dispatched with a tomahawk. However, being given to understand they were to be tried, and seeing all the men seating themselves in a ring round the prisoners, we stood by and witnessed the scene.

The case was opened by an old chief addressing the bystanders, and calling on such of them as took an interest in either of the prisoners to bring "utu" (compensation for the injury). No question was put to the prisoners, or any accusation made against them: the crime seemed to be acknowledged, as no defence was made. We waited for several minutes, wondering what would happen; not a word being spoken by any of the jury or the grave old judge, who held his tomahawk in his hand, looking solemnly savage. At last the stillness was disturbed by an old woman coming down from the pah with a kit, or small grass bag, of potatoes, which she threw down into the middle of the ring, near the culprits.

She was followed by about thirty or forty more natives of all ages, each bringing their load. One threw in a musket, another an axe, another a fish-kettle, and so on, till the heap of goods became rather a valuable collection of maori property: there were several blankets and mats, knives, looking-glasses, fish-hooks, and such like. The crowd then stood round, waiting to hear the decision of the judge. He got up and walked to the heap of goods, turned the various articles over, examining some in his hand; and after a few minutes' delay, he said, "This is good; let us keep it." Whereupon the jury, prisoners and all, jumped up and began moving away the ransom to the hut of the late judge, in whose possession it was to remain till the return of the injured husband. It seems that the friends of both parties contributed towards their relief; and had they not been sufficiently popular to have produced generous feelings in their behalf, in all probability the man would have been dispatched on the spot,

and the woman by her husband on his return. As it was, they were both free; and the man in a moment recovered his usual impudent, free-and-easy manner. He said, as he passed us, "*All right!*"—which he had reason to congratulate himself for. The poor woman sneaked off, looking as if she thought it anything but all right, and evidently feeling that her punishment was not over yet.

We asked some of the maories who were Christians, how they could join in such a trial; and if the "utu" had not been paid, would they have sanctioned the murder of these unfortunate sinners? They answered in a careless way, that "utu" was always paid now-a-days, and murder not necessary.

The costume adopted by all the officers, in this as well as the previous expedition, was a serge frock and sword-belt outside, with the ammunition pouches attached to it; most of us having double-barrelled guns, and wearing the same havresack as the men, and a blue cap

without a band; our object being to assimilate our appearance to that of the men, the natives usually selecting officers as a mark on which to try their skill.

We remained here in constant communication with the upper camp and ships, sending up a daily supply of provisions from the latter, and once or twice a heavy gun, their battery not succeeding in making a breach. The morning of the 11th of January, some despatches arrived for the Lieutenant-Governor, and I was ordered to proceed with them: accordingly I was supplied with a horse by one of our native allies, and strapping a folded blanket on him for a saddle, mounted and took the road in company with a Nelson settler, who came up to have an interview with the Governor, after having been six weeks coming about eight hundred miles in a colonial smack with an Irish skipper, who declared he only had one fair wind the whole time, and that was a *foul one*, as it blew so hard they were obliged to

lay to. We got over the ground much more swimmingly than on the last occasion. As we approached the camp we heard a great deal of firing. Pushing on as fast as our horses would allow us, we soon reached the piquets, from whom we learnt that the pah was surprised, and that they were then following the enemy into the bush. We shortly after met a party bringing in the killed and wounded. It was pouring with rain the whole time, and the ground was dreadfully muddy and slippery; and the men were horribly besmeared with mud and gunpowder, and looked like anything but human beings. There were but few comforts for the poor fellows who had been wounded; but, notwithstanding, they did amazingly well, and some, who were very severely hurt, recovered perfectly. I left my companion and my horse at the camp, and proceeded on foot to seek Captain Grey, who was in the enemy's pah, where I found him with the colonel and several other officers; from

whom I learned that our native allies had gone into the pah in the morning and found it almost deserted: the enemy was in the rear at prayers, being Sunday, and our incessant firing of shells and rockets had prevented their assembling inside. I will, however, give the account contained in Col. Despard's despatch.

"Camp before the Ruapekapeka,
Kawiti's Pah, Jan. 5, 1846.

"Sir,—In my letter dated the 28th ultimo, addressed to your Excellency, I had the honour of detailing the proceedings of the force under my command up to that time; and I now proceed with the detail of what has taken place since. Before daylight on the morning of the 29th, a party of our native allies penetrated the wood immediately in our front in a most praiseworthy manner, and took possession of an open piece of ground on the opposite side, sending me immediate intelligence of what they had done. I directly moved for-

ward with 200 men to their support, and secured the position.

"The 30th and 31st were principally occupied in bringing up the guns and ammunition through the woods; a work of great labour and time, as it required between fifty and sixty men to each gun to get them through, on account of the heavy trees it was necessary to cut down in making the road, and the steepness of the hills they had to pass over.

"Several rockets and shells have been thrown into the pah on the 31st, and each day since, with the utmost accuracy, doing great credit to the officers of her Majesty's navy who directed them—namely, Lieut. Egerton, *North Star*, who had charge of the rockets, and Lieut. Bland of the *Racehorse*, and Lieut. Leeds of the H. E. I. C. ship *Elphinstone*, who directed the shells.

"On the morning of the 1st instant, I pushed forward a strong party into the only wood that now divided us from the enemy, and taking

up a position in the centre of it, on an open piece of ground about 400 yards from the pah, a strong stockade was immediately commenced for the purpose of covering a battery; and the work was sufficiently advanced before night to hinder any attempt of the enemy to drive us away: the work was carried on under cover of a very thick part of the wood, which completely concealed it from the enemy. On the afternoon of the following day, the enemy made a strong sally from the pah, with a view, it is supposed, of turning the flank of this advanced party of ours in the stockade, which was not yet finished; but they were most gallantly opposed by our native allies, under the direction of chiefs Tomati Waka Nene, Noble or Nopera, Mohai Tawai and others, who instantly dashed out and attacked them, driving them back with some loss, supposed to amount to eight or ten killed and between fifteen and twenty wounded. On our side five were wounded on this occasion; and one of

our most active chiefs, Rippa, was severely wounded the previous day in a skirmish with a small party of the enemy, who, it appeared, had come out of the pah for the purpose of picking off any stragglers from our camp, and who had succeeded in killing one of the volunteer pioneers, who had gone an unnecessary distance for water, and was shot in the act of taking it. Up to this date, no casualty, with the above exceptions, has taken place in the European part of the force.

"It may be proper for me to observe, that in the action of the afternoon of the 2nd, the European troops acted only as a reserve, at the particular desire of the native chiefs, who were fearful that their own people might be mistaken for the enemy and fired upon.

"I have the honour to be,

"H. DESPARD,

"Acting Colonel on the Staff, commanding the Troops in New Zealand.

"To his Excellency Governor Grey."

" Camp before the Ruapekapeka,
Kawiti's Pah, Jan. 9, 1846.

" Sir,—In continuation of my despatch of the 5th inst., I have the honour to acquaint your Excellency that, the stockade and battery mentioned therein as being commenced within about 400 yards of the pah being nearly completed, I determined on throwing up another, but much smaller, on its right flank, and considerably in advance, so as effectually to put a stop to any attempt on the part of the enemy at making a sally, such as took place on the 2nd inst.; as also entirely to cut his communication with the country on the side of our camp. This second work was completed this day, and two guns (one 18-pounder and one 12-pound howitzer), placed in battery within it. The larger stockade is also now completed, and contains two 32-pounders and four 5½-inch mortars. Our present position before the pah is as follows. The main camp is placed on an open piece of ground, or

rather ridge, with deep wooded valleys on either side, and thick woods both in front and rear; the distance from the pah supposed to be about 750 yards. In our front are three guns (one 32-pounder, one 12-pound howitzer, and one light 6-pounder), with an apparatus for throwing rockets. From this position several shells have been thrown into the pah, as well as rockets; and much execution must have been done by them, as they were well directed. Within the larger stockade, which, at the utmost, cannot be more than 400 yards from the pah, there are two 32-pounders, and four small 5½-inch mortars; and the wood in front of these guns has been so completely cut down, that nearly the whole face of the pah is now open to their fire. The small advanced stockade contains one 18-pounder, and one 12-pound howitzer, and commands a range not only along the same face (the western) that is exposed to the fire of our other batteries, but will also range along the southern

face, and, I expect, destroy the defences on the south-west angle. Our progress up to this period may have been considered slow, but great difficulties have been encountered, as your Excellency, who has been an eye-witness to all our movements, will, I am sure, admit; and the decided advantage that will arise to the colony at large, if we succeed in carrying this with little or no loss, has decided me in proceeding with so much caution.

"I have the honour to be,

"H. DESPARD,

"Acting Colonel on the Staff, commanding the Troops.

"To his Excellency Governor Grey, &c., &c."

EXTRACT FROM BRIGADE ORDERS.

"Camp before Ruapekapeka,
Jan. 11, 1846.

"The officer commanding the forces against the rebel chiefs Heki and Kawiti has the greatest satisfaction in congratulating the whole

of the force at the brilliant success that has attended their operations of the last two days. The capture of a fortress of such extraordinary strength by assault, and nobly defended by a brave and determined enemy, is of itself sufficient to prove the intrepidity and gallantry displayed by all concerned, whether seamen, marines, troops of the line, artillery of the H. E. I. C. service, or the volunteer pioneers; and it will be a most pleasing part of his duty to bring such conduct to the notice of his Excellency the Governor of New Zealand, and through him to that of her Majesty, and his Grace the Commander-in-Chief.

"The colonel cannot conclude this order without expressing his admiration at the brave and intrepid conduct displayed by our native allies on every occasion since these operations commenced; and more particularly since the assault of the pah, on which occasion their bravery was fully equal to what might have been expected from her Majesty's bravest troops.

"The colonel commanding feels the greatest regret at the loss of so many brave men as have been killed and wounded on this occasion; but it will be considered an alleviation by their friends, that they have fallen while nobly performing their duty to their Queen and country."

"Camp at Ruapekapeka,
Kawiti's Pah, Jan. 11, 1846.

"Sir,—It is with extreme satisfaction that I have the honour of acquainting your Excellency, that Kawiti's stronghold or pah, at the Ruapekapeka, was this day carried by assault by the force under my command, after a bold and most determined resistance on the part of the enemy, who continued the action long after he had been driven from the fortress; but the ardour and intrepidity displayed by the British force of every description, as well as by our native allies, overcame every obstacle, and after three hours' hard fighting the enemy was obliged to

fly, and dispersed in different directions. The detail of this attack, as well as that of the preceding day's cannonade, shall be laid before your Excellency with the least possible delay. I greatly regret to add, that our loss on this occasion has been heavy, as will be seen by the enclosed list of killed and wounded; but when the extraordinary strength of the place assaulted is taken into consideration, I am only surprised it has been so small.

"I have the honour to be,

"H. DESPARD,

"Acting Colonel on the Staff, commanding the Troops.

"To his Excellency Governor Grey, &c., &c."

"Camp before the Ruapekapeka,
January 12th, 1846.

"Sir,—In my letter of yesterday, I had the satisfaction of acquainting your Excellency of the fall of Kawiti's pah by assault on that day. I now proceed to communicate the

detail. On the morning of the 10th instant, our advanced batteries being completed (one within 350 yards, and the second about 160 yards off the pah), a general fire was commenced from all the guns, with a view of opening a breach into the place, and several rockets were thrown into it at the same time, for the purpose of driving the enemy out. The fire was kept up with little intermission during the greater part of the day; and towards evening it was evident that the outer works on those parts against which the fire was directed were nearly all giving way, but the numerous stockades inside crossing the place in different directions, and composed of much stronger timbers, were scarcely touched. Towards evening our fire slackened, and was only continued occasionally during the night to prevent the enemy attempting to repair the breaches that had been made. On the following morning, the 11th instant, no person being observed moving within the pah, a few of our native

allies, under a chief named William Waka, a brother of Tomati Waka Nene, went up to the place for the purpose of observing whether or not the enemy had evacuated it. This party entered the breach unopposed; which being perceived from the first battery, a party of 100 men of the troops under Captain Denny was pushed up rapidly, and together with the natives gained the inside of the stockades before they were perceived by the enemy, who, at the time, were sheltering themselves from the fire of the guns on a sloping piece of ground in one of their outworks. Our parties had scarcely gained the inside when they were noticed by the enemy, and a heavy fire of musketry instantly poured in upon them. The stockades, however, now became our protection; and strong reinforcements being immediately brought up from the camp, possession of the place was secured in spite of all the efforts of the enemy to drive us back, being obliged to retreat and shelter him-

self in a wood opposite the east face of the pah; where the trees being extremely large, and forming complete breastworks—many of them having been cut down previously, and evidently purposely placed in a defensive position—he was enabled to maintain a heavy fire against us for a considerable time, until a doorway in that face having been broken, the seamen and troops rushed out and dislodged him from his position. He, however, still continued to keep up a fire from the woods, but more with a view to cover his retreat, and enable him to carry away his wounded men, than with any expectation of renewing the contest. The attack commenced about two o'clock A.M., and all firing had ceased about two P.M. The extraordinary strength of this place, particularly in its interior defences, far exceeded any idea I could have formed of it. Every hut was a complete fortress in itself, being strongly stockaded all round with heavy timbers sunk deep in the ground and placed

close to each other—few of them being less than one foot in diameter, and many considerably more—besides having a strong embankment thrown up behind them. Each hut had also a deep excavation close to it, forming a complete bomb-proof, and sufficiently large to contain several people, where at night they were completely sheltered from both shot and shell. The enemy's loss has been severe, and several chiefs on their side have fallen. The numbers I have not been able to ascertain, as they invariably carry off both killed and wounded when possible. Several of the former were, however, left behind; and it has been decidedly ascertained from a wounded prisoner that the chief Heki had joined Kawiti in the pah on the afternoon preceding the attack.

"As your Excellency has been an eye-witness to our operations, and, I may say, actually engaged in the assault, it may be thought unnecessary to draw your attention to those persons who had a greater opportunity than

others of distinguishing themselves; but the satisfaction I feel in recording the obligation I am under to those persons, makes me persevere in doing so. To the officers, seamen, and marines from her Majesty's ships, for their extraordinary exertions in dragging the guns over steep hills and through difficult and thick woods, as well as for their distinguished bravery in action, the service on this occasion is greatly indebted. To Captain Graham, of H. M. S. *Castor*, for his co-operation, and the readiness with which he afforded every possible aid and assistance since his arrival;—to Captain Sir E. Home, who had previously been the senior naval officer, and who, not only upon the present occasion but on all former ones, has used the most strenuous exertions to forward all the objects of the expedition ;—to Commander Hay, of H. M. S. *Racehorse*, who commanded the whole of the seamen attached to the force, and who so greatly aided our operations by his personal

exertions and example, not only during the assault, but in all the previous difficulties we had to encounter;—to Lieutenant Otway, of H. M. S. *Castor*, commanding the small-armed seamen;—to Lieutenant Falcon, of H. M. S. *Castor;* Lieutenant Bland, and Mr. Nopps, master of H. M. S. *Racehorse;* and Lieutenant Leeds, H. E. I. C. S. *Elphinstone*, who all directed the fire of the guns with such precision and excellence; and to Lieutenant Egerton, of H. M. S. *North Star*, who directed the rockets, much of our success is to be attributed. To Lieutenant-Colonel Wynyard, commanding the 58th Regiment, I feel the greatest obligation. His advice was of the utmost use to me on many occasions; and his personal exertions, whenever an opportunity offered, as well as his gallantry during the assault, were most conspicuous. To the Captain commanding the flank companies of the 99th Regiment, and Captain Langford, Royal Marines (attached), much praise is due. To Captain Marlow, Royal Engineers, for his

exertions in constructing the batteries; Captain Matson, 58th Regiment, who acted as Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General; and Lieutenant Wilmot, Royal Artillery, who directed the mortar battery, great praise is also due. I have also derived great assistance from the services of Lieutenant O'Connell, Aide-de-Camp to Lieutenant-General Sir Maurice O'Connell, and Acting Major of Brigade to this force. And I must not omit to notice in very strong terms the indefatigable exertions of Captain Atkins and his small corps of Volunteer Pioneers, whose conduct and services during the whole operations have been of the greatest advantage. Every kindness has been shown to the wounded men by Doctors Kidd and Pine, the Senior Medical Officers, and all the medical officers, both naval and military. And I have reason to be satisfied with the exertions of the Commissariat Department, under D. A. C. G. Turner. The wounded men are generally doing well, and the only officer amongst

them a young midshipman of the *North Star,* Mr. Murray, whose ardour carried him too far when the enemy were driven from the woods. I have now only to express the peculiar satisfaction I feel, that your Excellency has had an opportunity of personally witnessing the toils and difficulties that were encountered, and the cheerfulness with which every part of the force exerted itself to overcome them; and I beg to express my own sincere thanks for the advice and observations that you have occasionally been kind enough to favour me with during that period. I should also wish to draw your Excellency's attention to Mr. Edward Shortland, who was prevailed upon to act as my interpreter, and who has rendered me many important services while acting in that capacity.

" I have the honour to be,

" Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

(Signed) " H. DESPARD,

" Acting Colonel on the Staff, commanding the Troops.

" To his Excellency Governor Grey."

CHAPTER III.

THE BREAK-UP OF THE CAMP—EMBARKATION OF THE TROOPS—FALSE ALARM AT PUKUTUTU'S PAH—RETURN TO THE "CALLIOPE"—REMARKS IN THE AUCKLAND PAPER—HARD CASE OF A SETTLER AT THE BAY OF ISLANDS—DEPARTURE FROM THE BAY OF ISLANDS, AND ARRIVAL AT AUCKLAND—BALL GIVEN BY THE INHABITANTS—NEWS OF DISTURBANCES IN THE SOUTHERN SETTLEMENTS—MINERAL PRODUCTIONS—FLAX AND DYES.

THE break-up of the camp at Ruapekapeka was rendered a melancholy scene, through the burial of poor fellows who lost their lives there. Their comrades were first consulted as to their having any wish to move the bodies down to Kororarika churchyard, but they requested they might be interred where they had fallen. Few, if any,

were sorry that the affair was ended, as there was but little comfort during this campaign; the scarcity of water being in itself a most unpleasant evil, particularly as every one had to sleep in his clothes; and from sitting over damp wood fires the skin became very much discoloured, and it required rather a larger portion of water to cleanse one than could be procured for ten people. The wounded men were brought down in cots slung on long poles, and embarked at once on board the *Castor*.

The whole force halted one night at Pukututu's, encamping round the pah; and, being fine weather, it was a cheerful sight to see such a variety of costumes for so small a force, and such good feeling displayed by the several services to each other—not excluding our gallant band of native allies, who were in great repute at the watch-fires. The shouts of their war-songs were to be heard in chorus with many an old English ballad from the

soldiers, as well as the "fore-bitter" (Jack's song) of our own people.

The next day was spent in embarking the heavy guns, troops, stores, &c., leaving a strong guard with our party. It was nearly dark when the guard left us to march down to another place of embarkation, a few miles nearer the ship; and we were to leave our post in an hour or two, but were prevented by an alarm being given, by some of our native allies, that Heki and his party were close to us, evidently intending to attack our stockade, and would be on us in a few minutes. At this time we had only forty men, and no field-piece, the one which had been stationed there having been embarked that day. We immediately sent a messenger after the guard of soldiers who had just left us, requesting they would return and reinforce us; and in the mean time making such preparations as we best could for holding the place against such a very

superior force, it having been reported that he had 500 men with him, all smarting under the late loss of their pah, the out-manœuvring being a bitter pill for them. The troops soon returned, much to our satisfaction; and we then felt secure that, however many of the enemy came, they could not force an entrance without a very great loss, if at all, as we had men enough to line our whole stockade—about 150. We waited anxiously until it was quite dark, and then, seeing no sign of them, we made ourselves snug for the night the best way we could, with such fare as we could collect, warning our sentries to keep a sharp look-out, in case of an attempted surprise. We mustered under arms an hour before daylight the next morning, that being the most likely time for them to come, if they did at all. However, it turned out that such was not their intention, for they had passed on, and taken up their quarters at a neighbouring pah.

We all reached the ships unmolested, after an

absence of five weeks, during which time we had become quite colonial—an expression very common both in New South Wales and New Zealand, and means that we had learned how to sleep in the bush with a blanket round us, smoke a pipe before breakfast, dispense entirely with shaving and very nearly with washing, cook our own dinners, wash our clothes, occasionally sit over a damp wood fire without crying (a feat which, by-the-bye, takes a few days to learn), build a waré or hut, paddle a canoe without upsetting, and say Cawpie the maori, "very good the native!"—with which accomplishments, we were supposed to be quite eligible for the colony. During our absence from the ship, those on board had been employed principally in bringing our supplies up to the pah, but on several occasions had had a day or two's chace in the boats after whale-ships, supposed to be trying to land powder for the natives. We had at this time blockaded the Bay of Islands, much to the in-

convenience of these whalers as well as other trading vessels; but we knew how much traffic was done in powder, and the Governor having determined that the rebels should not be supplied with that article, prevented them from coming in at all. Since this the introduction of powder has been forbidden by an Act of the Legislative Council, under a very heavy penalty; not only the sale, but giving it away, or bringing it into the colony without a permit. The sale of arms has also been forbidden for the present.

During our short stay at Kororarika, we had frequent visits from our native friends; and it was with evident regret they saw us depart, as they liked the excitement of a campaign very much, and felt proportionably stupid now that it was over. We took the wounded natives round to Auckland in the *Castor*—that is, those who specially required medical treatment. One of the wounded maories of Kawiti's tribe was a prisoner amongst

them, and evidently thought at first that the probing the wound was done to torture him. I believe he never recovered: had he done so he would have been set free.

I give an extract from a colonial paper, to show the opinion of the press as to our proceedings. None of them, indeed, have been lavish in their praise of those who have had the unpleasant duty of fighting their battles, paltry as they may appear. Some one or two fulsome paragraphs have appeared from time to time, but they were too glaring to be received except with the ridicule they deserved.

EXTRACT FROM THE "NEW ZEALANDER."

"Saturday, January 24, 1846.

"'Be just, and fear not.
Let all the ends thou aim'st at be thy country's,
Thy God's, and truth's.'

"We announced in our last publication the arrival of his Excellency Governor Grey from the seat of war on the morning of Saturday last, and the intelligence that Kawiti and

Heki had been driven from the pah of Ruapekapeka, which was subsequently destroyed.

"On Saturday evening the Government *Gazette* appeared, containing despatches from Colonel Despard to Governor Grey, detailing the recent operations of the combined forces in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Islands. The *Gazette* of last Saturday was published on Monday morning, in a second edition. On Wednesday last the Government republished the *Gazette*, with two additional despatches from Colonel Despard, dated the 9th and 14th of January; and we have this day republished the whole of these documents.

"The despatches are prefaced by a notification from the Colonial Secretary, by his Excellency's command, that these operations have 'resulted in a series of successes which must produce the most beneficial consequences to this portion of her Majesty's dominions.' With this introduction, it might be anticipated that the despatches would detail brilliant ac-

tions and skilful tactics. The actual result of the present campaign in the northern district, more especially that Kawiti and Heki are now suing for peace, is certainly a source of great satisfaction, however fortuitously it may have been brought about; but the manner in which possession was gained of Kawiti's pah did not, in our opinion, justify the lengthened, pompous, commendatory despatch of Colonel Despard, in which a mere casualty of the defenders—being at prayers without the pah, enabling our troops and allies to enter unperceived and unmolested—is termed 'the capture of a fortress of extraordinary strength by assault, and nobly defended by a brave and determined enemy.' We consider, therefore, that a plain unvarnished narrative of the facts, from authentic sources, will be acceptable to our readers.

" It appears that on the 1st of January the British forces established themselves in a strong stockade in the middle of a wood, distant

about 400 yards from the pah of Kawiti, and in which, subsequently, were mounted two 32-pounders and four small 5½-inch mortars; and, the wood in front of the guns being cut down, the western face of the pah was exposed to their fire. On the 2nd inst. Kawiti made a sortie from his pah, for the purpose of turning the flank of this stockade, and destroying it before it was finished; but Nene and our allies drove them back, killing four and wounding several of the enemy. The British troops were not engaged in this affair, at the particular desire of the loyal native chiefs.

"After this sally from the pah, another small stockade, but more advanced, about 160 yards from the pah, was erected, mounting one 18-pounder and one 12-pound howitzer, for the purpose of destroying the south-west angle of the pah. The main camp was distant about half a mile from the pah, situated on a ridge surrounded on all sides by thick woods. In front

of the camp were three guns, with an apparatus for throwing rockets.

"On Saturday, the 10th inst., all the batteries being completed, a general fire was commenced from the whole of them, for the purpose of effecting a breach; and rockets were likewise discharged, in order to annoy the enemy within the pah. Towards evening the outer works evinced the effects of the guns, and three breaches were made. An assault was then contemplated by the commanding officer, and 200 of the troops were told off to lead the attack. During the afternoon a great number of the natives had been seen from the battery to enter stealthily the pah in small parties; and it was very clear that the natives within the pah were considerably reinforced, and also that they were well prepared, and anticipating an assault. The chief Mohai Tawai remonstrated with the commanding officer, asserting that it would be sacrificing the lives of brave men to attempt the assault

on that evening, and that by continuing the breaching the object would be accomplished in a few days. The troops were then ordered back to the camp.

"On the following morning, Sunday, the 11th, about twelve of Nene's natives, with William Walker, his brother, approached the breaches to reconnoitre, and not perceiving or hearing any natives within the stockades of the pah, they entered; and as soon as they found they were unopposed, conveyed signals to our forces in the batteries, when the sailors and troops rushed forward in the pah, before Kawiti's natives, who were outside the pah, engaged at their karakia (worship), could re-enter. As soon as they ascertained that they had thus by negligence lost possession of their stronghold, they commenced a heavy fire on our troops from the woods and from the back part of the pah; but the numerical strength of the European forces and native allies, in addition to the protection afforded by the internal defences of

the pah, rendered all attempts unavailing; and if our troops and seamen had remained within the pah, instead of rushing out to contend with the natives in the woods, very few casualties would have occurred. After continuing the fire in order to carry off their killed and wounded, the natives retired into the woods to a pah about three miles distant, recently erected by Heki (who joined Kawiti on Saturday afternoon) as a place of refuge for Kawiti in case he should be expelled from Ruapekapeka. The loss of the European forces was twelve killed, of which number nine were seamen and marines—and thirty wounded, inclusive of seventeen seamen and marines. The native rebels suffered a loss of twenty-five killed, as correctly as it could be ascertained. Within the pah no ammunition or provisions were found. The former had been divided among them on the Saturday evening, anticipating the attack; and they had been subsisting on fern-root alone for some time previ-

ously. His Excellency Governor Grey was present during the whole of the operations, and was eye-witness to this anomalous assault on an enemy's fortification which had no enemy within it; 'the extraordinary strength of which in its interior defences—every hut being a complete fortress in itself, and the whole stockaded all round with heavy timbers, with a strong embankment behind them,'—enabled the combined European and native forces, above one thousand men, to keep out the original native possessors, in numbers not exceeding four hundred fighting men.

"In the brigade order of the 11th January, it is stated that 'the capture of a fortress of such extraordinary strength by assault, and nobly defended by a brave and determined enemy, is of itself sufficient to prove the intrepidity and gallantry of all concerned.' And Colonel Despard, in his despatch to his Excellency on the following day, remarks, that as Governor Grey was an eye-witness

to all the operations, and likewise actively engaged in the assault of the fortress, it might be considered unnecessary to particularise those individuals who conspicuously distinguished themselves; but he feels so much satisfaction in recording his obligations, that he perseveres in immortalising twenty-one individuals, and lastly his Excellency himself participates in the lavish applause. On this occasion we fear that the drummers and fifers will feel themselves deprived of their laurels in this assault, from the omission of a paragraph complimentary of their services.

"That praise and promotion should be awarded in the highest degree and to the fullest extent for meritorious services, no one will deny; but care should be taken that justice is strictly and impartially rendered to all, and that no omissions are made in the commendatory list. That the whole of the officers and troops have individually endured

great privations and most arduous duties, in a warfare quite novel, in a country perhaps unequalled as to difficulty in military operations, and with an enemy fierce, wily, and courageous exceeding anticipation, there cannot exist a difference of opinion; and for the devotion, zeal, and bravery evinced by all, whether seamen, marines, troops of the line, artillery of the H. E. I. C.'s service, or the Auckland volunteer militia, all are deserving of the highest praise and the grateful thanks of every settler in New Zealand.

"But however fortunately these events have come to pass, we have the greatest pleasure in announcing to our readers that they have occasioned serious overtures of peace from Heki and Kawiti. On Saturday last Heki and Kawiti went to Pomare's pah at the head of the koratu; but that wily chief would not admit them, for fear of implicating himself, and incurring the censure and punishment of the Governor. They sent to Nene, requesting

him to meet them, in order to convey to the Governor their request for peace. Nene would neither go to them nor suffer them to come to him, but deputed his brother, William Waka, to receive their communication. Being convinced that they are really sincere in their desire for a termination of hostilities, Nene has come to Auckland in the *Victoria*, with the concurrence of the other friendly chiefs in alliance with him, to acquaint his Excellency of the submission of Heki and Kawiti, and to intercede in their behalf. The two rebel chiefs throw themselves wholly on the mercy of his Excellency, resigning all their lands, and leaving it entirely to him to dictate the terms on which peace and order are to be established at the northern part of the island. We understand that his Excellency does not intend to deprive Heki and Kawiti of their lands, or to make them an appendage to the property of the Crown. We consider this to be most wise policy; and

its moral effect on the minds of the natives throughout the islands will be great and beneficial, as it will prove that the Queen does not take up arms and carry on wars for the purpose of depriving the natives of their lands and properties, but to enforce submission to the laws.

"If our loyal allies are anxious that the rebels should be spared further punishment, and are also well assured that their present submission is sincere, and attributable to the effect and proof recently given to them, that the Queen will not allow insult to her flag, or robbery and outrage to her subjects, to pass with impunity; then we consider it would be no less consistent with justice than with mercy at once to grant full pardon, and obliterate the past. We learn that Nene will return immediately to the Bay of Islands, and that peace will soon be permanently established in that district. The blockade will be removed from the northern parts on the 1st of February, and

the customs re-established. Two hundred troops will remain there, with the *Racehorse* and *Osprey* men-of-war."

The foregoing leading article, coming out immediately after the first successful expedition which had been made against the rebels, and so soon after the arrival of his Excellency Captain Grey, who was so popular with all those who had served with him, did not incline us to think very favourably of the colonial press, which we certainly did not expect would pick our deeds to pieces, putting the worst construction on such weakness as it would have shown their good sense to have passed over in silence; for when we take it into consideration that such a large colonial force might have been formed, if we take the numbers who were physically capable of bearing arms, it seems to me that, out of compliment to the gallant little band who so nobly came forward from amongst the many, and

who were so deservedly highly spoken of by Colonel Despard under the denomination of Pioneers, they might have been as sparing of their remarks as they had been of their assistance. The successes had not been so numerous, or the hardships so trifling, that a commanding officer could afford to lose an opportunity of cheering the spirits of his almost worn-out followers by such praise as their perseverance under the most trying circumstances had warranted.

Every preparation was now made for leaving this truly beautiful spot, in which we had experienced two months of the most delightful weather that I have ever enjoyed in any part of the world. I can scarcely fancy a place possessing more attractions than the country round this bay. It possesses everything to recommend it as a settlement; the forests abounding in magnificent timber growing within a reasonable distance from the sea, rendering the embarkation of it a matter of little labour. And to

show the good opinion that those who had chosen this as their residence had of the place, I will mention the case of Mr. Wright, one of the early settlers, who had for a number of years roughed it, as all other settlers must, and had just begun to reap the reward of his labour and industry; having successfully cultivated the growth of some of the choicest of European fruits, as well as the stock of a good kitchen-garden, besides raising the more necessary farm stock of grain; which, with a few head of cattle, and a well filled poultry yard, promised fair, in a year or two, to rival some of our English pet farms. Things had reached this happy stage, when the unfortunate flag-staff war gave an opportunity to the malicious John Heki to vent his rage on this unoffending family—first by stealing the horses, which I have mentioned elsewhere, and lastly by burning down the house and the best of the fruit-trees, of which the old man was so justly proud; rooting up every-

thing in the garden, and, in fact, undoing in a few short hours all that had taken so many years of patience and hard work to accomplish. However, in spite of this, after everything became comparatively quiet again in that immediate neighbourhood, he took up his residence at the same spot, built another house, and, when we left, was going over the same ground which he had so successfully trodden years before; and looked forward cheerfully, notwithstanding the disheartening results of his former work, to again being surrounded with those comforts which had so cruelly been wrested from him. He spoke in the most glowing terms of the climate and the productiveness of the place, and expressed his regret that so few English ships visited the bay of late years, the whale-fishery and other trade being nearly exclusively carried on by the Americans.

When Captain Cook visited New Zealand, he appears to have formed the highest opinion

of the harbour and resources of the Bay of Islands, and mentions that it is particularly adapted for the establishment of a colony; and, should Great Britain ever turn her attention to this country, that this neighbourhood, or the banks of the Thames, possesses more attractions as a settlement than any other part of the Islands. The same great navigator seems to have appreciated the fish found in such abundance, both here and in the harbours and bays in Cook's Straits.

We left the Bay of Islands on the 19th of January, in company with the *Castor* and *North Star*, for Auckland, leaving the *Racehorse* in the bay. The ill-fated *Osprey* had left previously for Hookiengia, from whence she never returned. We had a delightful passage, and were the first ship of the three that arrived. We landed the troops which we brought round with us, and commenced provisioning. Next day the *Castor* and *North Star* made their appearance, and all our boats

were employed disembarking the troops. We had to land them up to their waists in water, there being no convenience in the shape of a wharf or quay available for this purpose, except at high water. The Auckland newspaper gives the following description of the harbour, which is but too true:—

"Our port is our disgrace: it is a mere anchorage, however excellent its holding ground. There is no facility for the landing of goods: on the contrary, serious expense and frequent damage occur to merchandise in its transit from the vessel to the warehouse of the merchant. Auckland, with very great natural capabilities, has notoriously the worst shipping accommodation of any port in the Australian seas. As for watering, there exists no means of supplying the necessities of the pettiest sloop: ships of war have to proceed elsewhere; and merchantmen fritter away their time, venting blessings on a spot where apathy is the dominant feature. Contrast this defi-

ciency of provision of the limpid element, in a town remarkable for its abundance, with the admirable facility with which it can be obtained at Sydney and Hobart Town—both places, Sydney in especial, proverbial for limited sources of supply—and the callousness to the interest of the shipping and the port becomes positively calamitous."

The day after the arrival of the *Castor*, H.M. steam sloop *Driver* came in from China. She had been expected for upwards of two months, but had been obliged to put back to Singapore after coming some considerable distance, having sustained serious damage in a typhoon in the China sea. She had been five years in commission, and was in a very dilapidated state, little calculated for service on this boisterous coast. Soon after her arrival we were entertained at a ball, given to us by the liberal inhabitants of the infant capital, which took place at a large room built for the purpose, adjoining the hotel, which place was

gaily decorated with the flags of all nations, sent from the different ships, and presented a very pretty appearance. The band of the 58th regiment attended, and afforded a good opportunity, to those who were lucky enough to find partners, of renewing their acquaintance with the almost forgotten accomplishment of dancing. There was a plentiful supply of everything but ladies, who were very scarce, there being at least twenty gentlemen to one lady. Our entertainers, however, endeavoured by every means in their power to atone for this unfortunate deficiency, by supplying abundance of champagne and every other luxury, which, with the newness of the polka, introduced by us, caused great hilarity, and many a step and figure was danced that night which was never taught at any fashionable dancing academy. We kept it up till daylight, pleasantly enough, with the exception of a round or two being fought between the manager of the ball committee and

the landlord of the premises, who had fallen out: the former not approving of the equality and fraternal system adopted by the latter, which gave great offence to this free-minded advocate of colonial liberty, who could ill brook being told that his presence was intrusive. The distinctions of society, so respected in England, are treated with truly republican contempt in New Zealand.

After the company had dispersed, we of the navy, not being able to procure beds on shore, or boats to take us off, dismantled the walls, and wrapped ourselves in the colours of the various nations, and lay down on the floor and benches in the ball-room to get a few hours' sleep, which we did very comfortably. Happening to awake first, I was much amused with the ridiculous appearance the several sleepers presented in their various adopted banners: one of them had the lion of England grinning fiercely at his heels, which protruded from beneath the folds of the stan-

dard; another having his head illuminated by the stars of America, the stripes of that free and enlightened nation giving him the appearance of a red-striped zebra. We soon shook ourselves clear of the bunting, and demanded a large supply of soda-water; after which we were glad to cool ourselves by taking a swim in the harbour, before we proceeded to join a cricket and skittle party at Epsom, about three miles from Auckland. There is a good road to Epsom, which place, however, only existed on the map, the inn being then the only house built in this intended village. Here we found a substantial *déjeúner à la fourchette;* after which we managed, with cricket, foot races, and skittles, to spend a very pleasant day, and returned to town pretty well done up with our amusements.

We found out, when we got on board, that we were to proceed in the ship the next day to Waihekie Bay, about twenty miles off,

for water. We accordingly made the best of our time to see all we could of the town. There are a great many very nice residences at Auckland, prettily situated, facing the sea; being mostly one-storied houses, with verandahs, and at this time of year (January) beautifully decorated with creepers. Some of the gardens are as good as any I have ever seen.

The government house, which has since unfortunately been burnt down, was a handsome building and prettily situated, and is said to have cost fifteen thousand pounds. The church, standing on a small hill quite close to the sea, gives the town a finished appearance. I believe I ought to call it a cathedral, Auckland being the residence of the Bishop, who does not, however, devote more time to it than to the more out-of-the-way parts of his diocese. Owing to the want of roads, he is obliged to travel in a small yacht, in which way he repeatedly visits every portion of his extensive and wild diocese. There are good substantial

barracks built on the hill within the government domain, where we met a great many natives selling their potatoes and fish to the soldiers; we also saw them hawking these goods about the streets. The fish seemed very plentiful and of an excellent quality; large canoes frequently came alongside of us, loaded with harbuka, a fish resembling our salmon and frequently weighing twenty pounds: our men used to barter tobacco for them, by which means they procured capital bargains. The harbour-master came on board and took us down to Waihekie, to the watering-place, where we found a capital stream running into the sea: part of the crew were immediately set to work filling the casks and watering the ship, whilst another party took the nets and went in search of fish, which we were told were very plentiful hereabouts. I accompanied the fishing party. We found a native pah close to the beach where we landed; and the maories, seeing our nets in the boat, came out to see the sport.

There was a white man amongst them, who was much tatooed about the face—the only one I ever met thus disfigured; he was married to the chief's daughter, and looked upon by the tribe as one of themselves.

I strongly suspect his tale of shipwreck, which was badly told, was not the real cause of his finding his way amongst them. He had evidently visited Sydney for "his country's good," and absconded from thence in some whale-ship. The first time we hauled the net, it was as full as it could be of the greatest variety of fish I have ever seen together—none of them large; there were about a dozen of the small sea-horses, which kept moving about very gracefully when set afloat again. We filled the boat with such of the fish as we deemed palatable, and gave our maori companions the remainder. They had all joined in the hauling, and seemed much amused at the singing which the men kept up to march to in drawing in the fish; and soon

caught up the cry of "Lots of fish!" calling out "Flots of phish!" in endeavouring to imitate us. We returned to the ship with our acceptable cargo, and found that she had been completed with water during our absence.

The next morning at daylight we got under weigh and returned to Auckland, where we heard that news had been received from the Southern district of threatened disturbances between the settlers and natives, which would make it necessary to send a force to Port Nicholson immediately. We re-embarked the troops, having received a reinforcement from Sydney of a few artillery, sent out expressly for service in this colony. The Governor embarked on board the *Driver;* and the *North Star* parted company, being homeward bound, after three years' service on this station, taking with her the good wishes of all. The *Elphinstone* also left us for India, taking a mail to be sent home overland *viâ* Bombay. Before leaving, his Excellency the

Lieut.-Governor issued a proclamation pardoning such of the natives as had been lately in arms against us in the North, who would swear allegiance to the Queen, and express their sorrow at their misconduct. The principal chief of the rebel party, Kawiti, was one of the first to accept these terms, and has never since given the least trouble: not so the civilised John Heki, who has still the same aversion to his Christian brethren which he has always shewn, and, had he sufficient influence amongst his own people, would be a most dangerous neighbour to the settlers in the Bay of Islands. As it is, he has caused them much anxiety; and were it not that he is kept in check by Tommy Waka and his gallant followers, we should have to keep a large force at Kororarika for the protection of the place.

On the morning of the 4th of February we left Auckland, and the weather being fine, had a beautiful view of the various islands lying

at the entrance of the river, some of which are rich in mineral productions, which, however, are not confined to these islands; coal, iron, limestone, copper, tin, manganese, nickel, lead, silver, bismuth, arsenic, cerium, sulphur, alum, rock salt, marble of various qualities and colours, cobalt, ochre, fuller's earth, asphaltum, pumice, volcanic earths and lavas, being found in many parts of the colony.

The New Zealand flax is another valuable production, which flourishes spontaneously in the greatest abundance: any person can have it for the cutting. Until very lately the natives have been the only people who have succeeded in preparing any quantity, but their method of scraping it with a shell is a very slow process, besides wasting three-fourths of the fibre. Mr. Cator, of Wellington, tried several experiments in preparing this useful plant, and was perfectly successful; and at present a large quantity of rope made from it is exported to Sydney, and many

hundred fathoms of whale line are made, to supply the whale-ships and stations on the coast of New Zealand; there are also establishments for making sacks and woolpacks, which are a great saving to the colony. The natives make very handsome mats, by beating the flax out with a piece of wood, and plaiting the border very ingeniously by hand. The dyes which they use are also the productions of their own country. The tanekaha tree yields a black or brown dye, and the tuhuhi a blue-black dye from the wood and bark, as does the mako; the whakou also yields a handsome blue. Some of their best mats sell for 5*l.*, the borders of which are really astonishingly coloured and prettily blended.

The following is a copy of a deed of purchase from the natives, showing the nature of the payments made by purchasers of land, as well as the articles most prized by the owners of the soil, who have, however, of late

years learnt to prize £. *s.* *d.* more than merchandise, having now become clever in making their own bargains with hard cash. Some few of them hoard their money, but generally they spend it advantageously.

"Know all men by these presents, that we, the undersigned chiefs of the harbour and district of Wanga-Nui-Atera, commonly called Port Nicholson, in Cook's Straits, in New Zealand, do say and declare, that we are the sole and only proprietors or owners of the lands, tenements, woods, bays, harbours, streams, and creeks within certain boundaries, as shall be truly detailed in this deed or instrument. Be it therefore known unto all men, that we, the chiefs whose names are signed to this deed or instrument, have this day sold and parted with all our right, title, and interest in all the said lands, tenements, woods, bays, harbours, rivers, streams, and creeks, as shall be hereafter described, unto

William Wakefield, Esq., in trust for the governors, directors, and shareholders of the New Zealand Land Company of London, their heirs, administrators, and assigns, for ever, in consideration of having received as a full and just payment for the same one hundred red blankets, one hundred muskets, two tierces of tobacco, forty-eight iron pots, two cases of soap, fifteen fowling-pieces, twenty-one kegs of gunpowder, one cask of ball-cartridges, one keg of lead slabs, one hundred cartouche-boxes, one hundred tomahawks, forty pipe tomahawks, one case of pipes, two dozen spades, fifty steel axes, twelve hundred fish-hooks, twelve bullet-moulds, twelve dozen shirts, twenty jackets, twenty pairs of trowsers, sixty red nightcaps, three hundred yards of cotton duck, two hundred yards of calico, one hundred yards of check, twenty dozen pocket-handkerchiefs, two dozen slates and two hundred pencils, ten dozen looking-glasses, ten dozen pocket-knives, ten dozen pairs of scissors,

one dozen pair of shoes, one dozen umbrellas, one dozen hats, two pounds of beads, one hundred yards of ribbon, one gross of Jews'-harps, one dozen razors, ten dozen dressing-combs, six dozen hoes, two suits of superfine clothes, one dozen shaving-boxes and brushes, twenty muskets, two dozen adzes, one dozen sticks of sealing-wax; which we, the aforesaid chiefs, do hereby acknowledge to have been received by us."

Then follow the names and description of the lands purchased, which is all made over and signed by seventeen chiefs, and witnessed in due form by two Europeans and one native. I must apologise for introducing this here, but as we were bound for the Cook's Strait settlement, which we had always been given to understand had been taken possession of without indemnifying the natives, who had otherwise been badly treated by the settlers, we found it a constant topic of discussion amongst those who pretended to know any-

thing about the colony. Most of us had imbibed the prevailing prejudice at Auckland, and were fully prepared to meet people who had purchased a large district for a few casks of rum and tobacco, and who were anxiously courting a war with the natives in hopes of exterminating them. We were, however, agreeably surprised on finding a much more substantial class of people than we had hitherto met, who, we had every reason to believe, paid a fair price for their possessions, and traded liberally with the natives, exchanging the articles mentioned in the foregoing deed for native produce and labour; fire-arms being the only objectionable item, which, however, the Government had previously trafficked with largely in the purchase of lands in the northern district.

CHAPTER IV.

ARRIVAL AT WELLINGTON — MURDERS AT THE HUTT — MILITARY STATIONS AT THE HUTT AND PORIRUA — VISIT TO THE ENEMY'S PAH — GUN-BOAT AT PORIRUA — BRUSH BETWEEN THE GUN-BOAT AND THE NATIVES — RAUPARAHA'S TREACHERY DISCOVERED — CAPTURE OF RAUPARAHA — VISIT TO WELLINGTON — BAD NEWS FROM THE HUTT — A COOK'S STRAIT NORTH-WESTER FRUSTRATES THE GOVERNOR'S PLAN OF ATTACK — EXPEDITION INTO THE BUSH — ENGAGEMENT IN THE HORIKIVA VALLEY — MAJOR LAST'S DESPATCH.

WITH our usual good luck we made a quick passage to Port Nicholson; not, however, without having had a slight introduction to the north-westers so prevalent in Cook's Straits, which, from subsequent experience, we found to be the greatest drawback to this in other respects most promising settlement.

Soon after our arrival we received a play-bill, which rather surprised us; having been given to understand at Auckland that this place was so inferior a settlement to the capital that theatricals seemed quite out of place. Curiosity, however, induced many of us to go and see what the place was like. We went accordingly, and found the house so full that it was with considerable difficulty we could get up to our perches—which we were told were the boxes. However, by dint of pulling from above and pushing from below, we managed to get into them. The ladder which had been placed for the accommodation of the audience mounting to these seats, had been broken before our arrival, by some of the audience during a slight disturbance. As soon as our eyes had become accustomed to the cloudy atmosphere, which was strongly impregnated with tobacco smoke, we discovered the stage and its recesses. The piece was just about to commence, the pit having come to an amicable

understanding with each other, after considerable demonstrations of pulling the boxes down and annihilating the occupants.

The first actor who made his appearance was greeted with such a shout, and underwent such an impertinent cross-examination as to where he had procured his red striped pantaloons, how the moustache was stuck on, &c., that he could not proceed. This being highly irregular, the manager came on to request that order might be kept; unfortunately for himself, he was known to the colonists as a vocalist, and was accordingly called upon for a song in such an energetic manner, that, to save the stage from being upset, he sang "The Admiral;" and being in the costume of "Macbeth," it had on the whole a pleasing effect. He was loudly applauded for his good-nature, which, however, was further put to the test by the wilful hearers calling on their first friend of the red striped trowsers to favour them in a similar way: he, however, not being

prepared to perform in this way, was hissed off the stage, and order was not restored until one of the actresses came on and sang at least half-a-dozen songs in succession, which were received with raptures of applause. The piece was then commenced, and went on smoothly for half-an-hour, when poor Macbeth happening to be left alone on the stage to get through some long soliloquy, the wayward audience, knowing him to be a dancing-master and excelling in the sailor's hornpipe, demanded it in a manner which would not bear a refusal. The fiddlers were accordingly ordered, in a very peremptory manner, to strike up; and poor Macbeth was obliged to start off. His long sword rather interfering with his steps, he laid it aside and went to work in capital style, which brought forth such shouts of delight and uproarious peals of laughter, accompanied by such stamping and screams and other symptoms of excessive approbation, that in a few minutes down came the boxes, the

supports having been knocked away from beneath.

This brought the hornpipe to a finale, and with it the whole of the performance. We, who had shared the downfal of the boxes, were glad to get out into the fresh air, having luckily escaped with a few bruises. We found out the hotel, and put up there for the night, finding it far superior to anything we could have expected after what we had seen at Auckland. The billiard-room was full, and we witnessed some capital play on a first-rate table. The Wellingtonians may well pride themselves on the accommodation that this establishment affords, which, considering the short time the settlement had been formed, surpassed expectation. Next morning we sallied out to see the town. The situation is more picturesque than convenient, the steep thickly wooded heights rising so abruptly from the beach as to make it necessary in many places to cut terraces in the side of the

hill to build upon. There are some good substantial brick buildings, the bricks being made on the spot. The principal mercantile houses are all on the beach. There are also numerous roomy stores and commodious shops, many of them having wooden wharfs attached, running out into ten or twelve feet water, allowing small vessels to come alongside and take in or discharge cargo. The town also boasts of a steam and a wind flour-mill, a strong gaol, a bank, four chapels of various sizes, belonging to different sects of Dissenters. The church is situated at the north-western end of the town, and is much smaller than many of the chapels. Near it are many of the principal residences, amongst which the one belonging to the New Zealand Company's principal agent, standing in a nice green lawn, with a pretty garden at the back, reminds one of an English villa. The Lieut.-Governor's house has also been built here, as well as a new barrack. There are rather too many

public-houses for the size of the place, which were generally well filled, owing partly to the unfortunate disturbances having thrown so many people out of work, and driven in numbers of the out-settlers from their farms, for the protection the town afforded.

The Valley of the Hutt, about three miles from the town, is the only flat part about the harbour, and is a most fertile and desirable spot in every respect, but was unfortunately one of the many disputed lots purchased by the Company. At the time of our arrival the sparring between the settlers and natives had exasperated the former to such a degree that a general feeling of discontent was manifested by them; and not without good cause, for, whoever was to blame, it is quite certain that the unfortunate purchasers of the sections on the Hutt district were the sufferers.

I will here give copies of a few letters from gentlemen who had lately taken possession of

their property in this neighbourhood, addressed to the Protector of Aborigines, and Police Magistrate; which may give an idea of the annoyances they were subjected to, after having as they thought got over the worst of their difficulties.

"Sir,—I beg to inform you, that upon my arrival at this place last night, I found that the old chief E. Kuri had come in the morning, with a number of natives, and begun falling the forest, with the intention of making a settlement within 200 yards of the house I am now building on section No. 31.

"E. Kuri and his party came again this morning. Upon remonstrating with him, he insists that he has never been paid for the land, and that he will not quit it without further payment. Under these aggravating circumstances, I trust you will see the absolute necessity of immediate measures being taken by the proper authorities, that a stop may be

at once put to this outrageous violation of property and good faith. I may suggest that an interpreter, well acquainted with the language, should accompany whoever comes, so that, if possible, an amicable arrangement may be made by my paying the maories for any work they may do, or that E. Kuri himself be summoned to Wellington. I have made a similar communication to Mr. Murphy, not knowing precisely who is to take cognizance of the outrage.

"I have the honour, &c.,

(Signed) "W. S."

"Saturday.

"My dear Sir,—E. Kuri's tribe will not let me have an inch more of my section, and have driven off the men as soon as they began to work on the ten acres I had let them. As this is a direct violation of their agreement with you, I see no other remedy than to remove them from the land at once, unless

E. Kuri, who went to Kaiwarawara this morning, can be brought to his senses. They have, in short, taken possession of the whole hundred acres, and will not allow me any more. I have written to Mr. Murphy, and I really hope something is to be done immediately. Another party have begun on the other side of the river, so that where all this will end Heaven knows! Pray excuse haste, as I send off a special messenger.

"Yours, &c.,

(Signed) "W. S."

"My dear Sir,—Our negotiations and the influence of the authorities last Thursday have had no effect whatever. E. Kuri has been amusing us in order to gain time; for as soon as the weather cleared up, the whole of his people fell to work, and the forest is now ringing with their axes. Meantime a reinforcement of between 200 and 250 men have

arrived at the pah, supposed from Porirua; they have taken possession of the sawyers' house, and fairly driven them away. This is another proof that conciliation, instead of lessening the evil, only makes it ten times worse: either they must be bribed off my land by the Company, or I am determined to bring this question to an issue, for I shall hold no commission of the peace where the law is all on one side. I cannot leave this place, for these rascals may come upon us: if they do, we shall resist by force of arms. Will you have the goodness to communicate this to Mr. Spain. I have no time to write to Mr. Murphy again, having done so before the enemy were reinforced.

"Yours very faithfully,

(Signed) "W. S."

"My dear Sir,—I know not what was said to E. Kuri by the authorities, but as the

weather cleared up yesterday, I found, to my unspeakable vexation, that he and his people began their work of destruction precisely the same as if you and the other authorities had not been here. I trust that you will now take some decisive measures, or we had better evacuate the colony and the islands.

" Yours truly,

(Signed) " W. S."

" P.S. Pray send me a line by the constable, for my proceedings are put a stop to until I know what is to be done."

" Tuesday morning.

" My dear Sir,—I have just time to let you know that a reinforcement to E. Kuri's tribe, of between two and three hundred men, have come from Porirua, and are working with them from one end of the land to the other. They are beating in all our advanced

settlers, and everything argues hostility of a most dreaded nature.

" Yours faithfully,

(Signed) " W. S."

" Sir,—I beg to call your attention to a circumstance that occurred yesterday on my premises, of a very aggravating nature, to my great inconvenience, and hazard of losing stores lying in the yard. Missionary Davis came with several natives and pulled down my fence, and commenced building a maori-house in my yard; and last evening I pulled it down. This morning he came with several men, to my inconvenience, and commenced building again; and has the impudence to tell me that yourself and Mr. Halswell will bear him out in it. I wish to know, if you please, whether he is to be held harmless, and to commit these outrageous acts with impunity?

" I am, Sir, your most obedient,

(Signed) " H. M."

"Sir,—I am extremely sorry I must call upon you for interference between the natives and my men, or I am sure a breach of the peace will be committed by the one or the other party. The conduct of the maories is too much to try the patience of any white man. They actually have split into fencing poles the very trees I had cut down by my men, to fence off what they call their ground; and they are now taking possession of my own clearings. I shall not have on my place even enough room which is escaped from the floods, to build a pigstye on; and this place, as a farm, is ruined. If you have no power to protect the first pilot in farming in this settlement, have the goodness to send a constable immediately to Wellington; and if you cannot effect any remedy, I shall be obliged to cease with my works, and consider this place as nothing further than my residence; and I trust that some party or other will indemnify me for the enormous

outlay I have made, and the losses I shall have to meet.

"I am, Sir, yours respectfully,

(Signed) "CHARLES VAN ALDSDORF."

Here we remained, waiting the arrival of Captain Grey and the rest of the force; on this event taking place, he, with his usual promptitude, set to work to ascertain the cause of dispute, as nearly as the conflicting statements of opposite and interested parties would permit: he also gave audience to a great many natives, from whom he endeavoured to learn what really was the bone of contention between themselves and the Europeans.

From what he could gather from them, it appeared that parts of the Valley of the Hutt, brought into cultivation by the settlers, had never been satisfactorily made over to the Company. Where the blame lay was not my object to find out; but that there had been lament-

able blundering somewhere is beyond a doubt, and consequently a beautiful tract of productive land, just coming into cultivation, and beginning to repay the holders of it for their hard work, soon became the scene of desolation and murder; the unfortunate farmers, with few exceptions, being obliged to leave their farms and residences to the tender mercy of the exasperated natives, and seek for protection in Wellington. The arrival of the force brought things to a crisis, for soon after two murders were committed on the Hutt settlers, as a warning to the rest to withdraw—at least those who held disputed ground. A detachment of troops was immediately marched out and stationed there for the protection of the neighbourhood, a large reward being offered for the apprehension of the murderers, and every inducement held out to persuade the natives to give them up. Fair means failing, we tried intimidation; and, to make a demonstration, the *Calliope* and *Driver* were sent

round to Porirua, the Governor having been there previously, endeavouring to persuade the wily old chief Te Rauparaha to use his influence with Rangahiata—who was then affording protection to the murderers, as well as to other discontented and badly-disposed natives —to give up the two men supposed to be guilty of the crime, for trial.

Upon our arrival, Rangy, and those who had cause to fear, as well as those who had a natural aversion to us, left the coast and proceeded to a pah at the head of a creek, partly surrounded by a small river, marshy ground, and wood: the approach to it was most difficult, the river being too shallow to admit of anything but a light boat ascending it. We had no idea of the strength of this retreat, and every day's delay was taken advantage of by them to secure themselves against surprise. We disembarked the troops we had brought round, and left them on a flat point of land with their tents, which

were in very bad condition, to encamp themselves, and to cut off the communication between Rangy and the natives on the coast, who were supplying him with provisions. The piece of ground on which they were encamped having been tabued, or made sacred, rendered it highly probable that they would be attacked before they had time to fortify themselves, which they did at first by digging a trench round their front, meeting the sea on either side, which protected their rear; but finding that twice the number of men which they could muster would not have filled it, that mode of fortification was abandoned, and a stockade contemplated.

The commanding officer of the troops applied for a boat and a party of seamen to cooperate in carrying out the Lieutenant-Governor's views, which were to cut off, if possible, any canoes endeavouring to get up with a supply of fish to the rebels, as well as to prevent any of their party from leaving their present abode.

I was accordingly sent in command of a light eight-oared boat and crew, having also a small whale-boat, manned by the Wellington police, also under my orders. My instructions were, to endeavour to get possession of the persons of the murderers, and also to capture their canoes, which would prevent their getting away without taking regularly to the bush—in this neighbourhood almost impassable from the dense woods and the steepness of the hills; at the same time, to avoid, if possible, commencing hostilities. With these instructions from the military commandant, and with orders from my own captain to make myself thoroughly acquainted with the navigation of the creek, at the head of which the enemy were supposed to be located, as well as to find out the exact spot and nature of their retreat, and to report to him my opinion as to the possibility of surprising the place by taking a force from the camp in boats at night, I was left

behind when the ship returned to Wellington, not exactly knowing how we were to avoid coming to blows if we endeavoured to cut off their supply of provisions, or to make any of them prisoners: however, the day after the ship left, we took one of their canoes coming down for provisions, the natives taking to the bush and leaving us an empty prize. Soon after this, being anxious to find out their exact whereabouts, we started at about three o'clock in the morning, in a light four-oared boat belonging to some of the military officers, several of whom volunteered to make a crew for her. We accordingly pulled up with muffled oars, accompanied by my own boats, all of us being well armed in case of accidents. We managed to reach the head of the creek, a distance of about three miles, just before daylight, luckily without sticking in the mud, or being discovered by any of the scouts, who were always watching

our movements from a little hill commanding a view of the camp.

Leaving the two larger boats at the entrance of the small river which ran out from the wood, we proceeded in the little gig, guided by the smoke; but, unfortunately, we got the boat aground: I was obliged to get out and wade, to look for the deepest water. After some little delay we succeeded in getting into the proper channel, and pulled up till we saw the stakes of the pah just over us, on the bank of the river, which was very steep and high, and the river itself not broad enough to allow of the boats being turned round; this we had luckily foreseen, and had taken the precaution of going up stern first. I ascended the bank, and soon found myself looking through the palings of the pah, which were trumpery defences. There was an old woman washing potatoes inside, and a nasty little cur with her, who discovered me and commenced barking. The old woman looked up and caught sight of

me, and set up a howl that would have awakened the seven sleepers, calling out "Pakeha!" (stranger) and rushing off to one of the huts to tell her tale. I rushed off the other way, to tell my comrades of the alarm I had created; and meeting the artillery officer, who was ascending the bank, I rolled over him in my haste, and nearly knocked him into the river. I had no time to apologise, but jumped into the boat, knowing that the natives would be in pursuit of us in a minute.

As soon as I had made my companions understand what had happened, we pulled for our lives, and had hardly advanced a boat's length before we heard a musketry-fire between us and the party we had left at the entrance of the river. We "gave way" manfully, and soon discovered that a party of natives on the beach, a few hundred yards from the mouth of the small river, were keeping up a brisk fire on the other two boats, which were, however, at too great a distance for it to take effect.

Upon discovering us they immediately ran over, and endeavoured to intercept us; but, as luck would have it, their progress was impeded by their having to cross several deep creeks, otherwise we must have fallen into their hands. Just as they discovered us, a brisk fire was opened upon us by our friends from the pah, who had lost no time in the pursuit. The two boats which we had left outside now pulled in to our assistance, endeavouring to draw the attention of the maories to themselves, without, however, firing a single shot in return. The natives, luckily for us, fired very hurriedly, and our pulling fast caused them to make very bad shots; notwithstanding which, many passed quite close enough to our heads to encourage our efforts to get out of reach of this nest of hornets. I was steering the boat, and kept my eye anxiously on the party, who were wading across the last creek, about twenty yards from the entrance of our channel, when unfortu-

nately the boat ran on the sand and stuck fast.

We all immediately jumped into the water, and carrying her bodily over the sandbank on which she had grounded, quickly got her afloat. Taking to the boat again, we pulled across a rather disagreeable fire, the musket-balls making a noise like the drawing of corks in every direction round about us. The other two boats, seeing we had got through the worst of our difficulties, pulled away; and none of us returned the fire, having been ordered not to commence hostilities. As we approached the camp we met the troops marching out, the commanding officer thinking that the natives would follow us down: the latter, however, gave up the chace about a mile from where they met us. We reached our quarters in safety, having made the discovery that Rangy would not allow us to trespass on his retreat with impunity. The next day, a report having reached Wellington

that we had been attacked in the camp, the superintendent and officer commanding the troops in the Southern district came out to ascertain what had really happened; and upon hearing my account, they regretted exceedingly that this decidedly unfriendly disposition should have been evinced, as it was not their policy to come to blows with Rangy and his party.

A day or two after this the camp at the Hutt was attacked, this district being a bone of contention. The rebels commenced by plundering the settlers here and at the Waisvetu river: two of them were taken prisoners, and tried by special commission. One of them, Kumate, was found guilty, and sentenced to ten years' transportation, but subsequently pardoned; after which, in a few days, a man of the name of Gillespie and his son were murdered by the rebels, showing that the leniency shown Kumate had been thrown away. Martial law was now proclaimed in the Southern district; and when-

ever we ventured now to approach within musket-shot of any straggling parties of Rangy's maories, we always found them on the alert; and I was frequently harassed whilst reconnoitring their position in my light boat, and twice had to retreat, upon their showing out in large numbers in their war canoes; my eight men being no match for two or three such boat-loads, each canoe containing about fifty men, mostly armed with double-barrelled guns. However, having found out that the water was deep enough to admit of a much larger boat being employed on this service, I suggested to Captain Stanley the necessity of having one which would enable us to meet the rebels on something like an equality.

A ship's long-boat was accordingly purchased, and converted into a gun-boat by the carpenters of the *Calliope* mounting a 12-pound carronade; which was brought round by the ship, and I was installed in my new command, Captain Stanley lending me a brass gun,

which he had purchased for his own boat. With these two pieces of ordnance, and the addition of six more blue-jackets, we were anxious to have another meeting with our cannibal enemies. After taking some little time to make the necessary arrangements which the boat required, we again ascended the creek. Having seen the natives through a glass in rather large numbers assembled on a point of land about a mile and a half from the camp, I thought it a good opportunity of trying if round shot and canister would compensate for the disparity in our numbers. The artillery officer kindly allowed two of his gunners to accompany me on this occasion, and I found them most serviceable.

As we approached the point of land where I had observed the natives, it appeared to be quite deserted, not a living creature stirring; but knowing how well they lie in ambush, I pulled close in and raked the bushes with a discharge of canister. The

effect was like magic; upwards of a hundred tatooed faces were to be seen in a second in great confusion (for them), not having expected that our shot would have penetrated their cover. They, however, were not long recovering their usual coolness, and we soon found that they did not mean to allow us to have all the fighting on our side—every surrounding bush giving forth its fire; but they, finding the canister was too penetrating for the bush to afford them any shelter, showed boldly out, rushing into the water up to their waists, and keeping up an incessant and well-directed fire, nearly every shot striking the boat—many passing through, although she was coppered nearly up to the gunwale.

I had taken the precaution of lashing the men's beds up in their hammocks and fastening them round the boat, making a bullet-proof breastwork, which afforded great protection to the crew. The water was very shallow, and we had approached so near the point that

they made an attempt to board us, fancying we were aground. At this time, finding that I could not bring the caronade to bear so as to keep them all at bay, I directed the brass gun against a party who were making an attempt to board us on the quarter. Unfortunately the gun burst, knocking me down, blinding me for the minute, and also cutting my head with the lock, which, however, was all the harm it did. I soon washed the powder out of my eyes, and found that the artillerymen, under the direction of my coxswain, had checked the advance of the enemy with the other gun.

The maories had become so confident of their superiority, from their having formerly caused us to retreat, that they still persevered; but a few of the cautious ones took shelter behind the rocks. They must have sustained considerable loss by this time; and Rangahiata was urging them to make another attempt to board us, he himself standing foremost and

uttering yells of defiance. I now took my double-barrelled gun, and used it with some effect, keeping up a smart fire of canister at the same time, which caused them at length to retreat; which they did in very good order, taking their killed and wounded with them, and inviting us to follow them into the bush, using every provoking and insulting gesture and speech calculated to cause us to do so. I knew too well, however, the advantage of my position afloat, and contented myself with driving them into the bush, and then sending a few 12-pound shot after them, which brought down some young trees about their ears, but had not the desired effect of bringing them out to the attack again. We now took to our oars (which had been tossed up, one end resting in a socket at the bottom of the boat, to be out of the way of the working of the gun, and had been riddled by musket-balls), and pulled away, not having any of the crew wounded—which in New Zealand warfare

gives a decided victory. On our return we met the small boats manned by the police coming up to render us assistance, as some of the officers had seen us from a hill in the neighbourhood of the camp, and fancied we had sustained a considerable loss, from the fact of our having kept out of sight under the shelter of the hammocks, and not using our muskets.

We soon reached the camp, and received the congratulations of our friends. They had observed an extraordinary explosion, and wondered, when informed what it was, that so little damage had been done by it. I was minus my eyebrows and eyelashes, and my head was rather painful, but with this exception it had done no harm. A few days after this, two settlers coming down the coast, one from Auckland and the other from Wanganui (Mr. Dighton), fell in with a large body of natives, on their way to join Rauparaha by his own invitation; after which they were all to co-operate with Rangahiata in making an attack

on our camp. On learning which, they left them at night, and made the best of their way to Wellington, where they informed Captain Grey of old Rauparaha's treachery: his Excellency immediately embarked a force in H.M. ship *Driver*, consisting of a detachment of the 58th and 99th regiments, and as many of the *Calliope's* crew as could be spared from the ship, and started at once to intercept the body of natives coming from Wanganui. They proceeded to Wakanae, thinking that the rebels would be in that neighbourhood; and his Excellency wished to secure the assistance of the chief, William King, the principal one of this place, in preventing a junction taking place between the party and the other rebels. King promised to prevent their passing along the beach, but refused to attack them in the bush. Here the Governor was fully convinced himself of the treachery of his pretended ally, the wily old Rauparaha, as well as several other chiefs of his tribe. He came

down in the *Driver*, anchoring off the pah at night, having previously passed it before dark as if going to Wellington; thus preventing any suspicion of his real intentions, which were to make prisoners of these traitors. I was sent for soon after we arrived, and had an interview with the Governor, who informed me of old Rauparaha's treachery, and his wish to have him and three others taken prisoners, if possible by surprise; and knowing that I was acquainted with their persons and locality, he asked me if I would undertake the capture of the "Old Serpent" myself, allowing me to choose my own time and method of doing it; Major Durie, the inspector of police, being selected to take the others.

Accordingly it was arranged that we were to leave the ship before daylight the next morning, and land quietly on the rocks some little distance from the pah in which our treacherous allies lived; taking a mixed force of blue-jackets and soldiers, amounting to 200

men, to support us in case of the natives rising before we had effected our object. It was the Governor's particular desire that we should not lay our hands on these men until we had told them they were prisoners for treason, but on no account to let old Rauparaha escape.

I took Mr. Dighton with me to act as interpreter, and four of our own men unarmed, giving them directions to seize upon the old chief as soon as he was made aware of the charge preferred against him, and to hurry him down to the boat before he could rouse his people—the principal object being to secure him. We landed at break of day; and while they were forming the troops on the beach, I with my small party ran on, as it was then light, fearing that conscious guilt might sharpen their ears and frustrate our plans. When we reached the pah not a soul was stirring, but our heavy steps soon brought some of the sleepers to the doors of their huts, knowing we were not of the bare-

footed tribe. We could not wait to give any explanation, but pushed on to the hut which contained the object of our search, whose quick ears had detected strange footsteps; never having liked me, he did not look at all easy on perceiving who the intruder was, although his wife shewed no alarm, and received me with her usual salutation. Upon informing him that he was my prisoner, he immediately threw himself (being in a sitting posture) back into the hut, and seized a tomahawk, with which he made a blow at his wife's head, thinking she had betrayed him. I warded the blow with my pistol, and seized him by the throat; my four men, immediately rushing in on him, securing him by his arms and legs, started off as fast as his violent struggles would allow of, which, for a man of his age (upwards of 70), were almost superhuman. He roared most lustily, "Ngatitoa! Ngatitoa!" (the name of his tribe) endeavouring to bring them to the rescue; and in a few seconds

every man was on his legs, and came rushing over to see what was the matter with their chief; but the troops and the blue-jackets coming up at the same time, and surrounding the pah, prevented any attempt at a rescue, as he was already in the boat. His last effort to free himself was fastening with his teeth on to my coxswain's shoulder, who bore this piece of cannibalism unflinchingly. I sent Mr. Dighton off to the ship with him, there not being much chance of his escaping from the boat, particularly as he was informed that he would be shot if he attempted to escape. I then returned to the pah to search for arms and ammunition, and also to see if the other prisoners had been secured. The interior of the pah presented a woful spectacle, the women all howling in chorus with the pigs and children; the two latter being much knocked about in the search for arms.

I found that Major Durie had been equally successful with myself in capturing his portion

of the traitors. Upon searching closely, we found several barrels of gunpowder, and upwards of a hundred stand of arms of various descriptions, although they had stoutly denied being in the possession of any when asked to assist us against Rangy.

We took the arms and ammunition down to the boats, and whilst doing so we heard that a large party of Rangy's maories were coming down to assist Rauparaha, intelligence having reached them that an attack had been made on him. I immediately pulled up in the gunboat towards the head of the harbour, to intercept them. As soon as they discovered us they retreated in great haste; we chased them as far as the depth of water would permit; and knocking up the pebbles about their heels with our round shot until they reached their pah, then fired five or six shots into the place, which only had the effect of producing a straggling fire of musketry, at far too great a range to do any execution, which they soon

found out, and ceased to throw away any more powder.

Having silenced them, I returned to the camp, where I got leave from my captain to go to Wellington for a few days, embarking on board the *Driver* for a passage, where I received the thanks of the Lieut.-Governor for my morning's work. We started that evening, having the prisoners secured in the workshop attached to the engine-room, just over the boilers. In the night, whilst we were steaming, there was a great noise in the prisoners' room—such screams and shouting that we expected to find them murdering each other. Having opened the hatch to ascertain the cause, we found the place full of steam, and the prisoners in a dreadful state of alarm, imagining that this vapour-bath was an ingenious contrivance for their destruction. It was caused by a leak in one of the boilers. They were very thankful when relieved from their moist quarters. We arrived at Wellington

the next morning, and took the prisoners on board the *Calliope*, where they were to remain until the Governor had made up his mind what was to be done with them.

Here we learned all that had been taking place at the Hutt (the other military post) for the last three months, and also that there had been an extensive landslip at Taupo, some distance inland, that had overwhelmed a large number of natives living in a pah at the foot of the hill, which in falling killed about sixty people. This was the second shock of a similar description which had been felt since our arrival. The news from the Hutt was anything but cheering. The detachment of the 58th at the camp had been attacked by the rebel natives, who had surprised them by crawling up close to the sentries; moving a portion of furze bush in front so as to conceal their persons, and doing it so cautiously that the stratagem was not discovered until a dog belonging to one of the soldiers gave notice

of it by flying at the advancing bushes. The natives immediately rushed into the camp, firing a volley through the tent where the guard lay, killing seven soldiers, and wounding several others. Immediately after the first discharge, the poor little bugler of the party, who was quite a boy, endeavoured to sound the alarm, but was tomahawked by the natives, who carried off his bugle as a trophy. The officer of the guard, who was sleeping in a barn close by, rushed into the *melée*, followed by his servant; and collecting the few men who were left of his small party, drove the rebels back into the bush—not, however, until they had succeeded in making sad havoc; and as they retreated they were heard making discordant sounds on the bugle which they had taken from the brave little fellow, who had only parted with it with his life.

The next day our friendly natives at Port Nicholson were armed with muskets and supplied with ammunition, and a portion of

them sent to reinforce the camp at the Hutt; the militia were also called out, and a corps of volunteers formed, for the protection of the town of Wellington. In spite of all these precautions, however, the rebels managed to murder another of the Hutt settlers, and escape unpunished. The day following this last murder, a detachment of troops, under the command of Captain Reid, of the 99th regiment, marched out to reconnoitre the neighbourhood in which it had taken place, and getting into the forest, came across a large party of natives lying in ambush; the first intimation of their presence being a well-directed volley of musketry, wounding Lieut. Herbert of the 58th, and four soldiers (one of whom subsequently died). The troops were immediately ordered to cover themselves behind the trees and return the fire, which however they could not do with any effect, the stumps and fallen trees affording such

shelter to the natives, who had had time to choose their positions, and were scattered about on all sides of the small party, who were ultimately obliged to retreat; unfortunately leaving poor Herbert in the wood, who, although badly wounded, being shot through the shoulder, managed to get up into a tree unperceived by his savage opponents; in which unenviable position he remained for a considerable time, crawling back to the camp under cover of night, at which time the natives seldom or never stir out.

A party of the Hutt militia had a skirmish with the natives on the same day, driving the rebels into the bush with some loss; and nothing had been seen of them in this neighbourhood since old Rauparaha's capture. Captain McDonough, who commanded the militia, volunteered to march across the bush by a native path with his men, accompanied by a small party of friendly natives, to Rangy's

pah, attacking it in the rear, the force at Porirua making a simultaneous attack from the other side.

The march through the bush was gallantly undertaken and carried out; and had it not been for the *Calliope's* encountering one of the Cook's Straits north-westers, we should undoubtedly have put an end to the war in this part of the colony, by destroying or capturing the greater portion of those who were defying the Government. We never had such another opportunity, Rangy having gained experience from this narrow escape. We had embarked a detachment of the 65th and 58th regiments, and sailed for Porirua the day that M'Donough marched from the Hutt; and after beating about for twenty-four hours in Cook's Straits, and making every effort to get to windward against a strong gale from the north-west, we were obliged to bear up for Port Underwood, having his Excellency Captain Grey on board, who, know-

ing that the militia would probably reach Rangy's pah the next morning, was most anxious to get to Porirua to support them in their attack. The *Driver* was at this time at Wellington, having something the matter with her boilers; and the Governor, in hopes of still being able to reach his intended destination in time to prevent the escape of the rebels, or, far worse, the defeat of the gallant little band of militia, requested Captain Stanley to return to Wellington, trusting that some temporary repair might enable the *Driver* to perform this short trip upon such an emergency. We were, however, doomed to be unfortunate, for on putting to sea again, the wind failed us altogether; thus frustrating the only chance we had of carrying out the original object of this expedition. We got a fair wind when too late, and reached Porirua in safety, where we learned that Rangahiata had deserted his pah, the militia having found it abandoned. They had, however, taken one

prisoner, a chief of some note, who was straggling from his party. The rebels had taken to the thickly wooded country, almost inaccessible to Europeans, and had proceeded in the direction to meet the other body of rebels, who were coming down to their assistance. We now occupied the pah abandoned by the enemy, and found that the report made by myself and the Hon. Lieutenant Yelverton, R.A., of this place being commanded by a hill, which was accessible to us with light artillery, and situated within 500 yards of the pah, was quite correct; and that the notion we had formed some weeks before, in our nocturnal reconnoitring expeditions, of the feasibility of surprising them by a night attack, might have been successfully carried out.

It now became necessary to learn the real feelings of Rauparaha's tribe, as they were too near our camp if unfriendly disposed. Puaha, the principal chief in the absence of those who were prisoners on board the *Cal-*

liope, was summoned, and questioned on this subject. He promised his support to our cause. His people were accordingly armed and attached to our force, the Governor having determined to follow the retreating rebels into the bush, which we did the day after our landing; the first day's march bringing our advanced guard so close to the enemy that they left their fires with their potatoes boiling in their hasty retreat, evidently never having expected that we should follow them.

The friendly natives were all supplied with blue serge frocks, with V. R. in large white letters on the breasts and backs, to prevent our men from mistaking them for the enemy. We had frequently to cut away the underwood with tomahawks to allow of our passing. The travelling was very bad, even the natives slipping down in passing along the sides of some of the rivers, the wet weather making it worse than usual. Our path lay through the most dense wood it has ever been

my fate to tread, being frequently crossed by small rivers, and fallen trees of such a size as to make it necessary to change the direction of the road to avoid them. It was as much as the men could do to carry one day's provisions with their arms and ammunition. The militia had advanced with some of the natives the day before we joined them, and we found that they had received no rations, and expected that we had brought them up the necessary supplies; they were, however, doomed to pass another hungry day, as no natives could be procured to bring up the provisions, and the road being too narrow and too bad to admit of any animal, however sure-footed, being used for this purpose, even if we had had them, which was not the case. We encamped the first night of our arrival in a hollow at the foot of a terrifically steep hill, on the summit of which the enemy were supposed to be located, our native scouts having reported such to be the case.

The ground was dreadfully wet, but by lighting fires and erecting huts, which we smoke-dried, we managed to pass the night more comfortably than could have been expected, considering that it was the depth of winter, miserably cold, and pouring with rain; our long walk also having made us quite equal to eat a good supper, had we been fortunate enough to have been provided with any. However, as it was, I marched out with a small party of sailors to take my post, an outlying picquet, having been previously refreshed with a small glass of spirits given me by one of the officers of the 65th, who was lucky enough to be provided with a bottle: and I must say I never felt more grateful for Dutch courage than on this occasion. We planted our sentries behind the trees right round our position, fearing that we might be surprised by the enemy before daylight, our post not being by any means a favourable one.

I was not allowed to light a fire at my

picquet, for fear of attracting the attention of our sharp-sighted foes, who would soon have picked off some of us if we had been discovered. The whole force was under arms an hour before daylight, and our friendly natives again went out to ascertain if the enemy were still in the neighbourhood. Mr. Servantes accompanied them; and having reached the ridge of hills on which they had been seen the night before, he was astonished to see about a dozen of the enemy start up as it were from the ground, between his party and the camp, with their guns in their hands, many of them pointing at him. A conversation now commenced between the natives on either side. Rangahiata was himself one of the party, and, luckily for Servantes, the natives whom he had accompanied were all part of this tribe; Puaha, the chief, being a near relation of Rangy's, besides being a chief much respected by his people generally.

Rangy advised him to retreat, and to take the soldiers with him, as they would do no good

by following them; he expressed his regret at a portion of his own tribe being in arms against him, and begged them to return to their pah or join him. Puaha, however, told him that he had already suffered from the misconduct of that portion of the tribe who were now with Rangy, and begged him to give up the murderers, which would at once put an end to the proceedings. This, however, was declined, and the interview ended by the two chiefs rubbing noses (which they do instead of shaking hands), Rangy expressing his regret at being at variance with his children.

The party were now allowed to return to us at once: the only information which they had gained was that the rebels were on the hill; as to whether they had a pah or not was still unknown. Our two friendly tribes now assembled for a war dance, previous to setting out to attack the enemy; for although it was the wish of the officer commanding to keep his movements as quiet as possible, he could

not persuade our dark-skinned allies to dispense with this noisy and usual practice, although it gave good notice of our intentions to all within hearing. Several of us joined in this exhibition, much to the delight of our maori friends, who immediately advanced up the hill, dividing themselves into two parties, each under the command of their own chief, acting, however, under the orders of a European interpreter, who was, in fact, the captain of the party. After climbing the hill with great difficulty, but without molestation, although the men were necessarily much exposed, we began to think that they did not mean to dispute our further progress; we advanced a long way without seeing any sign of them. Our native allies, however, proceeded very cautiously after we reached the summit of the hill, crawling on their stomachs, and peering into every bush in the most searching manner, evidently expecting an ambuscade.

We advanced in this tedious mode for seve-

ral hundred yards, until they discovered a breastwork thrown across the very top of the hill at the narrowest part, composed of several large trees which had been felled and thrown across; with a small clearing in front, which prevented our approaching unseen.

Puaha's natives now commenced fortifying themselves, barely within musket-shot; and nothing would induce them or the Port Nicholson natives to join in a proposed assault. Here we remained for about an hour—our maories crawling about in the thick underwood, trying to get a shot at any straggler who might show himself. Mr. Page, of the 58th, discovering one of them prowling about, aimed at him, but the rifle missed fire: the cap making sufficient noise to alarm him he soon returned the intended compliment and fired at his adversary, without, however, doing any harm. The first shot once fired, we had not to wait long for a commencement of the morning's work. The maories on our side kept per-

petually firing on the pah, from which a brisk return was made; our people getting excited, commenced shooting away right and left amongst the trees, not half of them having seen a moving creature to fire at. At this time we had two or three men wounded in front, belonging to the road party employed as pioneers, under the command of Lieutenant Elliott of the 99th, who were cutting down trees and clearing away the bush, to enable us to get a better sight of the rebels, as well as to allow of the men moving two or three abreast, instead of crawling along in single file.

We saw a number of the enemy jumping over some felled trees and running to the right; on our giving notice of which, several volleys were fired in that direction—rather prematurely, as I do not think any of them had time to get round when the firing commenced. It was proposed to make a rush at the place, as the maories were seen leaping over the fence, which clearly proved it was not a very formidable fortifi-

cation. The bugles sounded the advance, and a demonstration was made, which ended in a retreat. Our position was a bad one, the enemy having the advantage of the rising ground, and the open space in front giving them a clear view of all our movements.

We sheltered ourselves behind the trees as we best could, and carried on an irregular fire for some hours, our people throwing away several thousand rounds of ball-cartridge. The rebels were more successful, and picked off several of our men. Poor Blackburn, the acting brigade-major, was the first who fell; he received his death-wound from a maori who was concealed in a tree: he turned round to speak to me about the sailors being so much exposed, when he was shot; one of my own men was shot in the breast almost at the same time. I assisted to carry him to where the doctors were performing their sad office: I cannot call it the rear, as it was almost as much exposed as any other part of our position. Here I learnt

that poor Blackburn was quite dead, never having spoken a word since he received his wound.

He was a gallant young officer, and had been in every skirmish which had taken place between the natives and the troops in the north; he was universally beloved by his brother officers, as well as by us of the sister service, who had frequent opportunities of cultivating his acquaintance, having roughed it with him both on shore and afloat—upon such occasions every one appears in his true colours. I heard several gallant fellows, grenadiers of the 99th, who were the foremost in this day's work, expressing their sorrow at his loss, and their desire to be revenged on the enemy; and although it was but a poor satisfaction, still they appeared pleased when the man who had shot him was picked off by an artillery-man, and was seen to fall from his elevated position.

It required a great deal of moral courage on the part of the commanding officer to refuse the

repeated requests to allow the men to attempt to carry the place by assault: however, he would not accede to this, being in total ignorance as to the strength of it, and not thinking the object worth the sacrifice of life which must have necessarily attended such a proceeding. Rangy's maories, upon seeing two or three wounded men on our side being removed, treated us to a short war-dance, which was of course meant to frighten us, as well as to inspire their own party. I expected that they would make a sortie, our advance not being very strong, and within forty or fifty yards of them. We soon after this found it prudent to retreat a few yards, for the shelter afforded by a large tree felled by the pioneers who were hard at work throwing up a little breastwork, as it was probable we should spend the night in this position. Finding that we could not dislodge the enemy without the assistance of artillery, the blue-jackets were ordered to assemble and march back to the boats, and return to Porirua for two small mortars, which

were to be carried up, with a few rounds of shell.

We started just before dark, and not with a very pleasant prospect before us, being both tired and disheartened with our day's work. We met the Governor coming up as we left the camp, and soon after Dr. Ross, the assistant-surgeon of the *Calliope*, who had marched up alone, with his blanket and case of instruments on his back. From him we learnt that several soldiers, who had fallen lame on their way up, were lying about in the wood, and, unless some assistance were rendered them, would have to remain there all night. We heard the firing on the hill for an hour after we had left it, and feared that the rebels must have been driven from their temporary pah, and would probably retreat the same way that we were going. Darkness soon overtook us, which would have rendered it quite impossible to distinguish friends from foes, had we met any of the latter. We could

not even see the blade of a sword held close to the face. We travelled in single file, having a maori in front to show us the path. The men were cautioned, when they found themselves off the track (which they would soon discover, as the mud was nowhere so bad out of it), to stop immediately, and call out "Halt;" we should otherwise soon have separated, it being quite impossible to follow each other regularly over such ground. At length the repeated shouts of "Halt," in all directions, made it most tedious, especially as we kept halting on our faces every now and then, through the assistance of some stump or bush, and not unfrequently in the river, which not being deep enough to break the fall, made it very dangerous. We travelled in this way for about an hour, until those in front getting quite tired at the continued halts, and fearing we should have to remain all night in this wood, pushed on, leaving every one to make the best of his own way; of which I for one

was very glad, having had several tumbles over my leading file, or the man before me, whom I soon passed on learning the last order; and, with the exception of coming in contact with a tree or two, which made my nose bleed, I soon reached the clear space about a mile from the beach, where our optics were again called into requisition.

We mustered our party on reaching the boats, and found there were many absentees; but leaving one boat for the stragglers, we pushed on and reached the camp, half famished and caked with mud, where I discovered I had had a musket-ball through my cap. The other boat soon followed us, having brought all the party except the drummer of marines, who had not turned up when they left the place of embarkation. Having refreshed ourselves with a good meal and four hours' sleep, we again started for the camp, taking with us the two small mortars, every man carrying three shells and a fifteen-pound bag

of powder; our men taking it turn and turn about with the artillery-men to carry the heavy parts of the apparatus; the officers themselves each having a bag of powder to carry, and frequently a musket or two belonging to the men. We were obliged to make frequent halts, and had the greatest difficulty in ascending some of the steep and slippery hills, the men not unfrequently coming down with their loads, which rolling to the bottom of the hill, gave us the extra work of taking them up a second time. We had a few shot-boxes of shells, some of which went to pieces from the repeated tumbles; and we had to divide them amongst us, carrying them in the bosoms of our blue frocks. Thus loaded we reached the camp, where we were greeted with three hearty cheers from the combined forces, our little iron friends making us a very welcome reinforcement. The artillery-men immediately set to work planting the mortars, and making such other preparations as were

necessary, whilst we joined in the skirmishing which was still going on. I was anxious to see the effect of the shell, and crawled on through the bush as near the enemy's stockade as possible, and had not to wait long before I heard the report of the first mortar: the shell pitched rather short, of which I immediately gave notice, after which they fell very well, most of them going into what we supposed to be the centre of the pah. Several of the natives were driven from their ambush, and retreated in great haste; I got a shot at one or two of them, but after the first six or seven shells I did not see a soul move. We however continued shelling the place for several hours, the result of which will be seen in the following Dispatch from Major Last to the Governor :—

"Porirua, 10th August, 1846.

"Sir,—At daylight on the morning of the 5th instant, I proceeded in the boats of her Majesty's ships *Calliope* and *Driver* up the

harbour of Porirua, landed about a mile and a half distant, and pressed forward into the Horikiva valley, five or six miles over a road almost impassable for troops; crossing numerous streams and rivulets, passing various encampments that the enemy had recently left, evidently retreating in the greatest confusion; leaving behind them the bugle taken from the troops in the attack which was so gallantly repulsed by the detachment of the 58th regiment in the Valley of the Hutt, on the 16th of May last, which had been retained by the rebels as a trophy, and was recovered by the militia. About half-past two o'clock P.M. we came up with our native allies, and a party of militia under the command of Captain M'Donough, who were lying at the foot of a precipitous hill covered with wood, near the summit of which I learnt the enemy were supposed to be posted. The troops then commenced hutting themselves for the night. On the following morning I gave orders for

the advance, directing the native allies to proceed on to cover it.

"The first division, consisting of seven officers and 127 men of the force, made up of seamen, soldiers, militia, and armed police, was under the command of Major Arney, 58th regiment.

"The second division, of five officers and 117 men of similar detail, was under the command of Captain Armstrong, 99th regiment. At about nine o'clock A.M. we ascended the hill, preceded by an officer and a party of men with tools to cut away the wood, to facilitate our getting up. After ascending with great difficulty about a mile, we suddenly discovered that the enemy had established himself in a stockade on the spur of a hill, which was not only excessively steep and precipitous upon each side, but so narrow in places that only a few men could proceed abreast.

"The stockade that was visible appeared

very strong, composed of heavy logs of timber placed horizontally one over another, with loopholes to fire through. Some of the enemy having appeared in front, a heavy fire was opened on both sides: they made repeated attempts to turn our left flank, but were driven back with great loss to their position.

"I regret to state, that in the action our loss was severe, having two killed and nine wounded, as will be seen by the annexed return. I particularly lament the loss of a most promising young officer, Ensign Blackburn, 99th regiment, who was acting-brigade-major, and who evinced the greatest zeal and gallantry on the occasion. The firing lasted till dark, when, finding my position unfavourable to occupy at night, I left two officers and 120 men to assist our native allies to watch the enemy, and again took up the post I had left in the morning. The enemy admitted to have lost five killed and two wounded; among

the number, one chief named Te Oro, and Tapuke, the murderer of Richard Rush at the Hutt.

On the 8th instant, having been reinforced by a Captain, Subaltern, and eleven of the Royal Artillery with two small mortars, under the direction of Captain Henderson of that corps, I again advanced towards the position, although I found great obstacles in using shells, from the loftiness of the trees, which interrupted our view of the enemy: we, however, succeeded in throwing a number into the stockade, and so continued to harass them throughout the day. The enemy kept up a fire upon us during the whole time. His position having been thus felt, and ascertained to be defended by strong entrenchments thrown across the steep and narrow ridge of lofty and densely wooded hills, the rebels being in retreat, there was every reason to believe that their intention was to pour a few destructive volleys into our men as they advanced, crowded as they must have been in so narrow a space

along the steep ridge, and then to fly into the woods in the rear; thus abandoning without loss a position which, from the want of supplies, it was impossible for them to retain for more than a few days. It did not appear expedient to incur so large a sacrifice of life to attain a post useless in itself, and which must soon have been ours without any loss. Moreover, the destruction of so many of her Majesty's troops, without any equivalent proportion on the p artof Rangahiata, might have produced a bad impression on the country in general, and have destroyed the effect of our previous successes. Taking into consideration also the want of facilities for provisioning so large a force, I at last accepted the offers made by the friendly chiefs, to permit them to remain on the ground, and locate themselves in temporary pahs, whilst they cleared the scrub and erected round the enemy a palisade after the maori system of warfare, so as to cut off his means of obtaining either water or provisions, and thus

either capture him or force him to fly from his position. In addition to the before-mentioned obstacles opposed to me, the rear of my position was subjected to constant floods: I therefore deemed it right to make arrangements for withdrawing my forces from the Horikiva valley to the pah of Pauhatauni and Porirua point, leaving the native allies to carry out their own plans, and reserving the troops for further operations when required. Your Excellency having seen our position, and being well aware of all the difficulties and impediments, as well as hardships, to which the force under my command have been subjected, I need not dwell further in describing them. I cannot close this report without expressing my particular obligations to Major Arney, 58th regiment, my second in command, for the advice and assistance he at all times rendered me. To Captain Armstrong, 99th regiment, commanding the second division; Captain Henderson, commanding Royal artillery; Lieut. Elliott, 99th regiment, acting

engineer; and to Ensign Servantes, 96th regiment, interpreter to the forces, my best thanks are due.

"I must thank Captain Stanley, of her Majesty's ship *Calliope*, for his assistance in forwarding the operations. I also received the best aid from the officers and seamen of her Majesty's ships *Calliope* and *Driver*. Lieutenants Sharpe and Connolly, and all under their command, deserve the highest praise. The wounded received the best attention from Dr. Galbraith and the other medical officers under his direction. I have every reason to be satisfied with the exertions of the Commissariat Department; and I must not omit to mention the meritorious conduct of Captain M'Donough and the militia under his command, as well as that of all the officers, non-commissioned officers, seamen, soldiers, and police force employed on this occasion.

"It further affords me satisfaction to speak of the great service the native allies of Port

Nicholson rendered me, as well as the friendly portion of the Ngatitoa tribe, who joined us; and beg to thank the chiefs of the several parties for the zeal and exertion of themselves and followers.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) "EDWARD LAST,

"Major 99th Regt., commanding the Troops, Southern Division.

"His Excellency Governor Grey, &c."

CHAPTER V.

RETREAT FROM THE HORIKIVA VALLEY—EXPEDITION TO WAKANAE—LETTER FROM THE CHIEF, WILLIAM KING—EXPEDITION TO WANGANUI—SUMMARY PUNISHMENT OF SOME OF THE REBELS—SHIP-BUILDING—FISHERIES—"TANGI," OR CRY—IMPROVEMENTS IN THE COLONY—NATIVE MILL—TOMMY RAUPARAHA—PASSAGE VIA PANAMA—LAND CLAIM—RECENT EARTHQUAKE AT WELLINGTON—CONCLUSION.

AFTER it was decided that we were to retreat to the hollow which we had occupied on the first night of our arrival in the valley, we sent parties down to make such preparations as the place afforded for our comfort; that is to say, making the huts water-tight, and lighting fires on the ground inside them, to absorb a little of the moisture which had made our beds so soft on a former occasion. We were

agreeably surprised on reaching our huts to find that the day's rations had been issued, some of the force having been three days on very short allowance; the wet and cold, as well as the fatigue we had undergone (it being the middle of winter), making our gill of spirits most acceptable. There were many extraordinary modes of cooking invented this night—such as frying pork in a tin drinking-cup, grilling pigeons on ramrods, boiling water in a glass bottle, and such like. Hunger being the best sauce, enabled us to make a hearty meal; and we soon forgot our little privations, and should have been jolly enough, had not the loss of poor Blackburn, who had been the gayest amongst us on the last night of our being together in this place, cast a gloom over our little party. We stretched ourselves out, warning the long-legged ones to keep their feet out of the fire. We were disturbed, however, by the groans of an unfortunate one of that species, who in his sleep

had stretched himself beyond the accommodation which our dwelling afforded; consequently, thrusting his feet into the fire, had burnt his boots, and partly roasted his pedal digits before he was awakened from his sound sleep. Early in the morning we retraced our steps over the vile roads of which I have already spoken, taking back with us the mortars which had cost us so much labour to bring up.

When we reached our camp at Porirua I took off my clothes, for the first time for a week, on going to bed; and my hut here, rough as it was, appeared quite a palace after my late muddy couch. The whole force came down the next morning, bringing information that Puaha and his people had had a skirmish with the rebels, who had retreated from the place from whence they had fired on us; this turned out to be only an entrenchment, with a small pah about a hundred yards in the rear, which was only partially surrounded by a small rail. They left

this as our allies entered, not having made any stand: they appeared to have been very hard up for provisions, as they had been eating a species of fern-tree, leaving no signs of anything else. The rebels now made the best of their way to join the tribe coming down the coast to meet them; they were followed by our native allies, who had several skirmishes with them, our friends always causing them to retreat. There were several killed on either side; seventeen prisoners were taken by the police and the Wakanae natives, who were most stanch in opposing Rangahiata's passing through their ground; they had also prevented the other party of rebels from coming down to join him. The prisoners were all embarked on board the *Calliope;* from them we learned that their party had dispersed in small bodies, having been almost famished, and were making the best of their way to some of the unfrequented parts further to the north.

We tried to persuade the chief of the Wa-

kanae tribe, William King, to co-operate more fully with us and our other native allies, our force being too small without his assistance to follow the rebels into the bush: having only forty sailors from the *Calliope*, the Hutt company of militia, and Captain Durie's party of police. He, however, declined moving his people any further from their homes; saying he had fulfilled his promise to the Governor, having prevented the enemy from retreating by the beach, cutting off their supplies of provisions, and stopping their friends from joining them; that it was time to commence fortifying himself, by strengthening his pah for the protection of his women and children.

Captain Stanley offered to defend his pah, provided King would take the field, but he again declined. Three women and a child were taken prisoners by his people in a starving condition; they had left the retreating rebels, and come down to King's cultivations for food. The following letter was addressed

by him to the Governor to learn his wishes regarding them.

LETTER FROM THE CHIEF, WILLIAM KING.
(Translation.)

"Waikanae, Aug. 23, 1846.

"Friend the Governor, salutations to you! Hear you: we have arrested three women and a child, making four persons, of Rangahiata's tribe, who are retreating over the mountains. The white people said, 'Put them on board the ship;' but I replied to the captain of the ship of war, 'No; leave them in our care; we will wait for the Governor's return.' Then they said, 'They will return to Rangahiata.' But hear you: we shall retain them until your arrival, or we receive your commands (in reference to this subject). We shall not permit these persons to join their tribes: the decision rests with you. Hear you this.—At a skirmish which took place between the Ngatitoa and Ngatiawa, against Rangahiata, at Porirua, when they were beaten, they retreated, and

are lost in the woods or mountains, the smoke of their fires not being seen. We do not intend to follow them any further. The white people are at Waikanae, but they are returning.

(Signed) "WIREMA KINGI WITI.

"To the Governor."

HIS EXCELLENCY'S REPLY.

"Auckland, September 12, 1846.

"My friend William King—I have received the letter from you, the chief of Waikanae, regarding the three women and the child whom you took prisoners. My order regarding them is this.—I do not make war against women and children: treat them well; warn them not to allow their husbands to be so foolish as again to get into difficulties of this kind; tell them that the only object of the Governor is to do good to all. When this has been said to them, give them sufficient food for their journey, and let them go.

(Signed) "G. GREY."

Several fruitless attempts were made to intercept the flying rebels, but nothing further took place in the fighting way for some months. Rangy established himself in one of the most inaccessible parts of the district, and built a pah on a small hill surrounded for several miles by swampy ground, which would have rendered it almost impossible to bring artillery against it. The approach by sea was equally bad, shallow water and sand-banks extending for a mile or two from the beach, with a heavy surf at all times setting in. Rangy himself remained at this place, but several of the minor chiefs proceeded to Wanganui, and joined the disaffected natives in that neighbourhood; upon learning which, a detachment of the 58th was embarked on board the *Calliope*, and we proceeded to look for Wanganui, which place was very indistinctly laid down on our chart; and not having water enough to keep very close to the shore, we were rather puzzled to find the entrance to

the river off which we were to anchor. Old Rauparaha, however, seeing we were at fault, pointed out the hills immediately over the town: with this landmark we stood in, and discovering a small vessel close in shore, apparently standing away from us, we fired a gun, and hoisted the pilot jack. This not being taken notice of, and the captain being particularly anxious to land the troops before dark (as information had been sent to the Government representative at Wellington that the inhabitants of this place were threatened to be served as Heki had served those of Kororarika), fired a shot, which passed so close to her that they immediately went about and stood towards us. On nearing us, we discovered her to be a colonial smack, with the police magistrate and several other of the Wanganui settlers, who had come out on purpose to meet us.

We anchored about four miles from the shore, and commenced at once disembarking

the troops and guns, finding the smack of great use. I was sent in the pinnace with a party of soldiers, taking one of the *colonial* sailors as a pilot for crossing the bar, which is the only thing which prevents this river from being the best harbour on this coast. We entered safely—not, however, without having run considerable risk in coming through the breakers in an overloaded boat. We were told that it was highly probable that our landing might be opposed; but having a clear space on each side of the river, and seeing no one, we did not wait for the other boats, but landed our party and returned to the ship for another load, passing the smack on her way in with the remainder of the soldiers. I came in a second time with provisions, and had a hard pull up the river against a strong tide, which made it very late before we reached the town; there I found Captain Laye and his party on the look-out for me, his men not having had any rations that day, nor indeed himself and brother

officers, who had been located in the school-house. After unloading the boat, I found it too late to return to the ship, and anchored for the night, going on shore myself to endeavour to procure a small quantity of spirits for my boat's crew, who had had a hard day's work and no grog. I found that no one was licensed to sell this luxury by retail, although there was plenty of it in the place. Thinking this rather hard, considering the mission we had come on, I pointed out the probability of the dissatisfaction such treatment would give to my captain, and succeeded at last in getting their coveted gill. I was comfortably housed myself till daylight, when I returned to the ship. We sailed that day for Wellington, and I never returned to this place.

During Captain Laye's command there were several skirmishes, and one most horrible murder of nearly a whole European family; soon after which, eight or nine of the rebels, being taken prisoners, were tried by a court-

martial and hanged, this being one of the first instances in which summary punishment was applied; and I feel sure that, had we been enabled to make a few such examples in the early part of our proceedings in the south, the war would not have lasted so long.

Large parties of soldiers and natives were now employed cutting and making a road through the bush from Porirua to Wellington. It was astonishing to see how anxiously the natives sought for engagements at this work. They were divided into parties, each under the superintendence of a chief of their own, who received two shillings a day, the labourers only getting one. They were paid regularly every Saturday, and it was amusing to see their delight when assembled for this purpose; it afforded them a never-ceasing topic of conversation and calculation as to how these earnings could be most advantageously laid out. This employment became very popular, and large parties came down the coast

several hundred miles to offer their service: working and living together in their usual way, and the regular payment being the principal inducements, for they are naturally more mercenary than industrious: they delight in what horse-dealers in England call "doing each other," and he who gets the worst of a bargain is sure to be laughed at by the others.

We found them very expert at felling trees, and were apt scholars in learning the use of the various tools necessary for such work, particularly carpenters'. I have seen them using the adze with great precision, steadying their work with the naked foot, which a false stroke would have cut to pieces. They also became clever at moving the huge trees, after they were felled, to the side of the road, as well as placing them across the streams to form bridges when necessary; using bars, levers, wedges, and other purchases necessary for such purposes. The timber cut down in the making of this road will, I have

no doubt, now that it can be so easily conveyed to Wellington, assist greatly in defraying the expenses of the undertaking. I was pleased to see several small vessels on the stocks at and near Wellington, and many others afloat, not only built of New Zealand wood, but sparred and rigged with colonial gear, their flax making very serviceable rope; and I hope, now that the natural energy of the Wellington settlers will be able to develop itself, a few larger and more serviceable vessels, fit to be employed in the whale fisheries, will be built and fitted out at this port, and establish a trade in opposition to the Americans, who have at present almost a monopoly in this lucrative business.

The few shore stations occupied by the colonial fishermen are precarious speculations; the weather in Cook's Straits, as well as the strong tides, frequently causing them to lose their fish after they have killed them. From the large quantities of eatable fish found on

nearly every part of this coast, I am confident that a most profitable trade might be established, similar to the cod fisheries in Newfoundland; the harbouker, a large fish, even superior to the cod (more resembling salmon), being found in sufficient numbers for considerable exportation. The natives are very clever hand-fishermen, but have no idea of it on a larger scale; they might be made good working hands in fishing crafts if they commenced young: they are now frequently employed in whale ships and at the whaling stations, and make very active boats' crews.

Whilst on this subject, I will say a few words in reference to the natives employed in the police service, which has become very popular with them; so much so that the boys, when told that they would not be admitted if tatooed, expressed their determination to keep clear faces, and learn the musket exercise, in hopes of being received into this corps. In

a few years a strong mixed force of natives and Europeans might be brought to such perfection as to keep in subjection any ill-disposed or disaffected tribes; and, in case of war, prove a powerful auxiliary in preventing the place falling into the hands of a foreign foe. It would be advisable to have a few native officers, notwithstanding the unfortunate prejudice which all Englishmen have to a dark skin. I have no doubt that a good maori placed in that position would soon obtain the respect and confidence of the Europeans as well as his own people.

It is melancholy to see how fast the native population is decreasing: the number of deserted pahs and neglected plantations showing that civilisation has, as usual, thinned the aboriginal inhabitants. They account for these desertions by relating horrible massacres which have taken place from time to time in their wars with each other; but infanticide, neglect, and disease, have all assisted to ruin these intel-

ligent and able-bodied people; and I suppose they will share the deplorable fate of all other aboriginal populations, and dwindle away as civilisation advances. They might be exceptions to this universal rule if they were permitted to mingle with the emigrants, and share with them the advantages which belong to their highly-favoured country; thus, in a few years, merging the one into the other, and forming a nation of athletic and intellectual people, in every way calculated to develop the resources of a country unequalled in every respect.

Many of the half-caste children are very pretty and intelligent. The men do not shew the same desire to intermarry with white women, as the white men do with the maori whihienes (women), who make for the working classes far better wives, from their many useful qualities in a bush life, than any Europeans, let them be ever so willing. I have known instances of real grief shown on the loss of a child by a native woman married

to a white man—so different to their usual "tangi," or cry, which is a most theatrical and discordant exhibition, occurring very frequently on the loss of a friend or relation, as well as on meeting them after a long separation. They do not, as we do, give way to the feelings of grief on the impulse of the moment, but wait for a good opportunity, which does not interfere with their other occupations; when they assemble at some convenient spot, squat down in a circle, commencing a howling and blubbering truly piteous to hear and behold; the tears streaming down their dirty faces, and their long dishevelled black hair, giving them the appearance of abject misery. But in spite of this they watch each other narrowly, and do not fail to laugh afterwards at any who happened to snivel out of time, or in any other way show their ignorance of the part assigned them: this is against the theory of savage life, being free from affectation. I once visited the pah at Taupo after I had taken Rauparaha

prisoner, and found his wife and the rest of the women having a tangi for their captive husbands and friends: they, however, stopped the cry and began another for me, as recalling sad recollections. This, however, did not last long: they began to laugh, and ask questions about the captives, making many ridiculous inquiries, and laughing most heartily at their own wit; at the same time expressing a great wish to be allowed to visit their imprisoned friends and relations, old Rauparaha's wives impressing upon me that they were my slaves, he being considered my prisoner. This, it appears, is the native custom. However, I was glad to grant them their freedom and take my departure, knowing that there was an ill-feeling existing amongst some of the men of this tribe against me. Immediately I had left, I heard the doleful chorus resumed. They frequently stop to eat and drink, at which time they are as merry as usual; but, when refreshed and invigorated, resume their howl-

ings with redoubled energy. It is not unfrequent amongst the native women, on the loss of their husbands, to lacerate their faces and bodies with the instrument used for tatooing the men, rubbing in the same substance employed for that purpose. They soon become old and haggard; which may be accounted for by the want of proper nourishment, their hard work, and their frequently nursing their children until two or three years old, as well as their marrying very young.

Since Captain Grey's administration, a great improvement has manifested itself amongst the natives; and, from very late accounts, it seems that the roads lately made in the southern provinces have done much to improve the condition of the colony; showing the natives how easily such work can be done when persevered with, as well as the great use of facilitating the communication between the out-settlements and the principal ports, and the advantage it is to themselves to have such employment given them. We ex-

plained to them that this road would soon be made all the way to Auckland, a distance of 500 miles, and that coaches and waggons would be frequently going to and fro between these two places. They are making rapid strides in the various branches of trade: in January, 1847, it was agreed to at a meeting of the natives at Otaki,

"That a mill be built by subscription; the money to be raised in shares of 10*l.* That 4*l.* be paid immediately by each shareholder. That a sum of 3*l.* more be called for on the 1st of January, 1848; and 3*l.* more on the 1st of January 1849, or such sum as may be necessary to complete the mill. That all wheat ground in the mill, not belonging to shareholders, be paid for at the rate of 6*d.* per bushel. That a book be kept of all wheat ground in the mill, and all money received.

"That all shareholders be entitled to have forty bushels of wheat ground annually in the mill.

"That the accounts be made up annually, and if any surplus remain, after paying for the current expenses of the mill, and for repairs, &c., it shall be divided equally, one half being divided among the shareholders, the other half to be reserved as a deposit to meet contingencies.

"That Zachariah Te Keinga be appointed treasurer.

"That a committee of management be appointed, to consist of five persons—namely, Zachariah Te Keinga, Thomson Katu, Henry Martyn Te Wini, Abraham Te Ruru, and some pakeha not yet named."

To reduce the cost of the building, the maories belonging to the district have agreed to do all the labour required in forming the dam, &c., gratuitously; and to prevent any delay in the execution of the works, those maories who may be employed in sawing timber, &c., for the building have agreed not to receive payment of any sums due to them until all the

work executed by Europeans has been paid for. To insure its early completion, some of the shareholders also have expressed their willingness to advance money on the building at the rate of four per cent.

A fine stream in the neighbourhood, which offers several eligible sites for a water-mill, has been selected, having a plentiful supply of water all the year round; and on its banks, about two miles from the shore, will be erected the first mill in this district owned by the maories. The fall of water is about sixteen feet; and the mill, which will be turned by a breast-wheel thirty feet in diameter, will be furnished with one pair of stones at first, but the machinery will be of sufficient power to allow the number to be increased as cultivation is extended. The machinery will be chiefly constructed by engineers belonging to this settlement. It is estimated that, exclusive of the labour for sawing the timber, forming the dam, and executing other works which may

be performed by natives under the superintendence of a European, the sum of 300*l.* will be required for its erection. This sum it is proposed to raise by means of a company, the amount being divided into thirty shares of ten pounds each: 120*l.* has already been collected, and it is confidently expected that the whole amount will be subscribed before the building is completed. Three shares are the greatest number held by one individual: some hold two shares, but the great majority of shareholders hold single shares. Some of these hold shares in their own name, which are subscribed for by the hapus, or subdivisions of tribes of which they are chiefs.

Amongst the principal rising natives is a son of old Rauparaha, of whom a colonial paper gives the following flattering account, and, as I have often been in his company, and remarked his intelligence, and I may say gentlemanly bearing, I feel great satisfaction in relating it. "Perhaps a more striking contrast

is not to be found than in Rauparaha and his son. The old man, with a great deal of natural sagacity, cunning to a proverb, and deeply implicated in every deed of blood which has darkened the history of this part of the island in his generation, has all the vices and qualities which belong to a savage; but his only son—the last of his race (the others having fallen in the different wars in which their parent has been engaged), destined to continue his father's name and succeed to his authority—has profited by the lessons and examples of civilisation. Both he and his wife are always dressed after the European fashion. His house is composed of wood, built on the native construction, but with wooden floors, doors, and glazed windows; and is furnished with chairs and tables and a bed. As he is about to remove with the rest of the tribe to the new village, he has not thought it worth while to incur further expense or trouble in altering his present dwelling. He

always uses at his meals plates and knives and forks; the table is covered with a white table-cloth; and both he and his wife sit at the table in the European manner, on chairs. They are always glad to see, and hospitably entertain, any settlers travelling along the coast.

"On Christmas day Thomson gave a dinner to the people of his tribe; his table could only accommodate sixteen at a time, but in the course of the day about sixty partook of his hospitality. The entertainment consisted of soup, fish, pork, and plum-pudding. Both men and women sat down together—a thing totally unprecedented in maori customs; every guest was dressed in the European fashion, and sat down to dinner on chairs, using plates and knives and forks at their meal. To the first sixteen Thomson produced—it was all his cellar could boast of—a bottle of American cider. In this description we have been minute, but we have endeavoured to be correct." The facts above related show that

civilisation has taken root, and is advancing with rapid strides among the native population of this district. They do more; they offer to intending settlers the best guarantee they can desire for the future tranquillity of the district. The natives are now most busily employed in the arts of peace; pleased with the progress they have made, they are most anxious to be further instructed; the fruits of their honest industry they dispose of to the settlers, and expend the proceeds in the purchase of British manufactures. They are too much interested, they have too much to lose, to allow the peace of the district to be disturbed; and the more roads are opened, and the means of communication improved, the more intimately the races are brought together. In the very formation of these roads the European and Maori may be found working side by side. It is possible that disturbances may occasionally occur, for with Rangahiata and those who act with him the old leaven still remains; but the

great bulk of the native population are peaceably disposed, and rapidly advancing in civilisation. Let the force now in this part of the island be maintained for a few years longer; let the present influences now at work be suffered to have their free development; let the firm but kindly policy now pursued towards the natives be persevered in, and we have the surest pledges of the rapid progress and prosperity of the colony.

The progress made in every way in New Zealand within the last three years, and the first two under such disadvantagous circumstances, reflects the greatest credit on the present Governor, whose indefatigable exertions have been crowned with unexampled success; inspiring those who are already out in the colony with hope of a speedy return for their care and hardships, and those who are thinking of going out, with confidence as to the ultimate issue of the undertaking. The present drawback to poor people of gentility

emigrating is the voyage out under the present system.

I have no doubt that mountains are made out of molehills when accidents do happen to emigrant ships, exaggeration being but too common on all such occasions. The insufficiency of the agent's staff, at the different emigrating ports, to inspect the emigrant ships, stores, provisions, &c., is one evil; and the want of discipline on the voyage, to insure cleanliness, and precautions against fire, another. Surely, such a very serious consideration as emigration has now become deserves much encouragement; and as it is the boast of England that the sun never sets on her dominions, this increase of territory might be dealt with by increased care and attention. A man of education and talent, in making up his mind to desert his mother country and adopt a new one, has much to check his ardour, particularly if he has any ambition in his composition.

First, his affectionate friends at home, to whom he imparts his intention of going to New Zealand, or any other colony, set to work most industriously to rake up from the depths of their memory any disasters which they may happen to recollect as having occurred to some acquaintance who has already gone out; and not always confining themselves to memory alone, call on their invention to dishearten the adventurous with some well-told tale of misery. Petty as this may seem, it all adds to the uncheering prospect which one must feel in undertaking to dive into a totally new existence; knowing that the utmost that a colonist can expect is to make money, which may bring with it ambition: and if talent exists in the individual, he naturally returns to England, to enter for the many prizes which *wealth* and ability open to all at home; no such prize being obtainable in any of our distant dominions, except by her Majesty's officers, who return to

their homes with what honour or glory they may have derived from their services in these countries, leaving the plodding settlers often discontented at finding themselves out of the pale of receiving even the minor honours showered on all who have the luck to possess interest enough to bring them within the reach of the power able to reward the deserving. No such boon is obtainable by the possessors of equal ability and talent amongst our exiled countrymen. This deadens the feeling of proper ambitious pride, without which the state of society of any community must degenerate.

With the immense capabilities which England possesses of colonising, as well as the great advantage it must prove to her own overpopulated country, the time cannot be far distant when more facility will be offered to those who wish to visit the distant colonies of New South Wales and New Zealand; the time now occupied on the passage being to

mercantile men a serious drawback to undertaking any speculations requiring their presence for a time in either country. The passages already made by steamers round the Cape of Good Hope are sufficient to prove that the time may be considerably shortened, and that there is nothing to prevent steam communication between England and these distant colonies; although I am inclined to be of opinion that the overland route, *viâ* Panama, is the most likely to be adopted, principally on account of the mails, which might thus very well reach New Zealand in seven weeks, and Sidney and Hobart Town in eight, having branch steamers from Wellington to take the Hobart Town mail and passengers. This would do away entirely with the long tedious sea voyage at present unavoidable. I will not attempt to enter into the particulars of the route which may be most advantageously taken across the Pacific, as I see that this subject has already been considered by people

intimately acquainted with the resources of the islands lying between Panama and New Zealand, and which would be the best depôt for coals and other necessaries.

Whenever a brisk trade is commenced between New Zealand and New South Wales, it will soon extend itself to many of the islands lying between Singapore and these countries, as well as to China; and I have no doubt that some of the ingenious and persevering natives of the last-named country would soon find their way, with their many manufactures, to so desirable a market. A few of these industrious people would be a great acquisition to New Zealand; as fishermen they are unrivalled, and would set a good example in sobriety and industry to the natives and colonists.

New Zealand has now taken a fair start, and the Government and Company are proving their anxiety to do the colony justice; and even the intricate and unsatisfactory land

claim in the Southern district is taken in hand by one whose care and sagacity cannot fail to adjust this complicated question to the satisfaction of those who *can be satisfied.* The task is anything but an enviable one; and the interests of those from whom information is to be gained are so directly opposite, that one party or the other must (or will) think themselves aggrieved. It is to be hoped that the unhappy differences which have existed between the Company's settlers and the natives, as well as between the settlers themselves, will be terminated, and that the arbitration of his Excellency will not be made a subject of private animadversion or party feeling. The lamented death of Colonel Wakefield, the Company's resident agent at Wellington, has deprived Sir George Grey of an able and zealous assistant in bringing about an amicable and satisfactory arrangement of this important question. From Colonel Wakefield's long residence in the colony, and his

having devoted the whole of his attention to its advancement, his death is a great loss to all those interested in the welfare of the Southern district of New Zealand. It is to be hoped, moreover, now that the disadvantages this part of the colony has hitherto laboured under have been removed, that his successor will meet with but few of the difficulties which have as yet rendered the New Zealand Company's agency such an unenviable post.

By some of the late accounts from Wellington, it appears that that town has been visited with some severe shocks of earthquake, and that many of the flimsy brick buildings (which I wonder stood the gales of wind so long) came down about the people's ears. The first account of this was a melancholy picture of misery, but from subsequent arrivals from the colony it turned out that only a few of the weak-hearted ones were frightened; from whose description of this awful visitation we at the antipodes might

have been led to suppose that the whole place had been swallowed up, and the hungry earth waiting impatiently for more victims: such however was not the case, and the prospects of the colony seem now brighter than ever they have been. Nevertheless, every allowance must be made for the murmurings of these much tried people, whose courage and fortitude have been put to such severe tests. They appear to have set to work with true philosophical heroism to repair the damage, instead of losing time in bewailing their losses. Their fellow-colonists at Auckland, with praiseworthy promptness, upon the receipt of the exaggerated account of the disaster at Wellington, raised a handsome subscription amongst themselves, which was forwarded immediately for the relief of (as they supposed) their destitute brethren at their late rival settlement, whose misfortunes seem to have removed the deep-rooted jealousies which have hitherto existed between

the two places: and it is to be hoped that this good feeling will continue, as it must in the end prove of the greatest benefit to the colony at large; and, as a colonial paper observes,

"Let us unite with dauntless hearts and strong arms in pushing civilisation and prosperity towards each other, until they render the now almost impenetrable boundaries of New Ulster and New Munster an imaginary line."

The only rivalry now existing between these two places is the desire to excel; and although the inhabitants of Wellington could not countenance the exaggerated statements of the damage done by accepting the liberal offer of their generous fellow-countrymen, they have returned the money with such expressions of gratitude for the intended kindness, and at the same time hoping that it may be laid out in some public building commemorative of the occasion, and of the benevolent spirit which led to the collection of the fund, that the good feeling thus started through the

medium of the late mishaps is likely to become the means of forming a lasting and beneficial friendship between the inhabitants of the two capitals.

The last arrival from the colony brings the news of the assembling of the first legislative council at Wellington, which the colonial press ridicules. Many gentlemen declined accepting seats, in consequence of their not liking the nominee system. A meeting had been held to memorialise her Majesty on the subject of a representative legislative council to enable them to govern themselves; which, from all accounts, they are in condition to do quite as well, if not better than some of our older colonies. The Governor-in-Chief, Sir George Grey, has disappointed them on this important subject: he having expressed his opinion some time since (1847) that the colonists were quite capable of managing their own affairs, but from some cause unknown has since refused to grant them this boon, although

authorised to do so by the home government. They are, however, promised a complete system of representative government three years hence, when a general assembly will be constituted for the whole three islands, consisting of two chambers—one appointed by the Crown, the other chosen by the people of the provinces, according to the proportion of their respective populations. Each province will also have a separate assembly, composed partly of persons named by the Crown, partly of members elected by the people. The General Assembly is to have the usual powers of a colonial parliament.

I am only sorry that I have not the ability to do this highly-favoured country justice in describing its many recommendations. I cannot say too much in its favour; and I sincerely hope that, under able management, it will be freed from the heavy clogs which have hitherto retarded its advancement, and, with the assistance of Providence, become the comfort-

able and happy home of many thousands of our fellow-countrymen who are now wanting the common necessaries of life in England, and be a lasting monument to the memory of those who formed, and carried into execution, the praiseworthy undertaking of colonising this extensive and unaccountably neglected country.

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THE END.

C. WHITING, BEAUFORT HOUSE, STRAND.