

PAPER II.

REMARKS

ON THE

MILITARY OPERATIONS IN NEW ZEALAND.

BY CAPT. COLLINSON, ROYAL ENGINEERS.

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PAPER II

REMARKS

MILITARY OPERATIONS IN NEW ZEALAND

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF MILITARY OPERATIONS

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PART I.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS paper is intended to be a short connected account of all the military operations that have occurred in New Zealand from the commencement of the colony. It is brought under the notice of the officers of the corps, in order that in the case of any future disturbances in that colony, they may have an opportunity of referring to the peculiar difficulties and wants which have occurred in previous wars, they being such as are likely to occur in all wars of regular troops against savages.

It is a compilation from some of the many books that have been published about New Zealand, and from some private sources, and from three years' personal experience, from 1846 to 1850.

A short description of the colony is prefixed, which is partly necessary for the clear understanding of the various operations. It is longer than necessary for that object alone; but it is hoped that it will serve as a general description of the colony, to which officers can refer for some general ideas about it when they are called upon to serve there.

It is also hoped that it may possibly assist officers desiring to compile such general descriptions of other places, as several papers in the corps' volumes have assisted the compiler of this. Such short descriptions of all our colonies would form a very useful addition to the corps' book. And officers of engineers have got more opportunities than any other people of collecting such information.

It is with great diffidence that I presume to make any criticisms upon the performances of officers so much my seniors in rank, age, and service; there are no doubt local circumstances with which they alone are acquainted, which would explain such few things as seem to the reader of the accounts to be mistakes. I am aware also of the difference between considering these things quietly in England, and enacting them in New Zealand. And I hope it will be found (or if it is not I hope it will be understood), that it is my desire, not to comment upon what might have been done at the time, but rather to bring forward the great wants and deficiencies that were felt in the various campaigns, with the hope that they may be observed and remedied by those in power before another disturbance breaks out, when it will be too late.

INTRODUC-
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INTRODUC-
TION.

List of the books, &c., from which this paper has been compiled.

Parliamentary Blue Books, 1845-51, which I have been allowed to examine in the Colonial Office.

Official dispatches and papers from New Zealand in the Office of the Inspector General of Fortifications, which the I. G. F. has been kind enough to allow me to examine for this compilation.

Mr. Martin's British Colonies. Edition 1851.

Mr. Wakefield's Adventures and Handbook of New Zealand. 1845-48.

Bishop Selwyn's Journal—Annals of the Colonial Church—1844-49.

Power's Sketches in New Zealand. 1850.

Fox's Six Colonies of New Zealand. 1851.

The local papers of New Zealand. 1845-51.

Col. Despard's Narrative, North Campaign. U. S. Mag., 1846-7.

Terry's New Zealand, 1842.

Lieutenant Balneavis, 58th Regiment, has also given me very great assistance, both with his private journal (he served in all the campaigns from 1845 to 1848), and other documents that he has collected from the 58th Regiment and from other sources in New Zealand.

I have also been very much assisted by other officers of the 58th, and by Captain Henderson, R.A., who served there in 1846-7-8, and by Lieutenant Servantes (late of the 6th Regiment), who served in New Zealand in 1846-7-8, as interpreter to the forces.

The list of harbours has been examined by W. Evans, Esq., R.N., master and assistant-surveyor of H.M.S. "Acheron," during her surveys in New Zealand: he has had the kindness to correct it and add several notes to it. If, therefore, any benefit or instruction is derived from this paper, thanks must be given to these gentlemen who have so materially assisted in its compilation.

The General Map of New Zealand is the latest edition of that published by Arrowsmith, corrected from the surveys of Captain Stokes, R.N., in H.M.S. "Acheron," during 1848-9, '50, '51. He surveyed all the principal harbours and a great part of the coast line. The large plans of the Bay of Islands, Wellington, and Wanganui, are from the New Zealand Company's maps and the colonial maps, which I was allowed to copy and make use of for the office of the I. G. F. during the time I was employed in New Zealand.

T. B. COLLINSON,
Capt. R.E.

January 1, 1853.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF NEW ZEALAND.

SECT. I.—GENERAL PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION.

I.
GENERAL
PHYSICAL
DESCRIPTION.

The colony of New Zealand * (according to the charter of 1840), includes that group of islands lying together in the South Pacific, about 1000 miles east of Australia, and consisting of two large islands and one small one, being called *New Ulster*, or North Island; *New Munster*, or Middle Island; and *New Leinster*, or Stewart's or South Island: and of the small group lying about 200 miles east of them, called the *Chatham Islands*. The two large islands lie about north and south, and are both long and narrow islands; *New Ulster* being about 500 miles long, and 100 average breadth; and *New Munster*, about 550 miles long, and 150 average breadth; *New Leinster* is in the shape of a triangle, of about forty miles side. The whole containing together about 123,500 square miles, † or 78,000,000 acres, ‡ being nearly the same area as Great Britain and Ireland together.

The boundaries of the Colony, according to the Act of Parliament, 1852, are from 33° to 50° south latitude, and 162° to 173° west longitude.

In *New Ulster*, or North Island, the northernmost point is called *North Cape*; one-third of the way southward, at the narrowest isthmus of the island, is *Auckland*; at the extreme point in Cook's Straits is *Wellington*; between Auckland and Wellington the most projecting cape on the west coast is called *Cape Eymont*; and the most projecting cape on the east coast is called *East Cape*. *Cook's Straits* divides the north island from the middle island; *Foveaux Straits* divides the middle and south islands. In *New Munster*, or Middle Island, at the extreme south-west point, is *Dusky Bay*; and on the east coast, at about one-third down from Cook's Straits is *Banks' Peninsula* (*Canterbury*); and two-thirds down the same coast is *Otago*.

The physical features of the islands are generally speaking mountainous, the mountains being high and volcanic, and not running in long regular ranges as in England, but in very steep abrupt ridges, running in all irregular directions, and frequently ending in conical mountains of 5000 to 10,000 feet, between which ridges are long flat valleys, more or less narrow; the hills being generally covered with forest, and the flat valleys grass and fern land. This is the general character of the country in all New Zealand.

From the North Cape there is a range of these hills running through the centre of the island to Auckland, and filling by its branch ranges almost the whole space to the coast on each side, and generally covered with thick forest of Kauri pine, with few flat valleys, and little level or open country.

About Auckland the country is lower and more open; and the whole of the valleys of the rivers Thames and Waikato, from Auckland to Taupo Lake in the centre, consist of fine open country, tolerably level, and covered with grass or fern, with a range of hills on each coast.

From Taupo Lake there is a range 5000 to 10,000 feet high, running to Wellington, and another similar range running to East Cape, and filling almost the whole of that projecting land with wooded mountains. Between East Cape and

* See Arrowsmith's map, 1851, p. 5.

† Martin's Cols. says 95,000.

‡ Handhook, 1846.

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GENERAL
PHYSICAL
DESCRIPTION.

Wellington is Hawke's Bay, and about this bay are large level grassy plains, and, going southward, there is a broad, level, grassy valley extending to the sea in Palliser Bay, east of Wellington.

From Taupo Lake another range of steep wooded mountains runs towards Cape Egmont, falling as it approaches the coast, but ending in the volcanic cone of Mount Egmont, 9000 feet high. All round Cape Egmont and down the shore of Cook's Straits to Wellington, between the hills and the coast, is a belt of flat grassy and wooded land.

The south shore of Cook's Straits is filled from sea to sea with the same steep wooded ridges, 2000 to 5000 feet high, with long, narrow, flat grassy valleys between; and the range continues down the Middle Island, near to the west coast, as far as Dusky Bay. Between it and the East coast are broad valleys and plains of level grassy land.

There are no very large navigable rivers in New Zealand, but a great number of small rivers like the Tyne in Northumberland, into which small vessels can enter; and a considerable number of harbours round the coast, some of which are very good. It is a peculiar advantage of New Zealand, that being long, narrow, mountainous islands, there are great means of access to the interior through the number of small harbours and rivers on its great extent of coast line.

SECT. II.—NATIVE POPULATION.

2.
NATIVE
POPULATION.

The natives are of the same race that inhabit the other islands in the Pacific, being a perfectly different and much superior race to those in Australia. The Polynesian native is supposed to be descended from the Malay; the Australian native is of the negro race.

According to their own traditions, and to the best accounts that have been made out concerning them by the missionaries, their ancestors came from some of the Pacific islands to the north-east of New Zealand in canoes, about 500 years ago; settled in the northern island, and spread over it and populated it as far south as Cook's Straits, and even to the extreme south. Their manner of life, which has been handed down to them from their ancestors, has been that of cultivation of the soil, and very different from the roving savage of Australia, or the hunter of North America. It has no doubt originated from there being no space to hunt over, and no game to kill. Their peculiar mode of life is important to be recollected, in considering the causes of disputes between the British and the natives. They live in small villages, 100 to 500 in each, along the sea-coast and up the principal rivers; each family having its hut railed off in the village, and the whole being inclosed in a strong palisade arranged for defence. The cultivations are cleared out among the woods in the neighbourhood, being a few acres to each family; and the huts and cultivations descend from generation to generation, both by male and female line. Every man and woman inheriting such a property is a free independent person in the tribe; but those who are more lineally descended from their ancient leaders form a kind of hereditary aristocracy, and generally have some family dependants, or slaves taken in battle, to work for them. And the people of one village, and of several villages in one district, are generally descendants of one original family, and look up to some one head branch of the family as their leader, forming a *tribe*, with whom this representative of the elder branch has the chief voice, each man having also his independent voice and independent right to his property.

The husband has a right over the inheritance of his wife; hence the inter-marriages in the tribe or between two tribes create constant disputes about land, neither the boundaries nor the rights of property being very clearly defined.

Their huts consist of little more than a common ridge roof, about 20 feet long and 10 broad, standing on the ground; the walls being only a few inches high. They are made of rough poles thatched with long grass, or bark, and neatly lined inside with plaited reeds or grass. But there is only one opening, and the fire (of wood) is on the floor in the centre. The chief's house being generally the largest, the village crowds in on winter nights to sleep all together for warmth.

They wear nothing but mats made of flax, which the women dress and weave into a coarse cloth: they wear them hanging from the shoulders to the ground, both men and women, with generally a smaller mat tied round the waist. No head dress, and nothing on the feet. The men tattoo all the face, and sometimes the posteriors, and the women tattoo the lips and chin.

They live chiefly on potatoes (the originals of which were left by Captain Cook), and sweet potatoes, and *taro* and pumpkin, and fish, and sometimes on the wild pigs (which, having been left by Captain Cook, have become wild in the woods). All the vegetables they cultivate themselves,—to which they have lately added wheat and maize. Thus their principal occupation is cultivating their little gardens in the woods, and fishing; the women taking part in the former, and also doing the cooking and other drudgery of the village. They are a very dirty race; scarcely ever washing. They wear the same mats day and night for years—just squatting on the ground in front of the hut to eat, and lying on mats (made of raw flax leaf plaited) to sleep. They use pumpkins for drinking bottles and dishes; shells for knives; and (since they became acquainted with Europeans) both men and women have taken to smoke tobacco constantly—but very little to drink spirits.

They are, even now, sometimes so hard put to it for food, as to eat fern root prepared in cakes; probably this want of food originated the practice of cannibalism amongst them. They are of ordinary stature, well built, and active (for savages).

These are the habits of the New Zealander as they were before British colonisation; now, European customs, clothes, houses, and food, are springing up amongst them, not only in the neighbourhood of the settlements, but all over the country. The amount of civilisation which is being produced among them, is a disputed question;* but there is no doubt that there has been a great and very general change made in their habits. They have very generally learned to read and write, to build better huts, to cultivate wheat and other European fruits, to attend a place of divine worship and schools. They have left off much of their fighting propensities and the practice of cannibalism. Now this improvement is due partly to the colonisation by the British Government, but chiefly to the missionaries.

The missionaries commenced in 1815,† when there were only a few English whalers about the islands, and when they were a few men among hosts of cannibals, and they gradually spread over the whole islands, living alone with their wives and families in different parts among the natives: since the colonisation, they have been countenanced and supported by the British Government, and have increased their operations with still more effect, and the Government have

* Fox, Six Cols.

† Terry, 1842.

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granted money for educating the natives, and built hospitals for them at the settlements, and established magistrates, both European and native, for administering British law among them, modified to suit their character. On the other hand, the natives will cheat and rob when inclination and opportunity offer; they are very indolent and very prone to fall back from civilisation; easily excited, and when excited, not to be controlled even by their own wants, much less by their reason; but not capable of persevering for any length of time in anything.

In short, they are still savages, and are therefore to be treated as all savages should be—with a strong hand and with kindness.* And being perhaps the most intelligent savages in the world, are to be treated with more consideration than any others.

The missionaries have all along endeavoured to prop up the natives into the civilised ranks.† Before the colonisation they desired to make them an independent nation, as their fellow-missionaries had done in Tahiti and the Sandwich Islands; since that they have always tried to place them on the same level with the European colonists; but it is impossible, the natives are not capable of being fully civilised; the proof of it is that they are decreasing still. In *fifty years* there will scarcely be one New Zealand native alive.‡ All that can be done is to let them die out as quietly as possible.

Dr. Shortland (1851) thinks the natives are not decreasing, but that they will continue to exist as a race; but considering the great disproportion of the sexes, I have followed the opinion of Bishop Selwyn, which is the general one in New Zealand.

There are about 90,000 natives in the islands; of these, all but 3000 are in the North Island.

The following estimate of the native population has been supplied to me by Mr. W. Servantes (late 6th Regiment, and interpreter to the forces in New Zealand), who also marked the localities of the tribes on Arrowsmith's map, p. 5.

* Nelson Petition, 1845.

† Parl. Blue Book, 1845.

‡ Bishop Selwyn. Fox, Six Cols.

APPROXIMATE CENSUS

2.
NATIVE
POPULATION.*Of the Native Population of New Zealand, by W. SERVANTES, Esq., late Interpreter to the Forces.*

N.B.—The great subdivisions and greatest chiefs are printed in Roman capitals. The divisions and chiefs of next importance are printed in italics.

Tribes.	Locality.	Chiefs.	Population.
<i>Te Rarawa</i>	<i>North Cape, Kaitia</i>	Papahia Nopera	2800
NGAPUHI	<i>Bay of I. and Hoki-anga</i>		
Ngati Tautahi	Kaikohe	Pairama	800
Ngatimanu	Tokerau	<i>Pomare</i>	400
Ngatihine	Kawakawa	<i>Kawiti</i>	300
Uriongaonga	Do.	Pukututu	700
Te Mahurehure	Hokianga	Moses Tawhai	700
Ngatihao	Hokianga	<i>Waka Nene</i>	400
Other sub-tribes	— —	Patuone Rewa, Moka, Hongi, Moehau, Rangatira	6200
		Total Ngapuhi .	9500
<i>Ngatiwhata</i>	<i>Auckland Kaipara</i>	Kawau Paikea, Te Tinana	1200
WAIKATO	<i>Waikato River</i>		
Ngatimahuta	Lower Waikato and Manukau	TE WHEROWHERO	400
Ngatihaua	Matamata and Upper Waikato	William Thompson	800
Ngatimaniapoto	Kawia, Mokau	Taonui, Waru, Pungarehu, Wetere, Pakaru, Poutama	5500
Ngatipaoa	Hauraki, R. Thames	<i>Tarua</i> , Hanauri, Kahukote, Ruinga, Hou	2700
Other sub-tribes	— —	Kiwi, Katipa, Moko-rou, <i>Awaitaia</i> (Wm. Naylor), Uira	6600
		Total Waikato .	15000
<i>Ngatiawa (No. 1)</i>	<i>Tauranga</i>	Tupaea, Taipari	2400
<i>Ngatiwakauae</i>	<i>Rotorua</i>	Tohi, Tongoroa	8000

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Tribes.	Locality.	Chiefs.	Population.
<i>Ngatiawa</i> (No. 2)	<i>Opotiki</i>	Hikaro, Punu, Rangimataukuku	7000
NGATIKAHUHUNU	<i>Hawke's Bay and Wairarapa</i>		
<i>Ngatiporou</i>	East Cape and Turanga	KANI A TAKERAU, Ratau	10,000
<i>Ngatikahuhunu</i>	Hawke's Bay and Wairarapa	<i>Hapuku</i> , Apatu o te rangi	2,000
		Total Ngatikahuhunu	12,000
<i>Taupo</i>	<i>Taupo</i>	HEUHEU (Iwikau) Herekeiki	1500
<i>Ngatiawa</i> (No. 3)	<i>New Plymouth, Port Nicholson, Q. Charlotte Sound, Blind Bay</i>	<i>Revetawangawanga</i> (dead), Wm. King	7000
<i>Taranaki</i>	<i>Taranaki and Port Nicholson</i>		2000
<i>Ngatiruanui</i>	<i>Cape Egmont</i>	Anataua	3000
<i>Wanganui</i>	<i>R. Wanganui up to its source</i>	Turoa, Mamaku, Hori King	7000
<i>Ngatiraukawa</i> Including remnants of original tribes	<i>R. Manawatu</i> (originally from Waikato)	<i>Te Rauperaha</i> (dead), <i>Watanui</i> , Matia, Puke, Ahu, Hakaraia, Taratoa	3500
<i>Ngatitao</i>	<i>Porirua and Cloudy Bay</i> (originally from Waikato)	<i>Puaha</i> , Kanae (sons of <i>Pehi</i>) Rangihaiata, Moses	1000
<i>Ngaitahu</i>	Middle Island	Taiaroa	3700
Total population, about			90,000*

* Sir G. Grey (1849) estimates the total population at 120,000, in which estimate Dr. Shortland (S. Districts of New Zealand, 1851) agrees. These are two good authorities; but the Bishop's estimate was about 60,000.

The natives in each of these districts may be considered as allied among each other, and likely to join together in case of war against another district; but still divided into small tribes frequently at variance with each other, and frequently joining those of other districts. There are many chiefs in each district, and some whose names are a tower of strength throughout the whole country; as *Te Whero-whereo* in the Waikato district; *Ranghiheata* in the Cook's Straits district; *Hapuku* in the Hawke's Bay district; *Kawiti* in the north.

The celebrated *Heki* (now dead) was a chief in the north district, but not of great importance.

Te Heu Heu (now dead) was a chief of Taupo, and the greatest in all New Zealand.

Te Rauperaha (now dead) was a chief of Cook's Straits district, and of third rank in New Zealand after *Heu Heu* and *Wherowhero*.

In Captain Cook's time, his estimate of the population was double the above estimate.* They have decreased partly by war, and partly by their savage customs and habits, and partly by the semi-transition into civilisation. In 1825, the northern tribes, under *Hongi*, obtained fire-arms, and made an inroad upon the Auckland and Waikato tribes, who in their turn made inroad upon Cape Egmont natives, who in their turn made inroad upon the Cook's Straits natives, who were driven into the Middle Island, and some even to the Chatham Islands. This tide of conquest has very much complicated the question of property, as, since the Colonisation, some of the exiles have returned to their original districts, and set up a counter claim to that of the conquerors, which their own customs obliged them to acknowledge.

All the natives in New Zealand fight with fire-arms now, having been supplied with them by traders previous to the Colonisation; they have been supplied with arms and ammunition since that by private traders, notwithstanding the laws to the contrary. They take considerable care of their arms, and keep their ammunition in bottles and kegs underground. They make cartridges of a large size, and wear small leather pouches, which they also get from traders.

† Their ancient religion was the worship of nature, deifying various animals and celebrated heroes; they had hereditary priests, but no images or temples. They were very superstitious about the dead, and afraid of the dark. Now they are nominally converted to Christianity; chiefly Protestants, very few Roman Catholics.

Their language, like that of all the Pacific islands, is supposed to be derived from the Malay.‡ They use more consonants than the Tahitian or Sandwich islander. They pronounce the letters *r* and *h*, instead of *l* and *s*.

The missionaries have reduced the language to an alphabet and a grammar, which are now used by all the natives; so that the ancient language has been altered, and is not understood by the rising generation. It is a simple language and easily learnt. They are teaching the natives English, but the difficulty is so great, that the native language will still be the medium of communication for some years at least. In the Missionaries' alphabet the vowels are pronounced not according to the English, but according to the Continental pronunciation, which should be borne in mind in reading *Maori*, which is their term for their own nation, in contradistinction to *Pakeha* the foreigner. The native words to be so pronounced are printed in italics.

* Fox, Six Cols.

+ Handbook. Terry. Rev. R. Taylor, missionary.

‡ Rev. John Williams, South Sea Mission.

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POPULATION.

Taua is their term for a war party. *Ware* is their term for a house.

I strongly recommend it to every officer, likely to remain several years in the colony, to learn the language. A little knowledge of it gives a very great influence among them.

The character of the New Zealander for intelligence has not been at all overrated in my opinion. They have a wonderful quickness of apprehension, and good memory, and a ready wit not easily put down. They are more energetic than the soft savage of Tahiti; and probably from their being reduced to cultivation for food, they are most remarkably given to commerce and trading of all kinds.

This character does not agree very well with that of a warlike cannibal; and I think that their character for war has been rather exaggerated. Their own native wars show much more of strategy—the long-watching ambush, the occasional skirmish, and the frequent truces—than the incessant, unrelenting pursuit of the true savage warrior. And in their wars with the British, as we shall find, they owe their escapes to the character of their country rather than to their own defence; and they did not make the most of the peculiar character of their country.

3.
BRITISH
POPULATION.

SECT. III.—BRITISH POPULATION, AND DESCRIPTION OF THE SIX SETTLEMENTS.

The present position of the British population is this:—

There are first the Missionaries, who commenced in 1815, and are now scattered all over the islands, living among the natives.

Then the Whalers who commenced, before the Missionaries, to frequent the coast in ships, and gradually established parties on shore, who lived permanently among the natives, marrying native women, holding their own by the force of union, and employing themselves in whaling in boats from the shore. They were all round the islands, but chiefly at the Bay of Islands, and in Cook's Straits, and Foveaux Straits. Their occupation of whaling is now nearly gone, but they are still living there upon the produce of the land, which the natives allow them to cultivate in right of their wives. There were about 1000 of them in 1839.*

Then there are *Six separate British Settlements*,† all on the coast: namely,

1. *Auckland*. Founded 1840.
2. *Wellington* (including Wanganui). 1840.
3. *Nelson*. 1842.
4. *New Plymouth*. 1841.
5. *Otago*. 1848.
6. *Canterbury*. 1850.

AUCKLAND.

AUCKLAND was founded by the British‡ Government. In 1840, Captain Hobson was sent out to obtain possession of the islands. He first of all founded his capital at the Bay of Islands, but changed it the same year to Auckland; and purchased land there from the natives, and from Englishmen who had bought it from the natives previously, and resold it to settlers from Australia and England. There are about 100,000 acres near Auckland, thus in possession of British colonists. The town is on the Waitemata river, which runs into Houraki Gulf on the east coast; one of the great advantages of this situation is the *easy access of the harbour*; § vessels can anchor in the gulf waiting to go in. The harbour is rather an estuary than a river, and is about three-quarters || of a mile wide, deep enough for any

* Fox, Six Cols.

‡ See p. 37 for description of harbours.

† Martin's Cols.

‡ Terry.

|| Martin's Cols.

3.
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—
AUCKLAND

vessels; a strong tide and perpetual strong winds up and down the river. The banks are clay cliffs 50 feet high, at the back of which is a bare undulating country like a moor; the town is in a little valley on the south bank, about three miles from the mouth, and has the appearance of an English fishing town; it contains about 4000 British inhabitants.* Their occupation is exporting copper ore, which is worked at *Kawau* in the Houraki Gulf; and pine timber, which is obtained from all the neighbouring coast, and some wool and native flax, and vegetables; but they are chiefly supported by the expenditure of the Government. The Governor-in-Chief and Commander of H.M. troops resided there up till 1851, and up to that time there were 500 troops in barracks. The houses are chiefly built of wood, but bricks are made on the spot. There is a public wharf building, without which the landing is very bad. The soil about Auckland is tolerably fertile, clay covered with small shrub and fern; not expensive to bring under cultivation. Several thousand acres have now been brought under cultivation; but there is not much stock farming. Living is cheaper than in England, and wages higher. There is very excellent water communication by means of numerous branches of the Estuary to the neighbouring country; and across the isthmus seven miles, is the harbour of *Manukau*† on the west coast, into which all vessels can enter, though it is not very accessible, but which will be an excellent point of communication for steamers from Australia.‡ There are great facilities for establishing water communication between Auckland and Manukau harbour and the Waikato river, which would open water communication with the whole valley of the Thames and Waikato rivers; which valley contains a great extent of level fertile land. There are tolerable cart-roads for a few miles out of the town in various directions. Natives live near the town; for the Government in purchasing land have always reserved the villages and cultivations of the natives for themselves, besides paying them for the remainder.

There are some off-shoot settlements from Auckland.

Kororarika in the Bay of Islands, established by the Missionaries, who have purchased the land from the natives; but it has been nearly deserted since the war with the natives in 1845, when it was burnt.

There are also settlers established in different parts by themselves among the natives; at the rivers *Hokianga* and *Kaipara* on the west coast, and in *Houraki* Gulf, chiefly for cutting timber. They have either bought land from the natives before the Colonisation, or from the Government since.

WELLINGTON § was founded in 1840 by the New Zealand Company, who sent out an expedition in 1839 under Colonel Wakefield, who purchased large tracts of land from the natives about Cook's Straits. But the purchase was not properly made, and some of the natives repudiated the sale, and the disputes and wars went on till 1848, when they were fairly settled, and the Company got peaceable and legal possession of several blocks of land; among which was one about Wellington of 280,000 acres. || The Company is now defunct, and all their possessions have reverted to the Crown by agreement; so that the circumstances of all the Company's settlements (as far as land is concerned) are the same as those of Auckland.

¶ The harbour of Wellington is called *Port Nicholson*; it is in the narrows of Cook's Straits on the north side; it is difficult of access, owing to the narrow

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* B. B. 1848.

† See p. 37.

‡ Capt. Fitzroy's pamphlet, 1847.

§ Terry, 1842. Handbook, 1848. Fox, Six Cols. Martin's Cols.

|| Crown grant, 1848.

¶ See p. 37.

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entrance running parallel to the Straits, and the constant strong winds that blow up and down the Straits. It was selected from being the only harbour in the north island south of Hawke's Bay. There are fine harbours on the other side of Cook's Straits, especially Queen Charlotte's Sound, where Captain Cook always lay, and which, in my opinion, would have been a better site for the first and great settlement of the Company. Colonel Wakefield visited it, but it was thought at the time that there was more available land about Port Nicholson; * this was not proved to be the case; the whole country on the Wellington side, from *Palliser Bay* to *Kaputi Island* in Cook's Straits, is filled with a mass of wooded mountains, rising to a height of 1000 feet. Port Nicholson is a basin surrounded by these hills, through which roads must be made to reach available land in any direction: nevertheless, as the town has been placed here, it will probably be the capital of New Zealand for many years; as it is evident, from its central position in Cook's Straits between all the settlements in both islands, that it is more suited for the seat of central government than Auckland, or any other present settlement. The harbour is safe when you get in, and deep enough for any vessels; it is about five miles square. The town is in a cove in the south-west corner, a very good site, tolerably level land, backed by the steep hills, some grassy, but most of them covered with thick impenetrable forest. It contains about 4000 inhabitants, † being about equal to Auckland, but they are nearly all real English settlers who came out direct under the Company's auspices, but from the disturbances were never able to occupy their land, and were compelled to stay in the town; and would have gone away altogether, but for the great expenditure of the British Government consequent on the wars, which has given them capital, and which capital they are now able to expend upon the land. The Company sold a great deal of land among the hills about Port Nicholson, and the settlers have cleared and cultivated in some of the wooded valleys; the *Hutt valley* is the largest of these, and is at the head of Port Nicholson; but it only contains about 10,000 acres of good land, and that is all forest. The chief business of Wellington is the export of wool to England. In Wairarapa valley to Hawke's Bay, and on the north-west coast to Cape Egmont, are open grassy tracts good for grazing, and the Colonists are occupying these with cattle and sheep brought from Australia, leasing the land from the Government, or from the natives; this latter practice is illegal, and is very dangerous.

The houses are chiefly built of wood, and although bricks are made in abundance, they are still built partially of wood in consequence of the slight shocks of earthquakes which sometimes occur.

The Lieutenant-Governor of the Southern Provinces resides in Wellington; and there are 500 troops in the town and neighbourhood, in barracks, but there are no defences either against external or internal enemies; only a few armed police and no militia, not even pensioners; and no additional military works have been ordered up to 1852.

Two cart-roads are making by the Government from Wellington through the hills; one towards Wairarapa valley, and one towards the north-west coast and *Wanganui*; each will be about forty miles long before it reaches the pasture land; the former is now about half finished, the latter completely finished. There is no passage off these roads for man, animal, or carriage, except by a few short by-roads.

Natives live in and about Wellington upon the reserves which were made for them by the Company and Government at the time of concluding the purchase.

* First Report N. Z. C.

† B. B. 1848.

The offshoot settlements from Wellington are *Wanganui* and *Rangitiki*, both together, at about 100 miles along the north-west coast towards Cape Egmont. *Wanganui* (or *Petre* as it is called by the English) was established by the Company at the same time as Wellington, as a part of it; and by the same bad management of the purchase, and ill conduct of the natives, the settlers were prevented from occupying their lands, and obliged to live in the little town, till 1848. The town is four miles from the mouth of the *Wanganui* river, which is navigable to that distance for all craft not drawing more than 14 feet of water; and is on the right bank. The country lies in plateaus at different levels above the sea. These table-lands extend all along the coast, between the mountains and the sea from near Wellington to round Cape Egmont. From Cape Egmont to *Wanganui* they are 200 to 300 feet above the sea; at *Wanganui* they turn inland; and a lower plateau begins about 20 feet above the sea. Their character is the same everywhere, covered with fern, flax, and grass, with clumps of thick pine brush here and there, and intersected by streams in all directions; in the high plateaus the streams form deep ravines; the valley of the *Wanganui* is a plateau half a mile broad, and about 30 feet above the sea, backed by the higher plateaus which end in steep scarps as if they had been cut by the action of water. I have described this country more fully because *this plateau prairie character is common to all the large valleys and plains in New Zealand*. Twenty miles up the *Wanganui* the country becomes broken into high narrow ridges covered with timber; but in fact the plateaus are with difficulty passable for man and horse, and impracticable for regular troops except by the footpaths.

There are about 1000 British colonists at *Wanganui* and *Rangitiki*, occupied in stock farming. There is a strong military post at the town garrisoned by 200 men: and the natives live in their villages all about the rivers. The land purchased by the Company at these two places is altogether about 200,000 acres.

The communication with Wellington is either by water in decked vessels of about thirty tons, common all round the New Zealand coast; or by land along the coast, which is hard sand the whole way to opposite *Kaputi* Island, where the cart-road from Wellington comes out; the only difficulty being the numerous small tidal rivers.

There are whalers squatted all down the coast, and settlers keeping stock on the native land, paying rent to the natives. In the *Wairarapa* valley there are some 100 English, with many thousand sheep and cattle thus squatting on native lands.*

The Government are continuing to extend their territory by purchasing land from the natives, on the west coast and at Hawke's Bay: and these districts are gradually filling with settlers and their cattle and sheep, intermixed with the few natives residing on the reserves always made for them at the time of purchasing the land.

† NEW PLYMOUTH was founded in 1841 by a Company from Plymouth in England under the auspices of the New Zealand Company. But there were just the same mistakes and disputes about the land, and the Company got possession of only 4000 or 5000 acres of their original block; they afterwards purchased a separate block of 30,000 acres to the south of the other.

‡ There is no harbour, only a roadstead, where vessels cannot anchor in northerly weather. There is only a small river, the *Waitera*, into which small craft drawing not more than 12 feet of water can enter.

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NEW
PLYMOUTH.

* Statistics, New Munster, 1848.

† Emigrant's Guide, and Martin's Cols.

‡ See p. 37.

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PLYMOUTH.

The country is a continuation of the fern and grass plateaus, watered by many streams, and backed by broken forest country: it is sheltered from the south by Mount Egmont, and the soil is very rich. Indeed the fertility of the level fern plains of *Taranaki* have caused it to be called "The Garden of New Zealand," by the natives themselves. There are about 1200 English settlers,* chiefly farmers, cultivating the soil close about the town, which is on the coast. They already export wheat and flour. There are numerous natives all about the settlement, but there have never been any troops there, as there has never been any open hostility on the part of the natives: though they have always been disposed to be quarrelsome.

NELSON.

NELSON was founded by the New Zealand Company in 1842.† It is situated at the head of Blind Bay, on the south side of Cook's Straits. The original purchase included the whole of the north end of the island above a line drawn across somewhere about Lookers-on Bay; but from the disputes with the same tribe of natives as disputed at Wellington, they only got possession of the land round the shores of Blind Bay, until 1848, when they obtained legal and peaceable possession of all the remainder of the block. The settlers therefore have chiefly occupied the country about Blind Bay, and as the hostile natives never came to that part, they have been able to make greater progress in cultivation than any other settlement. They got the advantages of the war expenditure without so much of the misfortunes.

The whole of the north end of the middle island, from Cape Foulwind to Lookers-on Bay, is traversed by long narrow ranges of mountains running to every promontory, and from 1000 to 5000 feet high; but there is not so much forest on them; many of the lower ranges are covered with grass, and make good pasture land; and there are numerous long flat valleys containing good agricultural land. One of the largest of these valleys is *The Wairau*, running into Cloudy Bay; this valley and the adjacent country is now occupied by some hundred settlers from Nelson with thousands of sheep and cattle; their port is a harbour at the head of Queen Charlotte's Sound; the disadvantage of this Sound is its great depth, being sixty fathoms in the centre; but it is safe and *very accessible*. It only requires ten miles of road (which is in course of construction I believe) to communicate with the great valleys above mentioned, and which, in my opinion, will make it one of the most advantageous, as it is one of the most central, settlements in all New Zealand.

At the head of Blind Bay is another good large valley called *The Waimea*, and four miles east of it is a little harbour where the town of NELSON is placed. The harbour is formed by a natural breakwater, and is very small with a narrow entrance. A man-of-war corvette, and steamer, have both been in it. There are 4000‡ English settlers in Nelson, and about Blind Bay. They export wheat, barley, and timber, and wool. They cultivate in the valleys, and keep stock on the hills. There is coal found in Massacre Bay in Blind Bay; it crops out close to the sea; and fossiliferous limestone and sandstone; from the opinion of coal owners in the north of England it appears probable that this coal will prove, when excavated, equal to the Newcastle coal of New South Wales. There is a small harbour close to the coal. There is a cart-road from Nelson to the Waimea valley, but beyond that only horse tracks, and those very difficult. The communication inland to the *Wairau* valley is by a bad horse path.

* Em. Guide.

† Em. Guide and Martin's Cols.

‡ Report of Mr. Bell, agent N. Z. Co. 1849.

One of the great advantages of *Nelson Haven* is the rise of tide, which is 12 feet, being greater than in any other part of New Zealand. Another advantage of Nelson is in the climate, which is calm and sunny, being out of range of the Cook's Straits gales.

There are very few resident natives in this part of the Middle Island, or in any part of it; they are the remnants of the tribes who were exterminated by the more northern tribes from about New Plymouth. The conquering tribes live on the north side of Cook's Straits, and visit occasionally the south side, being the same who disputed the whole land question in which the New Zealand Company were concerned.

OTAGO, also under the auspices of the New Zealand Company, was founded in 1848 by a Scotch company, and was intended to forward the emigration of persons belonging to the Free Church of Scotland. They obtained a large block of land, from the New Zealand Company; who, through the Government, have purchased in the course of 1847-8-9 from the natives the whole of the middle island, north of a line drawn across somewhere about Molyneux River; and there has been no trouble with the natives, and no disputes about land. The few natives who inhabit these parts live peaceably on their reserved lands.

There are about 1200 English settlers * occupied chiefly in stock farming, most of whom have migrated direct from Scotland. The capital town, situated in the harbour, is *Dunedin*.

The harbour is safe, but *difficult of access*.† *Dunedin* is at the very head of it, seven miles above the anchorage for vessels. The country about it is of the same wooded hilly character as about Wellington, though not quite so mountainous; but to the southward are some large valleys of the grassy plateau character, of which Molyneux River is the largest. There is only a horse-path at present from *Dunedin* to these districts.

CANTERBURY was founded in 1850 by an English company in London, also under the auspices of the New Zealand Company, for the purpose of promoting the emigration of persons belonging to the Church of England. They obtained a block of about 2,000,000 acres from the Company, situated at *Banks Peninsula*, about 200 miles south of Cook's Straits. The whole of this peninsula is a mass of mountains 1000 feet high, indented with long narrow bays; but behind it lies one of the largest prairie plateaus of New Zealand, extending about 100 miles along the coast, and fifty miles back to the mountain backbone of the Middle Island, and almost flat, covered with grass, flax, and fern. The Canterbury Association have selected the harbour on the north side of Banks' Peninsula, and nearest to the plain, as their port; it was called *Port Cooper*, now *Port Victoria*. It is a straight inlet, open to the north-east, *very easy of access*.‡ There is very little level land about the harbour; but it is only five miles over the hills to the plain, and a cart-road is finished, or nearly so, going over a level of 600 feet.

The rivers from the plain are navigable only for small boats. The Association are selling land at 3*l.* 10*s.* per acre. There are about 3000 (1851) settlers there,|| who have bought land, or have been brought from England as labourers; they are scattered in different parts of the plain.

As at Otago, there have been no troubles with the few natives living about Banks' Peninsula; the chief difficulty appears to be the want of timber on the plains for firewood and building. This is unusual in New Zealand, and will cause

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* Em. Guide.

+ See p. 37.

‡ See p. 37.

§ Mr. Godley, 1st Letter.

|| Martin's Col.

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this settlement to be expensive for some years to come. There is timber on the mountains, both on the peninsula and on the back range; and the only difficulty in transporting it across the plain appears to be the rivers, and they are small. And there is a coal district in the southern part of the plain. And bricks can be made no doubt anywhere, as the soil is sandy clay and gravel. One of the advantages of this settlement is in the superior arrangements made for the reception of emigrants on their first arrival.

SECT. IV.—GOVERNMENT AND LAND.

4.
GOVERNMENT
AND LAND.

The *Government* of New Zealand, from the commencement up to 1852, has been conducted by a Governor-in-Chief, appointed by the Crown, and assisted by a council consisting partly of the officers of Government, and partly of persons nominated by the Governor. This has been the form of government since the colonisation in 1840; but in 1847 the colony was divided into two provinces: the Governor-in-Chief residing at Auckland, and governing in the northern province; and a Lieutenant-Governor residing at Wellington, and governing in the south province with the assistance of a similar council;—the two councils together forming a general council for the government of the whole colony under the Governor-in-Chief. All the officers of Government are appointed by the Governor, subject to the confirmation of the Crown; the Crown appoints three judges to try the graver offences; and the Governor appoints magistrates (some of whom are *paid*, and are called resident magistrates) to try small offences.

The Governor and council pass all acts necessary for the government of the colony, which, on receiving the Royal sanction in England, become the laws of the colony; besides which, the laws of Great Britain are in force. The revenue is raised by these laws, and is chiefly obtained from customs duties; and goes to pay the officers of Government and the police, and to make roads and other public works. 12,000*l.* out of the revenue is annually devoted by Act of British Parliament to the Civil List, which is under the control of the Governor; and the sums voted by the British Parliament for New Zealand (which have been about 30,000*l.* a-year since 1845), are also under the control of the Governor.

The councils also pass acts affecting the natives as well as English. British law is by these acts slightly modified, to suit the native character; and some of the chiefs are selected by the Governor to act under the law as magistrates in native cases. But British law or colonial law is in force throughout the whole colony. There is no line of native territory. This, however, is only nominal; for, excepting near the settlements, British law is not, and could not be, enforced among the natives.

There are no convicts, and never have been any, in New Zealand; and the law is preserved in the settlements as well as it is in any part of the British dominions. There are about 50 armed police among the settlements, composed of Europeans and natives, both of whom perform all the duties indiscriminately.

The expense of the British troops (and there are no other) is paid entirely by the British Government. There have been two foot regiments, amounting with Artillery, Sappers, &c., to about 2000 men, in the colony since 1845; and they have cost 180,000*l.* a-year. There have been also 600 pensioners since 1849 located near Auckland, in villages, the expense of whom has been entirely paid by the British Government.*

* I believe this expense has been constituted a debt upon the Colony.

Part of the revenue is appropriated (by the Council) to education both of natives and English, and part to religion, which is divided amongst the heads of the principal religious denominations: the Protestant missionaries are also supported by the London Missionary Society, and the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The funds of the latter are given to the English Bishop, and devoted both to the English settlers and the natives. There is a Church of England school, a Wesleyan school, and a Roman Catholic school for children of the better class in Auckland, and parish schools in all the settlements; but the want of means of education is a very great want throughout the whole colony.

Excepting in one or two places, where they have been lately established, there are no corporations or county authorities yet in New Zealand; the whole public business, police, gaols, roads, streets, hospitals, &c., being paid out of the general revenue.

In 1852 the British Parliament passed an Act giving a free Constitution to New Zealand. By this Act the government of the colony is to be conducted as follows.—

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1852.

I. GENERAL GOVERNMENT.

To be conducted by a *General Assembly* composed as follows:—

1. *The Governor in Chief* appointed by the Sovereign.
2. *A Legislative Council* composed of 10 members appointed by the Sovereign, and for life.
3. *A House of Representatives* composed of from 24 to 40 members elected for 5 years by certain electors, from electoral districts appointed by the Sovereign.
4. *The Franchise* to include all British male subjects 21 years old (except criminals), and of the following properties; 50*l.* freehold estate, being in possession 6 months before registration; 10*l.* per annum, leasehold estate, being in possession 3 years previous to registration, or for three years to come. 10*l.* per annum householders in towns, and six months' residence. 5*l.* per annum householder in country, and six months' residence.

5. *The powers of the General Assembly* to extend to making all laws for the government of the Colony with the following restrictions only:

No laws to be contrary to the laws of England.

No duties to be laid on supplies for the imperial forces.

No duties to be inconsistent with British treaties with foreign states.

The custom accounts to be under the management of Her Majesty's Treasury.

A civil list of 16,000*l.* per annum to be provided for without power of alteration, except with the sanction of the Sovereign: and the expense of collecting the revenue and payments to natives for land to be first provided for; all the remaining revenue from every source (including Crown lands) to be under the control of the General Assembly, but all money votes to be brought forward by the Governor.

The Sovereign to have the power of vetoing all acts within two years; and the Governor to have the power of reserving acts for the approval of the Sovereign.

6. *The natives* to be under the laws of the Colony; but the Sovereign to have the power of appointing native districts which shall be exempt from these laws; the Sovereign only to have the power of purchasing land from natives.

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II. PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT.

7. The Colony to be divided into six provinces : namely, Auckland, Wellington, New Plymouth, Nelson, Canterbury, and Otago.

8. Each province to be governed by a *Superintendent* elected by certain electors ; the Governor to have a veto upon the election.

9. *And a Council*, composed of members elected for four years from the electoral districts.

10. *The Franchise* to be the same as for the General Assembly.

11. *The powers of Provincial Councils* to extend to making all laws for the government of the province, with the following exceptions :

Customs, high courts of law, currency, weights and measures, Post-office, bankruptcy, lighthouses, port dues, marriages, crown and native lands, criminal law, inheritance ; and Europeans and natives to be treated alike.

12. The Governor to have the power of vetoing all acts within three months, and the general laws to supersede the provincial laws.

III. MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

13. The Sovereign to have the power of establishing municipal corporations similar to those in England ; the municipal laws to be subject to the approval of the provincial government.

REMARKS ON THE CONSTITUTION.

I do not pretend to give an opinion concerning the political question of the best form of government for this colony. But in the case of New Zealand, and all similar colonies, the military question of defence against the natives becomes a very important one indeed, in the whole question of the best form of government, and as I do not think this has been fully considered or provided for in the Constitution of 1852, I venture to make the following remarks upon it.

The military part of the question is, *whether, if the colonists of New Zealand have the entire management of their own affairs, they will be able to protect themselves against the natives.*

* It has been proposed that the settlers in that case, would, 1. Either form friendly alliances with the native tribes ; or, 2, have a line of demarcation, or, 3, form a strong armed militia ; and, 4, that there is little or no chance of future war.

1. † But the history of the colony shows that it was the very quarrels between the settlers and the natives that caused the Government to interfere originally ; and the natives began to quarrel with the New Zealand Company before the Government arrived at Cook's Straits ; ‡ and there never has been a colony yet formed among savages, by private or public enterprise, that there were not wars between the races, sooner or later.

2. And it is one of the most important features in the New Zealand natives, that their villages and cultivations are so intermixed with those of the settlers that it would be impossible to draw a line of separation between native and European in any part of the colony.

3. As to the question, whether by a militia alone they could preserve peace ; § Captain Fitzroy has given his opinion, that in his time, at all events, "a strong

* Nelson Pet. 45. Fox, Six Cols.

† Col. Wakefield's Dispatch, 40.

‡ Mr. G. Wakefield, Art of Colon.

§ Capt. Fitzroy's Pamphlet, 1346. Mr. Martin's Cols.

military force was necessary to overawe the natives;" and he was of a totally contrary opinion when he first went out to the colony: and that "the colony could not then afford to enrol one-fourth part of the militia authorised by law," and that after the destruction of *Kororarika* the settlers thought more of leaving the colony than of arming for its defence. And I think the circumstances of the Wairau Massacre, and * the proposition of the Wellington settlers to leave the colony, and the constant demand for protection, from all parts of the colony, show that, however well disposed and well qualified they may be to protect themselves when supported, without that support there is every appearance that New Zealand, instead of being in a more flourishing condition than it is, would have been almost entirely deserted.

I believe that, as was expressed by the colonists at the time, it was necessary for the preservation of the colony that the British Government should interfere with a strong hand. They did interfere; and although they took a long time to terminate the quarrels with the natives, they did persevere, and at the cost of 200,000*l.* a year to the British nation, did establish such a flourishing condition of things in New Zealand, that the colony is now justly held up by Government officers and companies as one of the most eligible sites for British colonisation.

4. As to the question of future wars, there is certainly no prospect at present of war in any part of the colony; there is no existing cause for dispute, except the natural animosity of the savage to the spread of civilisation; but that has been the main cause of all wars with savages: and there are still in New Zealand 90,000 natives, allowed by everybody to be but little advanced in civilisation from their original state, or at least only advanced to that half civilised state which has always been more dangerous than the wholly wild savage; † and 20,000 Europeans pressing on them from different points; ‡ some causes of quarrel must arise, and may or may not be fanned into a flame by mismanagement, and into a conflagration by a little success of the natives.

I believe that if the colonists had the whole control over the colony, there would be a probability of continual wars, from the laws they would establish affecting the natives, and that before long it would eventuate, as has been stated concerning the Cape of Good Hope, in a war of extermination which would end in the desertion of New Zealand by the colonists.

I believe that whatever may be the best form of government for the European settlements, in order to preserve that peace, which has been so prosperous to the colony, it is necessary that the control of the natives, and of all questions connected with them and their lands, should be concentrated in a strong-handed government, under the authority of the British Government, supported by a regular military force, and a regular annual grant of money.

But I think that the number of regular troops and the grant of money might be considerably reduced from the present amount, if the colonists took a share in the defence against the natives *by assisting to pay a colonial corps: I believe that a colonial corps belonging to the colony and paid by them* (out of the Parliamentary grant, if necessary, but paid by the colony), *and supported by a small force of regulars, would be a much more effective force against the natives than regular troops alone;* and tend, by interesting the colonists in the defence of their own country, to preserve the peace more than the present two regiments of regular infantry. Such a corps would be only an extension of the present armed police force, in

* Local Papers of the time.

+ Bishop Selwyn; Fox, Six Cols.

‡ See Sir G. Grey's dispatch, 1849, July 8.

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which both natives and Europeans would serve. The organisation I would propose for such a force is given more in detail in the conclusion.

This is the point which I think has not been sufficiently provided for in the Constitution of 1852. When that Constitution was given, the colony should have been called upon to provide such a force as above described. There is now greater danger of conflict with the natives than there was under the old Constitution. For although the Government is not entirely in the hands of the colonists, yet the Governor is now almost single-handed between the naturally encroaching settlers, and the, as naturally, resisting savages: and the means at his disposal for preserving peace are no better than they were in 1846; two regiments of the regular army, paid out of the imperial treasury; while the settlers will not only pay no part of the expenses of a war, but will greatly benefit their colony by the profits of a large war expenditure paid entirely from England.

LAND.

LAND.

The sale of land is under the control of the General Assembly, the whole of the *waste lands*, that is, those unoccupied either by English or by natives, being invested in that body for the benefit of the British nation, and not being the property of the colony alone. It is sold in the colony at from 1*l.* to about 30*l.* per acre, according as it is more or less rural or townland; and the proceeds are applied to assisting the migration of labourers, and making surveys. The New Zealand Company, and the associations connected with it, have sold land at from 1*l.* to 4*l.* per acre rural land; the purchase has been generally carried on in England, the purchaser receiving an order for so many acres and a passage out, at a low rate, for his money. At all the settlements almost the whole of the country in the neighbourhood of the towns has been sold in this manner; and as, from the disturbances, the proceeds of the land-sales have been all expended, there are at present very small funds for the assistance of emigration, and very little favourable land to tempt purchasers, from which funds could be raised.

But as the New Zealand Company is now defunct, most of the land purchases are conducted by the Government in the colony; the emigration of labourers is assisted by the Emigration Commissioners in England, who have the charge of expending the money raised by the land fund, in assisting poor emigrants out.

The Government also lease large tracts of land to settlers at a very cheap rate for grazing purposes. This stock farming is a very profitable business in New Zealand, and is occupying the attention of the settlers much more than agriculture, as the exports show.

As a general rule, emigrants of the better classes should spend as little money as possible, previous to arriving in the colony; it is during the first year or two that the settler most requires ready money. It is better that he should expend a little more money on his passage, and in examining the different settlements for himself, than run the risk of buying an unknown tract of land before he leaves England.

As to the working man, all he has to do is to get to the colony; whatever trade he is, and whatever part of the colony he lands in, he is sure of a livelihood.

The cost of a working man's passage to New Zealand is from 15*l.* to 20*l.*; but under the Emigration Commission the passage is much cheaper.

SECT. V.—CLIMATE AND PRODUCTIONS.

5.
CLIMATE
AND PRO-
DUCTIONS.

The climate is the grand characteristic which makes this colony so important to the British empire. Of all the Australasian countries, this has the climate nearest approaching to the British.* It is considerably more temperate, being within 34° and 48° S. latitude, but from the circumstance of the islands being long, narrow, and mountainous, and 1000 miles from any continent, it is perpetually refreshed, and kept in equilibrium as it were, by sea breezes; and is not nearly so hot and arid as the southern parts of the Australian continent, which are in the same latitude. It is well described by Mr. Weld† thus: "The climate of New Zealand, though one of the most variable within certain limits, is at the same time perhaps the most strictly temperate, both in summer and winter, of any in the world."

‡ There are constant strong winds blowing, generally speaking from the northward in summer, when they are strongest; and from the southward in winter, when they are rainy. There are about 200 days north-west winds, and 160 days south-east winds.§ There is a great deal of rain during the winter, averaging 31 inches in the year, but scarcely any frost or snow, except on the high mountains. Thus it will appear that the climate, though not very agreeable either to the sailor or the inhabitant, is very healthy, and very fertile for animal and vegetable; and will produce abundantly all the British grains and fruits, even to the grape, in the open air: and is particularly favourable to the constitution of Englishmen. Shocks of earthquakes are occasionally felt. Some that occurred in October, 1848, were the strongest that had been felt for many years by the natives; they shook down some brick houses in Wellington.

The geological structure|| is chiefly *primary*; the long narrow ranges of mountains are almost entirely composed of the *lower slate rocks*, intersected with veins of *basalt*, and with numerous *volcanoes* rising in high cones, of which there is only one (Tongariro, near Lake Taupo in the North Island) ever seen in action, and that only slightly. The rocks are therefore chiefly *basalt and scoria, slate, primary sandstone and limestone*. There is a great deal of *pumice-stone*; and there is good *sulphur* about the lakes Taupo and White Island (Bay of Plenty), in sufficient quantities to constitute an important article of export. *Copper ore* is worked near Auckland.¶ *Titanic iron sand* is brought down by several rivers; and along the west coast, from the Waikato River to Cape Farewell, the carboniferous strata appear in different parts. The *coal* crops out on the Waikato river, at Mokau on the coast, on the Wanganui river, and in Blind Bay, where there is also fossiliferous *limestone and sandstone*; and *coal* is also found on the Canterbury plains and Molyneux river;** and chalk is found in the cliffs of the east coast about Cape Turnagain.

The flat plains between the mountains are composed of the detritus from the older rocks, as clay, sand, and boulders mixed with lignite, and lying in horizontal strata.

A little north of Otago, boulders of *Septaria* or Roman cement stone are found very plentiful in the cliffs.†† The *soil* throughout the whole country is generally a sandy clay with gravelly beds, being the diluvium from the mountains into the flats below; but owing to the climate it is very fertile, especially where the ancient

* Mr. Martin's Cols.

† Weld, Pamphlet, 1851.

‡ Diffenbach.

§ Dr. Thompson, 58th Regt. Report; B. B. 1851.

|| Diffenbach and Mantell.

¶ See Exports.

** M. Martin's Cols.

†† Mantell.

5.
CLIMATE
AND PRO-
DUCTIONS.

forests remain. The Handbook of New Zealand estimates the available land for pasture or agriculture at two-thirds the whole area of the islands, which I think is a very high estimate.

The indigenous vegetable productions are, first and chief, the *Kauri pine*, one of the strongest and most durable pines in the world. It does not grow south of Lake Taupo. From thence to North Cape it is found everywhere in great abundance, and so large that spars from 50 to 100 feet long, and 3 to 6 feet diameter, are procured without great difficulty, and form a chief article of export. There are other good building pines all over the islands, of great size; and trees something similar to the English oak, beech, and elm; but pine is the grand staple. The second important production is the *Phormium tenax* or *flax*, which covers square miles of the country; it grows like English *flax* in great clumps, having long narrow leaves springing from the ground, and about 3 inches broad and 5 feet long. The fibre is obtained from these leaves, and has been always used by the natives, and is worked by the colonists into rope, wool bags, &c., but nobody has yet succeeded in cleansing it sufficiently (by a cheap process) to clear off a gummy substance in it, which causes it to go in the bend after a few months' wear. It is exported in a half-dressed state from all parts of New Zealand to the Australian colonies at about 12*l.* per ton.

The other vegetable productions are chiefly those of a semi-tropical climate, as ferns, palms, &c. Of the grasses, the *Toi toi* will be found very useful in campaigning, being the chief substance used at out-stations for thatching the roofs of huts; and the *Roupo*, a rush which is commonly used for thatching the walls.

The trees are described under the head of building materials.

The principal productions of the north are *copper ore* and *Kauri pine timber*.* The former is found near Auckland, on the coast of Houraki Gulf, and is sent to England in the raw state. The latter is shipped to the Australian colonies and England from different ports in the north.

The principal productions of the south are *wool* and *pine timber*.† The greater extent of grassy plains in the south have made it a greater stock country than the north. The wool is exported direct to England, and is considered very good, though not yet equal to the Australian; there is grazing country in New Zealand for several millions of sheep.

At present the colony does not wholly supply itself with *wheat*; but from the fertility of the climate, it will no doubt become the chief granary of Australasia. The natives supply a considerable quantity of wheat and pigs to the different settlements. The pigs, left by Cook and other navigators, having spread over the whole country, have become wild, and are obtained in sufficient quantity to form an export of salt pork. These supplies of wild pork and wheat are of very great assistance to the outsettlers, in all parts of the colony where there are natives.

Price of Provisions at Wellington, 1848.‡

		£. s. d.			£. s. d.
Bread	per lb.	0 0 2	Sugar	per lb.	0 0 3
Fresh butter	"	0 1 3	Tea	"	0 2 0
Coffee	"	0 0 6	Tobacco	"	0 1 9
Flour	per ton	14 0 0	Artificers' wages	per day	0 6 0
Beef and mutton	per lb.	0 0 6	Labourers' do. . . .	"	0 3 0
Pork	"	0 0 5			

* Col. returns.

† Weld.

‡ Statistics, New Munster, 1850.

There would be no difficulty in supplying troops with provisions, either of beef, mutton, or pork, and bread, in any part of New Zealand, provided some notice was given beforehand.

*Timber.**

1. *Kauri* pine (*Dammara Australis*). This is a fine cream-coloured, close-grained pine, without knots, and clean; and is useful for ships' spars and decks, and all purposes of house-building. Experiments at the Dockyard, Chatham, in 1834,† give the relative transverse strength of Kauri at 730, oak being 1000; other experiments at the same place make it equal to oak. It is the most lasting pine in water, except Totara, and grows all north of Lake Taupo; averages 5 feet diameter, and 50 feet trunk to branches. Clay soil. This timber is probably the only one in New Zealand equal to Baltic pine.

2. *Kahikatea*, white pine (*Dacrydium excelsum*), grows chiefly in the south. This is a fine white clean wood, very useful for indoor work, but not a lasting timber; very plentiful; averages 4 feet diameter, and 40 feet to branches. Rich soil.

3. *Rimu*, red pine (*Dacrydium cupressum*), grows chiefly in the south; a strong red-grained pine; very useful for all carpenter's work and furniture. Average same as white pine; grows on the hills. Strength, 700.

4. *Totara* pine (*Podocarpus totara*), grows in the south; a fine clean wood of a red colour; useful for waterwork; is the most lasting wood; used always for canoes; has little transverse strength. Averages larger than white pine. Rich soil. Split easily.

5. *Puriri* (*Vitex littoralis*) grows in the north; very much the character of English oak. Not very large nor very plentiful.

6. *Mai* or *Matai* pine (*Dacrydium Matai*), grows chiefly in the south; a fine clean wood of a yellow colour, very good for furniture and all joiner's work. Averages smaller than white pine.

7. *Mairi* (*Podocarpus macronata*) grows chiefly in the south; a dark close-grained hard wood; lasting; useful for engineering purposes; strong and heavy.

8. *Rata* (*Metrosideros robusta*) grows in the south; a tough twisted grain, red colour; useful for ship's knees, &c.; hard and difficult to cut. Averages a large tree, but with a trunk composed of several small trunks united.

9. *Pohutukawa* (*Metrosideros excorticata*) grows in the north; similar to the *rata*.

10. *Titoke*, a small tree, light streaked grain; useful for all purposes to which ash is applied.

11. *Manuka* or *Kahikatea*, Tea tree (*Leptospermum scoparium*), a small tree, very common, like the Scotch fir in appearance, dark hard wood; used for paddles, spears, axe handles, &c. Very good firewood.

The timber is sawn chiefly by hand, but there is no reason why steam and water saw-mills should not be generally used; it seldom has time to season, and therefore generally shrinks. It is expensive, being about 10s. per 100 feet superficial of 1 inch thick; the expense is caused by the difficulty of transport. Blue gum timber from Van Diemen's Land can be procured as cheap.

Houses are generally built throughout the colony of a frame-work of timber, weatherboarded outside, and roofed with shingles. In consequence of the earthquake of 1848, the soldiers' barracks, then about to be built in Wellington, were made in this manner; of the best timber, and on a brick foundation, and brick-nogged and lined with boards.

5.
CLIMATE
AND PRO-
DUCTIONS.

BUILDING
MATERIALS.

* Bishop Selwyn's Journal, 1846. Handbook, N. Z.

† Prof. Pap. R. E. vol. 5.

5.
CLIMATE
AND PRO-
DUCTIONS.
—
BUILDING
MATERIALS.

Bricks.—There is no difficulty in obtaining bricks in any part of New Zealand, for there is clay almost everywhere fit for their manufacture. There are brick kilns in all the towns. Their price in Wellington, in 1848, was 30s. per 1000.

Stone.—There is difficulty in procuring good building stone in all the settlements. In the north, *scoria* is used, dressed from the rough heaps round the extinct volcanoes. It is very hard and impracticable. There is nothing at Wellington but a rotten schist only fit for rubblework; but there is granite, and sandstone, and limestone to be obtained, as at Nelson for instance, though the expense would be very great at present.

Lime.—Is generally made from shells in New Zealand, but sometimes from limestone from Nelson: this stone can be obtained from other places on the west coast, as before stated (p. 27). Shells for lime can be obtained everywhere on the coast, and make very fair lime. Lime is about 2s. 6d. a bushel. Roman cement stone, as before stated, is to be got near Otago; it would be very valuable in New Zealand to protect the exteriors of the wooden houses against weather and fire, but the expense prevents its being used at present.

Ironwork, glass, and all fitments and castings can be obtained from Sydney or Hobart Town.

The chief difficulty that has been felt in New Zealand in building has been the want of good artificers; that difficulty is not likely to be diminished for some years to come, owing to the slow increase of the population; therefore in case of any works being undertaken by the Royal Engineer department in New Zealand, or of any military operation, it will be absolutely necessary to send out a force of Sappers; and as these men would have to execute every branch of construction, from felling timber and making bricks, to the last finishing touch, it would be necessary to supply them with a complete equipment of tools for all these purposes, and also with carriages for transport. The want of such a force, so equipped, was a very serious impediment, and a cause of great extra expense during the whole of the military operations in 1845-6-7. Large working parties of the line and natives have been employed on all the ordnance works, both permanent and temporary; and also upon the colonial roads; and tools and stores had to be purchased for them on the spot at a great expense, and the men had to be instructed in their duties.

The natives make tolerably good labourers after two or three months' practice, and have executed some good mason's work under the Royal Engineer department at Auckland. I believe they could be taught all kinds of trades. They would not require the same wages as civilians, but they would not do the same amount of work; so that their labour would be as expensive as civilian labour. The armed police force I have mentioned as necessary for the defence, might no doubt be employed upon the public works of the colony, when not otherwise required. This force would include both Europeans and natives.

WATER.

There is no want of water in almost every part of New Zealand. It can be generally obtained from streams; but in all the towns there are wells, which, generally speaking, give a good supply. Owing to the volcanic nature of the strata, the results of boring for water are very irregular; on the low coasts, among the sandhills, it is difficult sometimes to get water within a few miles.

FUEL.

The principal fuel as yet used in New Zealand is *wood*. This is brought both by land and water from the forests in the neighbourhood of the towns, and is sold at about 16s. the *cord* of 144 cubic feet. All kinds of timber are used. It is already becoming so expensive that in many private houses coal from Sydney,

at 80s. a ton, is used. The coal in New Zealand has not yet been worked sufficiently to be brought into use as a fuel.

5.
CLIMATE, &c.
FUEL.

SECT. VI.—COMMUNICATIONS AND HARBOURS.

6.
COMMUNICATIONS AND HARBOURS.
TRANSPORT.

Transport is the grand difficulty that has been felt in the movement of regular troops in New Zealand; in the neighbourhood of all the settlements there are now good carriage roads, extending for a few miles, as has been described; but off the roads even in the settlements, and all beyond that, the whole country is either impracticable mountain forest or plains intersected with impassable swamps. To the outposts in the neighbourhood of the towns, all stores, baggage, and materials are transported by hired carts, of which there are plenty, drawn by horses. To the distant outstations, being all on the coast, everything is transported by small coasters suited to enter shallow rivers. There are plenty of these coasters, but in a climate like New Zealand there is no dependence to be placed on such transport.

* The only paths throughout the country are the natives', which generally follow the most difficult line for the sake of security against enemies, and the outsettlers use them, and not unfrequently lose themselves;† but they are passable, for Europeans frequently go through the whole country; and horses have been from Auckland to Wellington, and the outsettlers travel many miles on horseback by following paths. There is a monthly mail between these two places, carried by the armed police, via New Plymouth, along the coast the whole way, and it takes twenty days; but it was so uncertain that public documents were always sent by sea; and as there was no regular communication by sea, it sometimes took several months to get answers at Wellington from head-quarters at Auckland, which are only 500 miles distant.

The difficulty of transporting artillery and stores for even 20 miles into the interior will be seen in the accounts of the campaigns to have been the great impediment. Carriages will not be of use beyond the settlements for some years to come; all transport on land must be effected on horses (as the country is too difficult for pack-bullocks), or on men's backs; as it is done now by the settlers in both ways. The natives are great adepts in carrying loads for great distances; they will carry from 40 to 50 lb. 15 miles a day. The passage of the numerous small deep rivers is another great difficulty; the settlers always make for a native pah and cross in canoes, swimming their horses; but it might be effected in the case of military stores by portable indian rubber boats. The Mackintosh cloak-boat would be a most useful thing to a single traveller in New Zealand.

Small carts, both hand-carts and harness-carts, and also small boats, are very necessary things at all the stations for the transport of stores and materials in the neighbourhood of the stations.

See the "Corps Papers, Royal Engineers," part 3, 1849-50, for statement of distances by sea, and further report on communication.

I have extracted the following itinerary from the Bishop's Almanac (published in New Zealand), because it is generally useful and can be depended on. It is one of the many works of practical benefit to the colony, executed by that talented and zealous clergyman.

* Bishop's Journal, 1846.

† Various people lost, 1847-8-9.

NEW ZEALAND ITINERARY.

COMPILED BY DR. SELWYN, BISHOP OF NEW ZEALAND, FROM PERSONAL OBSERVATION,
AND PUBLISHED IN THE ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE ALMANAC.I. *Auckland to Wellington, Coast Road.*

<i>Auckland to</i>	Miles.	Description of journey.
Onehunga	6	Open cart-road
Cross Manukau to Orua	10	Dangerous
Waikato River (boat)	30	Good beach
Whangaroa River (boat)	35	Open and hilly
Aotea Harbour (boat)	18	Woody, open
Kawhia (boat)	5	Open
Tapirimoko	25	Wood, beach, cliff
Mokau	25	Good beach at low water
Waitera (boat)	35	Cliffs, beach at low water
New Plymouth	199	Open cart-road
Mokotuna	20	Beach, stones, grass
Otumatua	30	Open, grass, sand
Waimate	18	Beach at low water, stones
Patea River (boat)	26	Beach, stones, sandhills
Waitotara	16	Tide beach, sandhills
Whanganui River, M. S. (boat)	18	Do. good beach
Whangaihu River (boat)	9	Sand, beach
Turakina River (ford)	3	Do. do.
Rangitiki River (ford)	17	Do. do.
Manawatu River (ford)	13	Do. do.
Otaki River, M. S. (ford)	20	Do. do.
Waikanae, M. S.	10	Do. do.
Porirua	24	Sand, wood
Wellington	238	14 Wood

437

II. *Auckland to Wellington, Inland Route, by Taupo.*

<i>Auckland to</i>	Miles.	Description of journey.
Kaweranga (Mission Station)	40	By sea
Land at Te Rua Kowhawhe	50	River Thames (Waiho)
Matamata	21	Plain, swamp
Te Toa, Patetere	26	Plain, rivers.
Rotorua Lake	27	20 m. wood, 7 m. open
Cross Lake to Te Ngae, M. S.	6	Boat
Tarawera Lake	10	Hill, open, lake
Rotomahana Lake and hot springs	10	8 m. lake, 2 m. plain
N. end of Taupo Lake	34	Hills, plain, deep streams
S. end of Taupo Lake. Te Rapa	25	Lake, by land 35 m.
Makokomiko on Whanganui River	42	Open, woody, deep ford
Mouth of Whanganui, M. S.	150	River, rapids
Wellington	110	See No. I.

551

III. *Auckland to Wellington, by East Coast.*

<i>Auckland to</i>	Miles.	Description of journey.
Kaweranga	40	By sea
Opita. Sacred Creek	30	River Thames (Waiho)
Katikati	25	Open
Te Papa. Tauranga, M. S.	20	Boat, along Tauranga Bay
Maketu	15	1 m. boat, 1 m. plain, 13 m. beach
Otamarora	19	Deep rivers, beach
Wakatane	14	Hills, beach, deep rivers
*Opotiki, Mission Station	20	Beach
Turanga. Poverty Bay, M. S.	90	Hills, beach, no villages
Nuhaka	38	Hills, wood
Wairoa River, M. S.	20	Beach
Waikare River	31	Beach, cliffs
Arapoanui	15	Steep hills
Ahuriri, M. S.	24	Beach, inland water
Patangata	21	Plain, deep river
Rotoatara Lake	10	Open downs
Rua Taniwha Plain	22	Open, grass plain
Manawatu River	22	Long wood, plains
Te Rewarewa	70	Course of Manawatu River
Mouth of Manawatu	9	Sandhills
Wellington	68	See No. I.
	623	

IV. *Auckland to Wellington, by Waikato and Waipa.*

<i>Auckland to</i>	Miles.	Description of journey.
Mangatawiri Creek on Waikato	45	Open, wood
Pepepe, M. S.	35	Course of Waikato, rapid
Puehunui	37	Course of Waipa, still
Otawhao, M. S.	10	Open, fern
Rangitoto	25	
Tutakamoana	28	Open hill, plain
Waihora on Taupo Lake	8	Open hills
Pukawa	12	Lake
Matahanea on Whanganui River	26	15 m. open, 11 m. wood
Mouth of Whanganui River	150	Course of Whanganui, rapid
Wellington	110	See No. I.
	486	

* *Opotiki to Turanga, Coast Road.*

<i>Opotiki to</i>		Rangitukia, M. S.	20
Tunupahore	16	Waipiro	20
Te Kaha	18	Uawa, M. S.	21
Whangaparaoa	21	Pakarae	16
Te Kawakawa, M.S.	33	Turanga	22

Total, 187 miles.

6.
COMMUNICA-
TIONS AND
HARBOURS.V. *Auckland to Wellington, by Wairarapa.*

<i>Auckland to</i>	Miles.	Description of journey.
St. John's College	6	
Papakura, native village	15	Plain, cart-road
Tuimata	10	Fern hills
Tuakau	10	Fern hill and woods
Tukupoto, M. S.	45	Up Waikato River
Puehunui	37	Course of Waipa River
Arowhena	25	Open
Tuaropaki	28	Open hills and plain
Tutakamoana	12	Do. do.
Pakaunui	18	Do. do.
Pukawa, on Taupo Lake	10	Do. do.
Tauranga River on do.	12	Lake
Tangoio : Hawke's Bay ?	60	Hills, woods
Ahuriri, M. S.	17	Beach, harbour, beach
Waimarama	19	Sand, ridge, sand
Manawarakau	13	Do. do.
Porangahau	30	Stones, sand, stones
Pakuku	18	Fern hills, swamp, grass
Mataikona	20	Stone, fern, sand
Rangiwhakaoma	15	Sand
Leave Beach		
Whareama	6	Steep bare hills and valleys
Kaikokirikiri	30	Woods, hills, grass plain
Hurinui o rangi	9	Short woods and plain
Ahieruhe	4	Grass plain
Huangerua River	8	Do.
Rimutaka range ?	6	Wood, hilly
Mungaroa	8½	Cart-road
Second Valley	8	Do.
Hutt Bridge	8	Do.
Wellington	9	Do.
	541	

VI. *Auckland to Wellington, by Taupo and Waikare Lakes.*

<i>Auckland to</i>	Miles.	Description of journey.
Rotorua Lake	164	See No. II.
Ohinemutu	6	Lake
Rotokakahi Lake	8	Grass hills and wood
Ohaki, hot springs	25	Dry hills, plain
Te Takapau	5	Dry plain. Waikato.
Taupo Lake, N. end	11	Do.
Waitahanui River	5	Shore of Lake
Rangitaiki River	20	Dry bare plain
Te Ngaere	11	Do. do.
Tututarata	15	Do. hills.
Ahikereru, M. S.	12	Hills

VI. *Auckland to Wellington, by Taupo and Waikare Lakes.*

(Continued.)

<i>Auckland to</i>	Miles.	Description of journey.
*Oputao	15	Wood, steep hills
Waikare Moana	16	Steep wooded hills
Wairoa River, M. S. at mouth?	60	Lake, river
Wellington	292	See No. III.
	665	

VII. *Auckland to Kaitaia, by East Coast.*

<i>Auckland to</i>	Miles.	Description of journey.
Mahurangi		
Whangarei		
Ngunguru	14	Open hills, beaches
Whangaruru Harbour (Owae)	35	
Waikare River, Bay of Islands	22	16 m. water, 6 m. land
†Paihia, Mission Station	10	Course of Waikare River
‡The Kerikeri, M. S.	16	Cross the Bay of Islands
Whangaroa, M. S.	25	Open, hills
Mangonui	16	4 m. water, 12 m. land
Taipa River, Oruru	2	Open
Kaitaia	17	Open

VIII. *Auckland to Kaitaia, by Kaipara and Whangaroa.*

<i>Auckland to</i>	Miles.	Description of journey.
Head of Waitemata River	14	Tideway
Head of Kaipara River	15	Open, hills
Mouth of Kaipara River	40	Tideway of Kaipara River
Te Otahi, Wesl. M. S.	80	Tideway of Wairoa River
§Mangungu, Wesl. M. S.?	70	River, wood
Mangamuka	15	Tideway of Mangamuka River.
Kaitaia	25	14 m. wooded ridge, 11 m. plain.
	259	

* *Ruatapu and Waiti villages.*

	Miles.	Descrip. of journey.
Oputao to Whakapapa	10	Steep wooded hills
Whakapapa to Toreatai	14	Do. do.
Toreatai to Tauaki	5	Do. do.
Tauaki to Maruteane	12	Do. do.
Maruteane to Waikare River	12	Do. do.
Waikare village to Tunganui	8	Do. do.
Tunganui to Ruatoki	13	Bed of river
Ruatoki to Wakatane	18	Plain.

† Paihia to the Waimate, 15 m.

‡ The Kerikeri to the Waimate, 10 m.

§ Mangungu to the Waimate, 20 m.

6.
COMMUNICA-
TIONS AND
HARBOURS.IX. *Auckland to Stewart's Island.*

<i>Auckland to</i>	Miles.	Description of journey.
*Wellington	437	See Route I.
The Wairau	30	By sea
Kaikoura	50	Beach, stones
Matanau Island, Whaling Station	50	
Port Cooper	40	Beach
Port Levy	4	Steep hills
Pigeon Bay	6	Do.
Akaroa	12	Do. harbour.
Pireka, Whaling Station	8	Do.
Ikurangi, Whaling Station	8	Do.
Taumutu	20	Shingle bed
Te Wai a Te Ruati	61	Grass plain, shingle beaches
Waitangi River (dangerous)	54	Do. do.
Moerangi, Whaling Station	39	Do. sand
Waikouaiti, Wesleyan M. S.	23	Beach, hills
Otakou	17	Steep hills
Taiari, Whaling Station	30	
Molineux Harbour, Matau River	18	
Tautuku, Whaling Station	18	
Awarua, The Bluff, Whaling Station	57	Flat, beach
New River	6	Do.
Aparima, Jacob's River, Whaling Sta.	12	Beach
Whakaputaputa	6	Do.
	1006	

X. *Auckland to Stewart's Island.*

<i>Auckland to</i>	Miles.	Description of journey.
Awarua, the Bluff	982	
Ruapuke	12	Foveaux Straits
Stewart's Is., the Neck, Paterson's R.	8	By sea
Half Moon Bay	2	
Horse Shoe Bay	2	
Port William	2	
Murray River	4	
Saddle Point	6	
Raggedy Point	11	
Codfish. Passage Island	3	
	1032	

The land distances in the above Itinerary were chiefly measured by Payne's Pedometer; but, as that instrument is liable to errors on hilly and broken ground, the measurements cannot be entirely depended upon.

* Wellington to Nelson, 150 m.

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL HARBOURS OF NEW ZEALAND.*

6.
COMMUNICA-
TIONS AND
HARBOURS.

NORTH ISLAND.

HARBOURS.

1. *Monganui Bay*, in Doubtless Bay: a small harbour of easy access, and safe for medium-sized vessels; a resort of whale ships.

2. *Wangaroa Harbour*: a spacious, deep, and well-sheltered harbour, but very narrow and bold entrance.

3. *Bay of Islands*: a small gulf, sheltered by several islands, of easy access in all weathers, safe anchorage at the head.

4. *Wangaruru, Tutukaka, Wangari*: small harbours, accessible and safe for medium vessels; H.M.S. "Calliope" once took refuge in Wangari.

5. *Houraki Gulf*: into this large gulf vessels can obtain easy access: it has numerous anchorages, of which the principal are—

Auckland: an estuary, three quarters of a mile wide, clear deep channel, accessible for all vessels; strong tide and strong winds blowing up and down the channel.

Barrier Island (Port Abercrombie): accessible and safe for all vessels.

Kawau Island and Bay (Copper Mine): a good harbour for all vessels.

Coromandel Harbour: accessible and safe for all vessels.

The Thames River: is only accessible for boats.

There are several other anchorages in Houraki Gulf available in particular winds.

6. *Hokianga River*: like all the rivers and harbours on the west coast, it is barred or fronted with sand-banks, on which the sea rolls with unbroken fury in westerly gales, rendering them uncertain of access except in moderate weather. This has always been a great trading place in Kauri spars; vessels of 500 tons go several miles up the river: 19 feet the deepest draught of shipping that has been in.†

7. *Kaipara*, see No. 6: a large estuary formed by several small rivers, fronted with numerous sand-banks, and reported the most dangerous harbour to enter in New Zealand; a great trading-place for Kauri spars; vessels of 400 and 500 tons can enter.

8. *Manukau Harbour* (opposite Auckland), see No. 6: deep, tortuous channels through sand-banks, difficult of access from strong tides and heavy swell; safe anchorage inside; a good point of communication for steamers from Australia. From Manukau canal communication might be made to Auckland Harbour and Waikato River, the isthmus in both cases being only one mile across, low land.

9. *Mercury Bay*: a small harbour accessible and safe in moderate weather for all vessels. From this point to Port Nicholson there are no safe harbours for vessels of more than 200 tons, but numerous anchorages in off-shore winds.

The principal small craft havens are as follows:—

10. *Tauranga Harbour*: a small harbour, narrow entrance, for coasters, accessible for steamers.‡

11. *Hicks' Bay* (East Cape): accessible and safe in southerly weather for all vessels. H.M.S. "Driver" took refuge here in a N.E. gale.§

12. *Tokomaru, Tologa, Bay*: small, accessible, and safe in off-shore winds.

* Corrected by W. Evans, Esq., R.N., late master and assistant-surveyor of H.M.S. "Acheron."

+ Col. Wakefield.

‡ Capt. Henderson, R.A.

§ Capt. Henderson, R.A.

6.
COMMUNICA-
TIONS AND
HARBOURS.
—
HARBOURS.

13. *Poverty Bay* has a sheltered haven with a bar entrance, accessible and safe for vessels in off-shore winds.

14. *Ahuriri* has a small bar harbour, accessible and safe for coasters. *No haven between this and Port Nicholson.*

15. *Waikato River*, see No. 6: coasters only can cross the bar at low water; difficult of access from sand-banks, navigable for coasters for 50 miles. *The Waipa River* is also navigable for coasters for a short distance.

16. *Wangaroa Harbour*, see No. 6: for coasters only.

17. *Kawia Harbour*, see No. 6: 2 fathoms on bar at low water, 12 feet rise; accessible, but difficult for all vessels; $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile wide.

18. *Mokau River*, see No. 6: for coasters only.

19. *New Plymouth* (Taranaki): a roadstead, very unsafe in northerly weather. *Waitera River*, 10 miles north, accessible for coasters.

20. *Wanganui River*: a bar river, 6 feet at low water, navigable 4 miles; for coasters only. *The rivers on this side Cook's Straits are inaccessible in heavy weather.*

21. *Manewatu River*: a bar river, 7 feet at low water, navigable 20 miles; for coasters only; see No. 20.

22. *Kapiti Island* (Entry Island): small but secure anchorage on the east side for all vessels; sheltered from both N.W. and S.E. winds, which are the prevalent winds in Cook's Straits. A common rendezvous for vessels going through the straits.

23. *Porirua*: accessible and safe for coasters in all weathers.

Mana Island at its entrance affords shelter close under its lee in N.W. winds.

24. *Wellington* (Port Nicholson): accessible and safe for all vessels; difficult of ingress and egress in strong winds, owing to the narrow entrance, three quarters of a mile, lying parallel to the Straits. A lighthouse is very much required to mark the entrance, which is not easily distinguished in thick weather. There are constant strong winds in Cook's Straits from N.W. or S.E.

MIDDLE AND SOUTH ISLANDS.

25. *Massacre Bay*: in this bay there is secure anchorage for all vessels near Tata (where coal is found).

26. *Blind Bay*, *Astrolabe*, and *Fisherman's Roads*: safe and accessible for vessels in all weathers, but small.

Nelson Haven: a very small harbour, formed by a natural breakwater, with a very narrow entrance, strong tide, rise 12 feet; difficult of access, but safe for vessels of 1000 tons.

There is seldom bad weather at the head of Blind Bay.

Croixville's Harbour: easily accessible, and safe for all vessels in all weathers; the best port in N.W. gales in Blind Bay.

27. *Port Hardy*: accessible and safe for all vessels.

28. *Admiralty Bay*: there are numerous good anchorages about this bay, accessible in all weathers.

29. *Queen Charlotte's Sound*: accessible and safe in all weathers; deep except in the coves, where good anchorage is to be found. The tides are very rapid off the entrance.

30. *Port Underwood*: easily accessible and safe in all weathers; a frequent harbour of refuge for vessels to enter Port Nicholson, or to go through the Straits.

From Cape Campbell to Banks' Peninsula no havens.

Temporary anchorage under Kaikora Peninsula in off-shore winds.

31. *Banks' Peninsula, Port Cooper or Victoria* (Canterbury) : accessible and safe in all weathers, slightly open to the eastward; northerly winds bring a heavy swell in.

Akaroa : a fine port, open to the south; no hidden danger, moderate depth all over, sometimes dangerous of access owing to violent flaws of wind and heavy swell at entrance.

There are other fair harbours in Banks' Peninsula.

32. *No safe anchorage between Banks' Peninsula and Otago except Moerangi and Waikouaiti*, anchorage in off-shore winds only.

33. *Otago* : a bar harbour, inaccessible in easterly gales, 17 feet at low water; vessels of 800 tons have entered; anchorage confined and tides rapid.

34. *Molyneux River* : anchorage with off-shore winds, river dangerous to enter at all times; for coasters only.

35. *Bluff Harbour* : formerly frequented by whalers; confined anchorage; difficult of ingress and egress from rapid tides at entrance (7 knots).

From Bluff to Preservation Sound no harbours.

36. *Stewart's or South Island, Port William, and Paterson's Inlet* : both safe for all vessels in all weathers; the nearest harbour to the Bluff country. There are other good harbours in Stewart's Island.

37. *Chalky Bay, Dusky Bay, Milford Haven* : all very deep harbours or estuaries; tempestuous weather; very mountainous, impracticable country; used by whale ships.

No anchorage between Milford Haven and Massacre Bay, except Jackson's Bay, and that not safe in northerly winds.

GENERAL REMARKS.

The above are the principal harbours and rivers in New Zealand; generally speaking, the good harbours are on the east coast. Those on the west coast are generally bar harbours. There are several other small rivers into which coasters can enter at high water.

The flood-tide appears (speaking in a general manner) to strike the south end of New Zealand, and run northwards up both coasts; but it is very irregular. In Foveaux Straits it runs from N.E. to S.W., in Cook's Straits from S. to N. It is high water at full and change; at 12 at Stewart's Island; at 4 at Port Cooper; at 4½ in Port Nicholson, but 9 in Cook's Straits; at 7 in Hauraki Gulf.

An average rise of tide is 6 feet on the east coast, and 10 feet on the west coast. About Blind Bay and New Plymouth it is 12 feet.

Brief sailing directions for the principal harbours are generally to be found in the almanacs published in the colony.

SECT. VII.—DEFENCES.

These in New Zealand may be divided into *External* and *Internal*.

Of *External* defences against a foreign enemy, there are none worth mentioning. At Auckland there are some 32 pounders on Point Britomart, a military post in a very good position, being a cliff-point, commanding the harbour, and about 60 feet above the water; but these guns are not mounted, and there is no protection for them or for any of the troops and stores against a man of war. There are no heavy guns, or batteries, or forts, at any of the other settlements :

7.
DEFENCES.

neither are there sufficient positions reserved for these objects at any of the settlements. There has been some difficulty experienced in obtaining sites for ordinary barracks for the troops; the proper military positions have not been selected, and have been sold to private persons. There are also one frigate, one sloop, one steam-sloop, all fully armed and manned, always upon the station; and the colonial brig of 200 tons, but carrying no guns. The station includes Australia.

The *Internal* defences against the natives consist at present (1851) of two regiments of the line, mustering about 1000 men together, and 25 Royal Artillery, with some field guns, and 500 Pensioners, and about 50 armed Police, partly Europeans and partly natives.

In *Auckland* there are about 500 men; there are some stone buildings, but most of the men are in temporary wooden buildings, on Point Britomart, and on the Albert Hill in the rear of it. This latter is a good position for defending the land front of the town; and it is enclosed with a flanked and loop-holed stone wall. There is only a slight enclosure to Point Britomart. There are good magazines and storehouses.

The *Pensioners** arrived from England in 1847-8, and have been located in six villages to the south of Auckland, at 6 to 13 miles distant. They are armed, and are occasionally called out under their officers, but their villages are not defensible. There are about 25 *armed Police* in Auckland, natives and Europeans. They are employed on the ordinary duty of police, and in carrying the mails, and served during part of the military operations. They are on foot, and are armed with a carbine and bayonet.

At the *Bay of Islands* there are about 100 men. They live in a hired building near Kororarika, not defensible in itself or of any use to the town.

At *Wellington* there are 400 men. They live in wooden barracks, on Mount Cook, a tolerably good position, commanding that part of the town, but not at present defensible in itself. There are no quarters for officers and no storehouses, the Ordnance and Commissariat stores being in hired buildings. There is a good magazine; there are some detachments at Porirua, and in the Hutt Valley, left there since the war in 1847, but they are only temporary, and not now in defensible positions.

At *Wanganui*, there are 200 men, in a stockade, with blockhouses of wood, on a hill commanding the town, and containing magazines and storehouses.

The Artillery are divided between Auckland and Wanganui.

There are 20 police in Wellington. The remainder are at New Plymouth, and other settlements. But there are no troops in any other settlement, and *no militia in any part of New Zealand*, although there are some arms for them in possession of the Colonial Government.

During the war in 1846-47-48, the strength of the two regiments was 2000, and there were about 300 to 400 militia called out.

There was a great want of a Field Engineer Equipment, as well as of a company of Sappers, during the military operations, of means of crossing the numerous rivers, of cutting through the forest, of stockading and intrenching, and of portable powder magazines, all of which would still be wanted if military operations should recommence.

* Martin's Cols.

SECT. VIII.—GEOGRAPHICAL ADVANTAGES.

8.
GEOGRAPHICAL ADVANTAGES.

New Zealand, though situated in a favourable position for sea communication with China and Australia, America and England, is not in the direct line of intercourse between any of these places, and therefore must depend upon her own resources for a commerce. Vessels will not call at New Zealand merely *en route*, they must have some object to induce them to call there. The present intercourse consists as follows :

With England	{	To New Zealand, <i>via</i> Cape of Good Hope, 4 months, 14,000 miles. British manufactures. Steam 2 months	}	9 vessels per annum.
		To England <i>via</i> Cape Horn, 4 months, 14,000 miles. Copper, wool, timber.		
With Sydney	{	10 days from Wellington, 1200 miles. British manufactures and stock from Sydney. Flax, barley, pork, timber to Sydney.	}	3 vessels per month.
		15 days from Wellington, 1300 miles. British manufactures and flour.		
With Hobart Town	{	15 days from Wellington, 1300 miles. British manufactures and flour.	}	1 vessel per month.
With Hong Kong	{	2 months, 6000 miles, <i>via</i> Pacific or Torres Straits	}	Occasionally from China. Scarcely ever to China.
		4 months, 14,000 miles, American manufactures		
With United States	{	American manufactures	}	5 vessels from United States per annum.
With California	{	2½ months, 8000 miles.	}	Occasionally to California.
With Tahiti	{	30 days sail, 2300 miles,	}	No trade at present.
		11 days steam		
And on to Panama	{	22 days steam, 4500 miles	}	No trade at present.
And on to England	{	20 days steam, 4600 miles	}	

There is no trade at present with South America or with India.

In 1852 regular steam communication was first established between England and Australia; in screw steamers once every two months, *via* the Cape of Good Hope, West Australia, South Australia, and Victoria to Sydney; expected to be done in two months from England. But as yet it does not extend to New Zealand, which is still therefore dependent on occasional traders for its mails. I do not think there is any one greater boon (after the men and money necessary for its defence) that the Imperial Government could confer on New Zealand than steam communication with Sydney. And I think that a plan of communication might be arranged, by which the same steamer would meet the bimonthly mails at Sydney, and also communicate monthly between the principal settlements in the colony, thereby doing the double duty of conveying the mails from England, and establishing that intercommunication between the settlements which is now so much required, and for which New Zealand is so peculiarly well adapted. According to the Admiralty statement in the "Blue Book," 1846, the annual cost of a steamer of the size of the "Volcano" is about 5600*l.*, which would be in New Zealand, allowing for increased expenses, about 7000*l.*

9.
RECAPITULA-
TION.

SECT. IX.—RECAPITULATION.

These are the principal characteristics which are to be borne in mind, in considering all points connected with New Zealand.

1. *Long narrow islands* with numerous small harbours and rivers.
2. *Long narrow mountain ranges* covered with forests and divided by flat grassy valleys, but all very difficult of passage for foot passengers, even by the footpaths.
3. The *six British Settlements* planted on the coast with a small town and a little county of civilisation round each, and containing altogether 20,000 British settlers.
4. All the rest of the *North Island*, filled with 80,000 savages, settled in villages about the coast and rivers. All the rest of the *Middle Island* almost uninhabited.
5. The *communication* about the islands (by small vessels) constant, with Sydney once a month, with England three or four times a year. Carriage-roads for a few miles only about the British settlements, foot-paths through the rest of the country.
6. A British population slowly increasing, and stock farming spreading fast; agriculture increasing slowly; a native population slowly decreasing.
7. Want of defence against the natives.
8. The summary of the latest statistics of the Colony, contained in the following table :

1. POPULATION, 1851.*

	British.	Natives.
Settlement of Auckland	9000	
„ Wellington	5000	
„ Nelson	3000	
„ New Plymouth	1500	
„ Canterbury	2500	
„ Otago	1000	
Remainder	1000	
Total	23,000	90,000

2. EXTENT.

	British. Acres.	Native. Acres.	Total. Acres.
North Island	1,000,000	30,000,000	31,000,000
Middle and Southern	40,000,000	7,000,000	47,000,000
Total	41,000,000	37,000,000	78,000,000

3. PRODUCTIONS, 1850.

Wheat, maize, and other grain (total quantity of land under cultivation in all the settlements by British settlers, 30,000 acres).

Sheep, 100,000; horned cattle, 30,000; horses, 2000; pigs, &c.

Flax, pine timber, copper, sulphur, iron, and coal.

* M. Martin and Colonial Returns.

4. EXPORTS AND IMPORTS, 1848-50.*

9.
RECAPITULATION.

<i>Imports.</i>		<i>Exports.</i>	
	South.		North.
Clothes, &c. . .	£12,000	Whale oil and bone	£14,000
Flour, &c. . .	5,000	Wool . . .	8,000
Iron, &c. . .	4,000	Copper ore . . .	—
Stock . . .	40,000	Timber . . .	—
Provisions . . .	10,000		
Spirits . . .	8,000		
	£79,000		£22,000
	140,000		20,000
Total {		Total {	
British (manufactures)	£52,000	Britain . . .	£16,000
Colonial (stock and raw		Colonies . . .	22,000
produce) . . .	170,000	Foreign . . .	5,000
Foreign . . .	3,000		
	£225,000	Total . . .	£43,000

5. SHIPPING, 1848.

	No. of ships.
To and from Great Britain	10 per annum
„ British colonies	90 „
„ Foreign countries	40 „
Small coasting vessels belonging to the colony	200

6. REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE, 1848.†

<i>Revenue.</i>			<i>Expenditure.</i>		
	North.	South.		North.	South.
From colony . . .	£28,000	£19,000	Offices of Governmt.	£36,000	£26,000
Aid from Brit. Parl.	23,000	28,000	Public works . . .	15,000	19,000
	51,000	47,000		51,000	45,000
Total . . .	£98,000		Total . . .	£96,000	
			North.	South.	
Military expenditure of Great Britain in 1848 ‡ .			£90,000	£65,000	
			Total . . . £155,000		

* Martin's Cols. and B.B.

† From B.B.

‡ Martin's Cols.

END OF PART I.

PART II.

GENERAL HISTORY AND NORTHERN CAMPAIGNS.

I.
GENERAL
HISTORY.

SECT. I.—GENERAL HISTORY TO 1844.

1642. *First visit of a European, *Tasman*, a Dutch naval officer, sighted, but did not land.
1769. *Captain Cook's* first visit. He took possession for Great Britain; same year *De Surville* (French) visited New Zealand, and also took possession.
1772. *Captain Cook's* second voyage, in which he paid three visits to New Zealand.
1777. *Captain Cook's* third voyage, in which he visited New Zealand.
1791. *Captain Vancouver* visited New Zealand; and about this time the whalers began to frequent the coast.
1814. *Rev. Mr. Marsden*, a Church of England missionary at Sydney, established a mission at the Bay of Islands; and Governor Macquarrie, of New South Wales, appointed Mr. Kendal as a British magistrate at same place.
1822. *Wesleyan Mission* established at Hokianga. For ten years about this time, the chief, *Hongi*, was the head man in the country all about the Bay of Islands, and carried his wars as far south as Lake Taupo; and the natives began to obtain fire-arms.
1831. In consequence of the quarrels between the whalers and natives, the natives of the Bay of Islands petitioned Great Britain for protection (at the suggestion of the missionaries).
1833. In consequence, *Mr. Busby* was sent by the governor of New South Wales to the Bay of Islands as Resident; and a sort of *protectorate* was established, the national flag of New Zealand being acknowledged by Great Britain, and a declaration of independence signed by the chiefs at the Bay of Islands, under the direction of the missionaries. But soon after some of the missionaries petitioned for greater protection, the native rule being too weak. Speculators from Sydney began to purchase vast tracts of land, twice and three times over, comprising altogether more than the whole islands. The English at the Bay of Islands formed themselves into a government, owing to the want of law, there being then about two thousand English in all New Zealand.
1838. When, in consequence of the representation of all these things, the British Government sent out *Captain Hobson, R.N.*, in January, 1840, who, in accordance with his instructions, held a meeting of the natives at the Bay of Islands, and got the signature of the chiefs of that part to the *treaty of Waitangi*, which gave over the sovereignty and the priority of the purchase of land to the Crown of England. There was a strong discussion about this treaty; but no force was used, and many

* M. Martin's "British Colonies."

chiefs in all parts of New Zealand afterwards signed it. The sovereignty of the Crown was declared, and *has never been denied by any large party among the natives.*

A Royal Charter was sent out, constituting New Zealand a British colony. Captain Hobson first established his seat of government at the Bay of Islands; but in November, 1840, moved it to *Auckland*, where he purchased land from the natives, and resold it to the speculators, shop-keepers, and settlers, who flocked in great numbers from Sydney.

In August, 1839, the *Tory* arrived at Port Nicholson, in Cook's Straits, with Colonel Wakefield, the agent of the *New Zealand Company*, who sent him out without the consent of the British Government, and he, in accordance with his instructions, made treaties with the natives, and got the signatures of some of the chiefs of the tribes on both sides of Cook's Straits to the purchase of a tract of country extending from a line drawn across the island, at about latitude 39°, to a line across the middle island, at about latitude 42°.

In January, the settlers arrived from England, and the town of *Wellington* was established. But some of the natives began immediately to repudiate their bargain with Colonel Wakefield, and would only allow the settlers to occupy some land about Port Nicholson; and had frequent quarrels about parts of even that: and the purchase of the Wellington block was not satisfactorily concluded till 1848.

In March, the first *New Plymouth* settlers arrived at that place. The Plymouth Company in England bought 50,000 acres from the New Zealand Company, and their surveyor, Mr. Carrington, selected the site. But the natives there began immediately to repudiate their bargain with the New Zealand Company, and would only allow the settlers to occupy about 3,000 acres: and the purchase of the whole 50,000 has never yet been satisfactorily concluded.

In the autumn of this year *Nelson* was founded. The settlers bought land from the New Zealand Company in England, and Captain A. Wakefield was sent out to select a site, and fixed it at Wakatu, in Blind Bay. But the natives of the place repudiated their bargain with the New Zealand Company; and the purchase was not satisfactorily concluded till 1846: however, being few, they made no hostile opposition. But when the Nelson settlers proposed to occupy the *Wairau* valley as part of their purchase from the company, then some of the tribes on the north side of Cook's Straits, who claimed a right over it, came over and opposed the occupation.

In this year also the first settlers occupied *Wanganui* (or *Petre*), as part of the Wellington settlement; but the natives there also repudiated their bargain with Colonel Wakefield, and would only allow the settlers to occupy the site of the town: and the purchase was not satisfactorily concluded till 1848.

It appears evident, from the opposition of so many of the natives at these four different settlements commencing immediately on their establishment, that Colonel Wakefield did not take sufficient pains to satisfy the natives in purchasing such an immense tract as he endeavoured to do; for it evidently requires a long time and great pains to purchase land from natives, such as the New Zealanders have been described to be in the former part of this paper. But he continually refused to have further treaty with them, and the dissatisfied part of the natives continually opposed the settlers endeavouring to locate themselves; and it finally ended in a war at Wellington in 1846, and at Wanganui in 1847.

In June this year, the colonial government at Auckland passed a law, establishing a commission for inquiring into the purchases of land by British subjects previous

1.
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HISTORY.
1840.

1839.

1840.

1841.

1841.

1841.

1841.

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HISTORY.

to the treaty of *Waitangi*. All the purchases in the north were examined before this commission: some were rejected, and no person was allowed to retain more than 2,560 acres. There was no serious or continued opposition on the part of the natives in the north to the purchases of the Crown, or, after the decision of the commission, to the other purchases. The purchases of the New Zealand Company were also examined before the commission.

1840. In May, 1840,* Major Bunbury and 100 men, 80th regiment, arrived from Sydney, being the first British troops that arrived in New Zealand. Lieutenant Lugard, R. E. followed them. These troops were sent on the application of Captain Hobson. A detachment of them were stationed at the first capital, Russell, in a small temporary house; and the remainder at the second capital, Auckland. In September, 1840, another company was sent from Sydney to Auckland.

Now here appears to me to have been one of the most serious errors in the formation of the Colony, and which assisted materially in bringing about its great difficulties. When the Home Government had finally decided that New Zealand *should* be colonised, they should have taken care that on the first establishment of military force in it the strength of that force should have been amply sufficient to overawe the natives; they should have been well equipped for the peculiar service, and well provided with means for establishing themselves in a defensible position, such as would serve as a citadel for the capital. At that time, as Major Bunbury well expressed it, the natives had "an almost superstitious dread of encountering the military."† "The least check would dissolve the charm;" and "the natives are well provided with muskets and ammunition;" and "the efforts of the Government and clergy tending to allay the jealousy and rivalry of tribes," would also, by combining them more together, "expose the European population to greater danger," and further, "the nature of the service requires an equipment somewhat different from that required by an ordinary detachment of infantry;" he further volunteers "to make a descent on any part of the coast with 100 men;" that is, properly equipped. I do not think he would have volunteered to march into the interior with 500 men followed by the ordinary baggage-train of a regular force.

But New Zealand was yet of small importance in the British empire, and its necessities and wants were not understood: instead of this proper equipment and strength, they were sent one company at a time, and without means to form a military post. Captain Lugard states "he had about twenty-five men from the 80th as artificers;" he was obliged to build "a rustic block-house at Russell, temporary, and not bullet-proof," owing to "the extreme paucity of means."‡ Again, at Auckland, "we had no assistance from Sydney in the shape of materials. I had to make shingles and bricks—fell and saw timber—burn shells for lime—collect scoria for building—and none but soldiers to work with, and only hand-carts and a boat. I had no authority to purchase materials or employ civilians." It is wonderful what a good, substantial barrack he left behind him with such materials to work with. In February, 1842, Captain (then Lieutenant) Bennett, R. E., relieved Lieutenant Lugard.

1842. Captain Hobson saw the necessity of having a proper military force; he had asked for it in 1839, and it was refused, or, at least, sent in small numbers as above described.

If the home Government, upon receiving such reports as the above from the

* Capt. Lugard, R.E.

† Major Bunbury, B. B., 1844.

‡ Letter from Capt. Lugard, 1842.

colony, had sent out, in 1842, a regiment specially equipped for the service, with a train of suitable artillery, and a force of sappers well supplied with tools and materials, and ordered the whole force to be trained for their peculiar service, they would have saved the strength of two and a half regiments they were obliged to send at last, and the moral effect of British power would have been undisturbed to this day. The weakness of the British power, in this respect, is shown in the first native disturbance that the Government took part in—*Tauranga*, in 1842.

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SECT. II.—TAURANGA.

The Tauranga Campaign in 1842.

There was no actual fighting in this affair, but it is considered worthy of record, from its affording an example of the character of the natives, and of their fortified villages, or *pahs*. This was the first occasion on which the troops were called out :—*

2.
TAURANGA.

Two native tribes, at *Tauranga* and *Maketu*, in the Bay of Plenty, 130 miles S. E. of Auckland, fought upon an ancient quarrel; and the acting Governor, Mr. Shortland, wished to interfere to put down such wars, and obtained a pretext, from the two tribes having respectively seized two boats belonging to Englishmen trading there; so, being at *Tauranga* himself, he sent the colonial vessel, a brig of 200 tons, called the *Victoria*, to Auckland, with orders to Major Bunbury, 80th regiment, commanding there; who thereupon embarked all his available men (about forty), and the following ordnance and ammunition :—

1842.

Two 18-pounder cannonades	} From H.M.S. <i>Tortoise</i> , with seamen and marines.
100 rounds shot	
Fifty rounds canister	
7,100 musket-ball cartridges.	} With one 4-pounder iron gun.
126 round shot	
125 grape and canister	
And some engineers' stores.	

Lieutenant Bennett, R. E., then commanding engineer in New Zealand, accompanied the expedition.

Having arrived at *Tauranga*, the force disembarked at *Monganui*, between *Tauranga* and *Maketu*, and encamped. The natives objected to the right of the British to interfere in wars between themselves; and the acting Governor, finding that the expediency of interfering was a very doubtful question, and that he had a very small force, effected some kind of mediation, and withdrew the troops. On this occasion the natives ate some of their native prisoners, being the last time such a thing has been known to have been done in New Zealand.

Lieutenant Bennett, R. E., took the opportunity of examining some of the native *pahs*, and made a report thereon to the Inspector-General of Fortifications, which report contains so exact and good an account of them, and of the means necessary for their attack, that it is herewith given in full :—

Report on the Pahs of New Zealand.

The strength of the *pahs* of New Zealand consists principally in the choice of position.†

They are generally situated on peninsular points, with three sides inaccessible; being steeply scarped towards the sea, usually from 50 to 60 feet in height, and

* B.B. 1845. Lieut. Bennett's dispatch, Jan. 1843.

† See plans to article *Pah*, showing Heki's Pah, vol. ii. Aide Mem. Mil. Sciences.

2.
TAURANGA.
1842.

palisaded at top: the depth of water round them being (generally) such as to prevent any vessel larger than six or eight tons approaching them within range of field-guns; I consider the attack of these sides, except by surprise, impracticable; the fourth side is always cut off by a deep ditch having steep scarps from 20 to 30 feet in height, and counterscarps from 6 to 16 feet; the nature of the soil being generally a stiff clay, or soft sandstone, retains the slope of 60°.

The terreplein, from 20 to 30 feet broad, has a strong palisade in front, or the palisade is placed above the scarp with a low parapet and banquette, and the whole of the interior of the pah is intersected in every direction by fences, each hut being fenced around. These interior defences, though low, if not destroyed before the entrance of the troops, must entangle and confuse them, and totally prevent the use of the bayonet. The ditches are also flanked by a strong palisade.

In addition to the principal pah, there is also frequently an outer work with a low ditch palisaded in front, and commanded by the main work; and should one part of the pah be considered weaker than another, it is strengthened by a double palisade, 3 feet apart, with embrasures left in the outer one at the level of the ground, and a trench cut inside to afford cover.

In short, the pabs assume every description of defence of this nature, of which they are capable, and are sometimes strengthened by even three successive rows of palisades.

The palisades themselves consist of large trees about 1 foot in diameter, roughly hewn, and placed 6 or 8 feet apart, and afford safe cover for a man; they are from 12 to 20 feet in height, rudely ornamented at top; between these posts long stakes, from 8 to 10 feet high, and 1½ inch diameter, and nearly tangent to each other, are strongly bound together; or, if greater strength is required, rough three-sided stakes about 9 inches perimeter are used.

Should the pah not be situated on a peninsula, its front consists of one steep side towards the sea, with generally a deep and wide gully on each flank, and the gorge is protected by a deep ditch, as before described.

The section of the pah of *Temutu* exemplifies the usual defences, but the natives evince considerable military knowledge, and I observed that several of their pabs had their counterscarps excavated, having small openings like embrasures. These, I am told, are used for keeping potatoes, and I cannot learn that they have ever been used for defence.

In illustration of their military knowledge, I may say that when I was ordered to prepare a plan of attack of the Pah of *Maketu*, I consulted the chief *Tupaia*, of *Oumaiti* pah: he immediately sat down on the sand and erected a model of the pah and surrounding country, giving me the distances and command that each hill had over the pah and each other, and pointed out how it might be approached with safety. The plan I made from his model I was subsequently able to compare on the spot, and found his plan and ideas very correct.

The number of men the pabs would contain varies from 300 to 800, and they possess a large supply of potatoes and *kumera* (sweet potatoe) in holes excavated for the purpose. They have also an abundance of muskets and ammunition, the former very good, and nearly all double-barrelled: the latter made up into cartridges; and each man is supplied with a good cartouche-box.

They have also their tomahawks for close quarters; I may add that they are an exceedingly active and warlike race, and few of them without the experience of several fights.

I have been informed that the pabs in the interior of the country are

constructed on the same system, detached hills, or hills on the extremity of a ridge, being the site usually chosen.

What I have said relative to the choice of position of their paha relates only to that arm against which they have hitherto had to contend—the musket. But I have seen no pah which was not commanded at distances varying from 200 to 600 yards; consequently the method of attack is simple and certain.

A couple of 12-pounder $4\frac{3}{8}$ inch brass howitzers to break down the palisades, and with a few carcasses to set fire to the huts and interior fencing already described, places the strongest pah at the mercy of a few men; but without these means, I conceive that the attack of a strong pah must always be attended with considerable loss to the assailants.

The howitzers must be light, as they will have to be landed generally on a beach with a surf, and will have to be got up a height of 50 or 60 feet to be placed in position. A few rounds of grape and canister for the same guns would also be necessary, and two or three Coehorn mortars and some hand grenades exceedingly useful.

From the want of knowledge of gunnery by the soldiers of the line, it will be necessary that a few artillery men (or sappers and miners well instructed in the use of howitzers, and method of making up carcasses) should accompany them; the latter, I venture to suggest, would be the most useful in this colony, as their labour as mechanics would be very valuable in the erection of ordnance and barrack buildings in New Zealand, where the price of such labour is high, and the mechanics of the detachment (of the line) so few and indifferent.

Should it eventually be found necessary to disarm any tribe on account of their continued wars and cannibalism, I conceive that the ordnance above specified, with three companies of the line, would be sufficient to surround the paha and force the surrender of their arms.

I trust I shall be excused for making the above suggestions, as the insufficiency of our means, from want of ordnance and gunners when the attack of Meketu pah was contemplated, was severely felt, and was only overcome by the accidental presence of H.M. Store-ship "Tortoise," and the assistance they afforded; without such assistance I do not consider that our means (*sixty-five infantry*) were such as to justify an attack, where a repulse must be attended with such serious consequences, in destroying the wholesome dread they at present have of British soldiers.

Feb. 10, 1843.

(Signed)

GEORGE BENNETT,

Lieut. Royal Engineers, commanding.

The subsequent experience of the paha in the interior corresponds exactly with his description. *Their strength consists in the site.* They are invariably placed on the ends of narrow spurs overlooking the sea, the rivers, or the plains, and have all the same kind of ditches and palisades; and in addition to the difficulty he mentions, of having to provide artillery to take them, must be added the greater difficulty, not contemplated by him at that time, of having to transport the artillery through the thickly-wooded hills; for he thought only of paha on the sea coast, accessible to shipping; a march of even ten miles inland, in such a country, would make the greatest difference in his plan of attack; besides, the paha afterwards attacked by the British troops were expressly constructed against them, and were much stronger in the palisading than those he describes, and required heavier artillery. Captain Marlow considered that 12-pounder guns and $5\frac{1}{2}$ inch howitzers would be required to make a breach in *Ohaiawai* pah. It does

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2.
TAURANGA.
1842.

2.
TAURANGA.
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1842.

not appear that Lieutenant Bennett's recommendations were attended to, for no equipment was provided until the difficulties had arrived at too great a height for them to be of the use expected.

In September, 1842, Captain Hobson died in New Zealand, and Captain Fitzroy, R.N., succeeded him. In the interval before Captain Fitzroy arrived, the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Shortland, acted as governor.

The great mistake made by Captain Hobson at the commencement of the colony was the selection of the site for the capital. If the whole British strength had been concentrated at Wellington, it would have been sufficiently powerful to have overawed the natives there; the New Zealand Company fell also into this fault of scattering their forces. Both Company and Government thought to colonise all New Zealand at once, totally forgetting the natives; and to protect these scattered settlements required a greater power in men and money than the Home Government chose to allow. Indeed, it was not altogether Captain Hobson's fault in the choice of a capital; it was the want of concert between the Home Government and the Company, which placed the Governor and the Company rather in opposition in New Zealand than in conjunction. As it has turned out, the formation of other settlements in the middle island have established Cook's Straits to be, what a glance at the map shows it to be at once, the proper site for the capital of New Zealand.

Captain Fitzroy arrived in November, 1843. Captain Hobson had been somewhat aware of the strength and character of the natives; and if the Home Government had but sufficiently supported him with men and money, he might have saved the future wars. But Captain Fitzroy came with the predetermination of governing the natives by moral force.* He refused to use a military force from the commencement, and delayed asking for it until the moral effect of it had evaporated, and even then got rid of it again as soon as he dared. With the most honourable high-minded desires for the benefit of both British and natives, he fell into the same error as the early missionaries did—of considering the natives as a semi-civilised race, which could be raised and amalgamated with the Europeans; and under his too lenient government the troubles with the natives, which might have been prevented in Captain Hobson's time, grew to such a head that three years' war was required to put them down.

He found the colony languishing for want of money, and the natives growing more and more outrageous: in the south they had come to open fight with the settlers. After the experience already obtained, and the reports that had been made, it is now evident that a strong military force was more required than ever. The first difficulty he had to meet was the massacre of *Wairau*.

SECT. III.—WAIRAU.

3.
WAIRAU.

† After the establishment of Nelson in 1842, the settlers of that district began to spread towards the *Wairau* valley, which was understood to have been purchased by Colonel Wakefield in his first purchase; but in March, 1843, the chief, *Rauperaha*, being in Nelson, protested against this purchase, and some threats were exchanged between him and Captain Wakefield, the Company's agent at Nelson. Captain Wakefield, feeling confident in the justness of the Company's claim, sent surveyors into the Wairau, which the chiefs *Rauperaha* and *Rangiheata*, considering as the act of taking possession, opposed by burning the hut of the

* Nelson petition, 1845.

† B. B. 1844-45, Nelson petition. Martin's Col.

surveyors; upon learning which Captain Wakefield was persuaded to endeavour to seize the chiefs. It was thought to be a favourable opportunity for teaching the savages to respect English law. He took out a regular warrant against *Rauperaha*, and proceeded with several of the principal gentlemen of the settlement and about forty labourers, armed with muskets, on board the colonial brig "Victoria," from Nelson to the *Wairau*, in June, 1843, and marched five or six miles inland, to where the natives were encamped, expecting to be allowed to take the chief without resistance. There were about 100 natives. After some peaceable discussion, the magistrate of the party made some strong demonstration of seizing *Rauperaha*, which led to a sort of rush on both sides: a gun was fired from the British side,—the natives returned it;—a sort of fight began, and the labourers, being totally unprepared for, and unaccustomed to, anything of the kind, got into confusion and scattered each for himself. Nearly all the gentlemen leaders were taken and killed immediately, in what we should call cold blood.

Now the disputes concerning land with these natives cannot be considered, upon the point of abstract law, as to whether the Company had a legal right to the land or not; it should rather be considered, whether the Company had obtained the consent of the majority of the native owners to the purchase, and whether they had the force to hold their land against the remainder. Now, there were doubts at the time about the purchase of this land, and the land commissioners were investigating it at Wellington: they were expected over at *Wairau*, and the natives would have waited at least to hear their decision. Moreover, it might have been fully expected that the natives would have resisted; for they had been very much excited upon this land question on both sides of Cook's Straits for a year or two before: therefore, I do not think Captain Wakefield was justified in using force; indeed, he seems to have had doubts about it himself. But even if he had been justified, it was an act of the greatest rashness to attempt to arrest a chief in the midst of his own people with such a force. Knowing the savage character and the excited state of them, he should have had a band of trained men sufficient to overawe them; a smaller number of whalers would perhaps have put down a greater number of natives; but no body of undisciplined English labourers, acting without concert—even without leaders—could make any stand against savages, whose very appearance and manners they had an ignorant fear of; and if New Zealand had been left to the defence of her settlers, notwithstanding the individual bravery of the English colonist, as a body, there would have been no better result than *Wairau*.

The effect of this the first successful stand, made by the natives against the British, was felt and magnified in the native manner through the country, and gave a new confidence to all those dissatisfied natives who before had been deterred by fear from open hostility against the British rule; and this effect was increased by the conduct of Governor Fitzroy, in pardoning and making friends with the chiefs who did the deed before even they had acknowledged their fault or expressed any regret for it.

He might surely have shown in some decided manner his condemnation of the deed, even if he did not feel himself strong enough to punish it.

Immediately afterwards, he let off another native chief, who had committed some strong breach of English law at Auckland. Then he had to deal with the disturbances at the Bay of Islands, which fully proved to him the necessity of armed interference.

Even now at this time, before the destruction of Kororarika, if Captain Fitzroy

3.
Wairau.
1843.

3.
Wairau.
1843.

had determined upon using force, he might have saved a great part of the subsequent wars. After the *Wairau*, the time had gone by when the natives could be kept in order with the small force proposed by Major Bunbury. But still the prestige of the troops was untouched. The best evidence of the mistake of the doctrine of moral force is in the annual report of the Chief Protector of Aborigines (an officer established by Governor Fitzroy), in which he congratulates the Governor (July, 1844,) on the tranquillity of the colony, and the prospect of permanent peace and security, the whole country from north to south being then ripe for explosion. Next year the wars began, and continued for two years. And, at the same time, most of Mr. Clarke's letters go to show the necessity he felt of having a strong police in the country, and the impossibility of preventing wars among the natives by moral force alone.*

SECT. IV.—KORORARIKA.

The Destruction of Kororarika.†

4.
KORORARIKA.

The original settlers had continued to occupy their settlement at the Bay of Islands, which was situated on the shores of the bay, and called *Kororarika*. They consisted chiefly of whalers, and persons engaged in trading between the natives and the whalers. There had always been a lawless, half-civilised system of dealing carried on there by the Europeans, which the natives were partly obliged and partly willing to put up with, being gratified with the great trade of the whalers; and also because their supremacy and their customs were never very violently interfered with. But when the British Government took possession, and a regular magistrate came to be established at *Kororarika*, and a regular custom-house, the native chiefs found that they had lost their supremacy, and that a new and unknown law was in force in place of their old customs; and moreover that they had lost their trade with the whalers, who deserted the harbour when the customs' duties were established: and they began to be dissatisfied, and to believe in the reports of some of them (fomented by discontented Europeans)—that the British Government intended their destruction. There was no dispute about land; very little had been purchased there;—it was the inevitable discontent of the savage at the sudden breaking down of his old laws and customs by the introduction of civilised law.

If the civil power had been at that time sufficiently supported by a military force to overawe both natives and settlers, probably no outbreak would have taken place there any more than at Auckland. But disputes between natives and settlers occurred from time to time; and the decisions of the police magistrate, being totally without force to support them, were not respected by either party: the natives took the law into their own hands, and from one aggression to another, finally in July, 1844—a body of them under the command of *Hone Heki*, a chief of the neighbourhood—pillaged part of the town, and “carried into effect that which they had long been threatening—the destruction of the Government flagstaff, because, they said, it prevented the American vessels coming into the harbour.”—*New Zealander*, June 7, 1845.

Heki was not himself a chief of great rank; but he had married the daughter of the great *Hongi*, and was noted as a clever daring man, and was one of the losers by the desertion of the whale-ships.

The Governor immediately sent to Sydney and Hobart Town for troops, being

* B. B. 1845, 46.

† B. B. Local papers. Nelson petition.

the first time that he had demanded them; and in the first week in August a merchant vessel arrived at the Bay of Islands with 160 men of the 99th Regiment from Sydney, and on the 24th August the Governor arrived from Auckland with a detachment of the 96th Regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Hulme, and with H.M.S. "Hazard," Capt. Robertson, and the colonial brig "Victoria." The Governor held a meeting of the natives, spoke to them, and took off the customs duties. This, and the appearance of force, brought even *Heki* into terms of friendship. And the troops returned immediately to Sydney! instead of establishing a strong military post at *Kororarika*. But the bad passions of the savages were rather stimulated than allayed by the too great leniency and confidence of the Governor. In October and in January further disputes occurred between the powerless civil power and the settlers and natives; in which the natives took the law again into their own hands, and *Heki* again cut down the flagstaff. And the Governor issued proclamations for his apprehension. And between 16th January and 6th March there arrived at the Bay of Islands H.M.S. "Hazard," the "Victoria," two subalterns and 50 men of the 96th Regiment,* from Auckland. But the excitement and self-confidence of the natives had been by that time allowed to get to too great a height to fear such a force. The flagstaff was cut down a third time, and the town of *Kororarika* attacked by 1,100 natives under *Heki*, on the 11th March. The town, as will be seen by reference to the accompanying map, extends along the beach for about a mile, with a hill at each promontory. The hill on the south side is about 200 feet high; and on it two block-houses were placed, one on the top, and one below, closer to the houses. These block-houses were put up by Captain Bennett, R.E., soon after the Government was established in the colony. There were twenty men in these block-houses, and the remaining thirty in a house in the town. They were one story high, twenty feet square, of solid square timbers.†

The natives having stated that they intended to attack the town, Captain Robertson posted himself with 150 men from the "Hazard," and a field piece, at the hill on the north side of the town at daylight on the 11th. He was immediately attacked by 200 natives, whom he kept at bay. About the same time Ensign Campbell, who commanded the upper block-house, was absent with his men 200 yards from his block-house, making intrenchments: the natives surprised the block-house; and he retreated to the lower one. Upon this, Captain Robertson's party spiked their gun, and fell back; and the whole force, together with the inhabitants of the place, some of whom were armed, and assisted in the defence, occupied the lower block-house and a house of Mr. Polack's near it, which was stockaded; and, with the assistance of the guns of H.M.S. "Hazard," defended themselves for three hours against the natives, who fired from the neighbouring broken ground. At ten o'clock the magazine of powder in Mr. Polack's house exploded by some accident, and destroyed the house. Then the whole force and inhabitants went on board the vessels in the harbour; and on the following day the natives pillaged the town, without injuring the inhabitants, some of whom were still busy taking off their goods to the vessels. The vessels and inhabitants proceeded to Auckland.‡

There were killed on this occasion—

Naval.	Military.
6 men.	4 men.

Captain Robertson was wounded severely.

* 20 men. U. S. Journ., Dec. 1847.

† New Zr., June, 1845. Bishop Selwyn's Journ.

‡ Dispatches of Capt. Marlow, Oct. 1846, Lieut. Phillpotts, R.N., Lieut. Barclay and Ens. Campbell, 96th. Mr. Beckham, Pol. Mag. Bp. Selwyn.

4.
KORORARIKA.
1844.

It was impossible to defend such a straggling town, with 200 men and only two block-houses, so situated. If Ensign Campbell had not been surprised at the upper block-house, and the magazine had not exploded, they might have held the posts they occupied; but it would have required half-a-dozen block-houses to have protected the town from pillage with that force. That body of men could not have prevented, by any skirmishing, 1100 natives, fighting after their manner under cover, natural and artificial, from destroying part of a village three-quarters of a mile in length. But they might have held their posts; and the posts were lost by the surprise of the block-house.

Great praise is given in all the dispatches to Captain Robertson, R.N., of the "Hazard," for his bravery; and the kindness and attention of Bishop Selwyn is highly spoken of; and also of Captain Mackeevor, of the United States frigate "St. Louis."

After the destruction of *Kororarika*, Governor Fitzroy came to the resolution he should have come to a year before—of attacking *Heki* with a strong force. His want of decision previous to this affair was proved to be a mistake by the letters of *Heki* and *Kawiti*, after *Kororarika*, which show a kind of prevarication, as if they were still half-doubtful of their success, and half afraid of British power.

He then began to ask earnestly for troops from Sydney (that being the headquarters of this military division of our colonial empire); and he raised the militia, which he had before refused to do, on the ground that the colony could not afford it, and that undisciplined men with arms in their houses would do more harm than good. But bodies of English settlers, partially disciplined for a few years, would have been of very great use, well supported by troops, especially as the settlers everywhere were anxious to enrol themselves. And the expense might have been borne in the first instance by the Home Government. Such was the alarm and the ignorance and fear of the settlers concerning the natives, that it was believed *Heki* was coming to attack Auckland.* The barracks on Point Britomart were intrenched and two blockhouses built; (there were already some stone barracks;) 300 militia were armed, and picquets stationed about the town. But there were no defences capable of protecting the town; if there had been no troops, *Heki* would probably have appeared before it, and it would have shared the fate of *Kororarika*, and been deserted. Many did leave.

So the third expedition against *Heki* commenced.

March 23. H.M.S. "North Star" arrived from Sydney with 250 men, 58th.

April 21. The barque "Slain's Castle" arrived from Sydney with 200 men, 58th (these troops were intended to have been in time for *Kororarika*, but were delayed in Sydney).

April 23. These vessels and others sailed to the Bay of Islands with part of the 58th and a detachment of the 96th.

SECT. V.—OKAIHU.

Description of Country at the Bay of Islands.†

5.
OKAIHU.
1845.

As the military operations now began to be extensive, and to extend into the interior, it is necessary here to give some idea of the country and state of the natives of those parts.

The main range of hills runs down the centre of this part of the islands,

* Lieut. Balncavis, 58th Regt. Local papers. Capt. Fitzroy's pamphlet, 1847.

† Martin's Col.

5.
OKAIHU.
1845.

dividing the waters of *Hokianga* from the waters of the Bay. It is about 1000 feet high on the average. On the *Hokianga* side almost the whole country consists of steep ridges, deep valleys, with flat alluvial bottoms, and all covered with thick *Kauri* forest. On the side of the Bay the hills stretch away towards the coast in the level plateaus with steep sides, that have been already described, and as they get nearer the coast the forest becomes more confined to the ravines, and the plateaus are covered with fern and low shrubs; the hills run right down to the promontories, forming bluff points on the coast, with low flat valleys in between. Those arms of the sea which form the capacious Bay are the outlets of such flat valleys, and the sides of them are steep and covered with wood. But this plateau fern land is almost as impracticable for military operations as any other; the high fern and shrubs prevent even the settler from leaving the beaten track, and that track, with the exception of a few cart-tracks worked by the missionaries, consists of simply the native foot-paths, following generally the most difficult line for a traveller; and the ravines of these plateaus are very frequent and very abrupt, and generally wooded.

As the head-quarters of both Church and Wesleyan missions were in this part, there was more English cultivation and establishments at that time than in most parts of New Zealand. Besides the whaling town of *Kororarika* (now, however, in ruins), there was the Church mission station at *Waimate*, quite a village among fields, and several bush farms of the missionaries in other places.

Through all the native wars, and through all the British wars, these missionary establishments continued untouched, and the missionaries were allowed to pass to and fro amongst friends and enemies unharmed.

* The natives were now pretty much divided into two parties; *Tomati-Waka-Nene*, a chief of the *Ngatihao* tribe, may be considered as the head of the Government party: he had constantly supported the British side since the treaty of *Waitangi*, and now openly opposed *Heki*; *Pomare*, *Kawiti*, and some others, sided with *Heki*. These divisions of the natives, both in this war as in all other British wars in New Zealand, have been produced partly by real desire towards British rule, and partly by their old family feuds. *Waka* and *Heki* had been old enemies. Although these tribes were so much opposed to each other, their lands and pāhs were intermixed; they had been fighting some years before, and each party had built *fighting pāhs*, as they call them, on the occasion. These pāhs were built sometimes on their own land, sometimes on their enemy's, and they would occupy them for months without coming to a fight, until some chance brought on an engagement. *Heki* appears to have followed this mode of fighting in all his wars with the British, but against us he built much stronger pāhs than they were accustomed to build in their own wars. The natives, both allies and enemies, were generally found to be well armed with guns, chiefly double-barrelled, and the enemy well supplied with ammunition; our allies were supplied by Government. Arms and ammunition had been the favourite barter with New Zealanders for pigs and potatoes from the first appearance of whalers among them; and the sale increased when there became a prospect of war with the British, and there were British subjects found disgraceful enough to sell arms and ammunition to the natives while the war was going on.†

On May 3,‡ the forces disembarked at *Onewero*, up the *Kiri-kiri* river (see map No. 2), having been delayed for want of information about the country, and of the

* B. B. 1845, 46.

† Col. Despard, U. S. Mag. 1846.

‡ Col. Hulme's dispatch, B. B.

5.
OKAIHU.
1845.

position of *Heki*. It was ascertained from the natives that he had established himself in a pah at *Okaihu*, a place about eighteen miles inland. They were entirely dependent on the natives for information and guidance to this place.

The force consisted of part of the 58th, 96th, and seamen and marines, of the "North Star" and "Hazard," altogether about 400 men, under Lieutenant-Colonel Hulme, 96th. *Tomati-waka* joined with about 400 natives.* With this force, and without transport, without a gun, Colonel Hulme undertook to penetrate eighteen miles in a country almost unknown, but which had been already reported impracticable for troops,† to attack a pah, such as had been pronounced by several authorities before to be proof against field artillery.

Having no means of transport, the men carried thirty extra rounds of ammunition and five days' biscuit, and in heavy rain, without tents, they marched eighteen miles in two days, by a narrow path through a thick forest. Two-thirds of the ammunition, and all the biscuit, was found unfit for use.‡

The pah was built expressly for this occasion; it had three rows of palisades and a ditch inside, the exterior row being coated with the leaves of the flax plant, to conceal the effect of musket-balls upon it.

May 8, three storming parties advanced within 200 yards of the pah, and some rockets were fired at it (they were brought from H.M.S. "Hazard," and were probably 3-pounders); but they had no effect. Rockets would, however, be very useful to fire into a pah—they would destroy the houses.

At the same time, the natives made a sally from the pah, and with another party, under *Kawiti*, which had been concealed in the neighbouring forest, had some skirmishing with the troops; the natives had to retreat again, without much loss on either side.§

Colonel Hulme now finding that his expedition was in vain without artillery, marched back his force on the 10th the same way they came. They were not molested on their retreat, neither had they been on the advance; and they had still greater difficulties about transport, owing to the wounded. They had been ten days on shore, and the medical officers said that any further such exposure, without cover or rations, would produce sickness.

Killed on this occasion.

Naval.
2 men.

Military.
12 men.||

REMARKS.

As this was the first regular expedition with troops against the natives, and as all the subsequent expeditions were much of the same character, this seems a proper place for making some remarks upon them.

1st.—*I think the mistake at Okaihu was in attempting such an expedition at all, with such means,—chiefly* because of the character of the country, which was known at the time to be such as has been described; necessitating a long, straggling, slow line of march; preventing the carriage of guns, ammunition, or provisions, except by making cart roads; permitting the baggage and the whole force to be cut off piecemeal by the natives in the forests; utterly impracticable for the evolutions of disciplined troops; indeed, that very country had been reported, in 1844, as impracticable for troops:¶—

* "New Zealander" paper.

† Col. Hulme's dispatches. Local papers.

‡ Ibid.

+ Lieut. Bennett, Capt. F. pamphlet.

‡ U. S. Mag., Dec. 1847.

¶ Lieut. Bennett, Capt. F.

5.
OKAIHU.
1845.

Secondly, because of the character of the natives and their pāhs, which was also known at the time to be such as has been described; the natives accustomed to the attack and defence of pāhs, and well armed with muskets; the pāhs proof against field artillery, and situated in the most difficult positions.

I think the attack of such a stockade, eighteen miles inland, under such circumstances, was most unlikely to succeed; and we now know, from subsequent experience, that it could not have succeeded—that the pāhs were all but proof against the heaviest field artillery—and, indeed, that it is chiefly owing to the unwarlike character of the New Zealander that any of our troops have returned from their expeditions alive.

2ndly.—I think it would have been better to have established a strong military post at *Kororarika*, and to have waited until further information concerning the country was obtained, and until an equipment and a force suitable to such a service was provided. The description of force necessary to have reduced one of these pāhs (judging from the experience of the subsequent expeditions) would have been about 500 infantry, four howitzers (two 12-pounders and two 24-pounders), with some rockets, and some sappers to make the road and batteries. Such an equipment would have required perhaps ten bullocks (including ammunition and provisions), as the howitzers might be drawn on their field-carriages by hand, and the ammunition and provisions on the backs of the animals; this force might have moved at the rate of four or five miles a day through that open country. A breach should be made by such guns in two days, and the whole result of any of the expeditions would be obtained in a much shorter time.

Or, the guns might have been dispensed with altogether, and the 500 men might have advanced with the bullocks alone in one day, and blown the pāh in with bags of gunpowder. Four or five bags of 50 lb. each would make a practicable breach in any of the pāhs we have had to deal with. Of course, the great question is the placing of the bags; but, from my experience of the natives, I believe that so little watch is kept by them during the night, that the bags might be laid without discovery just before daylight. It would be a dangerous undertaking, no doubt (but not more so than the assault of *Ohaiawai*), and its practicability would depend on situation and circumstances.*

3rdly.—But even under any circumstances, with either of these equipments, and the best troops and guns in the world, I doubt if they would have succeeded in producing a much better impression on the natives. The advance even of the best equipped regular force would necessarily be slow. The want of information, of transport, ammunition, medicines, tents, would prevent them advancing above a few miles a day in such country; they would still be liable to be cut off on the march; for although the general character of native fighting is to remain in their pāhs for the attack, yet they do practise ambuscades when they see a favourable opportunity. And after all, when the troops had arrived at the pāh, they could not “invest” it, so as to prevent the enemy’s communicating or rallying out into the forest; and, finally, when they had made their breach, on the point of the assault the enemy would evacuate, and retreat ten miles further to another pāh; leaving the troops to follow by another slow march, and make another breach, only to find the pāh again evacuated. For the loss of a fighting pāh is a small shame to the *Maori*; it would be probably built only for the fight, and perhaps on another man’s land, and it does not take them long to build—*Waka* built a small one for the troops

* See report of experiments at Chatham at conclusion of Part III.

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in one day. It is only when the people are captured in the pah that a lasting effect is made; the *Maori* counts the numbers slain or made prisoners, in reckoning up *his* wars.

4thly.—On the other hand, the colonists and native allies were urging on the commander to put an end to the disturbed state of the country; and it was not thought that the natives would stand to meet such a force of troops, even behind a pah, and the pabs themselves were not well known (Lieutenant Bennett's description had been buried in the archives of some office, instead of being published to the officers); in short, the enemy was undervalued, and finally, there was no such equipment in the colony as I have mentioned. However, on the whole, I think it would have saved the subsequent campaigns to have waited in a post at *Kororarika* until the proper equipment was ready.

5thly.—It is very satisfactory to find that, with all these difficulties to encounter, the troops themselves behaved exceedingly well. They surmounted the difficulties of the country steadily, and after going through them all they showed, when they had the opportunity in the sally and ambush, that they could drive back the natives hand to hand on equal terms. These are circumstances when the drill and whole education of the soldier is at fault; the discipline and manœuvring of the parade are almost useless; each man is thrown on his individual resources; nevertheless, notwithstanding the totally new circumstances in which they were placed, I do not think there is any case recorded in the whole wars in which, with anything like a fair field, they did not easily drive back the natives.

6thly.—The native allies require some notice here. We have always had native allies in our wars in New Zealand. They have generally acted as guides and followers; from their custom of having frequent communication with the enemy, the commanders found out where the enemy was, and the path to him, of which, otherwise, they would have been totally in the dark; they assisted (on being paid) in the carriage of stores; and made huts for the troops. The commanders have accused them of being lukewarm, but they showed good fight on some occasions, and were, on the whole, faithful after their manner.

It is not to be expected that they would put themselves much in the front in a foreign cause; it was a very great point gained that they did not oppose it; and it is not, I should think, a desirable thing that one tribe of natives should be allowed to fight another tribe for the defence of British interests; however this practice may have succeeded in other countries, in New Zealand it would only tend to breed suspicion, and sow such internal discord between tribes as would cost more to allay than the war which gave occasion for it. They should only be called upon to assist the forces; except as in the case of *Kororarika*, when a chief offered to come with 300 men to the defence against *Heki*, which was refused, unnecessarily, I think.

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SECT. VI.—OHAIHAWAI.

Just before *Okaihu* Colonel Hulme took the chief *Pomare* prisoner; *Pomare* had come, under a flag of truce, into the camp of the British force, and the colonel kept him, as he was justly suspected. He might easily have been captured by force, and, after all, he was only detained a few weeks. You cannot fight savages exactly on the same terms as civilised forces, but still, the more openly the war is conducted, the more the *Maori* will respect the civilisation.*

* Dispatches in local papers and B. B. 1846.

It was unnecessary to destroy his pah; but there is no doubt Colonel Hulme was actuated by feelings of humanity. The character for gallantry he obtained, even during this short campaign, is a sufficient proof of that.*

May 15th, Major Bridge, 58th, with 200 men, took the pah of *Waikari* by night; the natives evacuated the pah with hardly any resistance; it was only an ordinary pah of no great strength.†

The troops on arriving at the *Kawa Kawa* re-embarked, and returned to *Auckland*! It does not appear why the force was thus withdrawn, why they did not occupy *Kororarika*, or some good military post there, as a basis of future operations; no doubt it was under orders from the Governor; but this apparent retreat from the country (for the third time) must have given great encouragement to *Heki*, and as much discouragement to our allies. Accordingly, we find that, on May 31, *Heki* wrote such a letter to the Governor as showed that he felt very confident in his own strength, and elated with the general success of his former operations.‡

However, the Governor was now thoroughly aroused, and further reinforcements (which he had continued to ask for) arriving from Sydney, he ordered the fourth expedition against *Heki* to be undertaken immediately.

June 1st, 200 men, 99th, arrived from Sydney, under Lieutenant-Colonel Despard, who took command of all the forces in New Zealand, as colonel on the staff. They immediately proceeded on to the Bay of Islands, with other troops and some volunteers from Auckland, and four field pieces, which were placed under the command of Lieutenant Wilmot, R.A., lately arrived as a volunteer from Van Diemen's Land.§

It appears that *Heki*, notwithstanding his boasting, must have been afraid to risk another siege in *Okaihū*, for, after some skirmishing with the friendly natives, he retreated to a still stronger pah he had built on purpose at *Ohaiawai*, near Lake *Omapere*.

Colonel Despard resolved to attack him there; and here we have over again the same description of campaign as before. This expedition was certainly rather better equipped; the style of equipment had advanced from the fifty men at *Kororarika* on to the 400 and two rockets at *Okaihū*, and now reached to 600, and four field pieces for *Ohaiawai*; but there were the same delays for want of information and transport, and the same toilsome march through thick forests; the field pieces were such as Lieutenant Bennett, two years before, had pronounced useless against ordinary pahas, and this was known to be one of extraordinary strength. The evils arising from these wants, and bad organisation, are not all chargeable to the commanding officer: he was obliged to work with such equipments and troops as he found in the colony; the fault he can be charged with, is having undertaken such an expedition at all with such means.

We have the description of the failure of these means from the commanding officer himself.

On the 14th of June the whole force proceeded to the *Kiri Kiri* river in H.M.S. "Hazard," and the other vessels; one of these got on shore in going up the Bay of Islands; but there was nothing peculiar to the place or to the circumstances in this accident; it might have happened anywhere; however, it delayed the advance two days; and on the 16th of June they landed at *Oncuero*, at the

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* Dispatches in local papers and B. B. 1846.

† Ibid.

‡ B. B. 1846.

§ N. Z. paper, Nov. 1845, and U. S. Mag. 1846.

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mouth of the *Kiri Kiri* river (see page 55 for description), and marched to *Kiri Kiri* missionary station. The following is an extract from Lieutenant-Colonel Despard's account of the campaign in the United Service Magazine, August, 1846:—

"Having reached our destination about twelve o'clock the same day (16th), and everything having been previously prepared for disembarking, no time was lost in commencing it; but as there was a considerable distance to go in boats before a proper place could be found for landing at, owing to the hilly and woody nature of the banks, they were not all on shore till four in the afternoon. The road to *Kiri* was a bad and difficult one, with numerous valleys, and each having a swamp or boggy stream at the bottom, which rendered our march slow and tedious.

"At three o'clock the following morning, the boats with the guns, ammunition, and camp equipage, reached *Kiri Kiri* missionary station (the river being navigable for boats so far), under the superintendence of that indefatigable officer, Acting-Commander Johnston, of H.M.S. "Hazard." All these being landed, our next operation was to muster our drays and carts, and to ascertain what was the amount of transport carriage within our reach. Three drays were all that could be procured, and two carts with two horses each, which had accompanied us from Auckland. This obliged me to *leave half the ammunition behind*; no private baggage for officers or men could be taken, and the *greatest part of our provisions* was obliged to be placed in store at *Kiri*, and there wait for favourable opportunities of having them sent after us.

"The officers hired natives to carry their baggage, each officer having only a knapsack, havresack, and blanket.

"One of my greatest difficulties was the carriage of the four guns," which was effected—"by attaching them to the tail of a bullock dray. Scarcely a rivulet was passed that some of the guns did not upset, and were sometimes lost sight of in mud and water. The troops left *Kiri Kiri* at one P.M.: in crossing the second rivulet, the bottom being unsound, the shaft of a horse cart broke, and as there was no possibility of repairing it, I was obliged to leave a captain and fifty men to protect it, as it was *loaded with ammunition*.

"Two miles further on two more of our carriages broke down; it was then quite dark and raining in torrents; I made a general halt till the moon rose, and then about midnight passed through the wood; 100 men remained to protect the drays—we arrived at *Waimate* at half past two A.M., twelve miles in thirteen hours! The fifty men with the first broken-down cart arrived at two P.M., having unloaded the cart and brought the things by hand."

I consider this a fair specimen of the difficulties that have attended almost all movements of troops in New Zealand, and I think it shows the extreme difficulty of making successful campaigns against the natives in the interior with regular troops; for even supposing the commanding officer to have provided himself beforehand with means of transport (which he ought to have done), and to have been properly equipped with guns and engineering implements from England (as he should have been), there would still have been great delay in traversing the country—and such a country, where the hostile natives might have cut them off one by one; it is true the natives did not molest them, but kept to their stronghold twenty miles inland, but they seemed to be aware of their opportunity of doing so, as they boasted (Colonel Despard says) of their forbearance in not destroying the missionary establishment at *Waimate*, which served as a depot for the military operations, and also a bridge on the road to it.

The force* then at *Waimate* consisted of—

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Lieut.-Col. Despard, 99th, commanding.	
58th regiment, Major Bridge	270
96th „ Lieut.-Col. Hulme	70
99th „ Br.-Major Macpherson	180
Lieut. Wilmot, R. Art.	4 guns { 2 6-pr. brass 2 12-pr. carronades
Capt. Marlow, R.E.	
H.M.S. "Hazard," Capt. Johnston, R.N.	30
Volunteers, Lieut. Figg	80
	630
Native allies under <i>Tomatiwaka</i>	250

The enemy in the pah was supposed to have been about 250.

The force waited at *Waimate* till the 23rd of June for supplies from the *Keri Keri*. Several chiefs visited Colonel Despard, and gave their support to the expedition; among these were *Tomatiwaka*, *Macquarie*, *Moses Tawai*, *Patuona*, *Rapa*, and *Pomare*.† On the 23rd of June the force marched from *Waimate* to *Ohaiwai*. The distance was only seven miles, but the country being of the same impracticable nature as before, it occupied them the whole day.

The pah was situated in a clear level space in the forest, about 500 yards square, having on each side of it a ravine with wooded hills; all the rest of the country was thickly wooded: it had three rows of palisades, the two outer rows being close together, and six feet from the inner row which was made of trunks of trees 9 in. to 20 in. diameter, and 15 ft. high. Between the rows was a ditch 5 ft. deep with traverses, from which the defenders fired through loopholes on a level with the ground; the ditch communicated with the interior by passages under the inner palisade. There was a coating of flax leaves 6 in. thick on the outer palisades. The huts inside had excavations under them for protection against shot; but the natives are accustomed to make these for keeping potatoes in. The pah was about ninety yards by fifty, and had a square flank projecting on each side.‡

There was a small range of hills on the right which was immediately occupied by the native allies; the troops encamped among the potatoe gardens of the pah in a small hollow within 400 yards of it, but out of view. On the night of the 23rd, a battery for the four guns was made 100 yards in front of the camp; it fired all day on the 24th without effect, which was partly owing to the inefficiency of the carriages and inconvenience of the batteries, which was on very rough ground, and covered by a breast-work of timber coated with flax leaves: but 12-pr. carronades and 6-pr. guns would not produce much effect on such a stockade even with the best carriages and platforms.§ They were tried again in another battery at 250 yards, and again at 80 yards from the pah, and as they produced no better effect even at the latter distance, and as the natives kept up a sharp fire upon them from the pah, these guns were finally withdrawn. And this force would probably have been obliged to follow the example of *Okaihū* if Commander Johnston had not brought up a 32-pr. from the "Hazard," which was effected by the help of a dray and a double team of bullocks in one day. During the day and night of the 30th a battery was made for it at the foot of *Waka's*

* Lieut. Balcanis, 58th.

† Capt. Marlow's dispatch and plan.

+ Col. Despard, U. S. Mag., Aug. 1846.

‡ Col. Despard, U. S. Mag., Aug. 1846.

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hill, about 100 yards from the pah, to fire *obliquely* on the palisades. It fired 26 shot on the 1st, which, in Colonel Despard's opinion, so loosened the palisading, that he ordered it to be assaulted. Captain Marlow, R.E., did not think the breach practicable, and it proved not to be so.*

About ten A.M. on the same day the natives made a sortie from the pah upon *Waka's* position, taking advantage of there being only a few men on guard there; our native allies had half finished a stockade for themselves on this hill; the enemy came so suddenly upon them that the senior officers of the British force, who happened to be there, were nearly captured. The look-out could not have been very good, but two or three sentries in red coats are not a match for the movements of dusky savages, in broken wooden country. After the first surprise the enemy were soon driven back into the pah.

The assault was made at three P.M. by 160 men divided into two parties under Brevet-major Macpherson, and Major Bridge, and followed by forty seamen and pioneers, under Lieut. Phillpotts, R.N., with hatchets, ropes, and ladders. They got within eighty yards under cover of a gully, below *Waka's* hill, and then rushed at the pah. For ten minutes they tried manfully to force a way through the almost unbroken palisades with nothing but their swords and bayonets, for they had unfortunately thrown away the hatchets and ropes which might have been of some use, and they actually got through the first palisade, and the natives inside ceased firing in fear, until they found that the inner palisade still resisted every effort, and then the assaulting party, having lost two officers and half their force in killed and wounded, were compelled to fall back.

From the 1st to the 9th July, little or nothing was done, there being no gun-ammunition in camp; and Colonel Despard entertained some idea of retreating, for he says, "The boldness of this attack (the sally) convinced me that he was gaining confidence by the little effect which our guns had hitherto had upon him; and I considered there would be every chance of his sending out a party secretly at night and cutting off all our supplies, which were brought up from the rear every two or three days, and, by destroying the few drays I had and carrying off the cattle, have forced me to retreat, and leave everything behind."

But on the 9th, some ammunition arrived for the 32-pounder, and it re-commenced, but fired only into the pah, the idea of a breach being given up. The natives, however, would not risk another assault; on the night of the 10th they evacuated the pah, retreating to a still stronger position at *Ikorangi*, about ten miles further. The pah was then destroyed.

Killed in this campaign.

Naval.

Lieut. Phillpotts, R.N. H.M.S. "Hazard."

36 men.

Military.

Capt. Grant, 58th

Ens. Beatty (died of wounds).

REMARKS.

Here is a repetition of the *Okailu* campaign, with a rather better equipment, and a rather better result: the same remarks apply, and in some particular parts rather more strongly, every step of the campaign showing the inefficiency of the means.

* Col. D., U. S. Mag. 1846, and U. S. Mag. 1847.

1st.—We have a want of bullocks at landing, though these might have been provided by the commander beforehand.

2ndly.—We have guns on garrison-carriages that won't travel, and drags breaking down. The guns should have been on travelling-carriages, and the ammunition and stores packed on the backs of the bullocks. This, however, was not the fault of the commander. Here we see the want of a force of Sappers to form the road, repair the carriages, and construct packs for the bullocks.

3rdly.—The guns are found useless when they arrive and are placed in position. This might have been known before, from Lieut. Bennett's report. The 42-pounder was as much too large as the others were too small; for the weight of the ammunition prevented a sufficient supply being brought up in time. The want of artificer Sappers is shown again in the construction of the batteries.

4thly.—The commander undertakes a regular siege, and is apprehensive lest the besieged should cut off his retreat: can there be a stronger evidence of the difficulty of succeeding with regular troops against savages? But no commander could depend on his communications under such circumstances. It is only owing to the native allies and the character of native fighting, that we now have Colonel Despard's testimony on the subject.

5thly.—The lives of some brave men were expended upon a useless assault—that is to say, the strength of the stockade was undervalued, and the effect of the shot over-estimated; it took twenty men to pull down some of the posts after it was taken.

6thly.—Finally, the enemy escapes with the loss only of his pih, and sufficiently elated by the number killed to produce another campaign.

7thly.—Thus it appears that the increased equipment entailed a still slower march. Instead of a week, they were a month on the campaign: eight days going fifteen miles, and sixteen days besieging the pih; all rendering them still more liable to be cut off on the march. The troops were better fed; but they had to go through greater fatigues, and make a more desperate attack; and, after all, the enemy was but slightly punished. Now, as I observed before, the fault of this inefficient equipment is not entirely to be laid to the commander; there were no proper guns in the colony, nor Artillerymen, nor Sappers. But what I do argue from this campaign is, that it would have been better if Colonel Hulme, and after him, Colonel Despard, had been content with occupying a position at *Kororarika*, and waited until the proper force and equipment could be provided, instead of advancing one time after another with a mere display of force, which produced no permanent impression on the natives.

8thly.—And further, I argue from it, that also in this case, as at *Okaitia*, even if the equipment and force then proposed had been forthcoming, it would not have "invested" the enemy in his pih, or prevented his final escape from it; but that to capture such an enemy in such a position requires a force specially equipped and organised for the purpose.

9thly.—Here, again, we find evidence of the good behaviour of the troops under the inefficiency of equipment. Those only who have travelled in the bush in New Zealand in rainy weather can judge of the difficulties a body of troops must have to encounter. If the settler finds it labour enough merely to traverse such country in time of peace, surely troops, ignorant of the road, totally unprepared, and unaccustomed to such work, deserve some credit for going through it all so cheerfully, and, after it all, beating back the sallies and attacking so energetically a half-breached pih of such strength. Colonel Despard bears witness to the

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gallantry of the assault (especially mentioning Ensign Beatty, of the 58th); and also to the patience of the wounded lying in tents in the midst of rain, mud, firing, and noise. Surely it proves not only that the fault of the ill-success is not to be laid to the men themselves, but even that these very men, properly equipped and trained, would be a match for any *Maories* in any part of New Zealand.

10thly.—Colonel Despard does not speak highly of the assistance he received from the native allies under *Tomati-waka*.^{*} They acted as guides, and gave information and advice about the country, and carried things on the march (for which they took care to get well paid): but they acted entirely in accordance with their own tactics: long talking, exciting preparations, sudden spurts, daring skirmishes for a little, and then talk again for a week. They desired to be friendly to the British: it was not to be expected that they should take a prominent part in a quarrel they had not much personal concern in—and for strangers against their countrymen. Colonel Despard's recommendation, "to be able to act independently of the natives," is worthy to be remembered by all officers.

When he proposed to retreat (before the 9th) they opposed it with great excitement; for they would have been left to bear the whole force of a campaign from the victorious *Heki*.

There was a great quantity of provisions found in the pah;—this is the first point the natives look to in commencing a campaign, and a first cause for their retreating or making peace.

There were also four guns found in the pah, but the natives never used them; in fact, they could not.

July 14th.—The whole force returned to *Waimati*. Colonel Despard now prepared to follow up his success with spirit: he sent 200 men with two guns to attack *Aratoo's* pah about five miles from *Waimati*; but *Aratoo* had learnt a lesson from *Ohaiwai*, and he evacuated the pah as they approached. It was as well Colonel Despard was not obliged to try another siege, for there was a difficult stream on the road, with a broken bridge, which would have led to the usual delays for guns, &c., and the site of the pah was a very strong one. The difficulties in cutting paths through the forest, making rough bridges, batteries, stockades, &c., show the very great want of a company of Sappers and Miners in these expeditions.

But Governor Fitzroy put a stop to these energetic proceedings: willing to give *Heki* every chance of repenting, he ordered Colonel Despard to Auckland on some minor duty, and prohibited further offensive operations until further orders. *Heki* and *Kawiti* employed the time in negotiating with the Governor for pardon, and building new pahas for defence, which led to the fifth and last campaign against them.

There was a good deal said during this last affair about the interference of the missionaries. I fully believe that these gentlemen, deceived and misguided as they were in their estimate of the natives, had throughout the most conscientious desire to maintain peace, and most honourable feelings towards their own Government. Several of their body were held in high esteem, and rendered good service to their country; but they went to the extreme of blaming the troops for fighting on Sunday, as if it was more humane to kill twice as many men by protracting the war.

^{*} U. S. Mag. 1846.

SECTION VII.—RUAPEKAPEKA.

7.
RUAPEKA-
PEKA.
1846.

After *Ohaiawai*, the greatest part of the force remained in camp at *Waimate*, and employed themselves during four months of inactivity in forming an intrenched camp there. Colonel Despard put a stop to it when he returned. It is very possible that the intrenchments may have been much too large, as he says; nevertheless, it is a very desirable and necessary thing for troops to intrench or fortify themselves wherever they are encamped in New Zealand, in order that a small body may protect the magazines, leaving a large force available for attack, to be secure against surprise, and it would have prevented the effect of alarms.

Colonel Despard employed the time at Auckland in endeavouring to provide a little better equipment; some field gun-carriages were made; but he could only succeed in producing a force similar to what had been used before; there were better guns and drays, &c., but all of the same character, necessitating slow advance and cautious measures. He, however, received more men from Sydney, the result of the Governor's continued applications, and two more ships of war, as noted below. He returned to the Bay and *Waimate* August 27th. The Governor still endeavoured to bring the enemy to reason, and the letters from *Heki* and *Kawiti*, between *Ohaiawai* and *Ruapekapeka*, show them to have been only half confident in their former escapes and powers.* *Heki* had even separated from *Kawiti*, and seemed inclined to wait the issue of *Kawiti's* pah, which he was constructing at *Ruapekapeka*. The fact is, that no savages (and especially no *Maories*) can carry on a campaign for any length of time together; their physical strength becomes exhausted, and their spirit wears out; they like, according to their own system, to have a little fight and then a little peace, and then at a convenient season to commence fighting again. And at that season of the year they began to be short of potatoes, which has a great effect upon a *Maori*, although he is accustomed to feed on fern root in his native wars. Hence *Heki's* followers began to desire peace, at the same time collecting food and building pabs for the future; but *Heki* himself was too conceited and had too deep a dislike to British rule to give in, and *Kawiti's* pride and ancient feuds against our native allies was roused; and they were both afraid of losing their land, for Governor Fitzroy had made the surrender of land one of the articles of peace, a condition which alone would have ever prevented a satisfactory issue. The natives themselves seemed perfectly aware of these points in their own character; for at a *korero*, or public meeting, held on the arrival of *Nopera*, a chief of the north, who joined the allies with 100 men in September, they gave very sound reasons for vigorous war, founded on *Heki's* character; and *Kawiti*, in a letter to the Governor, accuses *Waka* of fighting on account of old feuds; he was always "naming his dead of old times," and was "not fighting for our (the British) dead." This intelligence and quickness of argument which the *Maori* possesses beyond most savages, inclines strangers to place too much confidence in them, but I think the sight of the sagacious *Waka*, stamping the war dance in full post-captain's uniform, ought to make one cautious in relying upon so excitable a character.†

It is evident that savages of this character are not to be subdued by occasional shows of troops, long desultory campaigns, with long intervals of inactivity and negotiation; these are too much in their own style—they like such campaigns.

* B. B. 1846, and U. S. Mag. 1846.

† U. S. Mag. 1846.

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They should be tired out with incessant harassing surprises for weeks together, without a day at leisure; but Governor Fitzroy wished to spare bloodshed, so he ordered the troops from *Waimate* to *Kororarika* (against Colonel Despard's opinion), and commenced a strong military post at the latter place. Probably the Governor would have considered the establishment of this post a sufficient guarantee for future peace; but at this point he was recalled by the Home Government, and Captain Grey appointed in his place.

* In August, H.M.S. "North Star," "Osprey," and "Racehorse," arrived at the Bay, the "Hazard" having been relieved; and a detachment of the 58th arrived about the same time. On the 4th of October, the head quarters 58th, under Lieutenant-Colonel Wynyard, arrived in the transport "British Sovereign," and anchored in the *Kiri Kiri* river. She also brought six 24-pounders, of 50 cwt., which Colonel Despard properly describes as useless; and 4 brass mortars 4½ in., weighing 1 cwt. each, which were found useful.

Nov. 4.—A detachment of the 99th arrived from Sydney, bringing three more mortars and thirteen bullocks; these latter were the most useful part of a field equipment that could have been sent, and unfortunately eleven more had died on the passage; and their loss added at least a week to the campaign. Just as this (comparatively) large and well-equipped force assembled, Captain Grey arrived (Nov. 21) at the Bay from Auckland, in the East India Company's ship of war "Elphinstone."

Captain Grey was appointed at a most fortunate time for the success of the principles he had laid down for the government of savages in South Australia. The sum of these principles were,† that all natives should be placed under the control of British law, and not allowed to practise their own customs. Such principles could not be put in practice in New Zealand, without a considerable force in men and money, and Captain Fitzroy had neither of these; the absence of troops was his own fault in delaying so long to ask for them; but money was always denied him by the Home Government:‡ they did not sufficiently consider the absolute necessity of supplying a young colony very largely with funds to start with. But now the continued difficulties, and Captain Fitzroy's now constant demands, had brought Lord Stanley (then Colonial Secretary) to acknowledge the necessity of supplying both; and when Governor Grey took the command the tide had completely turned in favour of New Zealand. He had 500 men, 4 ships of war, and 20,000*l.* His first act on landing was to stop the forts building at *Kororarika*; he might, however, as well have allowed something to be done, as the troops are to this day without any defences at that station. He then gave *Heki* and *Kawiti* a fixed time to decide upon peace or war, which infused confidence into the native allies; he perhaps carried the negotiations a little too far, for he finally got such answers as made him give Colonel Despard the orders to attack *Ruapekapeka* forthwith.

Then commenced the usual slow advance of the regular forces; and here again we have the history of the delays from the commander himself.

The following troops were engaged at *Ruapekapeka* :—

* Lieut. Balneavis, 58th, and U. S. Mag. 1846, and B. B. 1846.

+ Nelson petition, 1845.

‡ Capt. Fitzroy's pamphlet and B. B. 1843.

Lieut.-Col. Despard, 99th, commanding.

NAVAL.

Seamen, H.M.S. "Castor," "N. Star," "Racehorse," H.E.I.C. "Elphinstone" }	Officers. Men.	
	Commander Hay, R.N.	33 280*

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MILITARY.

Royal Artillery, Royal Engineers . . .	{ Lieut. Wilmot, R.A. . . }	2	0
	{ Capt. Marlow, R.E. . . }		
Royal Marines	Capt. Langford . . .	4	80
58th	Lieut.-Col. Wynyard . .	20	543
99th	Capt. Reed	7	150
H.E.I.C. Artillery	Lieut. Leeds	1	15
Volunteers from Auckland . . .	Capt. Atkyns	1	42

Total 68 1110

Native allies under *Tomati-waka, Nopera, Repa, Moses, &c.* 450

Mr. Turner was the D. A. Commissary General.

ORDNANCE.

3 32-prs.	2 12-pr. howrs.	4 4½ mortars
1 18-pr.	1 6-pr brass gun	2 rocket-tubes.

The enemy in the pah supposed to be 500.

Dec. 8, 9.—These two days were occupied in moving the force in the men-of-war and transports up the *Kawa Kawa*, as far as the junction of the *Waikari*, where they encamped (see Map, No. 2).

Dec. 10, 11.—These two days were occupied in moving the force on up the *Kawa Kawa* to *Pukututu's* pah. This was intended to have been done by the river in boats, but at the last moment it was found that the boats would not hold the force, so part of them marched by a native path on the left bank, which was shown them by a native. The country about this river appears to have been open, consisting of long ranges of hills a few hundred feet high, covered with thick fern and *Manuka* (the tea-tree of Australia, which when young is like very tall heather); and with flat swampy valleys in between, through which the stream wound, and only timbered in ravines.

Dec. 12—Was employed in bringing up the heavy guns by water, and collecting bullocks; and even now, at the last moment, after five months' preparation, these indispensable necessities for the movement of troops were not provided. "In this branch of our armament we were very defective; when all the bullocks which could be collected were brought into the camp, there were only sufficient for six drays, and there was also one 3-horse cart."† Sixty men, soldiers and sailors, under Commander Johnston and Lieutenant Holmes, R.N., were left to protect this situation at *Pukututu's* pah, as it formed a depot.

Dec. 13 to 22—Were occupied in reconnoitering the country, and making a practicable path towards *Ruapekapeka*. This very slow cautious progress is very certain, and was then unavoidable, but it presupposes that your enemy will wait patiently in his pah for a month or so until you get up to him; and that the destruction of his pah is all you desire. The enemy did fortunately remain in

* H.M.S. "Castor" arrived on the 15th, and 100 men from her joined the force on the 20th.

† U. S. Mag. 1846.

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his pah, but he escaped from it at the last moment, and the loss of it was of little consequence. To have inflicted a real blow upon him, the commander should have prepared his bullocks and reconnoitered his road, and made his path beforehand; or elsewhere provided such a force that he could have advanced at once without any of these preparations. As it was, the slow progress was unavoidable: "we crossed a small river, and thence the troops were obliged to move in single file, the path being very narrow, and on both sides covered thickly with fern, 2 or 3 feet in height, mixed with tea-tree 6 or 7 feet high."* The country was a constant succession of hills. Then, on reconnoitering another line, "we came to a ravine, not less than 150 yards across and 60 feet deep; the descent became perpendicular at bottom; the opposite bank thickly wooded with timber." And such hills and such ravines are rather easy travelling for New Zealand. Regular troops, which are taught only to move as a body, and depend on the voice of one commander for every slightest move, are not fitted for such a country where every soldier ought to be independent in himself. One hundred men, chiefly the volunteers, were employed making the path practicable for drays for the first seven miles; and on the 22nd, the force advanced this distance, and encamped and halted for three days to bring up the rest of the stores, &c.

At this camp "the path from *Heki's* supposed present place of residence joined that to *Kawiti's* pah," therefore, "by our occupation of the position, his approach by that route was completely cut off"—but it is impossible to cut off the march of natives by merely occupying their usual paths; in war time, as each native carries his clothing, arms, and ammunition, and the women carry the food, and they have no shoes to wet, and can hut themselves anywhere, they are independent of all paths.

Dec. 27.—The force moved on again five miles in a few hours, to within a mile of *Ruapekapeka*.† The pah was situated on the narrow ridge along which they had been advancing all the way from the *Kawa Kawa*, and which about here began to be thickly wooded, especially in the steep ravines on each side. The actual site of the pah was cleared of trees, and sloped towards the British camp, and the ridge took a bend between the pah and the camp, so that from the camp, which was on a high knoll, there was a good view of the pah across the intervening ravine. The native allies now went to the front and had some skirmishing with the enemy, and built themselves a pah at about 1200 yards from the enemy's: and on the 29th, they advanced to within 800 yards of the pah in an open space in the wood, and a detachment of troops followed and occupied this position, and the camp of attack was made here; where there was forest, of course a way for the drays had to be cut through; indeed, the difficulties of the transport were such, that notwithstanding his large force, Colonel Despard was glad of the arrival of a further detachment of 100 of the 58th (included in the return above), "as our men were beginning to be a good deal harassed from the difficulties of the road (*i. e.* the way cut by the pioneers), which, being much cut up by the late rainy weather, it frequently required sixty men, in addition to a team of eight bullocks to each gun, to get it up the hills and through the woods, besides being afterwards obliged to stop till some large tree was cut down, perhaps 6 feet in diameter." They had even to cut lines of fire through the wood for the guns.

No wonder it was the 31st December before the whole force were in camp, and the 9th January before all the guns and ammunition arrived: between the 1st and

* U. S. Mag. 1846.

† Lieut. Balneavis, 58th.

9th three batteries were made : first, in front of the camp, at about 650 yards,* or one 32-pounder and one 12-pounder howitzer ; second, at 300 yards from the pah, of two 32-pounders and the 4½ inch mortars ; third, at 150 yards, of one 18-pounder and one 12-pounder howitzer ; all bearing upon the same face (the west face) of the pah. The batteries were covered by stockades of rough timber.

During this time some trial shots were made from the 650 yards with guns and 24-pounder rockets ; the latter rather failed ; they must have been bad rockets, as Colonel Despard supposes, otherwise these weapons are most useful in such service—for firing into pabs ; and from their portability, a great many can be carried with a body of troops without delaying them.

This pah was about 120 yards by 70 (see Plan), and much broken into flanks ; it had two rows of palisades 3 feet apart composed of timber 12 inches to 20 inches diameter, and 15 feet out of the ground. Inside these two rows was a ditch 4 feet deep, with earthen traverses left in it, and the earth was thrown up behind to form an inner parapet : each hut inside was also surrounded by a strong low palisade, and the ground excavated inside the hut, and the earth thrown up as a parapet ; in fact, similar to *Ohaiawai*, except that the interior stockading and excavations were more extensive, though these would not afford much defence after troops were once inside.*

On the 2nd January the natives made a sally from the pah, and were beaten back with great spirit by the native allies alone ; they had requested that the troops might not interfere, having found out, I suppose, that the soldiers could not well distinguish between friend and foe. These native skirmishes consist in individual skirmishing behind trees, led on by the shouts and example of some chief, and this must have been a sharp one, for ten of the enemy were killed. Our ally *Repa* had been severely wounded the day before.†

The guns had commenced firing and produced some effect, on the palisade, but it would have been throwing life away to have assaulted it at that time, of which Colonel Despard appears to have had some intention.

On the 10th January all the batteries opened and fired all day, and made two small breaches in the outer stockade only ; Colonel Despard says the 18-pounder at 150 yards, had nearly as much effect as the two 32-pounders at 400 yards : they kept up some firing during the night. The breach was described as difficult to get in, even without opposition ; the small effect of such heavy guns must have been owing to the bad carriages and slow firing.

The enemy began to retire during the night of the 10th, taking their clothes, &c. with them, and early on the morning of the 11th, being Sunday, the natives were nearly all out behind their pah, perhaps not expecting any attack on that day ; *Tomati-waka's* brother, perceiving the pah silent, crept up with some natives, and Colonel Despard finding them successful followed with a company of the 58th, under Captain Denny, and pushed through the breaches : they were received with a fire from the natives left in the pah, but reinforcements following, the troops were soon defending the pah itself against the enemy in the forest behind, and after three hours' sharp firing against the natives endeavouring to retake the pah, some of the daring sailors and soldiers having rushed out of the pah into the forest behind, the enemy retreated altogether.

Killed in this campaign.

Naval and Military.

12 men.

* Capt. Marlow, R.E., dispatch.

† U. S. Mag. 1846.

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Most of these were seamen, who exposed themselves too much in the final skirmish.

The enemy were supposed to have lost about twice that number: they had nearly exhausted their provisions.

Governor Grey, Captain Graham, R.N., of the "Castor," Sir E. Home, R.N., of the "North Star," were all present during nearly the whole of this campaign.

REMARKS.

Thus, 1100 men were occupied a full month in advancing fifteen miles, and in getting possession of a pah, from which the enemy escaped at the last moment, and escaped with the satisfaction to him of a drawn battle. The question is, was it worth while to go through all that laborious march to obtain such a result? Something might have been done to strike a quicker and more effective blow even with that force; but no regular force, however well equipped, could advance fast enough to have taken the pah by surprise, and without such surprise the result would have been incomplete.

With respect to what might have been done to strike a quicker and more effective blow even with that force: I think, 1st. The bullocks for transport might have been provided beforehand; 2dly more information concerning the country might have been obtained beforehand; 3rdly, and the quantity of carriage transport required for stores, tents, provisions, and ordnance, might have been reduced. Colonel Despard did send back the tents from *Ruapekapeka*, for he found that, with the help of the natives, the troops could build for themselves huts out of the forest at each station, more comfortable than tents. Troops could hut themselves everywhere in New Zealand, except on the sandy country near the coast, and in the large plains; and provided they are instructed how to do it. The other stores might, I think, have been packed on the bullocks' backs. 4thly. The great obstacle was the ordnance; 32-pounders and 18-pounders were unnecessarily heavy to breach such a pah; the weight of them and their ammunition would be a drag that would incapacitate any expedition in New Zealand. If 24-pounder howitzers could not be obtained from the men-of-war, it would have been even better to have tried bags of powder than have taken such heavy guns a mile from the ships. The palisade of *Ruapekapeka* was not stronger than *Ohaiawai*, or than stockades that have been so breached at Chatham; and to judge by the long unmolested march of the troops, the enemy did not seem to be much on the alert.

But if this plan had been objected to, then I think it would have been better to have held the post of *Kororarika* or *Pukututu*, until a suitable equipment was provided; to have acknowledged at once that the interior was impracticable for regular troops; and to have been content with defending the neighbourhood of the stations, even until application could be made to England for a proper equipment and force. The force and equipment I think desirable have been described, but I must again observe that even that equipment would not, in my opinion, make a sufficient impression on the natives, to produce a lasting peace, unless it was assisted by a local corps specially trained for the service.

However, I am rather desirous of showing what is now still required to put the colony in a defensible state, than what might have been done; for, as before observed, there were circumstances on the other hand which forced the commander to act at once; the chief of which was the slight opinion held by everybody at the time of the strength and resources of the native enemy.

It is true that the war in the north came to an end after this last campaign. A

few days after *Ruaapekepeke*, both *Heki* and *Kawiti* wrote to the Governor to ask for peace in terms at last trustworthy, because they were short and decisive. And Governor Grey, on consideration of the power he now held in hand, granted it, and with it wisely unconditional pardon, without forfeiture of land; which latter article tended materially to allay future disputes between the natives themselves and jealousy of the Government. And this peace has never since been seriously disturbed, and is less likely to be so now, since the death of *Heki* and *Pomare* in 1850.

Thanks and rewards were given by Her Majesty to the troops for this last campaign. Colonel Despard, Colonel Wynyard, and Captain Graham, R.N., were made C.B.'s; Captain Marlow, R.E., Captain Denny, 58th, Lieutenant Wilmot, R.A., got brevet rank; and finally *Tomati-waka* got a pension of 100*l.* a year.

If the effect of the campaign did not seem to call for such rewards, when compared with a European battle, certainly the steadiness and cheerfulness with which the troops went through the hardships of it deserved them; for the individual labours and responsibilities were greater than in any civilised campaign, whilst the very best results that could be obtained were inappreciable by the public.

Thus ended the northern campaign. It had commenced in July, 1844, with the first cutting down of the flagstaff, and continued till January, 1846; each campaign had required an increase of force, and even at the last the equipment was inefficient, the natives undervalued. It is evident now, that a display of force at the beginning of the Colony would have prevented this war altogether, and that the leniency of Governor Fitzroy protracted it; and to this I think must be added, that it left but a very slight impression upon the natives of the real power of the British Government.

For the peace that *Heki* and *Kawiti* made at last was not so much forced on them by the fear of punishment from the British force, or despair at losing two or three pahs, as it was rather the result of their usual native customs; a little blood drawn on each side satisfies their honour for the time; and if at any future time an accidental cause of war should excite them again against the British, there will be found plenty of young fellows who, having served in these last campaigns, will not only be ready but anxious to try another campaign *against* the British troops.

To make them really fear the British power will require another system; I do not think any regular troops would ever succeed in doing it. I believe the troops who have served in New Zealand have done as well as regular troops ever did in any country against savages; and with the best equipment could have done very little more. It requires a local corps of men so equipped and trained that they could go wherever the native goes, and for the time live as he lives, come upon him by surprise and take him prisoner. Such a corps would not require guns or drays, or even bags of powder. And judging from some of our troops which had been in one or two campaigns, and from the habits of the settlers, I believe that a corps composed of British soldiers and settlers, so equipped, would after a year or two's training beat the savage out of the field.

The native allies appear to have given more decided support to the British force in this last campaign; they came in greater numbers, and took an active part in the councils of war, and gave very good information and sensible advice. The doubtful natives were, no doubt, encouraged to support our side by the evident

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determination of the Government to punish *Heki*. They were supplied with provisions, a very proper arrangement, and also with ammunition, which may be necessary to some extent, but requires great caution in issuing, as they not only waste it, but sometimes, according to their own customs, supply the enemy. Governor Grey even persuaded one chief (*Macquarrie*) to make a separate diversion with only his own natives against *Heki*, who was at *Ikurangi*, and which succeeded in keeping *Heki* away from *Ruapekapeka* until the very evening before the capture. The unsteadiness of the native character, their custom of communicating with the enemy, and their rapacity for payment, made Colonel Despard distrust their good faith; but their presence probably prevented the enemy from disturbing him on the line of march; and without them he would have had no information. They, no doubt, wished to be friendly to the British Government, but it must be remembered that such allies may very soon be turned away by a few slight mistakes or unintentional offences. Perhaps, therefore, the safest system of using native allies would be to employ them freely in assisting the progress of the forces, and *pay them liberally*, and at the same time show them, as Colonel Despard says, that you are prepared to act independently of them altogether. It seems at first curious how so large a force of natives and troops together should have had so much difficulty in defeating so small a body of natives alone: but the natives did not take a prominent part in the attack, it was not to be expected that they would, and the pah was far stronger than anything they had been accustomed to; and of the troops, only a small part could be brought to the front in actual contact with the enemy, owing to the nature of the ground; the greatest part were occupied in overcoming the difficulties of the ground.

Governor Grey thought so highly of the conduct of the native allies, that he laid the foundation of a native corps, by enrolling sixty natives and placing them under British officers. This was afterwards merged into the more useful and practicable corps of the *armed police*, composed of English and natives indiscriminately. I think it would be rather dangerous to raise a corps of natives alone, for no savage can be depended on at all times, and the ties of blood of the *Maori* may cause him to fail in his duty at the very place and time when he is most wanted. But I believe the *armed police* to be the foundation of the most efficient corps any colony could have for the preservation of its internal peace.

The majority of the troops returned to Auckland, leaving about 200 men at the Bay of Islands as a military post, which force has remained there ever since Colonel Despard returned to Sydney.

Governor Grey then turned his attention to the civil government of the colony. He restored the Crown's right of pre-emption of lands from the natives, the waiving of which by Governor Fitzroy was causing such an indiscriminate sale of lands in the north between natives and Europeans as would undoubtedly have led to serious disturbances; he established magistrates for the execution of British law in a summary manner between natives and Europeans: and under the protection of the strong force now in the Colony he prohibited the importation and sale to natives of arms and ammunition, which former governors had not dared to do, notwithstanding that our enemies were thus supplied. The finances were in a very bad state, partly from the troubles which prevented trade, and partly from the manoeuvres of previous governors to raise money. In all these financial difficulties there was this one great fact, which the governors had been trying to get over by various schemes without success,—*The want of money*. It was a difficulty which could be solved in no other way than by a grant from England.

And one of Governor Grey's first acts was to apply urgently for the men and money which Captain Fitzroy had not been able to obtain. Fortunately, as before said, the tide had turned, and they were now both supplied.*

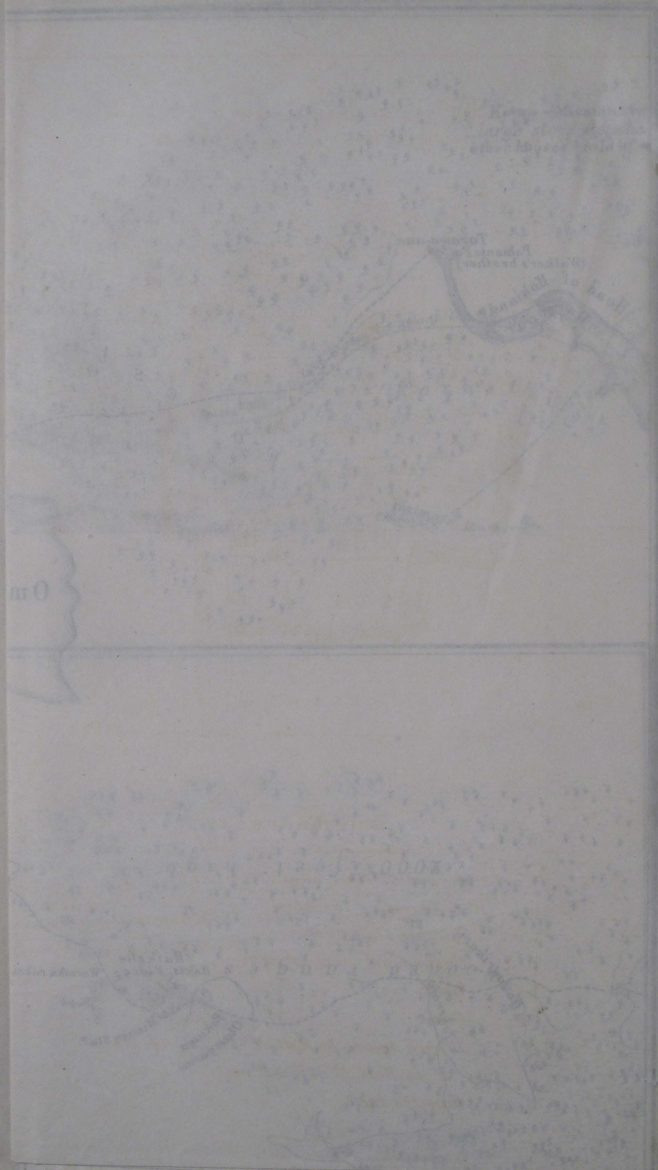
But there were other military difficulties yet before him. The land disputes in Cook's Straits were still going on, and as far from settlement as ever; and the threats and conduct of the opposing natives had become so violent that Governor Grey went to Wellington in Feb. 1846, accompanied by a strong force.

On the 20th of January H.M. steamer "Driver" arrived at Auckland from Sydney (being the first steamer that came to New Zealand), and brought a detachment of the Royal Artillery from England, under Captain Henderson, R.A., with two 3-pr. field guns, and two 12-pr. howitzers.

* B. E. 1846.

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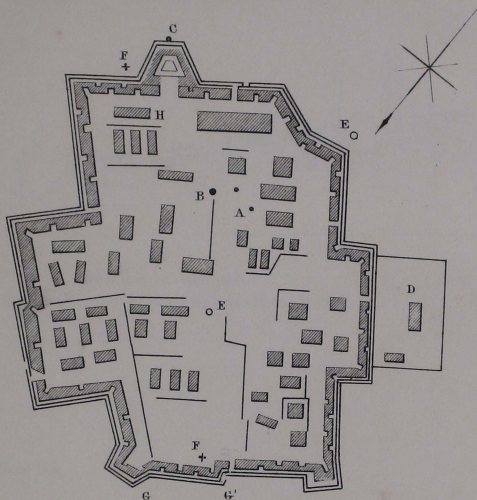
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On

THE PAH AT RUAPEKAPEKA.

From Sketches by Cap^t Marlow, Lt Leeds & M^r Du Moulin.



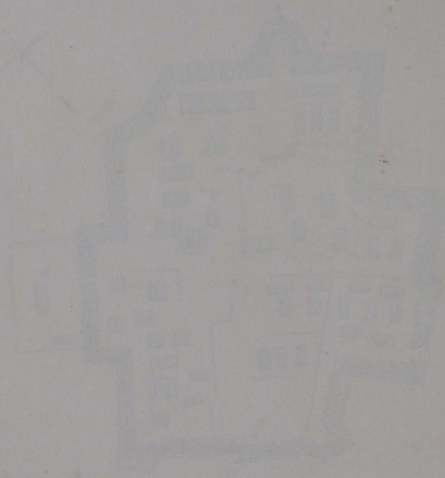
S C A L E .

10 0 50 100 Yds.

References.

- A.....Flag staff (shot away)
- B.....D^o to replace the above.
- C.....Another flag staff.
- D.....Unfinished part of pah.
- E.E.....Wells.
- F.F.....Guns.
- G.....Breach made by Batt. N^{os} 1 & 2 (32 & 12 prs.)
- G'.....D^o by Batt. N^o 3. (18 & 12 prs.)
- H.....Kamiti's hut.

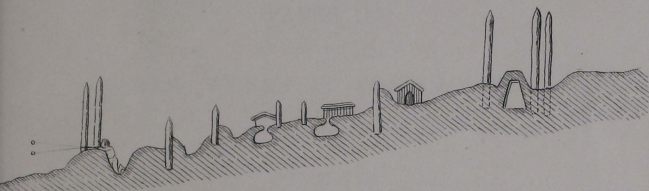
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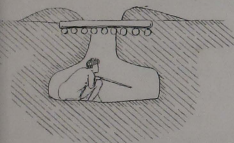
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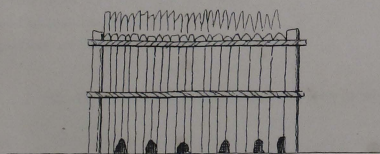
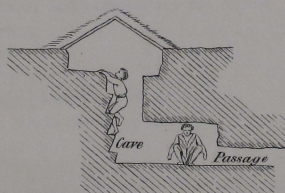
Section of the pah.

Horizontal Scale 60', Vertical Scale 15, to 1 inch.

Section of a Bomb proof hole.



Section of a hut.



Elevation of Palisades, showing loopholes.