

PAPER III.

SKETCH OF MILITARY PROCEEDINGS IN
NEW ZEALAND,FROM THE TERMINATION OF THE WAITARA CAMPAIGN,
IN MARCH, 1861.BY MAJOR GENERAL MOULD, C.B., LATE COMMANDING ROYAL ENGINEER
IN THE COLONY.

As a preliminary to a Sketch of the Military Proceedings in New Zealand, subsequent to March, 1861, it may be shortly stated, that in the month of March, 1860, operations were commenced against the rebel natives in the Province of Taranaki, near the river Waitara, about 9 miles north of New Plymouth, the chief town of the province, and were carried on both north and south of the town, until the 18th March, 1861, the latter part of the period being occupied in operations directed against two strong inland positions, which the enemy had taken up at Hairangi and at Te Arai.* The last shot was fired on the evening of the 18th March, 1861. Early on the following morning the rebels hoisted a white flag; in consequence, the native secretary with another government official, and some friendly native chiefs, went to the enemy's lines and conferred with William Thompson, and the other rebel chiefs. The result of this conference was that the mass of the rebels retired to their own districts.

Shortly after, the governor, accompanied by two of his ministers, arrived at the Waitara, and the latter had several conferences with the rebel chiefs, which resulted in the adhesion of a portion of them, under the Chief Haparona, (Absalom), the great fighting leader, but William King, the prime mover of the war, still held aloof.

It may be here explained, that there were three parties engaged in the war; 1st: the natives from the Waikato District, who were the representatives of the Maori King; 2nd: the natives who inhabited the district about the Waitara; 3rd: the natives inhabiting the southern part of the province of Taranaki, who entered into the war for the mere pleasure of fighting, and to get plunder. William Thompson, the prime councillor of the Maori King, belonged to the first of these parties; William King and Haparona to the second.

* These operations are described in Vol. XI., of the Royal Engineer Professional Papers.

To each of these parties separate terms of peace or submission were offered, varying according to the part taken by each in the war, but generally requiring "Entire submission to the Queen and the law; the restitution of, or compensation for, plunder; and an acknowledgment of the right of passing through every part of the country without interruption or molestation."

Whilst the conferences with the natives were proceeding, Lieutenant General Cameron, C.B., arrived (30th March) from England, to assume the command of the troops in New Zealand, and Major General Pratt, C.B., previously in command, returned to Victoria, Australia.

At this time the military force was in occupation of the town of New Plymouth, and of only a narrow strip of ground along the sea coast, about 15 miles in length. The posts held to protect the district, which was still unsafe, were five in number, exclusive of a large stockaded barrack in New Plymouth, and seven blockhouses round the town.

The force in the province on the arrival of Lieutenant General Cameron, amounted to about 2,300 of Her Majesty's troops, and between 400 and 500 Militia.

In the latter part of the month of April, a considerable number of troops were removed to Auckland, leaving about 850 regular troops in the province of Taranaki.

At the end of May, a stockade called Matarikoeiko, in the Waitara district, was given in charge to the Chief Hapurona, who was promised a salary of £100 a year for taking charge of it, really a bonus to keep him detached from the war party.

Nearly 3,000 men were at this time concentrated in the Province of Auckland, two thirds of them being encamped on ground near the town of Otahuhu, about 9 miles S.E. from the City of Auckland, on which huts for the whole were afterwards erected.

The formation of a Transport Corps was at this time commenced, the officers and men being drafted from the different regiments in the command.

The corps on the 1st July, 1861, consisted of 1 director, 3 officers, 1 staff, 2 sergeants, 1 bugler, 43 privates, 18 horses, 30 bullocks; but subsequently and especially after the recommencement of hostilities in 1863, it was very considerably augmented, eventually comprising an establishment, exclusive of the director, of 44 officers and staff, 134 N. C. officers, 1,348 privates, 2,244 draught animals.

Matters remained quiet for some months, but negotiations with the natives were being carried on with the view of placing the relations of the two races, Europeans and Maori, on a more satisfactory footing, for though hostilities had ceased at Taranaki, yet there was not the least sign of a recognition of the authority of the Queen in any part of the country.

His Excellency, Sir George Gray, who was transferred from the Government of the Cape of Good Hope to that of New Zealand, in consequence of "his peculiar qualifications and experience" in the management of uncivilized races,

assumed the government in October, 1861. He went a short distance up the Waikato River in the month of December, and on his return requested the Lieutenant General Commanding, to undertake, by the troops, the formation of a road from Drury, a town about 22 miles South of Auckland, to the nearest point of the Waikato River.

Every available man was moved out from Auckland and Otahuhu, and the work was commenced on the 1st January, 1862, 10½ miles being completed, including the metalling, by the beginning of June. The Lieutenant General was personally present at Drury, during the whole time the work was in progress, to direct its execution, which was performed under the superintendance of the Royal Engineers.

The formation of this, called the Great South Road, was a very important and indeed necessary work, both in a commercial and military point of view. For military purposes, the road was absolutely essential, if it became, as it did afterwards become, necessary to carry on hostilities in the Waikato country.

The Commanding Royal Engineer submitted first to the Lieutenant General and subsequently to the Governor, a Memorandum in reference to the construction of roads, which was considered of sufficient importance to be adopted as a public official document, a copy having been forwarded to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and also laid before the houses of the colonial legislature; a copy of this paper is appended (marked A), and it is believed to have originated the idea of undertaking the construction of the road before referred to. The cost of the road was about £2,000 per mile.

The road being completed, the troops returned to their quarters with the exception of 500 men, 500 of whom were posted near the Maori village of Pokeno, to undertake the construction of a redoubt called the Queen's redoubt, and the remainder at the "Bluff," overhauling the Maori landing place on the river Waikato where they were employed in constructing a stockade.

In July by desire of the Lieut. General, at the request of the Governor, the Commanding Royal Engineer, made a design for a block of buildings, arranged so as to be defensible, which were intended to be erected at a place called Koko-koko on the left bank of the Waikato, about 8 miles higher than the "Bluff." The project grew out of a plan for building a court house, to be used also for the meeting of the "Rauanga" or native council of the district, and there was to be, in addition, accommodation for a native police.

Large quantities of timber were cut and prepared for the work, and delivered in the early part of 1863 on the site, when the King's natives took the alarm, (having probably got some impression that something more than a court house was intended), came down the river in considerable numbers, well armed, removed the whole of the timber and stacked it carefully ashore near the "Bluff."

This matter of the court house was supposed to be one of the causes which induced the natives to assume the hostile attitude which eventually led the Governor to move the troops to the European frontier at the Waikato as here-

* By the term King natives, is meant, those in rebellion who were attached to the party of the Maori King.

after recorded, and thus to anticipate the natives in their threatened irruption into the settled districts.

It was a matter of complaint by the natives against the early missionaries, that whilst the latter were directing the attention of their hearers to heaven they were moving the earth from under their feet; alluding to the fact that the missionaries had misused their influence over the then simple natives to acquire large quantities of land from them. Probably they similarly thought at the present time that the Governor's new institutions would have a similar effect, and that they would eventually find that their cherished lands had insensibly eluded their grasp.

At the end of October, 1862, a body of troops were sent to continue the Great South Road, from the point at which it was suspended, to the Maungatawhiri Creek. The new portion of the road which was $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length, though it involved heavy works, was executed more economically than the first portion, costing only £1,651 per mile. This economy was due to the almost universal adoption of a system of piecework.

In the month of January, 1863, the Governor went up the Waikato as far as Ngaruawahia, the ordinary place of residence of the Maori King, quite unexpected by the natives, and had an interview with the leading chiefs, including William Thompson, who anxiously desired to draw from the Governor a recognition of the Maori king, but the Governor evaded the subject and turned the conversation, adroitly eliciting from the natives their objects and desires, particularly in reference to the block of land in the Taranaki Province named Tartaraimaka.

This block was an outlying district, about 11 miles south of New Plymouth, with native land intervening between it and the main part of the settlement. During the course of hostilities in the year 1860, it became necessary to abandon the block. The natives then occupied it, erected several pahs upon it, and thereafter, according to Maori customs and ideas, considered it theirs by right of conquest.

In the early part of March, 1863, the Governor proceeded to Taranaki to resume occupation of Tartaraimaka, and on the 4th April a force of about 400 men under the immediate orders of the Lieut. General, who was accompanied by the Governor, proceeded from New Plymouth, and re-occupied the block, on which a redoubt for the accommodation of 200 men was erected.

On the 4th May, the first overt act of the natives in the renewal of the war was committed at a place called Wairau, near the Oakura river, on the southern road, when a body of about 40 natives waylaid a party of two officers and a small escort, proceeding from Tartaraimaka to New Plymouth, killing the two officers and seven of the men, one man only escaping to convey the intelligence.

After the murder, which however was considered by the natives as only an ordinary act of war, those engaged in it, with a numerous body of others, retired to a spot called Kaitake, a strong position on the lower ranges of Mount Egmont, which they had for some time past been fortifying. They also occu-

ped ground on the south side of the Katikara river, the southern boundary of Tartaraimaka, and constructed certain defences thereon.

Hitherto no native land had been occupied by the troops, but it now became necessary to establish posts intermediate between New Plymouth and Tartaraimaka to protect the communication with the latter and to hold Kaitako in check.

On the 13th May, the Waitara block, the acquisition of which was the original cause of the war that commenced in 1860, was evacuated by the troops by order from the Governor, who had issued a proclamation renouncing all claim to the same on the part of the Government.

Without passing any comment on the political aspect of the question, it is most deeply to be lamented that so much blood had been shed, and so much treasure wasted on a questionable transaction.

On the evening of the 3rd June, the Lieut. General moved from New Plymouth southwards with a force of 400 infantry and 3 guns, which was increased to a total of about 800 men by detachments from the several posts, including Tartaraimaka. A position was taken up at daybreak on the 4th June, on the north side of the Katikara river, and the guns, aided by the fire from H.M.'s ship *Eclipse*, off the coast, cannonaded the enemy's position on the south side of the river. The infantry crossed the river under cover of this fire, which then ceased, and the position was assaulted and carried against an obstinate resistance of some of the natives in the principal work. The casualties in this affair were one man killed and ten wounded, of whom two died of their wounds. The bodies of 24 of the natives were found and interred.

The winter having now completely set in, the weather being exceedingly wet, and the roads being in some places almost impracticable, rendering the supply of the troops at Tartaraimaka and other posts exceedingly difficult, these posts were evacuated. The natives once more obtained possession of the block, and in a triumphant boastful manner circulated a report that, "The Pakeha (foreigners) fled from Tartaraimaka one very windy day—they all escaped." This anecdote is amusing and is very illustrative of one of the features of the Maori character.

To return to affairs in the Auckland province. In the early part of June rumours were rife that the Waikato natives contemplated a raid into the province even up to the city of Auckland. There is no doubt that the Maoris were in an excited state, were collecting and arming, but were held back by some of the leading chiefs, especially William Thompson, and they hesitated to strike the first blow. They had been alarmed by an expression, attributed to the Governor that, "He would not cut down the flag (metaphorically expressing the Maori King) but would dig round it till it fell," and they believed that the Kobe-kobe court house was one of his mines towards this object; they certainly baffled him in a very characteristic way in that project, still they were distrustful of him, likening him to a rat burrowing underground, saying that they "did not know where he would come up."

It was doubtless seen by the Governor, that there could be no peace in the

country until the Waikato natives were punished, and hence the campaign hereafter recorded.

With the view of placing the Auckland city and province in the best practicable state of defence, and admit of her Majesty's troops being moved to any district where their services might be required, the militia of the province were called out for actual service; and the government also enlisted, under certain conditions, a body of men to form a regular force, which eventually amounted to nearly 4,000 men, and was divided into four Regiments called, "Waikato" regiments, who were to be located, when their term of service had expired, on lands in the Waikato or other conquered districts.

On the 8th July orders were issued for the removal of every available man from Auckland and Otahuhu to the Queen's redoubt, considerable detachments being posted at Drury (where a depot for provisions was formed), and at a place called Tunka, about 7 miles lower down the Waikato than the "Bluff".

A proclamation, addressed to the Waikato chiefs, explaining the Governor's reasons for adopting the measures above mentioned was issued on the 11th July.

Early on the morning of Sunday, 12th July, 350 men proceeded from the Queen's redoubt to the Maungatawhiri creek, which is here the boundary between the European and the Maori lands, crossed it and took up a position on high ground on the farther side.

This was a positive invasion of the Maori country, which the natives had so long been zealously guarding, and the gauntlet being now thrown down by the Governor, the natives were not long in taking it up.

On the 17th July, an additional number of troops was sent to the position beyond the Maungatawhiri, which had the name of Koheroa, and which was being strengthened by redoubts, and just as they reached the ground a body of about 200 Maoris were seen advancing leisurely along the ridges from the southward towards Koheroa. The troops were put in motion towards them, and followed them for nearly two miles, the Maoris retiring very steadily in extended order as the troops advanced. The former commenced a dropping fire from the most advanced of a series of rifle pits that had been previously prepared, which they abandoned as the troops advanced, but having reached one of their most carefully formed and extended line of pits, they opened a very heavy fire, which being returned for a few minutes, the troops advanced to the charge led by the Lieut. General. The Maoris retired precipitately down gullies and through a thick bush, overhanging the river Whangamarino in their rear where they had left their canoes, in which many of them got away by brisk paddling. The loss of the enemy was 20 known to be killed. The casualties amongst the troops were one man mortally, and 11 others, wounded, including Lieut. Colonel Auster, 2nd Batt. 14th Regiment.

On the same day (17th July), a return convoy, under an escort of 53 men, proceeding to Drury from the Queen's Redoubt, was briskly attacked close to a bush by a considerable body of Maoris, who inflicted a loss upon the party of 4 men killed and 10 wounded. The loss of the enemy was supposed to have been slight, one body only being found,

On the 16th July, under orders from the Governor, the Chief Ihaka (Isaac) was taken prisoner near Drury, it having been ascertained that he was mixed up with the Koko-koko affair, though he was in the receipt of a salary from the Government, showing how little dependence could be placed on the great majority of the so called friendly natives.

The bush on the Great South Road between Drury and the Queen's Redoubt, being evidently occupied by predatory parties of Maoris, as shown by the attack upon the convoy, and by the murder of four persons, one a woman, and another a young boy, who were peaceably employed in farming operations near Drury, 5 posts were established on the line of road, garrisoned each by 100 men, who sent out patrolling parties during the day, especially about the times of the passage of the convoys.

About this time the Maoris were assembling in considerable numbers at Rangiriri, a small village about 20 miles up the Waikato from the "Bluff." Very few natives actually resided there, but it was considered by them a place of importance, as they held councils there occasionally. They now commenced the construction of works which will be hereafter described. The information was obtained from a Mr. Armitage, who lived a few miles up the river from Rangiriri, on property belonging to his wife, a Maori woman. This gentleman was subsequently murdered by the natives, whilst employed in the Queen's service.

Arrangements were now made to establish a line of posts from Papakura, near Drury, along the Waikato Road to the sea, and also from Papakura to the sea at Howick. These posts were principally garrisoned by the local forces. By the establishment of these posts the main part of the frontier line referred to in the paper A in the Appendix, was guarded.

It may be here mentioned that a small steam vessel called the "Avon" had been purchased by the Colonial Government, had been protected by bullet-proof iron plating, and was brought into the Waikato and up to the "Bluff." Nothing larger than a Maori canoe had ever navigated the waters of the Waikato before, and this vessel thus became the pioneer to carry civilization into the very heart of the Maori country.

In the early part of August, the natives who had been assembling at Rangiriri, moved down to a place called Mere-mere, on the right bank of the Waikato, and commenced the formation of extensive works about a mile South of the Whangamarino; and in the middle of the month the Lieutenant General ordered the establishment of a post on the high ground on the north bank of the Whangamarino near the scene of the affair of the 17th July. The Maori works at Mere-mere commanded the only land access to their position, which was through a swamp almost entirely covered at the time with water.

Shortly subsequent to the attack of the convoy, on the Great South Road, arrangements were made for cutting down the bush for a width of about 200 yards on each side of the road, so that the enemy might not be able to surprise or attack the troops, passing along it, with so much facility.

On the 23rd August, a party of soldiers 25 in number thus employed were

surprised by a body of natives, who captured 23 stand of rifles belonging to the party, killing two of the men. This attack was the most enterprising affair that the natives had undertaken. The bush was doubtless full of their scouts, who had probably observed, during several days, that the arms were piled and almost unprotected, and hence resolved upon the attempt for their capture. Subsequently covering parties were stationed along the road.

A substantial bridge was now constructed over the Mangatawhiri, and a causeway across the swamp on the other side was commenced so as to give more ready access to the Kohere position.

On the 7th Sept., the natives murdered Mr. Armitage (before mentioned) and two Europeans who were with him, attacked and burnt a pah belonging to friendly natives, at Cameron town, a village on the right bank of the Waikato, three miles below Taunau, destroying a considerable quantity of commissariat supplies stored there for transit up the river; and lastly attacked a party of the 65th regiment, under Captain Swift, which had proceeded from the Taunau redoubt to the succour of the friendly natives. Captain Swift and two men were killed, the subaltern and two men severely wounded, and one man was missing. The small party, reduced finally to 28 men, behaved most gallantly, under the command of Sergeant McKenna, who was eventually commissioned in the regiment and decorated with the Victoria Cross.

Several attacks were made in the early part of September, on the posts on the Great South Road, and on stockades occupied by Militia in the bush on the west of the road, the natives on all occasions being beaten off, but not without loss on the part of the defenders. These several attacks, shewing considerable enterprise and activity on the part of the natives, were presumed to have been made by detachments from Mere-mere, where they were for the present unattackable for want of sufficient water conveyance.

For a month there was not any apparent movement on the part of the natives, but on the 23rd of October, the Militia, who had moved out from their stockade at Mawku to drive away what was presumed to be a small party of Maoris removing cattle belonging to the settlers, found themselves almost surrounded by an overpowering force, before which, after a gallant resistance, they were obliged to retire, having suffered a loss of 2 officers and 6 men killed, and some wounded. It is presumed the natives lost heavily, for they retired from the ground immediately, thus enabling the Militia to bring in their killed and wounded.

About the time of the re-commencement of hostilities in May, the Colonial Government ordered an iron steamer to be constructed. This vessel, which was fitted with 2 gun cupolas, was, after much delay, brought into the Waikato, and arrived at the "Bluff" on the 27th of October, bringing with her, in tow, 4 boats, each of 10 tons, which had been iron-plated and each fitted to mount a 12-pounder gun.

On the 29th of October the Lieutenant General reconnoitred the enemy's position at Mere-mere firing a few shells into it. The fire was returned by the

enemy from three guns, which they had mounted near the bank of the river in carefully formed embassars wall traversed between.

On the 30th, the Lieutenant General, accompanied by all the officers commanding corps, went up the river to near Rangiriri, reconnoitring the right bank; on returning, orders were given for the embarkation in the two steamers and the four gunboats of 600 men of all arms, who left the "Bluff" at about midnight, receiving a sharp fire on passing Mere-mere; and at day-break of the 31st, the troops were landed at a place about 10 miles from the "Bluff," and about 7 miles from Mere-mere in rear of the enemy.

A position was taken up on rising ground and was immediately commenced to be strengthened by earthworks. The Lieut. General returned in the evening, to the Queen's redoubt leaving Colonel Mould, Royal Engineers, in command, with instructions to hold the position until further orders, and to complete the entrenchments.

Shortly after midnight (31st Oct.—1st Nov.) the camp was vigorously attacked by the natives who were supposed to have been detached from Mere-mere to observe the movements of the *Stilla*. These natives when beaten off are presumed to have returned to Mere-mere to report the landing of the force, for soon after day-break on the 1st Nov., the enemy were discovered on the move up the river Whangumano having evacuated the position which they had occupied for three months, and on which they had bestowed an immense amount of labour.

The Maoris at once saw that they were out-manoeuvred and like good strategists, retired from a position where they were liable to be attacked in rear whilst engaged in meeting an attack on one flank.

Instructions were sent on the 4th Nov., to the officer commanding the up river force to reconnoitre Rangiriri, and if many natives were seen in its vicinity, he was ordered to remain in his position, where he would be re-inforced; if otherwise he was to return to head-quarters at the Queen's redoubt.

No natives being seen the force returned by land via Mere-mere, which had been occupied immediately on the retirement of the enemy and which was being entrenched.

The rebels, continuing hovering in considerable numbers in the bush about Papanata and between that and the Waioea valley, it was determined to establish a line of posts between the estuary of the Thames and the Queen's redoubt. Accordingly, an expedition proceeded by sea from Auckland, in the middle of November, landed near Pukorokoro, and erected a redoubt for 120 men at that place. The redoubt being completed and garrisoned, the remainder of the force moved on and erected two other redoubts in suitable positions where they could be seen from the Queen's redoubt.

Early on the 19th Nov., 300 infantry embarked on board the "Pioneer" and "Avon," which each took in tow two of the gun-boats, whilst the Lieut. General with 3 guns and about 1,000 infantry marched, via Mere-mere, towards Rangiriri, distant about 13 miles. The troops were halted about 600 yards from the

enemy's works, (Plan No. 3) which had been extended and made formidable, and preparations were made to assault them. The three guns were placed in the centre with the greatest part of a regiment in reserve near them. 100 men of this regiment (the 65th) were formed on the right as the column of assault, to which were attached 75 men under the direction of an officer of Royal Engineers carrying scaling ladders and planks, to assist in getting across the ditch. Detachments of other regiments were placed on the left to be moved forward in skirmishing order to keep down the enemy's fire.

The Infantry in the steamers were to land in the rear of the line of works to cut off the retreat of the enemy, both operations being covered by the fire of the field guns and of those in the gun boats. Owing, however to the unwieldiness of the "Pioneer" she could not be readily brought alongside the bank, and as the day was well advanced, the Lieutenant General decided not to wait and the field guns opened fire. Shortly after, the assaulting party advanced with great spirit, and entered the main line of works to the left of their centre with little difficulty, but with rather heavy loss, and throwing the right shoulder forward cleared the ground in rear, and captured a line of works parallel to the river, being eventually brought to a stand by a sort of redoubt of rather imposing profile in the centre of the line on the highest ground. Three several assaults were made on this redoubt but all failed of success, the enemy evincing the utmost spirit, and inflicting many casualties on the assailants.

An attempt was then made to mine the work, and a gallery was run in; but unfortunately the fuse, which had been provided with other Engineer Stores, had been mislaid on board the "Pioneer," and the operation was necessarily abandoned. Recourse was then had to the pick and shovel to bring down the parapet, and considerable progress was made with a breach, when about midnight the work was ordered to be suspended. The breach was re-commenced at day-break of the 20th and was nearly practicable, and a second on the rear face of the redoubt was well forward, when about 5 a.m. the enemy, in number 183, came out of their works displaying a white flag.

The Lieutenant General complimented them on their bravery and they were then ordered to lay down their arms, an order which was evidently totally unexpected, and a great hesitation was shown, but seeing themselves surrounded they threw down their arms in a very sulky manner. These men, who were made prisoners, some ten months afterwards escaped from the place where they were located.

It was conjectured that the number of the enemy in the works when attacked was about 300, of whom 39 at least were killed, as their bodies were found; this number, added to 183, the number of prisoners, making a total of 222, would leave about 170 as having escaped during the night. Amongst those who escaped were the Maori King and William Thompson, the latter of whom was seen shortly after the surrender advancing with about 200 followers, with the intention it was understood, of relieving their countrymen; but when they found from a half caste interpreter who was sent to them, that their people were

prisoners, they turned back; Thompson, however, sent to the General a whale-bone "Mere" in acknowledgment, it was presumed, that they were beaten.

The loss in the capture of the position was very severe, amounting to two officers and thirty-seven men killed, and thirteen officers and seventy-six men wounded; of the wounded four officers and four men subsequently died of their wounds.

Rangiriri being captured it was determined to hold it, and to form there an advanced dépôt for supplies, for the protection of which the necessary entrenchments were constructed.

The troops, with the exception of 150 infantry and the Royal Artillery, moved from Rangiriri on the 2nd of December up the right bank of the river, and in three marches reached a place called Rahuipokeka, opposite which lay the "Pioneer"; she had with much difficulty made her way up the river between the numerous shoals, which, however, at this point became less obstructive.

On the morning of the 8th of December the Lieutenant General went up the river in the "Pioneer" to reconnoitre Ngaruawahia the ordinary residence of the Maori King, where the "Runanga" were held, and where the King's flag was flying. The place being found to be evacuated, the Lieutenant General returned to Rahuipokeka, embarked 500 men and again went up to Ngaruawahia, landing the troops, who encamped about the King's house, (Whare). The Queen's flag was immediately hoisted on the King's flagstaff,* thus even according to the Maori ideas their capital was lost. The defences of Ngaruawahia consisted of a line of rifle pits and a small redoubt which had been constructed with a view to oppose a landing. Such opposition would doubtless have been made, had not various reasons, some political, intervened, and induced them to evacuate the place without a struggle. They took the precaution when leaving, to remove the boxes of Potatoes, the first Maori King, from the tomb in which they had been deposited.

About this time it was ascertained that the natives had established themselves in strong positions at two places on the roads or tracks leading from the Waipa river to Te Awamutu and Rangiawhia, their most important settlements in the Waikato district. These positions are hereafter referred to.

Towards the end of December an expedition composed of the 50th regiment, and some militia, proceeded by sea to Raglan (Wangaroa) on the West Coast to occupy that place, as the right of the proposed new frontier line, which was to extend from Raglan to Tauranga in the Bay of Plenty on the east coast. It was hoped that the occupation of Raglan would facilitate the operation of transmitting supplies to the Waikato District, but unfortunately it was found that the track from thence passed over so difficult and wooded a mountain range that it was scarcely practicable even for pack horses, though a great deal of labour had been expended on it.

A forward move was made with a force of about 1,200 men on the 28th.

* The flagstaff in the metaphorical language of the Maoris was called "Father of Waikato."

December, to Whata Whata, one of the places of residence of the friendly Chief William Naylor (Wiremu Neira), some of whose people attached themselves to the force, and were subsequently employed in conveying mails and despatches. A large stockade was here constructed to cover an advanced depot of provisions. A farther move was made on the 1st January, 1864, to Tuhikaramoa, a short distance up the Waipa, from Whata Whata, where the force remained until the 27th January, to admit of Whata Whata being well stocked with supplies. On the above day, the troops moved, and in two marches, reached Te Roro, having traversed a difficult country, and passing on their left, at about a mile distant, the enemy's position of Pico-pico, one of those before referred to. In those two days' march it was necessary to construct six rough timber bridges, to enable the guns and provision carts to cross the more difficult streams; thus, these marches, though short in distance, were long in point of time. After passing Pico-pico, a portion of the force was detached to proceed down the river's bank, whilst the main body went on to Te Roro. The detached body halted at Ngahinapouri, where a strong redoubt was erected on the right bank for 200 men, and another on the left bank, immediately opposite, for 100 men. This position was occupied for the protection of the river communication.

At Te Roro there were extensive fenced clearances and large orchards, which had surrounded a house belonging to a European settler, in right of his wife, a Maori woman; but the house had been burnt by the enemy some few days previous to the arrival of the troops.

As Te Roro was the highest place up the river Waipa to which the steamer "Aven" could attain, the formation there of a large depot of stores and provisions was determined on, and three redoubts, two on the right bank, and one on the left bank, were constructed to secure the position, which was less than three miles from each of the two Maori positions, Pico-pico and Paterangi. A redoubt for an outlying picket was also thrown up, about three-quarters of a mile from the camp, in view of Paterangi. On the 4th February, a part of the force at Te Roro moved up and occupied a ridge, about 1,500 yards from Paterangi, on the summit of which, a breastwork was thrown up.

The force was detained at Te Roro in consequence of an accident which happened to the "Aven" steamer, which struck upon a snag in the Waipa, knocking a hole in her bottom and she sunk with a large quantity of provisions (nearly ten days supply) on board.

This unfortunate occurrence not only delayed operations, but doubtless instilled a great amount of confidence into the enemy at Paterangi, seeing, as they did, a large force in their immediate vicinity in apparently an inactive state, and they were thus probably encouraged to make the attack below detailed. The occurrence entailed a great amount of labour on the Royal Engineers, who, with the aid of working parties from the Line, had to bridge numerous creeks and clear tracks through thick bushes on the left bank of the river Waipa in order that carts might bring up provisions by land. Indeed, throughout the campaign, the pick, shovel, and felling axe were in incessant requisition to construct in-

trenchments, and to open communications for the force through this difficult country.

The men of the force in front of Paterangi were in the habit of going down to the river Mangapiko, about 600 yards distant, to bathe and wash their clothes, under cover of an armed party. This being observed by the natives, they laid an ambush on the 11th February, amongst the high fern on the further side of the river, and fired upon the bathers. An additional armed party was immediately sent down, and a sharp skirmish ensued, resulting in the defeat of the enemy, with a loss of 24 killed, besides 4 prisoners, two of whom were dangerously wounded. One of those died, and the other, a mere boy, was sent back to the enemy, as he was pining after the death of his comrade.

To prevent similar attacks in future, the Lieutenant General decided on having a redoubt, for 200 men, erected near the scene of the skirmish of the 11th, and it was placed in a position near an extraordinary curve in the Mangapiko river, where there were the remains of an old pah, called Waiari, having high banks and excessively deep ditches. A road to allow of the passage of carts was formed through this pah, and a bridge constructed over the river, to admit of easy communication with the redoubt.

Sufficient supplies having been accumulated at Te Kure, the force moved on the night of the 20th February from the main camp, the troops in front of Paterangi being left in position.

Tents were not struck until after dark, in order that the enemy, whose scouts were constantly on the watch, might be kept in ignorance of the movement as long as possible.

The force, consisting of about 1,200 men including cavalry, moved without guns or baggage via Waiari by a cattle track towards Te Awamutu, which was reached on the 21st, about 3½ a.m., where the whole of the Church Mission buildings were found intact, though it was anticipated they would have been destroyed by the enemy. A few men were halted at Te Awamutu, the rest proceeding on to Raangiwhia, where a skirmish took place resulting in ten or twelve of the enemy being killed, and the capture of several prisoners. The first shot was fired by a Maori woman from a bush, from which she emerged shortly afterwards with a broken arm, and the blood streaming therefrom. She had over her shoulders a blanket like a man, and could not have been taken for a woman, partly hidden as she was in the bush. This incident shows what was ascertained in many instances, that the women are as eager to fight as the men, and have as much spirit and determination. Some of the natives held the "whares" (native houses) most tenaciously, continuing to fire through interstices in the walls of one of them after it was set on fire, and until the roof fell in upon them. Three charred bodies were subsequently found in the ruins.

The troops at the conclusion of this affair returned to Te Awamutu, where head-quarters were established.

The natives at Paterangi got early intelligence that they were out-flanked, and soon after noon they arrived at Rangiawhia, took up a position on the side of the village towards Te Awamutu, and commenced to convert an old bank into an intrenched line. Their proceedings being observed by an advanced piquet and reported to head-quarters, the force moved out to attack them, and after a smart skirmish they were driven from their intrenchments and through Rangiawhia, from which they retired with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind them pots full of pork boiling, and potatoes peeled in readiness for a great feast. Seventeen bodies were picked up after the skirmish, and others on two or three successive days, in the bush and fern. Two men killed and seven wounded were the casualties on the side of the troops.

The account sent of this affair by the Maoris to their friends at a distance is rather amusing, and illustrative of their untruthful character. They said that the horse soldiers first came at them, and with one volley they stretched them all "on the bed of death;" that the foot soldiers then advanced, and with another volley they stretched them also "on the bed of death." Thus, having killed all the soldiers, there was no use in remaining at Rangiawhia, and they went to Maungatutari to build a Pah there. A similar instance of their untruthfulness was mentioned by a gentleman, formerly in the service, who was a guide to an officer of Royal Engineers on a reconnoissance in the Waikato district and towards Raglan, in 1861. At the latter place they met William Naylor, the friendly chief, and the conversation turning upon the Taranaki war, the latter asked how many soldiers were killed there; the reply being "About 60,"* he said, in short terms, it was untrue—that they (the natives) knew there were 2,000. As they are so untruthful themselves, the natives believe the Europeans are equally so.

The Lieut. General commanding determined, after the last mentioned affair, to hold Rangiawhia, and it was occupied by about 600 men, with 2 guns, and a redoubt was constructed on a prominent point, near the centre of the village; another post was also established in an old pah called Haerini, near the scene of the skirmish, which was subsequently improved into a good redoubt for a detachment of 50 men.

Kihi-kihi, one of the places of residence of Rowi, the great chief of Ngatimaniapoto, is about 3 miles distant by the road from Te Awamutu, and as it was not impossible that, after his retirement from Paterangi, he might take up a position there, the place was reconnoitred by a strong force on the 23rd, and on the 27th it was occupied by about 600 men, and a redoubt was erected on commanding ground in the village.

The soil about Rangiawhia and Kihi-kihi was very rich and fertile, and had been, in former times, before the King movement commenced and the Maoris had turned their attention to politics, very extensively cultivated, growing large quantities of wheat and maize; even latterly there was a considerable quantity of produce raised in the vicinity; and though potatoes had been sent to the enemy at Paterangi and elsewhere, in large quantities, yet a large amount re-

* The actual number was 66 including Māhira.

maised, which made a most acceptable addition to the soldiers' rations. The growing maize, of which there was a large area, afforded a most nutritious food to the draught bullocks, thus diminishing the demand for forage, the transport of which was a serious item in the expenditure.

The devotion to politics of the Maoris spread all through the Waikato country, and on the march the neglected state of what evidently had been highly cultivated districts, was very apparent.

The vicinity of Whata Whata was especially rich; hence its name, which signifies "garner of garner's" descriptive of the prolific nature of the soil.

The Maori works at Paterangi and Pico-pico, being abandoned, PLATE NO. 423 were destroyed, a redoubt being erected on part of the site of the former, it occupying a commanding position on the route from Te Roro to Te Awamutu.

At Taranaki, the local government had about this time collected nearly 800 military settlers; and the force in the province amounting to about 2,000 men, including 1,000 regular troops and some militia, it was determined to extend the outposts on both sides, north and south, of New Plymouth. Some of the posts that had been abandoned were re-occupied, and some others established, —one in particular on the north of the town, on Sentry Hill, a commanding point, on which a redoubt for 100 men was constructed.

The natives, on their side, occupied three positions, including Te Aroi, to the northward; and two, including Kaitake, to the southward. They frequently issued from these positions to lay ambuscades, and to drive off or wantonly destroy cattle. On the 28th February a party from Kaitake murdered a settler within four miles of New Plymouth; it was therefore determined, if practicable, to root out these troublesome hornets from their nest; and the operations for the purpose are recorded in the regular sequence of events in the North Island.

Te Awamutu being a little in rear of the centre of the proposed new frontier line between the Houtia branch of the Waikato and the Waipa, it was made the head-quarters of a separate command, which included also the troops at Rangiawhia, Kiki-kiki, Te Roro, and Ngahimipouri. Preparations were made to hut the troops, and five redoubts were thrown up round the large Mission House, the head-quarters. Close to the Mission House was a well-built timber church, with a conspicuous spire which had been erected from funds contributed, in great part, by the natives of the district, who also furnished some of the labour.

The Lieutenant General with a force of 900 men left Te Awamutu on the 22nd March, en route to the Horatia, passing on the road an abandoned Pah at Ohaupo, which had been constructed by the Maoris in case of the line of advance to Te Awamutu being by the Horatia; thus with Pico-pico, Paterangi and Ohaupo, they considered they had blocked up all the practicable avenues to their two richest settlements in the district between the two rivers.

The force halted and encamped at the village of Pakorima, about 6 miles distant from the termination, on the left bank of the Horatia, of a branch of

the Mamgatautari ranges, where at a spot almost overhanging the river called
 Plan No. 7. Pekekura, the enemy had constructed an imposing work, and a

second smaller one about 400 yards distant higher up the range, from which the lower work would have been commanded. The position was reconnoitred, and preparations were made by the manufacture of gabions, &c., to attack it in form. At the same time redoubts for 200 men each were constructed on each bank of the river at Pakorimu. Whilst these works were in progress the officer commanding at Te Awamutu having received information that the enemy was constructing a Pah at Orakan, about seven miles from Te

Plan No. 8. Awamutu and four miles from Kihikihikī, put three columns in motion very early in the morning of the 30th March, to move on different routes towards the Pah, so as to surround it. This operation was successfully accomplished by daylight, and an assault was immediately made on the work, which failed, the officer leading falling mortally wounded. A second assault also failed, the enemy defending their post most resolutely.

The officer commanding then determined to sap up to the pah, and gabions having been prepared, the sap was commenced on the afternoon of the 31st March, and carried on with great enterprise and activity, until the morning of the 2nd April, when the Lieut. General arrived from Pakorimu, accompanied by the Commanding Royal Engineer, who took charge of the work. A double sap was broken out from the single sap and carried to the ditch of a sort of outwork* which was then assaulted and captured. Cover was obtained in two of the ditches of this work, and gabions were rapidly placed and filled on the edge of the ditch of the south face, when the enemy suddenly evacuated the mainwork, broke through the cordon of troops, and fled to the southward. They were pursued as rapidly as the embarrassing nature of the ground would admit, losing a great many in their retreat. Their whole loss, as ascertained, was 101 killed, and 23 prisoners, of whom 21 were more or less severely wounded.

The determination of these people was shown by their answer to the summons of the General to surrender, "We will fight for ever, for ever, for ever." ("Ake, Ake, Ake.") When urged to send away their women, of whom unfortunately, there were several killed and wounded, they replied, "The women will fight too." The losses of the troops in the attack were heavy, and were sustained principally in the first assaults on the Pah; they amounted to 16 killed and 52 wounded.

Lieut. Hurst, 1st batt., 12th Regiment, Assistant Engineer, carried on the Engineer operations with great spirit and intelligence, and was especially mentioned in despatches, and the detachment of Royal Engineers under his command were commended in a General Order of the Corps.

The day after the fall of Orakan, the Lieut. General returned to Pakorimu. During a reconnoissance of the position at Pekekura on the 3th April, it was found that it was evacuated, and possession was taken of the work. There is little doubt that the intelligence of the heavy losses the Maoris had sustained at Orakan had reached Pekekura, and caused the abandonment of the position.

* This outwork was incomplete.

Strong redoubts were immediately commenced on the sites of the two Maori works, that on the lower for 200 men, and on the upper for 50 men.

On the 16th April, the Lieut. General left Pukerimu with the intention of proceeding with re-inforcements to Taranaki, where an unfortunate affair had recently occurred.

Before relating this, the operation of the capture of Kaitake must be recorded.

On the 25th March a force of 420 regular troops and militia, accompanied by 4 guns and a howitzer, moved from New Plymouth to near Kaitake. The guns were placed in position about 1,500 yards from the right of the enemy's rifle pits, and made such accurate practice that most of the enemy were driven out of those portions of the works.

In the meantime, a party of 80 military settlers, who had left their redoubt about 1 a.m., and, with immense labour, had worked a track to the base of the spur on which the rifle-pits rested, arrived. The difficulty of this advance may be judged when it took 9 hours to accomplish 2½ miles. At 10½ a.m. the guns ceased firing; the main body of the troops advanced to within 800 yards of the works, whilst the military settlers ascended the spur, and carried in succession the rifle pits and upper Pah, pouring a reverse fire into the trenches behind a lower line of palisading, which the enemy held until a portion of the main body had ascended a rise on their extreme left; when both flanks being turned, they retreated through the bush in their rear. A redoubt for 100 men was immediately commenced on the site of the uppermost Pah. The enemy's works were gradually destroyed, the bush in the vicinity cut down, and a practicable road made to the position.

Notwithstanding every precaution, four days after the capture of the position, the enemy laid an ambush within 150 yards of the redoubt, and caused two casualties—one man killed and one wounded. This affair, and the unfortunate one previously alluded to, which took place on the 6th April, shewed either that the natives were not dispirited by their reverses, or else wished to have "utu"—satisfaction. On the above date, a party of 100 regular troops and militia, under the command of Capt. Lloyd, 57th Regt., was sent to reconnoitre a track between Kaitake and Ahuaha. Arrived at the latter place, whilst engaged in destroying cultivations, they were surprised by a strong body of natives, who poured in a volley, which brought down Capt. Lloyd and several men, and rushing on, scattered the troops in all directions. They escaped by various routes, carrying with them some of the wounded, and reached a neighbouring redoubt near the sea coast, from whence a large party was marched to the scene of the attack, where they recovered the bodies of Capt. Lloyd and six men, which had been much mutilated, and some of them, including that of Captain Lloyd, decapitated.

Not long after this affair, the gross superstition called "Pai-marire," with which the natives had been imbued, was first heard of; and it was stated that the head of Captain Lloyd, after being prepared in some way to preserve it, was carried about in procession by the fanatics, who made numerous proclaytes in every part of the country, part of the initiation being to drink of water which had been poured over this preserved head.

be assumed that the nature of the defences, with the peculiarities of which the whole of the storming-party were unacquainted, led to the unfortunate result. The troops were actually in possession of the upper part of the redoubt, but the underground passages were still held by the Maoris, and the men became distracted at seeing their comrades fall by the fire of an unseen enemy whom they could not dislodge.

The courage and endurance of a small body of Maoris exposed to an almost crushing artillery fire for a period of eight hours, and then at its termination meeting and repelling a gallantly conducted assault, are almost unequalled; and show that whether acting amongst the swamps and bush of their country, or in a scarcely tenable earthwork in an open country, they are a foe not to be despised. They possess the highest military qualities: coolness, wariness, spirit, determination; judgment in taking up positions; sagacity in perceiving the moment when to vacate them; and they are never depressed by reverses. The Lieutenant-General, in his despatch of the 4th April, in reference to the attack on the Orakan Pah, pays a tribute to the heroic courage and devotion of the band of natives who held that position. An individual instance may be given. After the pah was evacuated, the bodies of the slain Maoris were brought out for the purpose of identification by the interpreters attached to the force. The body of a man of considerable stature had on it two mortal wounds through the head, but, in addition, both bones of the left leg were fractured, and were rudely bound up with a sort of splint; and the shinbone of the right leg was also at least splintered; thus this man, though undoubtedly suffering great agony from the wounds in his lower limbs, must have continued to fight until he received his mortal wounds.

The Lieutenant-General left Tauranga for Auckland on the 16th May, after giving instructions for the erection of huts for 500 men, the future garrison of Te Paps.

Not long after the arrival of the troops at Tauranga, a detachment was sent to Maketu, a place about twelve miles to the eastward on the coast, where a redoubt was erected and garrisoned by regular troops and militia, 190 in all. This post was established with the view of keeping the King natives in that direction in check, and also as a *point d'appui* for the Arawas, friendly natives inhabiting the district. The enemy sat themselves down before the redoubt, erected Pahi against it, and menaced a serious attack, which they commenced on the morning of the 27th April; however, by this time, the Arawas had assembled, and being reinforced by some militia, and aided by the fire from one of H.M.'s steamers and a colonial gunboat, which arrived in the morning off the coast, they assaulted the Pahi, driving the enemy in disorder from them, and following them in their retreat along the coast until nightfall. On the following morning they came up with the enemy strongly posted at a place called Te Awa-o-te-Atua; after a sharp skirmish they dislodged them, the enemy retreating rapidly into the difficult country in the interior. In these operations, the enemy lost between 80 and 90 killed, whilst the Native Contingent lost only one chief and six other men. The officer in command of the

Native Contingent was Major Drummond Hay, Auckland Militia, formerly an officer in the Royal Artillery.

In the Province of Taranaki, to which it is necessary now to return, there was on the 30th April a very severe lesson administered to the rebels, who, to the number of about 300, assembled in the bush near the Sentry Hill redoubt, and made a spirited attack on it. The officer in command ordered the garrison to sit down on the banquette until the natives were very close, when they rose and delivered such a close, rapid fire, that the enemy were driven off, with a loss of 34 killed and numbers wounded, who were carried off by their comrades. The only casualty in the garrison was one man wounded.

The Lieutenant-General, on his arrival in Auckland, was instructed by the Governor to send additional troops to Wanganui, which was in imminent danger of being attacked; and also to Napier, where a larger force was urgently demanded by the local authorities. Accordingly, 300 men were ordered to each place. Previous to the arrival of the reinforcement at Wanganui, a party of rebel natives, in attempting to descend the river to attack the town, were met and defeated with great loss by a body of friendly natives. The safety of the settlement was thus for the time secured.

The officer left in command at Tauranga, in making a reconnoissance into the interior of the district, came on the 21st June upon a body of about 600 natives who were entrenching themselves between six and seven miles from Te Papa. Dispositions were made to attack them, and reinforcements were sent for. In the meantime a brisk fire was kept up on both sides for nearly two hours, when the troops advanced and carried the works most gallantly against a desperate but short defence, the Maoris retreating through difficult ground, leaving 167 dead, besides 27 wounded men and 10 prisoners. The casualties amongst the troops were 9 rank and file killed, 6 officers, and 33 non-commissioned officers and men wounded.

This affair had very important consequences, for at a subsequent date, 8th August, a party of chiefs came into Te Papa, and made their submission in presence of the Governor and the Lieutenant General, and moreover ceded to the Crown a considerable district of country round Tauranga. The Governor, however, following a principle which had been laid down in respect to confiscated lands, returned a considerable portion of this land for the location of these submissive natives, and moreover promised them a supply of seeds to replace what had been destroyed during the operations of the war.

It may now be mentioned that the prisoners taken at Rangitiri and elsewhere, were confined on board a hulk in Auckland harbour, but as there were several deaths from dysentery, and as there was a probability of this and other diseases increasing, arising from depression of mind in confinement acting on bodies more or less debilitated by privation exposure and other hardships, it was arranged they should be removed to an island called Kawau, the property of the Governor, about 30 miles from Auckland, where they might be located on shore, and lead a more active life. A large portion of the island was placed at their disposal for cultivation; they had commenced to prepare the ground

for food, and were apparently contented with their position; but during the night, about the middle of September, they suddenly departed, having, it is presumed, been aided by their friends on the main land, which was only three or four miles distant.

They took up a position on the summit of a hill which they fortified, managed to obtain arms, and held a defiant tone. They subsequently left this place, and it was fully understood that many of them rejoined the rebels.

There was at this time a lull in warlike operations, but the mass of the troops in the colony (the north island) were posted in important strategic positions in readiness to meet any hostile movement of the enemy.

The first warlike movement took place in Taranaki. The officer commanding that district having received information that Mataitawa had been evacuated by William King's natives, he determined to attack it whilst it was weakly defended. Accordingly he assembled a force near Sentry Hill on the 8th of October, and first attacked Manutahi, which was feebly defended, captured it, and pushed on to Mataitawa, which was reached and occupied without opposition. The works at Manutahi, which were formidable, as well as those at Mataitawa, were destroyed.

On the 11th October, a force was sent to capture Te Arai, which was effected without firing a shot. The Engineers immediately commenced the construction of a redoubt on this very commanding position. A few days later troops were posted at Manutahi and Mataitawa, and redoubts for their protection were erected at both places, and the bush round them and between the two posts was cut down.

The officer commanding, considering it advisable to extend his positions, now re-occupied Tertarimaka, which had been abandoned, as before receded, in June.

On the 17th December the Governor issued a very important proclamation.

During the same month, under instructions from the Governor, the force at Wanganui was very materially increased; the object of concentrating this force being to take military possession of a block of land called Waitotara, the native title of which had been extinguished, but of which the Maoris kept defiant possession, and had erected works thereon in a difficult position.

Towards the middle of January, 1865, the Lieutenant General with additional troops left Auckland for Wanganui. After reconnoitring, he ordered the construction of redoubts on commanding positions round the town of Wanganui, to cover it from the incursions of the rebels. On the 24th of January a column of 800 Infantry with two guns moved towards the Waitotara, and halted near the small village Nakumaru, about 24 miles from the rebels' position, and they had scarcely arrived when one of the pickets was fiercely assailed by the Maoris, who kept up a heavy fire until late in the night, causing the death of 4 persons, one of them a staff officer. On the following day, about noon, both the pickets which had been thrown out, and were each 100 strong, were briskly attacked by two bodies of Maoris, amounting together to 600 men, who drove in the pickets with loss and advanced towards the camp, being checked only

by the advance of additional troops. This attack was the most daring the natives had attempted during the war, and it was attributed to the fanatical spirit with which they were inspired by the "Pai Marire" superstition, the believers in which were told by their prophets that they were proof against the bullets of the "Pakeha." They put the more faith in this, inasmuch as (as subsequently ascertained) not one of them was hit on the previous night. They were rudely undeceived on this day, as they had upwards of 70 casualties in all. The affair cost the troops a loss of 13 killed, and 2 officers and 24 men wounded.

The force, which had been augmented to the number of 2,300 of all arms, remained at Nakumaru until the 2nd February, when the Lieutenant-General moved at night with about half the force to the Waitotara, which was crossed early on the morning of the 3rd on a cork raft, which had been constructed by the Engineers; and the troops encamped on level ground on the farther or right bank. There was a precipitous bluff on the left bank of the river, on which a redoubt for 150 men was immediately commenced, which was, when completed, armed with two guns.

The force moved on the night of the 15th February from the Waitotara to the Patea, being replaced at the former place by the troops which had been left at Nakumaru on the 2nd.

A halt was made until the 24th February on the left bank of the Patea, during which time a redoubt for 200 men was being erected; the main body then crossed to the right bank, where an intrenched line, with a redoubt in the centre, was constructed, enclosing a large area, where buildings for a great depot of supplies were thereafter erected, as well as huts for 600 men.

On the 28th February the Governor landed at the Patea to confer with the Lieutenant-General in reference to future operations, and it was arranged that an advance should be made along the coast towards Taranaki as far as the nature of the country and the advance of the season would admit, if practicable, as far as New Plymouth. This measure, his Excellency considered, would have a greater moral effect on the natives than even the capture of the strong Pah on the Waitotara block.

About this time there was a conflict up the river Wangunui between the friendly natives and the rebels under a chief named Pehi, in which the latter were defeated. Pehi, who had taken the oath of allegiance to the Queen, and afterwards joined the rebels, asked reinforcements from Te Ua, the leading "Pai-Marire" prophet, who was living in the Wereroa (Waitotara) Pah, but which he was unable to send, and recommended Pehi to make peace. He was also inclined for peace himself, and originated a correspondence, which, however, did not result in any arrangement.

Orders were issued for a move from the Patea on the morning of the 10th March, but during the previous night a fierce gale, accompanied with torrents of rain, arose, which levelled four-fifths of the tents, tearing some to shreds, thus preventing the intended move; nevertheless, the troops who had been left at Waitotara came on to Patea, according to orders, encountering great diffi-

collies in wading through streams swollen by the rain, in which many rifles were unavoidably lost.

The force at length marched on the 13th March, under the orders of the Lieutenant-General. At about two miles from the camp the column was assailed by a volley of musketry from a body of Maoris posted under cover of a ridge of sand-hills, parallel to the line of march on the right. The advanced guard were thrown out in skirmishing order, bringing round their left flank to attack the enemy, who were soon dislodged, retreating through swamps and difficult ground, nevertheless losing 23 killed and mortally wounded, and two prisoners; whilst the casualties amongst the troops were only one man killed and three wounded. This affair, in which 100 natives attempted to check the movement of upwards of 1,000 troops, exemplifies still more their courage and daring, doubtless augmented by the new superstition.

The force moved on and encamped in a Maori village called Kakaramoa, in which was immediately commenced a redoubt for 150 men who were to occupy the position, which was about seven miles inland near the margin of the bush, and close to the right bank of the Patea river.

The following day the column moved, and encamped at the Maori village Manutahi, which was about four miles from the coast and from the village of Manawapu, the latter being, at one period, a place of considerable importance. Detachments were sent to this village, which was situated on the left bank of the river Ingaie, and as it seemed practicable to beach boats on the sandy shore on the farther side of the river, redoubts were constructed on both banks to cover a depot of stores which it was proposed to form under their protection.

The force with head-quarters moved from Manutahi on the 20th March, halted for one day a few miles from Manawapu, and on the 31st proceeded to the Wai-ngo-ngo-ro (Snoring river), where a camp was formed, and redoubts were erected on both banks of the river. It was thought possible that a landing might be effected at the mouth of this river, and hence the necessity for establishing these posts to protect the operations of bringing ashore and protecting the supplies.

On one of the occasional reconnaissances which were made from Waingongoro, to feel for the enemy, shots were fired upon the troops from a stockaded village, which was entered without opposition, the few natives in it having decamped. A flagstaff, surrounded with a neat wooden railing, showing it was "tapu"—sacred to the new religion—was ordered to be cut down, but not any further damage was allowed to be done, and the troops retired.

A small steamer which had been hovering off the coast for some days, seeking an opportunity to land, managed, on the 8th April, to send a boat on shore with some provisions; but on the 10th a boat was upset in the surf, three of the boat-men were drowned, and others much injured. A similar but more disastrous accident occurred at Manawapu on the 3rd April, when six men lost their lives.

These accidents, exemplifying the difficulty of feeding the troops by sea on this inhospitable coast, and the land route from Waingongoro towards Taramaki being known to be less and less practicable, finally determined the Lieutenant-

General to retrace his steps. Accordingly, the force marched to the rear, leaving 150 men in each of the redoubts on the two sides of the river.

The Lieutenant-General left the Patea on the 29th April, to proceed to Auckland to confer with the Governor as to the future measures he wished to be adopted.

In the month of April the officer commanding in Taranaki still further extended his outposts. On the north, about 35 miles from New Plymouth, a post was established at the "White Cliffs." The only direct track that existed between the Taranaki country and the north by which the Waikato rebels used to travel, passes at the base of these cliffs. Thus, if this track was closed, the only other route was a very circuitous one inland, stated to be upwards of 100 miles longer. On the south of New Plymouth a post was formed at Wara, about 27 miles from the town; and another at Opunake, 25 miles still further south. Thus about 85 miles of coast was occupied by numerous posts, from which, however, it was scarcely possible to move out of gunshot without danger.

The force in the Wangarei District amounted to about 2,000 men, under the command of a brigadier, whose head-quarters were in the town; and there was a body of about 750 men at Patea, who were to undertake such operations as might be called for during the winter months.

Under instructions from the Lieutenant-General, the Brigadier proceeded to Nukumara for the purpose of constructing redoubts to contain 200 men. The object of establishing this post was that a constant watch might be kept on the natives in the Waveroa Pah, who would thus be kept in a continual state of suspense and anxiety, having a very wearing effect on the savage mind, which cannot endure a continuous strain upon it; and a further object was that it might be used as a base of operations if the Pah was attacked.

It was further ordered that, if practicable, a small force should proceed from Wai-goo-goo-ro to meet a corresponding body coming from Opunake, which was about 22 miles distant from the former place. A junction was effected on the 8th June; thus nominally, and only nominally, opening the coast road from New Plymouth to Wangarei, which had been barred to Europeans since the commencement of the Taranaki war in 1860. The difficulties met with on the march by these two bodies, which were in the lightest possible order, were almost insurmountable.

In the early part of July, negotiations were being carried on between the agents of the Colonial Government and the natives in the Waveroa Pah for its surrender; and a small body of the colonial forces of both races was encamped near it. About the middle of the month the Governor arrived and communicated with the rebels, who were on the point of surrendering, when they saw some of the regular troops from Nukumara near at hand, and they ordered his Excellency off. A native orderly of the Governor, who had a perfect knowledge of all the intricacies of the district, was appointed to guide a body of the colonial forces by a circuitous and very difficult track to a point on the right rear of the Pah, from which it could be commanded within musket shot. Early on the morning of the 22nd July this party opened fire on the Pah, and a demonstration was made against it in front, when a white flag was

hoisted, and some friendly natives went into the Pah, of which the only tenants were a blind man and an old woman, the rest of the occupants having slunk away. A detachment of Her Majesty's troops was located in the Pah, on the site of which a strong redoubt was erected.

Matters remained tolerably quiet during the latter part of August and in September, except in Taranaki, where occasional skirmishes took place, without much result, except losses of men, on both sides. Towards the end of the latter month a proclamation was issued by the Governor declaring that the war which commenced at Oakura in May, 1863, was at an end. Copies of this proclamation were largely distributed by means of the friendly natives, but it had not the least effect in quieting the rebels.

During October several very spirited affairs took place about the Bay of Plenty and Poverty Bay between the colonial forces, aided by friendly natives, and the rebel natives who had adopted the new superstition, in the attempt to capture those who had murdered an estimable missionary, the Rev. Mr. Volckner, and Mr. Palleon, an agent of the Colonial Government.

One of the friendly natives employed in the distribution of the peace proclamation, was invited by the rebels near Wereroa Pah to bring them a copy; on approaching them he was treacherously fired upon and mortally wounded, the rebels thus showing their contempt for the document. A reward of £1,000 was offered for the capture of any one of the three natives who were known to the messenger, and named in his dying declaration. Not long afterwards, a Mr. Broughton, attached to the troops as interpreter, went by invitation to confer with the rebels in another direction in reference to their submission, and he also was treacherously murdered.

Subsequent to these murders, officers in command of posts and districts, whose hands had been tied by the peace proclamation, were ordered to retaliate upon the enemy.

Towards the end of this year (1865) a military commission was convened for the trial of certain of the murderers of the Rev. Mr. Volckner, and 16 were convicted and sentenced to death; but as this commission was illegally constituted, these prisoners, with some others connected with other murders, were tried before the Supreme Court, where 29 in all were convicted, of whom 5 were sentenced to death and executed.

At the end of December, 1865, Major General Chute, who had succeeded to the command in the Australian colonies on the departure of Sir Duncan Cameron, K.C.B., proceeded to Wanganui, and in the beginning of 1866, headed a force of about 400 men, to which was added a body of the local forces, European and Maori, and marched inland, attacking and destroying two strongly fortified Pahs about six miles from the Patea camp. The Pahs were but feebly defended, the rebels retreating into the bush on an assault being threatened.

Later in the month (January) the strong Pah Otapawa was attacked, captured and destroyed. This place was defended with considerable vigour, and the troops sustained rather a heavy loss, 11 persons including Lieut. Colonel Hassard, 57th Regiment, having been killed or mortally wounded, and 11 others wounded.

Subsequent to this affair several other Paha, strong by position and art, were captured, and destroyed, the enemy evacuating them previously to the arrival of the troops, in consequence, it was presumed, of the lesson they had received at Otapawa.

In accordance with the desire of the Governor, the Major General moved on the 17th January, with a force of about 400 men from the vicinity of Waingonoro, into the bush by a Maori tract at the back or east of Mount Egmont, with the view of following it to Mataitawa in Taranaki. This movement, it was considered would have a good moral effect on the natives, who made use of this tract in going to and from the Taranaki and Wanganui districts, it being much shorter than the coast track. It was presumed that the march might be effected in three days, hence provisions for only that number of days were taken. However, it was found that the distance was much greater than was calculated upon, being 54 miles, and the difficulties encountered so great, there being no less than 111 streams and deep gullies to be passed, that it took eight days to accomplish the distance, though the troops were on foot for ten hours each day, subsisting for two days on horse-flesh, the rest of the time on reduced rations and some biscuit which had been sent by a party from Mataitawa to meet them.

The force returned to the Wanganui district through New Plymouth, and by the coast roads, halting for a day at Opunake, where was found amongst other natives located in the vicinity, Te Ua, the prophet, and founder of the "Pai-Mariri" fanaticism, who was sent to Wellington for the disposal of the Governor.

Between the beginning of January and the 6th February, this force had captured and destroyed 7 fortified Paha, and 21 open villages, with the cultivations attached to them.

Opinions in the colony were very much divided as to the effect upon the natives of the operations above described. Certain it is, that the natives about the town of Wanganui became more active and enterprising, and it was found necessary to re-garrison the redoubts covering the town, which had been evacuated by the troops.

Further, nearly 200 natives, living near Opunake, who had always been neutral, went over in a body to the enemy. The destruction of property was understood to have been under the advice of the Colonial Government, but it is believed to have been mistaken policy; the natives invariably retaliated, and destroyed property of the settlers a hundred times more valuable than that which they themselves lost.

The operations last described terminated real offensive war on the part of the Queen's troops in the colony.

By the end of March, 1866, four out of the ten regiments had left the colony, and three others, with the two batteries of Royal Artillery, were being gradually drawn towards Auckland, for embarkation, leaving three regiments, which were to garrison the Australian colonies, including New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria, Tasmania, and New Zealand. One complete regiment was, as a temporary arrangement, to remain in New Zealand, but all the outposts were to be withdrawn, and the two towns of Auckland and Wanganui were alone to be garrisoned.

T. R. M.

APPENDIX A.

Memorandum in reference to the occupation of the Waikato Country.

Taking it for granted that the aboriginal natives in the Waikato Country will decline the terms of submission and restitution offered to them by the Governor, it is a matter for the most serious consideration what measures shall be adopted to carry out His Excellency's views to effect a complete present pacification in the colony, and to guarantee future quiet and obedience to the Queen and the law.

The character of the natives, the nature of the country they occupy, the vicinity of some of the most warlike of their tribes to the European settlements, the scattered localities of the out-settlers in the several districts of the Northern Island, the value of the property, especially in flocks and herds, of the out-settlers, which is at the mercy of the Maoris, should all be taken into consideration in the adoption of measures having the above object in view. The question is really more political than military, though it can only be successfully solved by military aid.

It is believed that if the initiative is taken by an armed force advancing with a hostile attitude into the interior of the country with the object of attacking the natives in their settlements, the whole race, with the exception of the principal part of the great Ngapahi tribe to the north of Auckland, will immediately rise in arms, will attack, probably murder, the out-settlers, sweep away or destroy their sheep and cattle, and burn or level their homesteads to the ground, and no vigilance nor any reasonable force that could be sent with the view of protecting the settlements could by any possibility save them from this fate.

The principal towns of the settlements, Napier, Wellington, and Wanganui, might indeed be tolerably secure under the rifles of the troops in garrison, and the out-settlers who left their districts in time might take refuge therein and secure their persons, but their property would be gone, and the best half of the colony pauperised.

The above being the probable loss to the colony by the initiation of hostile measures, it may be considered whether there would be any compensating gains by the adoption of such measures.

Supposing a column in force, overpowering as regards the numbers that the natives could bring to oppose it, were to advance into the heart of the country, say to Ngāruawāhia as the first objective point, it may be, without doubt, predicted that the enemy would be found to have evacuated it; the place is nothing, it is the location for a few miserable "whares," a mere place of temporary meeting, for some of the Waikato tribes; in fact, through the whole of the immense district in the central part of the Island, there are not any large locations. The enemy would abandon all their small villages on the approach of the troops, sending out small parties in every direction to effect the destruction of the out settlements, to harass the troops, when encountering the difficulties of a march into their wild country, to attack convoys and escorts and to interrupt commu-

sicians, but no where would they be met in *fecce*, and the campaign would be barren of results, a mere following through an almost impracticable country of an ever retreating enemy, who would move from one flank to another, in any direction, and lead a force far beyond its depôts, from whence it must derive its means of subsistence. A second, even a third campaign might be carried on in this way, all equally devoid of effective results; the enemy might indeed be brought, eventually, by the absence of the means on which they ordinarily subsist, to a sullen temporary acquiescence in the power of Her Majesty's arms, or rather to an acknowledgement of the superior perseverance and determination of the European, but at what a cost of treasure, and life, on both sides would this result be obtained? The savage would become still more savage, less likely to come under the influence of a humanizing civilization, would probably still offer a passive and sulky resistance to the introduction amongst them of just laws, and possibly look forward to a time when by the withdrawal of troops they may again have hopes of successfully asserting their independence and recovering their position.

There is not any gain apparent in the picture above portrayed; it is certainly possible that the land which the natives hold so tenaciously might be confiscated as a compensation to the colony for the loss of property, but if the colonists are pauperised where is the money to proceed from to purchase this land? What strangers would come into the country to settle in the vicinity of armed savages? and what is to compensate the loss of life, military and civil? and how is the imperial government to recover the sacrifices it will have made in support of the colonists? but above all how is the land so confiscated to be held? it can only be by the strong armed hand involving for many years the maintenance of a large military force in the colony and heavy disbursements on the part both of the imperial and local governments.

If, then, there is to be much loss and no gain by carrying on active hostilities, is there any other course by the adoption of which it is possible the natives may be induced to acquiesce in the terms proffered for their acceptance? Amongst these terms are the recognition by the natives of the sovereignty of the Queen, and the right of making roads and communications through their country. The sovereignty of the Queen, or as termed by them, "the shadow of the Queen over the land," it is not likely they will dispute, though still insisting upon their right to have a king or head of their own; but the right of making roads they will doubtless refuse peremptorily. They have invariably resisted urgent entreaties to permit roads to be made through their lands, under a declared belief that they, the lands, would, by the fact of the construction of those roads, pass from them. Under this declared belief there probably lurks a desire to keep their country inaccessible to the onward march of the colonists. They do not refuse permission to Europeans to pass along the native tracks, but they require them to avoid certain "tapued" places, and to make difficult circuits and traverses of the main rivers; and that permission they may at any time, and capriciously revoke, and seal the entrance to their country.

It may be held, without violence to the liberties of any people—even a semi-

independent people like the Maoris—that sovereignty implies a right of freely traversing the country over which that sovereignty extends: a right of traversing involves the right of making such communications as will facilitate free and uninterrupted movement to any part of that country. It is undoubtedly just that the lands required for the formation of such communications should be acquired by equitable purchase or negotiation; but failing the acquisition by such modes, and in face of a possible avowed determination to resist this, one of the prerogatives of sovereignty, and especially as in the case of the Maoris they owe a debt to the Europeans for attacking them and destroying their property without cause, it would not be really an aggressive measure to take lands from the natives for the formation of roads, but rather a "material guarantee" to afford the means of obtaining future security; and it is possible, seeing that the natives always desire that their adversaries should strike the first blow, that no armed resistance may be offered, and that the Maoris will be wise and far-seeing enough to discern that they cannot effectually resist the onward roll of civilisation.

Looking to this possibility, by which the objects in view may most probably be effectually attained, and looking on the other hand to the almost certainty that if the natives are attacked they will revenge themselves on the unprotected persons and property of the out-settlers, it would seem to be a wise course to adopt the measures which will be most likely to save money, lives, and time, in tranquillising the country.

There is no surer index to the true civilization of a country than good roads, and the formation of them in an uncivilised country has, from the earliest ages, been the means by which a savage, barbarous, or independent people have been brought into subjection, or redeemed from a state of lawlessness. The traces of the great Roman roads in Britain, made 1,500 years ago, are still to be seen; that civilised and warlike people well knew that they could not effectually subdue and keep under control the savage and brave Britons, without ways pervading the country and penetrating its recesses, by which they might convey their legions, stores, and war engines. In later years the Highlanders of Scotland could never be prevented from rising in insurrection until great roads were made through their mountainous district. The savages of North America are only quelled by pushing roads through the almost interminable forest, and establishing military posts on the frontier, and there is an incessant warfare going on, with varying success on both sides, but with the eventual subjugation of the different tribes. During the last war at the Cape of Good Hope, the only error committed by Sir Harry Smith, according to the dictum of the Duke of Wellington in his place in the House of Lords, was an omission in making great military roads into the Caffre's country. Can such precedents be safely or wisely set aside? Is there anything in the nature of this country or the character of its aboriginal inhabitants that can make a rule of conduct so general, inapplicable? On the contrary, it would appear especially applicable to the wilds and difficulties of the country in New Zealand, to the nature of which the Maoris adapt their mode of warfare.

Having thus arrived at a conclusion that it would be infinitely less costly in blood and treasure, and a saving in time in effecting the pacification and civilization of the country, to commence the construction of good roads and bridges, and gradually carry them forward by and under the protection of a military force, than to make a hostile move, (bearing also in mind that some sort of track or communication must necessarily be made into the heart of the country, or to any objective points of attack in order to render an advance practicable; it may be considered what preliminaries should be arranged, and what precautions ought to be taken to secure the City and District of Auckland from possible molestation.

The preliminaries would necessarily be political. The Maoris having declined to accede to the terms proposed, having evaded or ambiguously replied to them, or having passed them over in contemptuous silence, the Governor might, at a suitable season of the year, issue a proclamation stating his intention of making the Queen's sovereignty pervade the land by the exercise of her right of making roads through it, that the roads would be made under the protection of the Queen's troops, and that any resistance to this measure on the part of the Maoris would be an opposition to the Queen and a cause of war.

Previous to commencing operations on the roads a good defensible frontier should be decided upon, and posts of sufficient strength established to cover the district and out-settlers of Auckland. The line that appears the best is that which commences near the mouth of the Waikato river, running eastward to Maungatawhiri (Havelock) where the Waikato bends sharply to the southward, thence northwards by the Great South Road to Papakura, and from thence eastward by the Wairoa Road and the Wairoa River to the sea.

A post should be established near the village of Waikau as near the Waikato as possible, to guard the "portage" by the Awarua River from the Waikato to the Waikau Creek on the Manukau, and a second near Takanu. The centre of the line would be at Havelock, where large depôts of stores and provisions may be formed within a fort or large redoubt having a sufficient number of men for their protection. On or near the line of the Great South Road between Havelock and Drury small bodies of men posted in stockades, at moderate intervals, would be necessary to guard and keep open the communication, especially through the great bush. At Drury other depôts would be required for the reception of stores and provisions sent forwards water-borne by Slippery Creek, and a sufficient guard for their protection, who may be posted in a stockade, already constructed, near which the store buildings may be constructed. The stockade at Papakura occupied by cavalry would watch the junction of the Wairoa Road with the Great South Road, and from thence by the Wairoa Road to Thorpe's homestead on the Wairoa River. Cavalry patrols would be the most effectual means of guarding the frontier and preventing any ill-disposed natives from penetrating within the line. A stockaded cavalry picket-house, with sheds for horses, may be established near the "Traveller's Rest" hotel on the Wairoa Road, where the head-quarters of the cavalry may be stationed. Thorpe's homestead is near to that part of the

Wairoa River, where it ceases to be fordable, and there a stockade for 100 infantry, the force being in part composed of the volunteers of the district, may be erected. The extreme left of the line at the mouth of the Wairoa River might be most efficiently guarded by the naval forces, and a stockade might be erected there, with a boat-house attached, to be garrisoned by seamen. A vigilant watch kept up by the garrison of this post, with guard-boats sent out occasionally at night, would effectually prevent war-canoes passing along the coast or up the river. The rear of the right of the line near the Waikato Creek may be further strengthened by posting there a well-manned gun-boat.

These several posts being established in such order as may be most convenient, the road from Drury to Havelock may be improved, and those portions which are single tracks widened, formed, and made as practicable as possible; so also should the road to the Wairoa be ameliorated and the bridges repaired, in which work it is presumed that the Provincial Government would aid.

All these works would be on European land, and ought not to arouse the jealousy, still less the hostility of the natives.

Beyond Havelock the country belongs to the natives, and the largest possible force, after sufficiently providing for the security of the city and district, should be thrown in advance to cover the formation of a main road on the right bank of the Waikato River towards the interior of the country. The advance from this point must be cautious, and may be deliberate, not effected by mere tracks made with haste to indicate an intention to attack, but by roads as well and substantially formed as the nature of the country and the means at hand will admit, evidencing a determined purpose of carrying them through the country.

The officer commanding the advance should be cool, wary, and discreet, avoiding collision with the natives and keeping his men well in hand, under strict surveillance, bearing in mind that a single first shot fired on his part, may be the means of lighting a flame through the whole land and jeopardizing half a million's worth of property. This caution being observed it is probable that the formation of the roads would not be opposed by the Maoris, who would succumb to an inevitable necessity, and by judicious reasoning might be brought to recognize the value to themselves of this civilizing proceeding.

If the natives peaceably acquiesce in the formation of roads, it would indicate an acknowledgment of the Queen's sovereignty, and the abandonment of their King; thus two of the most important points (upon which the others may be really considered to hinge) in the terms offered to these people, will have been gained by a little forbearance, and at a comparatively small cost.

It would seem just that land acquired under the influence of the power of Her Majesty's arms, and secured by the labour of her troops, should be retained by and disposed of by the imperial government as a part compensation for the sacrifices the English public will have made on behalf of the colony.

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