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In Sherrin AA. *The Early history of New Zealand:* Part 1 of *Brett's Historical Series: Early New Zealand.* Auckland, pp. 435-458.

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The first European fighting at Taranaki.

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The *Alligator* left New Zealand on the 31st March, 1834, but returned again early in September the same year. The cause of her second visit was in consequence of an application, dated 23rd August, from the Governor in Council, to Captain Lambert requesting him to proceed with his vessel to obtain the restoration of certain British subjects then in the hands of Ngatiruanui—nine sailors, one woman, and two children—who had formed part of the crew and passengers of the barque *Harriet*, shipwrecked near Cape Egmont on the 29th April, 1834. On the 31st August the *Alligator*, having on board Lieutenant Gunton and a detachment of the 50th Regiment, made sail from Port Jackson, in company with the *Isabella*, colonial schooner, on board of which Captain Johnson of the same regiment and another detachment of soldiers were embarked to cooperate with Captain Lambert.

The circumstances attending this melancholy affair have been carefully collated by Mr. W. Colenso, and as it formed the first European fighting and killing at Taranaki, which unhappily has since been the scene of so much that is painful in New Zealand history, it may be set out at length.

Mr. Colenso says "Perhaps I should in the first place briefly state how I happened to know so much about it, that old affair, viz., the loss of the *Harriet* barque at Te Waimate, south of Cape Egmont, and the bitter revenge which so quickly followed. I was at Sydney, New South Wales, at the time, waiting for a vessel to bring me to New Zealand. While there I had made the acquaintance of Dr. Marshall, the surgeon on board H.M.S. *Alligator*, on her return thither from that expedition, and had received from him the whole sad account while fresh. Besides, I have it now as fully written (daily journal fashion) by Dr. Marshall, who was a truly Christian gentleman. I have also Guard's statement, official documents, made before the Executive Council at Sydney. And lastly, on my subsequently coming to New Zealand Guard himself was a fellow-passenger, and a most unpleasant one, during a long voyage in our wretched, little, and badly-formed craft.

"My tale I shall divide into two parts, the first being the relation by Captain Guard of his shipwreck, abstracted from his depositions before the Executive Council at Sydney, etc., this being necessary to understand what followed; the second being extracts from Dr. Marshall's clear and circumstantial account of all matters attending the subsequent rescue of the captives. The whole is very interesting, and would form a book of a hundred pages.

"Extract from the examinations of Mr. John Guard, master of the barque *Harriet*, before the Executive Council, Sydney, New South Wales:—

"'In proceeding from Port Jackson to Cloudy Bay, New Zealand, the *Harriet* was wrecked on the 29th of April last, near Cape Egmont, on the Northern Island. The crew, consisting of 28 men, all escaped on shore, as also one woman and two children. About 30 or 40 natives came the third day after we were wrecked. We had made tents on shore of our sails. The crew were at that time armed with ten muskets saved from the wreck. The natives began plundering the wreck, and also what we brought on shore. They showed no violence at this time, the principal number not having yet appeared. We endeavoured to prevent their taking our things by shoving them from the tents, but offered no violence to them. They must have seen our muskets.

"'On the 7th May about 200 more natives came down, and they told us directly they **[436]** came that they had come purposely to kill us. They did nothing that day, but on the following day they came all naked, and at least 150 with muskets, and the rest with tomahawks and spears. They did not attack us until the l0th. About eight o'clock on the morning of the l0th they again made their appearance in a body under arms, and they struck one of the crew on the head with a tomahawk, and then cut him right in two. Another, named Thomas White, they cut down. We immediately then opened fire, which they returned. We engaged them nearly an hour, and we took altogether twelve men. We understood there were twenty or thirty of the New Zealanders shot, but some say there were less. The New Zealanders latterly dug holes in the ground, and fired from behind them, leaving only their heads exposed. They closed upon us, and we were obliged to retreat. They got possession of my wife and two children. They cut her down twice with a tomahawk, and she only was saved by her comb. We were making our retreat to a place named Materoa [? Moturoa], about forty miles to the northward, firing as we went. We met another tribe consisting of about one hundred coming up to the wreck. They stopped us, and stripped us of our clothing. We gave ourselves up, having expended all our ammunition. They kept us on the spot for three or four hours, and then permitted us to proceed to Materoa, sending a guide with us. They put us into a fenced place, which they call a pa, a sort of stockade. There they kept us three days, naked as we were. They gave us some potatoes. The party on the third and fourth days returned from the wreck, and in the morning they took us out from the pa, each man who had taken off our clothes claiming the man he had stripped as his slave. We went to our several masters, and some of them gave back a shirt, and some a pair of trousers. About a fortnight after, they told us that one boat remained at the place where the *Harriet* was wrecked, the others had been burnt with the dead. I proposed to them to allow us to go in the boat, promising to return with a cask of powder in payment for it. They went for the boat to the wreck, and brought it to Materoa. They consented to allow me and five more men to go away in the boat, but detained my brother and eight men as hostages. We repaired the boat as well as we could, and departed, accompanied by three native chiefs, and another of the crew who escaped to us. We were two days and two nights at sea, and fetched into Blind Bay in Cook Straits. We were eight days making Cloudy Bay; we found Captain Sinclair of the barque *Mary Anne* there, who lent me a boat. I procured some things from Captain Sinclair with the view of returning to Materoa to ransom my family and the other prisoners. In Port Nicholson we met in with the schooner *Joseph Weller*, and the master (Morris) took us on board, agreeing to call at Materoa on his way to Port Jackson, to land at the former place the three chiefs and the ransom, and take away the prisoners. The wind would not allow us to make Materoa, and we were obliged to bear up for Sydney, whither we brought the three chiefs, having arrived here on Tuesday last. The chiefs did not object to being brought to Port Jackson, but they would, I think, have preferred being landed at Materoa.

"'It is my opinion that the object of attack of the natives was to obtain plunder, and to devour those whom they might kill. I think that the nine men would easily be obtained from Materoa, but that the woman and children could only be obtained by paying a ransom, which could be done through the Materoa tribe. The name of the other tribe is "Hatteranui" (Ngatiruanui). I believe if a ship of war were to go there, and a few soldiers landed, they could be got without ransom. The woman is about forty miles south of Materoa. With a northerly wind a ship might go nearer than that. A blanket, a canister of powder, some fish-hooks, and other trifling articles, would be sufficient ransom for each man; but more would be required for the woman and children. I think that by keeping the three chiefs on board until the whole of the prisoners were returned would be the means of getting them back, but not without a ransom.

"'There are only about 100 natives in all at Materoa. The tribes could not raise above 300 men in the whole, and about 200 muskets. If a ship of war were to go down and threaten to destroy their huts, I think they might be induced to give up their prisoners. Their pas could be easily destroyed by fire. I have been trading with the New Zealanders since 1823, and have lived a great deal amongst them. I am the only person of those who were wrecked who came to Sydney; the rest remained at Cloudy Bay.

"'Before we were attacked by the natives two of the crew deserted to them, taking with them some slop clothing and five canisters of gunpowder. I am positive they supplied the **[437]** natives with the powder with which they attacked us, but I do not think that they instigated them to the attack. These two men accompanied the tribe on their return to Materoa from the wreck, and were allotted out as slaves in the same way as ourselves. They remained there when we left, and formed part of the nine that I mentioned as detained there.'

"The Governor of New South Wales, Sir Richard Bourke, lost no time in communicating with Captain Lambert, the captain of H.M.S. *Alligator*, requesting him to proceed in that ship to obtain the restoration of the British subjects then in the hands of the New Zealanders. In his official letter to him his Excellency says:— 'Considering the existing relations of Great Britain and this colony with New Zealand, and the number of British residents on the northern part of the North Island, the Council are of opinion that it will be advisable to abstain from any act of retaliation against the guilty tribe at Cape Egmont, lest it should excite a spirit of revenge or hostility in those tribes situated to the northward, among whom the British residents being placed, their lives and property are in a great degree at the mercy of the natives. It will therefore be proper to endeavour to obtain the restoration of the captives by amicable means, and to represent to the tribe concerned in these outrages, that a recurrence of such conduct will lead to the destruction of all their vessels, houses, and settlements near the coast.

"'If the restoration of the prisoners should not be accomplished by amicable means, the Council recommend that force should be em-ployed to effect it; and if it shall appear to you desirable, I will direct a military party to embark on board the *Alligator*, to assist you in this proceeding.'

"Captain Lambert lost no time in carrying out this new service. In a few days the *Alligator*, having on board Lieutenant Gunter and a detachment of the 50th or Queen's Own Regiment, weighed and made sail from Port Jackson in company with the *Isabella*, colonial schooner, on board which Captain Johnson, of the same regiment, and another detachment of soldiers were embarked to cooperate with Captain Lambert.

"Mr. Guard, late master of the *Harriet*, Mr. Battesby, appointed to act as interpreter, and a pilot named Miller, accompanied the expedition. The two last were landed under a pa called the Namu, belonging to the Ngati-ruanui tribe, and instructed to acquaint the natives with the object of the visit paid them by His Majesty's ships, and the anxious desire of Captain Lambert to avoid hostilities; also to express his determination not to give any ransom for the prisoners, and his readiness to employ force for their recovery should force be required to effect that end.

"Dr. Marshall's account of the expedition now proceeds:—

"'It being deemed necessary that the interpreter should proceed by land from the Namu to the Waimate, a pa belonging to the Taranaki tribe which held the women and children in captivity, the *Alligator* and *Isabella* worked along shore until abreast of that and another pa, the Rangituapeka. Here the anchor was let go and an unsuccessful attempt made to negociate the business amicably, Guard professing to interpret between the officers and the natives on the beach, although grossly ignorant of the New Zealand language.

"'The following day weighed and shaped a course for Admiralty Bay, in Middle Island, but came to in an open bay to the north-west of Port Jackson. Eight days after we made sail back to Cape Egmont, and at six p.m. on the following day the preconcerted signal of two

fires on the cliff having already apprised us of the interpreters' safety, a boat was sent ashore for them at the Namu. On their coming on board they looked worn and woe-begone, and gave the following account of themselves:—The night on which they landed they were frightened almost out of their wits, expecting to be put to death by the natives, and under the influence of panic eloped from the pa as secretly and with as much despatch as possible, and set off for Waimate, but failed to reach it in consequence of meeting, when within a few miles thereof, with a party of natives, who aggravated their fears by the information that the Taranaki people were looking out for and intended to kill and eat them. This induced them to retrace their steps, but being afraid to return to the Namu until the ship hove in sight, they took to the bush for shelter by day, and only ventured abroad under the cover of night, being content in the meanwhile to feed upon bread and water. Fear, hunger, and fatigue at last overcame them, and when they again joined the savages they delivered another version of the message they were entrusted to carry, deeming themselves excusable in altering it from necessity,—equally the plea of tyranny and cowardice,—and consequently at liberty to deceive the unsuspecting savages with promises of trade, **[438]** barter, and a ransom, which they knew well would never be fulfilled. One of these promises was, that on the delivery of the prisoners the natives were to receive a barrel of gun-powder, etc., by way of ransom. And another unworthy deception was that the two ships of war stood in need of large quantities of whale-bone, and that the natives would find a ready sale for all they could collect. [On the way back to Port Jackson, one of these men, relating how they had dealt with the natives, described himself as hardly able to contain his laughter at the way his companion "bounced" or lied to the New Zealanders on this occasion.] By such means, less disgraceful to the men who employed them than to those by whom such men were themselves employed on such a mission at all, it was finally arranged that "the woman" should be brought down to the Namu, in readiness to be given up at the next visit.

"'The next day the ship was piloted by Guard to a second harbour on the west side of Admiralty Bay, and the anchor let go there in fifteen fathoms. The parties destined to act against the natives were landed here to exercise in firing at a target, etc.

"'Two days after we again weighed, and made sail from Port Hardy, so called for the first time out of respect to the gallant Sir Thomas Hardy, Nelson's flag captain at Trafalgar. The following day we arrived at Moturoa, the Sugar Loaf Islands of Captain Cook, by which the northern extremity of Cape Egmont is terminated. Here four New Zealanders who had been provided with a passage from Sydney were put on shore, heavily laden with rusty muskets, flints, powder, ball, etc., the boat in which they landed bringing off eight seamen who had belonged to the crew of the *Harriet*, and formed a majority of the captives whom the *Alligator* was despatched to rescue. They looked exceedingly haggard and poverty-stricken, having been but thinly clad and only scantily fed for the four previous months; but, notwithstanding, bore favourable testimony to the treatment experienced by them at the hands of the barbarians, who, so long as they were content to minister to the necessities of their own bodies, exacted neither labour nor toil from them, but shared with them whatever they themselves had to eat. Captain Lambert very kindly proposed to clothe these men from the purser's slop-room at his own cost, upon which a subscription was entered into by the officers and the captain, and the naked were speedily clothed. But they were a base and selfish set of men, altogether unworthy such an act of private beneficence, as was some time afterwards seen in their refusal to take part in working the *Isabella*, where they were furnished with accommodation and food on their way home, *unless paid for doing so!*

"'Of the natives who were now landed I had been a vigilant observer during their stay on board, and am led to believe that they were harmless, inoffensive, and, in three instances out of the four, good tempered. They would not taste any salted meat, and accordingly

came but poorly off for provisions, save on those days when flour was served out. The bread which was generally served out, especially among the junior officers and sea-men, was abominable; worse, far worse than is supplied to the convicts of New South Wales—and the purser's steward had put those poor fellows off with the mere bread-dust—yet they seemed very contented with their fare and never complained but once, and then on very sufficient grounds.

"'I inquired of the above natives whether they would welcome a missionary if one should be sent to them. The answer was: "Yes, but he must stay with us, or the other tribes might kill him." Mr. Guard, who was standing by when the above inquiry was made, at once scouted the idea of New Zealanders becoming Christians. I asked him how he would propose to effect their civilisation in the absence of Christianity. The reply, made in serious earnestness and a tone of energy and determination, at once unmasked the man, and made one's heart sick at the thought that, upon his uncorroborated testimony, an expedition was fitted out against New Zealand likely to be fraught with disastrous consequences. "How would I civilise them: Shoot them, to be sure! A musket ball for every New Zealander is the only way of civilising their country.

"'When Guard quitted Moteroa, he left behind him the promise of returning for his companions, and of bringing with him a cask of powder in payment for the boat in which the Ngatiawa tribe assisted him to escape, and accordingly they demanded the fulfilment of this pledge, but were refused it, as also everything in the shape of ransom for their prisoners. Was this treachery, or was it not? If it was, on whose side does it lie? Not on the side of the New Zealander, for he fed, lodged, and protected those who had confided themselves to his keeping, but on that of his civilised neighbours, who violated their pledge and betrayed the truth reposed in them by the savage. **[439]**

"'Pending the long negociations respecting the sailors, the *Alligator's* best bower anchor had been let go on a rocky bottom and could not be again weighed when the business was concluded; it had therefore to be left behind, and was, with from twenty to thirty fathoms of chain cable, lost. The value of these far exceeded the price it would have cost to redeem the enslaved, and had that price been forth coming there would have been no necessity for negociation, no time need have been lost, the anchor might still have hung from the bows, and the chain reposed quietly in its tier.

"'Two days after this the landing party were collected together on board of the *Isabella* for the greater facility of disembarking. But Captain Johnson and the senior lieutenant of the *Alligator*, Mr. Thomas, having gone in the whaleboat to reconnoitre, the former considered the surf impassable and the landing was consequently postponed. Mr. Battesby, who had gone on shore, brought off information of the female captive and one of her children being at the pa, in readiness to be delivered up by their captors on payment of their promised ransom. A native of a highly intelligent countenance and very pleasing manners, took a passage in the boat from the shore, being desirous to visit the ship. The seamen and marines returned on board of the *Alligator* from the schooner, leaving all the soldiers and Guard's sailors there. These latter had so heightened, by their respective accounts of the savages, the general excitement which before prevailed, that the utmost impatience was manifested by all parties at the successive hindrances as they arose to our landing.

"'However, it was four days after this before the wind came round to the north-west, and with the change of wind the surf greatly subsided, thereby enabling detachments of seamen, soldiers and marines to disembark, which they did on a beautiful beach, in face of a high cliff; when we had occasion to witness the vast superiority for a mixed service, "by sea and land," of that valuable corps, the Royal Marines, over their comrades, the mere soldiers. While the one took their muskets in their hands and descended the ship's side with agility, and stepped out of the boats as light almost as the sailors themselves, the unfortunate landsmen had to encounter a dozen mishaps between the ship's gangway and the boat's gunwale, a dozen stum-

bles and falls before they could be quietly seated in the boats at all, and at least as many risks of being completely soused before they could obtain a safe footing on shore.

"'While the military were falling in, two of the natives came along the sands, advancing, unarmed and unattended, to meet us; the heights above being crowded with others of their tribe, passive spectators of what might happen below, very few carrying muskets. One of the pair, on coming up to us, announced himself as the proprietor (or chief in charge) of the woman and her child, and was recognised to be so by Guard, with whom the unsuspicious chief rubbed noses in token of amity, at the same time expressing his readiness to give up his prisoners on receiving the "payment " guaranteed him by his veracious—or, rather, lest my meaning should be mistaken, by his mendacious—friends, our very honest and competent interpreters! In reply, he was instantly seized upon as a prisoner of war himself, dragged into the whaleboat, and despatched on board the *Alligator* in custody of John Guard and his sailors.

"'On his brief passage to the boat insult followed insult, one fellow twisting his ear by means of a small swivel which hung from it, and another pulling his long hair with spiteful violence; a third pricking him with the point of a bayonet. Thrown to the bottom of the boat, she was shoved off before he recovered himself, which he had no sooner succeeded in doing than he jumped overboard and attempted to swim on shore, to prevent which he was repeatedly fired upon from the boat, but not until he had been shot in the calf of the leg was he again made a prisoner of. Having been a second time secured, he was lashed to a thwart, and stabbed and struck so repeatedly that on reaching the *Alligator* he was only able to gain the deck by a strong effort, and there, after staggering a few paces aft, fainted and fell down at the foot of the captain in a gore of blood. When I dressed his wounds on a subsequent occasion I found ten inflicted by the point and edge of the bayonet over his head and face, one in his left breast which it was at first feared would prove, what it was evidently intended to have proved, a mortal thrust, and another in the leg.

"'Was this treachery, blood-thirstiness, and cruelty, or was it not? If it was, on whose side lies the guilt thereof? Assuredly not on the part of the New Zealander, who, with one only companion and without arms or weapons of war, ventured among us with a firm step and friendly face, fearing nothing because suspecting nothing. And, as assuredly on the part of the British, who met his confidence **[440]** with arrest, and not only not according to law, either human or divine, but contrary to all law, both divine and human, made war upon one man, we being armed and he un-armed, and seized, and smote, and wounded, and well-nigh murdered that unprotected solitary man, when in the very attitude of a pacificator, and in the act itself of friendly negociation.

"'In the meanwhile the other native was joined by two more, who came without apprehension of personal danger, to trade with their treacherous invaders; one bringing a bunch of onions in his hand, the other a bundle of fishing lines, and both, like their predecessors, unarmed. One of these also was seized and detained as our prisoner, the others fled on perceiving the boat's crew fire upon their chief, and our second captive took the earliest opportunity of making his escape likewise, which he was the better enabled to do, from the blind impetuosity with which the landing party pushed on for the Namu pa.

"'That pa was found deserted of all its inhabitants, except a solitary pig. But the heated ovens in every direction in which their ample dinner of potatoes was preparing, supplied abundant evidence of their having been taken by surprise; while the abandonment of their fortress, whence, had they but continued in it, they might have shot every individual of our party before we could have reached the foot of it, seemed to imply that they had no idea of our landing being otherwise meant than in friendship.

"'All hands immediately divided into two parties, and commenced a chase in pursuit of the fugitives, when the double alarm was **[441]** raised that a body of armed natives had been seen in the

swamp below, and that an attack had been made upon the boats. Both were true. The midshipman who had been left, with a few men, in charge of the boats, reported that he and the boat-keepers had been fired upon from the cliff, while a strong body of New Zealanders made a rush to get possession of the boats, which they ransacked and succeeded in emptying of every transportable article, including clothes, haversacks, etc., while he, deeming resistance useless, and being unwilling to cause needless blood-shed, drew off the men and made good a retreat, leaving the boats in quiet possession of the savages, who, could they have known that these were all we had save one, might very effectually have cut us off from even the possibility of escape. The party of natives having the woman and child in custody had escaped past us as we entered their pa. They were instantly pursued by Lieutenant Thomas, but in vain, and on his coming up with Captain Johnson on the height which overlooks the beach where the boats had been plundered no trace of a single native remained. A strong picquet was planted here to guard against future mischief, and the rest of the party returned to the pa, where every individual curiosity found full occupation in examining the neat and curious huts of the poor outcast inhabitants.

"'There were only two entrances to the Namu pa, and they might have been defended by a dozen resolute individuals against a company of soldiers. One of these entrances being hardly perceptible from the outside, while the ascent to the other was facilitated by a notched stake of wood, which rested upon a perpendicular cliff facing the beautiful running stream, whereby the triangular rock on which this pa was built is separated from the main-land to the southward. [Here follows a long and particular description of the pa, which I omit.] The chief's house was readily distinguished by its size, ornaments, and situation. It was twice as large as any other; five grotesque figures, rudely but elaborately carved, adorned its front, which, being mistaken by the soldiery for native gods, were torn down and appropriated for fuel during the night..

"'In expectation of overtaking the party of natives who quitted the pa at one end as we entered at the other, Mr. McMurdo, senior mate of the *Alligator*, had been despatched in charge of a few men. He returned in about two hours' time with the intelligence that he had come up with and nearly surprised a body of fugitives, but was discovered by them before he could secure any. The instant they perceived his approach they fled with the utmost precipitation, throwing away in their flight potatoes, fishing-tackle, and other articles with which they had originally attempted to make off, but of which they now sought to disencumber themselves in order to facilitate their escape.

"'The afternoon proved wet and comfort-less, and the absence of everything like employment left the men at liberty to explore their new territory, and provide themselves with lodgings for the night, every half-dozen persons choosing for themselves a separate habitation, of which there were plenty.

"'At daybreak on the following morning, in consequence of a report made by John Guard that he had fallen in with several huts at a little distance, and his conjecture that any natives who might be lingering in the neighbourhood would have sought to them for shelter from the inclemency of the weather during the night that was past, four of the officers, Lieutenant Thomas, Alex. Gunton, Dyke, and myself, set off with a party of blue-jackets and marines to reconnoitre. The morning was mild and the day-dawn beautiful. After more than an hour's march from the pa, we halted upon learning that a further march of at least ten miles lay between us and any of the native huts, and it was determined therefore to return. Retracing their steps, our party re-entered the pa, just as the morning picquet returned, the officer of which announced that the natives had been seen in considerable numbers to the southward, and Captain Johnson determined upon trying to obtain an interview with them; and accordingly, after partaking of a standing breakfast, we set off for that purpose, escorted by the interpreter and four seamen, who were selected

in preference to soldiers, lest the natives should be intimidated by the red coats of the latter.

"'The native foot track led across a small rivulet of delicious water; but no appearance of the natives was visible until we came to a grove of trees, on rounding which, several stragglers hove in sight, to disarm whom of their fears, if any, the sailors were ordered under cover, and Captain Johnson, the interpreter, and myself advanced towards them. In a little while Mr. Battesby was sent forward to confer with a group of natives, after talking to whom for some minutes he was seen running back towards us and away from them. Upon which I advanced and met the runaway, fearing lest he should be cut off by a little body **[442]** of men who were at this time hastening after him. Having joined him I found he was flying from his own fears, being alarmed at the approach of other natives besides those with whom he was conversing, and we returned together to resume the conference with the savages, several of whom, with their muskets in their hands, occupied a small pass through a second grove of trees, to the possession of which, from its earthen breastworks, they seemed to attach considerable importance.

"'The arms we had with us were a brace of pistols and a sword, and we were met by two New Zealanders, who advanced with their firelocks in their hands, on seeing which Mr. Battesby pointed his pistol at them and gave them to understand that they must lay down their muskets before he could suffer them to come nearer his person. In reply, they called to him to look at the pistol in my belt, and signified that I ought to lay down that weapon of mine if they were to dispose of theirs, and, of course, upon being made acquainted with so reasonable a verdict, hoping by confidence to beget confidence, I deposited the dreaded pistol in the grass at my feet, and stepped forward with open hand to salute them. At first, it was not a little diverting to see the timidity with which they were seized, but in a minute or two we were excellent friends, shaking hands together much more heartily than there was any need to do, and shortly entered upon the subject matter of debate between us, when they informed us that "the woman" had been removed to Te Waimate pa; laughed at the idea of our attacking that place as preposterous; accused us of deceiving and betraying them, and said we had behaved "badly, with exceeding badness, to Whiti," their wounded and captive chief, who, they declared, had been murdered by us, and was now, they doubted not, quite dead, for the night before they had seen his spirit pass over their heads in a falling star, etc. Encouraged by the sight of their companions' safety, other natives now drew near and joined in the conversation. Failing to convince them that Whiti was yet alive, they could not be persuaded that his freedom might at any time be purchased by an exchange of prisoners, and finding this impediment in the way of an amicable adjustment of differences, we were compelled to bring our conference to a close; but in doing so my companion again exhibited his moral unfitness for the responsible office to which he had been appointed by the Sydney Government of interpreter. Turning round to me, he asked, with the most perfect simplicity of manner, "Shall I bounce them?" "Bounce them," I replied; "what do you mean by that?" "Shall I tell them a lie?" "Certainly not; but pray what lie do you propose to tell them?" "Why, that if they don't promise to deliver up the women and children, we shall set fire to the Namu pa." Alas! alas! that would have been no lie, as it afterwards proved, for upon that measure the mind of him who commanded our party was already made up.

"'For the office of an interpreter between parties who are or are likely to become belligerent, moral honesty and personal and moral courage are equally indispensable, for where these are wanting each party is liable to misunderstand and to be misunderstood; the disagreements between both are likely to be multiplied, and the previous breach to be widened beyond the limits of forbearance. The absence of all three in the person chosen to accompany us was abundantly certified by the little incident now related, when coupled with what took place between him and the natives on a former occasion, and his

consequent incapacity for the office which he filled placed beyond the possibility of doubt or question.

"'Having furnished Captain Johnson with an account of our interview, that officer proceeded again to Namu, for the purpose of burning it to the ground. And accordingly, immediately on his arrival there, fires were kindled in every dwelling, and all the stockades pulled down, and with other combustible materials added to the flames. In less than an hour after nothing was discernible of the poor New Zealanders' town but blazing ruins and burning embers, the officers and men concerned in this work of destruction returning on board as soon as it was accomplished, where we found the captive chief in a cot, suffering far less from his many wounds than had at first been anticipated, and highly gratified with the attentions he had received, as well as satisfied that all the *Alligator's* "rangatira," or officers, wholly disapproved of the brutal outrage perpetrated upon him by the master and crew of the whaleboat.

"'In the afternoon the ship was found to be drifting towards the shore, which, and there not being a breath of wind, rendered it necessary that she should anchor, when the anchor was let go in fourteen fathoms. It was again weighed at sunset, but only to be dropped again in less than twenty minutes after; and it was past midnight before she was fairly at **[443]** sea, and entirely safe from the peril of ship-wreck on a coast which, if not naturally inhospitable, would in all likelihood have proved so to us, from the character of our recent intercourse with its inhabitants. Was not the merciful interposition of Divine Providence on our behalf designed to reprove our own unmercifulness towards others in the transactions of the two previous days, and ought it not to have engaged our mercy on behalf of the New Zealanders in any subsequent dealings we might have with them?

"'Next morning we were running along shore for Te Waimate, in from seven to ten fathoms of water; the appearance of the coast was such as sailors call ironbound. At noon the mountain bore N. by W., and we were distant about five miles from Te Waimate Pa, off which the water shoals suddenly from five to four and three fathoms, with an uneven rocky bottom. At 2 p.m., out boats for the purpose of negotiating with the natives, who were seen in crowds upon the neighbouring heights, and swarming like bees upon the two pas and along the sea-shore. Mrs. Guard and her child were brought down to the beach by her keepers, and was very distinctly seen from the boats waving her hands to warn her deliverers off, the policy of the savages being, at this juncture, to seduce our men to land and then to repay treachery with treachery.

"'At 3 p.m. the boats returned, having landed the native who first visited us from the Namu, and had remained on board as fearless as at the beginning throughout the melancholy transactions at that place, and whose quiet demeanour, apparent intelligence, and interesting manners during his stay, had engaged the goodwill of both officers and men. In landing him thus freely, it was due to the confidence he had reposed in us, while the policy of the measure was obvious, inasmuch as he would be able to testify to the humane treatment finally experienced by Whiti, and might also persuade his tribesmen that we possessed the means of spreading destruction along the coast, and of razing to the ground all their defences.

"'At 6 p.m. another boat was sent in to endeavour to learn the result of his liberation, but the dashing of the surf and the roar of the breakers between the boat and the beach allowed not of any audible interchange of words between them. It was evident, notwithstanding, that some question was still under discussion, for large numbers of natives were assembled in circles, seated on the sand, and apparently listening with attention to a succession of orators.

"'The next morning at ten, two boats were again despatched to confer with the natives. In one of these was Whiti, whose anxiety to be released lent him strength for the occasion, while his wounds, sufficient to have killed outright any man with a European constitution, appeared to occasion him comparatively little inconvenience, beyond the weakness incidental to excessive hemorrhage. This may

be accounted for by two facts in the character of the natives of New Zealand, who have not been contaminated by intercourse with Europeans—their temperance in eating, and their almost abstinence in drinking.

"'Whiti, when the boat came within hearing of his tribe on the beach, stood upon one of the thwarts and harangued them for a few minutes, whereupon they all set up a shout of gratulation, and several waded through the surf up to their mouths in water, hoping to get near to the boat in which he was, but failing to do so, deposited their female prisoner and her infant in a canoe, launched it from the shore, and brought them off alongside the *Alligator's* gig. In a few minutes more they were safe on board that ship, and under the protection of His Majesty's pennant. She was dressed in native costume, being completely enveloped from head to foot in two superb mats, the largest and finest of the kind I have ever seen. They were the parting present of the tribe among whom she had been sojourning. She was, however, bare-footed, and awakened, very naturally, universal sympathy by her appearance. From her own lips I gathered the following particulars of what had befallen her in the interval between her removal from the Namu Pa and her release at Te Waimate:—

"'When the parties from the ship landed at Te Namu, she was, as had been stated by Whiti, at that place, and in custody of one man alone, Waiariari, the principal chief of the tribe, who, on seeing the firing from the boat and the rapid advance of the English, forced her out of the pa, rolled her down the cliff, and then with the assistance of another native who had lurked outside dragged her along the northern bank of the river at a very hurried pace until the evening, when they reached a cluster of huts and halted there for the night. The following morning early they all set off for Te Rangituapeka Pa, and arrived there about 5 p.m. Under the impression that the chief Whiti had been killed, one of her companions snapped his **[444]** musket at her, but very providentially it missed fire; he then cocked it a second time, and was about to fire, when she was endued with presence of mind enough to lay her hand upon the barrel and turn it aside, while she rushed to Waiariari and clung to him, till his repeated command not to kill the woman extorted a reluctant obedience from his more implacable subaltern, and the present danger was accordingly averted. At one time it appeared to herself a certainty that if Whiti were really dead her life would be forfeited in retaliation; and the native female to whose care her infant was committed declared that in such a case, the infant, being left without a mother, would be given up "for one of the rivers to drink," that is, would be drowned. With the exception of these threats, however, they treated her as before, and of the treatment she had all along experienced at their hands her report was extremely favourable.

"'In Te Namu Pa, for instance, the lodging allotted to her was discovered at once by the size of the door, the addition of a small window, on the ledge of which was the soap she had that day used, and inside her child's frocks and her own stays. The door had been enlarged purposely for her accommodation, the window had been made in compliance with her request, and a singular proof of considerate kindness and deference to her supposed delicacy of feeling was furnished in the owner having caused the entrance and window both to be secluded by a close paling set up in front of the house which effectually screened her from observation from without.

"'The safe return from the ship of the native whom we had the day before landed, with intelligence of Whiti's safety and the assurance that he would be given up instantly upon her release, was welcomed with loud and long-continued acclamations, and a very general cry of— "Let the woman go! let the woman go!" was preliminary to those three rounds of applause which had been heard from the ship the evening before, but not understood.

"'The night before that, however, had been spent in wailings and lamentations, reproachful and recriminatory speeches. "What fools we were not to cut up their boats!" was the cry of one party; while the complaint of the second was— "What fools we were not to shoot

them all as they stepped on shore!" and had either of those measures been resorted to, doubtless we should have been seriously inconvenienced, even if we had not been altogether cut off from every way of escape. There were not less than six boats drawn up on the beach at one time, all of which might have been broken to pieces as readily as they were plundered, for all the opposition that would have been offered by the boat-keepers; while, had the New Zealanders fired upon us before we commenced marching towards Te Namu pa, it would scarcely have been possible for the whole of our party to reach it alive. Surely there was a gracious and merciful Providence keeping watch over us on that occasion, to whose mercy and goodness alone it is owing that we are now among the living, either to praise Him who preserved us, or to continue unmindful of His benefits, unthankful and unholy.

"'They passed the night of their tribesman's arrival in a far happier mood. Forming themselves into widening circles, circle within circle, and placing him in the centre, they made him repeat again and again his tale of marvel, drinking in greedily all he had to say, while describing and expatiating on the many wonders of the "war ship"—her five decks and five hundred men, the daily sword and gun exercise, with many other matters, all equally exaggerated either by his fears or his fancy, and not allowing him the respite of a single lengthened pause without interrupting his silence by loud vociferations of "*Tena korero, tena korero*" (Go on, go on; talk away, talk away).

"'Captain Lambert had promised Whiti that he was to be set at liberty upon the receipt of this woman; and notwithstanding that another prisoner (the little boy) yet remained to be delivered up, he judged (as I think any honest man, and much more any man of honour, would have judged) that the promise was binding upon him, and very properly allowed the captive to go free. Yet that was looked upon by some as an act of uncalled-for leniency, and by others set down as a piece of mawkish refinement, alike inexpedient and impolitic. Such men would do well to reflect upon the noblest eulogy pronounced upon that prince of modern orators and statesmen, Edmund Burke, if, indeed, such men possess minds capable of understanding the excellence of any man who is, with him, "too fond of the right to think of the expedient." The right, in short, is always the expedient, and, were it not that all men have not faith, that would never be deemed expedient to be done which, in the abstract, it would not be right to do.

"'Accordingly, Whiti had his wounds carefully dressed for the last time, received a supply of trifling articles as farewell gifts, and was **[445]** rowed to the back of the surf, where a canoe waited to carry him through it, into which he stepped, and was straightway paddled by willing hands on shore. Before quitting us he had apparelled himself in some of his various presents, putting on first a blanket; over that forcing on a shirt, and through both contriving to humour his arms into a jacket, this latter being so worn as to button behind instead of before; and having finished his toilet, and completed his disguise by a Scot's cap drawn over his eyes, escaped from our custody as proud of his new plumage as any beau just released from the more gentle hands of some fashionable tailor. His friends were impatient to greet him, and before he had time to be landed they waded up to their necks in water, surrounding the canoe, to meet and rub noses with him, after which both parties wept aloud, then sang and danced for joy.

"'While the boats lay upon their oars, several natives came through the surf with trifling articles for barter, and gladly exchanged as much line as in Sydney would have cost from four to five shillings for a fig of tobacco (then scarcely worth a penny), and at the same rate brought out their potatoes for sale, in baskets weighing about twenty pounds. This harmless traffic had no sooner commenced than it was prohibited by the officer commanding the boats, very unwisely, it being one of the most evident means of conciliating the natives, and thereby inducing them to resign in peace their only remaining prisoner. A little while after Mr. Battesby cautioned Lieutenant

Thomas to beware of treachery, as he saw, or fancied he saw, movements among the crowd on shore indicative of hostility, upon which warning both boats returned on board, leaving a little boy still captive among the Taranaki tribe, who hesitated to give him up, because, as they alleged, his more immediate owner was at a distance; promising, however, to convey a message to him with our demand, and appointing the afternoon for us to receive his answer.

"'At 1 p.m. the senior lieutenant again approached the shore, but the boat in which he was, had not lain long on her oars before a ball whizzed over his head, discharged from the musket of some one in the Waimate pa, and he came back to the ship to report the circumstance, which, with the war dance that accompanied it, was deemed a signal of defiance, and worthy of being summarily avenged. The drum now beat to quarters, both vessels edged towards the shore till they touched bottom, and a furious cannonading took place from both, the direful effects of which it is impossible to estimate, seeing that it continued for nearly three hours, and that most of the shots told with fearful precision upon the canoes floating in the river on one side of the pa, or drawn up in the fosse on the other, and upon the roofs of the houses in the pa itself. When the firing began the natives hoisted a white flag, but after some minutes had elapsed lowered it again, and then after a second pause re-hoisted it. Was that symbol spread out as a flag of truce? Could it be that those unhappy wretches meant by displaying it to deprecate our further wrath? None of us knew, few cared, and fewer still were at the pains to inquire. It seemed as though a signal, sufficient when used in the warfare of civilized nations to command instant respect, and an immediate cessation, however temporary, of hostilities, was powerless when shown by a savage people, though to civilized enemies; or as if when a civilized power condescends to make war upon savages, it is at liberty to throw off the restraints imposed by civilized society upon nations as well as individuals, even at seasons of greatest license, and may become as utterly and deplorably savage in its conduct as its most savage neighbour. At one time a tall, athletic native got upon a house top and held up to our view with one hand the little captive boy, while with the other he repeatedly waved the white flag over his head. In vain! the work which was commenced in anger was continued in sport, and it was deemed too excellent a joke to demolish their canoes and houses by firing at them as at a mark for aught to be suffered to interrupt the cruel play of men who, on this occasion, proved themselves to be but children of a larger growth in both size and wickedness. Throughout this ostentatious and melancholy parade of the power we possessed to do mischief the unfortunate New Zealanders displayed the utmost fearlessness, evincing no apprehension of danger beyond that of sending away their women and children; but, on the contrary, tracking with apparent eagerness the flight of the shot, and having marked where they fell, running to and fro upon the beach, exposed all the while to our fire, to pick up the balls, thinking, perhaps, to melt them down into bullets for their own muskets, which, as if in mockery of our attempts to dislodge them from their rocky abode, they would occasionally fire at us in their turn; but we were very far out of reach of any power **[447]** possessed by them to render us back evil for evil,—and having crushed all their canoes that were in sight, wearied ourselves with shooting at a rock, and wasted a large quantity of ammunition with no beneficial result, stood out to sea once more.

"'The fatal bullet which had caused all the above firing, in vindication of our insulted flag, was very probably, according to New Zealand custom, no indication of hostility at all, but contrariwise, of friendship. It is their usage to discharge their muskets in the air when approaching as friends, and to reserve their fire when advancing as enemies. Had we not been strangers to this usage, or had we any one on board who really understood their customs, we should have judged differently of the deed we were so hasty in avenging, and might have acted differently in reference to it. How superior the conduct of the New Zealand savages to that of the British Christians—if

I may be allowed, for the sake of the antithesis, to desecrate that sacred title by yielding it as a name, not characteristic but recognised and claimed by those of whom I am speaking. The former beheld their chief kidnapped, stabbed, struck, fired upon, carried into captivity, and for aught they knew to the contrary, murdered; but they murdered not the innocent woman and her two children in revenge; nay! they did not even ill-treat her for the injury done by her countrymen, on her behalf! We—oh! that I could spread the blush of burning shame that crimsons upon my own cheek over the cheeks of all that read this narration, at the dishonour done my country by her children! We heard, but felt it not; saw, but were struck not by it, as a solitary musket ball whizzed over our heads, and in the pride of our indignation poured down in reply a thunder-storm of shot—round, grape, and canister—upon a town which, for aught we knew, or felt, or cared, might have contained scores, nay, hundreds, of women and children. Oh! shame, shame, shame!

"'The three following days we were at anchor in Port Hardy, of which Lieutenant Wood had now time to complete the survey. The next day we weighed and made sail again for Te Waimate pa, and at 11 a.m. on the day after the gig was sent in to demand the child, and the officers who went in her were invited by the natives to land, but declined doing so, and came back as they went. At 2 p.m. another unsuccessful demand was made for the child, a look-out being kept in the mean-while for an easy landing-place, of which the New Zealanders seemed fully aware, as they brought the youngster down to the beach opposite the pa, offering to give him up if the boat would pull towards that place, but refusing to do so after they had succeeded in drawing her away from the spot at which alone a safe landing could be effected in such boats at the *Alligator's*.

"'The next morning the boats were again sent in at an early hour, but with no better result than before. A message, however, came off to the ship in one of them to the effect that the holder of the child wanted to come on board with him himself, and would do so if any one of the officers would go on shore in his stead, and remain there to await his safe return. One of the natives also visited us, unarmed and alone, professing to belong to the Kapiti tribe, and after receiving a present of some tobacco and other trifling articles, was allowed to go back unmolested. But Captain Lambert declined granting the request of one of his officers to go on shore as the chief had desired, thinking that such an undertaking would be extremely perilous, and fearing, as he said, to incur the responsibility of allowing the individual in question to expose himself to what Captain Lambert thought would be certain and instant destruction.

"'Nothing further occurred for several hours, when upon an alarm of "treachery!" raised by the interpreter, the boats pulled on board again, and the ship proceeded to sea, the men in a state of excitement almost bordering on madness, and everything appearing as if the further prosecution of the enterprise was to be abandoned. Towards the **[448]** evening, however, we again bore up for Te Waimate, and the following day six officers and one hundred and twelve men, including sailors, soldiers, and marines, were landed without opposition on a sandy beach, about two miles to the south-east of Te Waimate Pa, under a bold and lofty cliff. A small six-pounder carronade, two boxes of ammunition, and a quantity of round shot were taken charge of by the sailors under the command of Mr. McMurdo, and the first gig, carrying a flag of truce, was sent to lie off the pa, to amuse the natives while our men were landing, if not to prevail upon them to launch from their shore the little captive who was endangering their very existence as a tribe; Lieutenant Clarke, R.M., marching off the marines and some of the military to the right, where, at the distance of about a hundred yards the cliff terminates abruptly. It was escaladed with comparative ease, the ascent being aided by a contrivance of the natives for facilitating their own passage up and down its almost perpendicular face, consisting of two plaited ropes suspended from strong stakes, driven into crevices of the rock, and capable of bearing the weight of several persons at the same time. The gun and ammuni-

tion followed the soldiers up this height, but had not all reached the top, when some of the natives advanced to confer with us. These, to prevent embarrassment during the landing of the few remaining troops, were ordered to retire, on peril of being fired at if they refused, but they succeeded in making known, before obeying the command, their desire to settle the affair quietly, and to resign their prisoner forthwith, in consequence of which intimation all hands halted, the soldiers, etc., occupying two heights, which rose like terraces one over the other, and the sailors, with an officer and interpreter, being very indiscreetly left below to await the arrival of the promised prize.

"'In a little time one New Zealander after another seemed anxious to approach us, and drew nearer and nearer by degrees, but always at a stealthy pace. To meet such I went on in front of our men, and succeeded in getting near enough to communicate with them. One, a fine fellow, six feet high and upwards, consented to accompany me back; he had no musket in his hand, but, like several more of his countrymen, had a cartouche box slung across his shoulder and concealed under his mat. Subsequent events render it not improbable that his firelock was at hand, concealed, perhaps, behind some flax bush, in readiness for use when needed, and it was remarkable that at the several stages of his advance towards me he stooped lower than the ordinary stooping gait at which he and his fellows came on, as if to lay something down out of their hands. His tale corresponded with that of his fellows below on the beach and contained an assurance that the child would be presently forthcoming, wherefore he forbade our fighting, alleging as a reason—and was it not a sufficient reason—that his tribe had no wish at all to fight us. While thus conversing with him, through the medium of the pilot (who very reluctantly interpreted his sentences, when he found them altogether conciliatory, at the same time that he expressed the most ferocious hatred himself to the whole race of New Zealanders;) other natives acquired sufficient confidence to join us, and all appeared anxiously solicitous to avert hostilities, corroborating the statement that the child would soon arrive, and at the same time signifying, by a variety of gestures, that the occurrent delay was occasioned by the preparations necessary for his transfer being made decently and in order.

"'Suddenly the cry rose upon our ears that the child was coming, upon which my New Zealand friend drew me to the edge of the cliff, whither all feet were now bending their steps, and directed my notice to a procession of about half-a-dozen armed natives, headed by a very stately personage, who wore a white feather in his head and a large and handsome mat across his back, while the captive boy appeared perfectly at his ease, seated astride the chief's shoulders. Somewhat in the rear followed our former prisoner, Whiti, apparelled in the dress he had taken with him from the ship, and near him our two voluntary visitants. The native who was with me hailed Whiti, who looked up, and recognising me stopped to "palaver," and was proceeding to do so with considerable volubility, and in apparently very high glee. But, impatient to have a nearer view of the young object of all this pomp and circumstance, I quitted the spot and was hurrying along the cliff in order to descend it, when I beheld the youngster in one of the seamen's arms, and he running away with him towards the turning of the rock, as fast as his legs would carry him. In the twinkling of an eye more, a firing commenced among the sailors on the beach, and the sound and sight thereof being eagerly caught by their companions in arms above, in another moment it was succeeded by a fire from the soldiers on the heights, which ran like electricity along the ranks from man **[449]** to man, and in utter breach of all faith, for *our* flag of truce was flying at the time, and in as utter despite of all discipline, volley after volley was poured down on the too credulous and too confiding people below, who fled along the beach with the utmost precipitation, one every now and then falling to the ground, wounded or slain, while others crouched down and sheltered themselves behind the massive blocks of stone, which, happily for them, lay scattered along that portion of the beach by which alone they could hope to escape from the fire of their enemies.

"'While this cruel and bloody tragedy was performing, Ensign Wright, of His Majesty's 50th, or Queen's Own Regiment, an amiable young man and humane officer, hurried along the line, breathless with haste, and crying to the men at the top of his voice to cease firing. For some time he was entirely disregarded, and not only generally disobeyed, but in some instances laughed at; nor, until several dead bodies were seen stretched upon the sands, could the united efforts of himself and the other officers put a stop to the frightful tide of slaughter.

"'Shortly after Captain Johnson joined us, evidently suffering intense anguish of mind. The firing from below had begun not only without, but contrary to and in direct disobedience of his express and positive orders that the natives were to pass unmolested if they gave up the child. Their prisoner they had already given up. The parties to whom he was consigned were effectually covered by nearly a hundred soldiers above them. The natives who brought him down were a scanty and impotent few; their muskets, as will be hereafter seen, in all probability unloaded. Nothing on the spot had occurred to provoke this sanguinary outrage. Not one jot or tittle of our demands, whether righteous or unrighteous, remained to be ceded. Nothing can justify so foul a deed of blood. And may God of His infinite mercy and goodness to the souls of the perpetrators grant that hereafter something else may be found to account for it besides an insatiate thirst for the lives of others. And may we all lay it to heart, while we shudder to look upon this affair in the light of that law of love which says, "Thou shalt do no murder;" and while we exceedingly fear for our fellow men, lest bloodguiltiness be chargeable against them, may we all—I, whose painful task it is with unflinching fidelity to record these events, and my Christian readers, upon whom I am obliged to inflict the pain of perusing them—may we all lay it to heart, that the guilt of the men is our guilt, their sin our sin. "Whoso hateth his brother is a murderer," and all mankind are brethren; and remembering this, "Let him that is without sin cast the first stone."

"'A cessation of firing at length took place, and it was proposed to fall back on some spot whence we might as speedily as possible reembark. But every circumstance only militated against the unhappy natives, one of whom, either mistaking the pause in our fire, or willing to avenge himself upon the invaders of his country, discharged the contents of his musket with so deliberate an aim that the ball fell at our feet, whereupon every thought of allowing the business to end without more mischief was dismissed from the mind, and an order to "advance" immediately given, and obeyed with only too much alacrity, the natives on the same height, whom we drove before us, maintaining an irregular fire as they retreated. In this skirmish some more of the natives were wounded, and carried off the field by their friends. A young woman was also killed by a shot from one of the advanced guard. Her corpse was tracked into the bush, and found the following day by one of the soldiers.

"'Heavy rain falling, and being drifted into our faces by a strong northerly wind, while the overcast sky threatened a coming storm, it was agreed to halt for the present in a romantic glen, where there was a running stream of water. The question was mooted, whether to advance upon the pa, or fall back upon some spot where the men might quietly bivouac for the night, and be in readiness to proceed in the morning. A majority of the officers carried it in favour of the advance, and having abided the pelting of the storm, the whole party prolonged their march without meeting any further obstructions until they arrived at the edge of a deep and seemingly impassable ravine, which yawned from beneath as if to devour them, and embedded a river at the bottom, whose waters flowing with great rapidity, and forcing their impetuous way between large masses of rock, occasioned several waterfalls, and added not a little to the apparent difficulty of the pass, over which it became necessary to transport, not only the troops, but also the piece of ordnance and the boxes of ammunition. Captain Johnson, when he came to the brink and looked into the gulf before him, paused in despair of being able to effect a

passage, and a last and final halt would have taken place, but for the determination and energy of **[450]** Mr. McMurdo, through whose exertions the task was finally accomplished, and in less than an hour the whole company stood upon the opposite height, where the natives had once formed an artificial ditch by cutting through the earth and rock beneath diagonally across to the edge of the cliff fronting the sea, so as to insulate a large triangular space, formerly the site of a pa, though nothing now remains to indicate its previous existence except a number of empty pits and a breastwork of earth thrown up on both sides of the ditch to impede the progress of an enemy. The native name of this place is Perakanui, and had the natives made a stand against us here, and chosen the time for doing so when the carronade was at the bottom of the ravine, they might have disputed our transit with success; or, if finally compelled to give way before men better armed, accoutred, and disciplined than themselves, they, in all probability, would have been enabled to exact blood for blood, and life for life.

From Perakanui the distance to the remaining pas did not exceed an English mile. On the way to them we passed over patches of cultivations, but neither railed nor fenced in. Arrived opposite the two pas, Te Waimate and Rangituapeka, a circumstance occurred strikingly illustrative of the thoughtlessness which characterises the mere soldier, and the facility with which thoughtless minds may be diverted from a tragic into a comic mood. Having reached a part of the native foot track whence both the above pas are commanded, preparations were making for the carronade to commence operations, when to the general surprise of the officers, the men ran away in a variety of directions, shouting, laughing, and hallooing, and firing as if at random, to the great danger of one another. Upon inquiry it turned out that one of them had started a pig, and that in the eagerness of their desire to hunt down the unoffending beast, they were forgetting everything besides—gun, pas, New Zealanders, and their own safety, as well as the duty in which they were engaged. It did not, however, require much exertion to restore them to order. Meanwhile I had gone forward to join Lieutenant Gunton, who headed the advanced picquet, and upon whom a firing had just opened from the farthest pa, supported with considerable spirit by a body of natives concealed in the brushwood below, or thinly scattered among the flax, which in some places grew to upwards of six feet high. In the hurry of returning their fire one of the soldiers exploded a small quantity of gunpowder and injured the palm of his hand. The picture from this spot was beautiful in the extreme. We stood upon the Higher of two terraces, having the sea on our left hand and Mount Egmont on the right; in front of us a deep fosse surrounding the Waimate Rock, on the top of which the thickly-built town lay fully exposed to our view; beyond this a deep ravine, covered with umbrageous woods, yielded a channel for the flowing waters of a small but lovely river to wend their way to the sea-side, widening as they went, and flowing at last between the two pas; the Rangituapeka rising above the further bank of that river like some proud tower or citadel, and frowning "defiance proud and lofty scorn" upon our approach; its summit sloping towards Te Waimate, which it also overlooks, afforded us a complete insight into the arrangement of the village which occupied it, a village so picturesque as a whole, and so beautiful in all its particulars, that one wish arose in almost every mind at the same time, and that wish was to have spared it from the impending destruction.

"'The last person to abdicate that pa was one whose gallant bearing elicited commendation even from those who were most loth to bestow praise in aught pertaining either to the country or people of New Zealand. This man first fired at the strangers from the top of the pa, then although a dozen balls fell close to him almost immediately after, he began stately and slowly to descend along its many terraces, facing his antagonists the while, then stooped down, loaded his gun, and fired again. A second attempt to dislodge the single opponent of a hundred foes was made by nearly all hands; but the smoke of their fire had no sooner blown past than he was seen continuing his seem-

ingly reluctant descent to another point, where he a third time stopped to reload, and slightly bending his body to the task, repeated his fire; then, amid a third volley from his numerous assailants, and while grape shot and canister from the carronade rained upon his path like hail and knocked up the very dust of his home about his heel, pursued his down-ward path as if advancing to meet and brave his opponents, and, nothing daunted, fired again, and again, and again, and each time so nicely calculating his distance from us that his every shot passed through the midst of our little band.

"'The chief of Rangituapeka Pa was identical with the chief of Te Namu, both those **[451]** pas belonging to the Ngatiruanui tribe. Now Waiariari was the last to leave the latter place, as our hero, whose tale I have just told, was the last to leave the former. Was this man himself the chief now mentioned, and, if so, does it pertain to the condition of chieftainship to be the last in fight? Or was the noble conduct related above ascribable only to individual heroism and loftiness of character in the person merely of the dauntless Waiariari, with whose departure (and I rejoice in being able to add that he effected his escape in safety, walking over the hill at the same steady pace as he had come down from the top of his rock, and finally disappearing altogether, the last of his tribe and noblest of his race), it became evident that no one remained behind to dispute with us the possession of either place, and, accordingly, the seamen crossed the fosse and escalading the southern side of Te Waimate, hoisted the English ensign there in token to the ship of the complete success of the under-taking. The signal was soon made out by those on board and answered with a salute of two guns, which compliment was returned by double that number from the shore. And in a few minutes after the neighbouring pa was entered by Gunton and his party.

"'In quiet possession of both places, ample leisure was afforded us to examine them thoroughly, and so far as that examination afforded us with materials for reflection, to reflect upon the character and pursuits of the previous inhabitants as indicated thereby. Te Waimate itself was built upon an insular rock, not unlike Te Namu in its general form, but larger, loftier, and more difficult of access. It was excessively crowded with huts, these being generally disposed in squares, but occasionally so ranged as to form long narrow streets. Of these huts there were nearly two hundred standing when we entered the pa, varying however in their form, as it was evident they varied in their uses. In the samples they afforded of the domestic architecture of the New Zealanders, there was little remarkable when contrasted with the similar edifices of the northern tribes, except that they appeared to have been constructed with more nicety and carefulness, and with great attention to beauty of appearance. The interior of many of these houses was beautifully and even elegantly fitted, the walls, as it were, wainscotted with a row of cane running round the whole room, and divided horizontally into square compartments by ligatures of carefully twisted and plaited grass, crossing at regular distances four smoothed and polished stanchions; these again sustaining a frame-work, from which four arches sprang, to support the ridge-pole at the top, it being upheld also by three pillars, in the shape of which the first dawning of architectural embellishment is seen, they being handsomely formed and decorated with comparatively chaste carving. Rows of cane, ranged in parallel lengths, filled up the interstices between those arches. A carpet, or perhaps I ought rather to say a bed, of dried fern leaf was carefully spread over every floor. And a small hollow, scooped out of the ground midway between the door and the centre pillar of the room, and carefully walled in and bottomed with smooth oval stones, served for a fire-place, the fuel for which hung from one of the beams or rafters, carefully tabooed by the owner of the house for his own peculiar use.'

"Dr. Marshall then goes on to describe minutely the other kinds of houses, and their varied contents—food, weapons, garments, utensils, husbandry implements, etc., etc.—taking up several pages, which, though interesting and valuable as a record of what those

people *were*, I omit.

"'Horrid at best is the art and practice of war, from its beginning to its close, and destructive alike of the property, interests, happiness, and lives of those whose feet are entangled therein; while, if sorrow may have place in the habitations of the blessed, if the angels in heaven know what it is to weep, the sight and hearing of what passes in the camp of even a civilized people would cause sorrow to find an entrance even there, and draw forth rivers of tears even from them. "More dreadful," said Captain Johnson to me, in the course of a conversation between us at this time, "more dreadful is the condition of that country which is the seat of war than would be the case of a land devastated by plague, pestilence or famine." A testimony not the less remarkable, because voluntarily borne by an officer who had served many years in the Peninsula, viz., in Spain and Portugal under Wellington and against Napoleon, and shared in most of the battles fought there during the last war. Nor the less valuable, because confirmatory, without designing to be so, of the wisdom of David's choice in preferring to fall into the hands of Jehovah, and to have the kingdom plagued with three days of pestilence, or even exhausted by seven years of famine, rather than flee three months before the face of his enemies, while they pursued after him. May the choice of David be that of every one whose trust is in God, and whose hope the **[452]** Lord is. "Let us fall into the hands of the Lord, for His mercies are many, and let me not fall into the hands of man!"

"'Extremes, as it has been proverbially expressed, meet. And in the art of war, and the military ardour to which military glory gives birth, we have the proverb wofully illustrated. The two extremes of society, its savage and its civilized states, meet at this one point—the military profession is the most honoured, and military success best rewarded in both.

> "For in those days might only shall be admired,
> And valour and heroic virtue call'd.
> To overcome in battle, and subdue
> Nations, and bring home spoils, with infinite
> Manslaughter, shall he held the highest pitch
> Of human glory; and for glory done
> Of triumph, to be styled great conquerors,
> Patrons of mankind, gods, and sons of gods
> Destroyers rightlier call'd, and plagues of men.
> Thus fame shall be achieved, renown on earth;
> And what most merits fame, in silence hid."—*Milton*.

"'To return. Before the evening had closed we were visited by Lieutenant Thomas and Mr. Layman, midshipman, but the place chosen by them to land at was such that in doing so the boat stove, and they and the crew had to remain on shore. Several fires were lighted in different quarters of the pa for cooking, to the no small risk of all our lives; and accordingly, while the officers were conversing together in one of the huts, an alarm of fire was heard, and on looking out flames were seen issuing from more than one of the houses, and soon upwards of a dozen caught the blaze and threatened speedy destruction to all adjoining. Providentially, most providentially, the wind blew from the quarter most favourable for the preservation of the greater number of houses. An occasional explosion told of the destruction of small quantities of gunpowder, but the arms and ammunition generally were saved from the devouring elements, of whose ravages we all stood in fearful anticipation for some hours: nor was it without cause that we thus feared. Had the wind varied never so little the flames must have fed upon the houses of reeds to windward, and in that case the escape of every one now in the pa would have been but little short of a miracle. The whole ground being strewed with combustibles would have become heated like the bed of a furnace, and being every-where undermined by a countless number of pits must have given way beneath our feet, and might have buried us in the hot ashes of the burning town. Or to avoid this peril we must have withdrawn from the pa, but how was a retreat to be effected? A great gulf yawned on every side; two only paths offered by which to

descend the precipice, on either hand one; these led along a narrow ledge of rock with a smooth perpendicular crag several feet high above and below; a false step in descending either must have led to the fall of him whose foot so erred, to be inevitably dashed to pieces upon the rocky bottom at the base of the pa. As it was, however, the mischief spread not beyond the destruction of a few huts, while no accident occurred to ourselves besides the loss of a couple of firelocks and a few boxes of cartridges. Thus mercifully did our gracious God preserve us from destruction by fire, even at the very moment when the orders which had come ashore in the gig to burn both pas was the subject of conversation, as if to entreat us, in the stead of hundreds of our fellow-creatures—including men, women and children, young and old, aged and infirm—to spare them a lodging, and not devote them to utter ruin and starvation by the consumption of all their stores of provisions, etc. But the lesson was read to us in vain, and the danger once over, our deliverance, though manifest, might almost seem to have passed unheeded, for the song of merriment mingled again with the execrations of folly and the filthy conversation of the wicked. The night passed over and the morning dawned with hardly a perceptible change in the current of men's thoughts. "O my soul, come not thou into their secret! Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel."

"'The next morning many an anxious eye was turned to the sea, but the surf along the shore was too high to admit of the troops being embarked. And here again we saw the peculiar advantage possessed by the corps of marines over any other body of troops, in the possession of a pair of sea legs, by which expression any sailor will understand me to mean legs accustomed to stand equally sure upon the rocking sea as upon the solid land. The blue-jackets and marines of our party would have seen no difficulty in the breaking billows outside but what might easily he surmounted. The soldiers, on the other hand, would have fallen, arms and all, into the sea, in their clumsy attempts to gain the boats, and nothing, therefore, remained for us but to wait the ocean's leisure before we could look to depart in peace from a shore on which we had landed only to make war.

"'Having retired from the crowd to commune with my own heart, I seated myself **[453]** on the brow of a rock overhanging the sea. There, while wrapt in meditation, I could see the *Alligator* miss stays on the very edge of a shoal, which runs out to a considerable distance, and for some minutes feared lest she had run aground, but she wore off and so a second time escaped being wrecked on this coast. As she again stood off to sea, I descended from my observatory, and visited the Rangituapeka Pa, in which Gunton and his detachment had passed the night.

"'This pa was the strongest of the three that had fallen into our hands, being built at the extremity of a peninsula commanding Te Waimate and all the neighbouring country; but, on account of its great inclination towards the point at which it terminates, commanded in its turn by both. Like its fellows, it occupies a high, rocky, and triangular-shaped position, having a perpendicular face to the sea, and two very precipitous land faces. It appeared to be of more recent date than the others, and was certainly far more beautiful. If its fortifications were not so elaborately constructed as those at Te Namu, the advantages it derived from natural causes were much greater. The space occupied by it was detached from the high land adjoining by the manual labour of the natives, who had hewed off the solid rock at a part where it was narrowest to the depth of several feet, and scarped it away on the land side to a still greater depth, and smoothed and edged the ridge at top so as to form a saddle between the country and the town which none but a madman would attempt to cross. The slope from the top of the pa to where it faces Te Waimate is considerable, but this only served to call forth the ingenuity of the natives, whose several enclosures, divided from one another by various kinds of fence, occupy as many terraces, the effect of which from without was singularly pleasing; and a visitor to the interior could not fail of deriving gratification from the freshness of the objects surrounding

him and the ingenuity they betokened on the part of the inhabitants.

"'In the afternoon the preserved (mummified) head of some ill-fated European was found in the trench at the back of Te Waimate, where it was supposed to have been thrown by the natives in their flight. The complexion was changed, but the features and hair remained unaltered. But, strange to say, neither Guard nor his wife nor any of his crew could recognise the face as that of one of their former companions. The sight of this head again stirred up their worst passions in some of the soldiers, and in the course of the day one of them who had straggled without leave and against orders, brought in the head of a New Zealander, which he had detached from the trunk to which it belonged, being that of a chief whose corpse had been left on the beach where he was shot, boasting at the same time of the manner in which he had mangled what remained of the lifeless carcase. One of the marines buried this head, but it was dug up again by others, kicked to and fro like a football, and finally precipitated over a cliff among the rocks below, whence lieutenants Clarke and Gunton and myself removed it to another place, when we buried it under a large rock, and heaped over it a cairn of stones. The dead warrior had been found stretched across the beach, with his head to the rocks, his feet to the sea, his back to the ground, and his face to the sky; a musket that was neither loaded nor had been fired, clenched so firmly in his hand, that the ruffian mentioned above had to cut off the thumb of that hand before he could release the firelock from its grasp. From a little bag hung round his neck a brooch was taken, which, it is feared, identified him with the chief by whom the child had been adopted and treated with every imaginable kindness in his limited power to bestow! In this case which was the traitor, and which the betrayed?'

"Here follows an elegy of twenty-five verses composed by Dr. Marshall on this mournful occasion, in which he represents the dying chief as giving vent to his feelings and comforting himself with the thoughts of what would assuredly happen in years to come. 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay,' saith the great judge of all. The poetry of the piece is of no mean standard, but I omit it as it is too long.

"'The next day we were detained onshore still by the surf. Having strolled along the beach for the purpose of sketching the ravine where we had passed in from the fall below, I found reason when there to be thankful that so few lives (comparatively) had been sacrificed. For the path from the beach at this spot had attracted the notice of an officer while disembarking, who pointed it out as a likely road to the native towns; but this suggestion was unheeded at the time, and hence the subsequently slow and often impeded progress of the whole party. Had we turned to the left instead of the right and made for this pass instead of for the cliff much time and no little labour would have been saved, but many more lives might, and in all probability would **[454]** have been lost. For it is scarcely to be supposed that, within the span which might have sufficed to conduct us to the height commanding both pas (Waimate and Rangi-tuapeka), they would have been so entirely deserted as they afterwards were. Six persons are thought to have been slain outright here, as it did happen; six score might have fallen in the case thus mercifully prevented.

"'The next morning the signal was at last made to the *Alligator* that the boats might approach the shore with safety, and they were accordingly sent in to convey the party off to their respective vessels; but before quitting the shore the flames were kindled in both pas, and every house having been separately fired, the whole were speedily consumed. The embarkation took up some time, but was effected, happily without an accident. A party of marines, occupying the height above the beach, covered the boats, and except a solitary straggler, visible here and there in the distance, none of the natives came in sight to witness our departure. Three seamen, having loitered behind to fetch away some baskets of potatoes from the foot of the Waimate Pa, surprised a like number of the New Zealanders, who, deeming their enemy gone, had returned to survey the blazing ruins of their former home. One of the sailors fired at them, which so terrified the

wretched creatures that they leaped from a height of nearly twenty feet into the neighbouring ditch and made their escape.

"'Having yesterday received every one on board, sail was made upon the ship and a course steered for Entry Island, where we came to an anchor at nine this morning in fifteen fathoms. A low tongue of land runs out a considerable way, forming a natural pier. On this a native village has been built, and hauled up on the beach were numerous large canoes. The opposite shore was literally covered with canoes and huts, thereby warranting the belief that the tribe to which it belongs must be exceedingly numerous. Several of the natives came off to the vessel, and among others, Ropera (Te Rauparaha), the principal chief, who expressed himself well pleased when told of what we had done to the natives elsewhere; but at the same time disappointed that the number of killed was so small. He took care, likewise, to inquire why none of the dead bodies had been brought down for him to eat, and announced his intention to pay the Taranaki tribe a speedy visit for the purpose of fighting them. His appearance, conduct and character were altogether those of a complete savage; but his treatment of Europeans is described as uniformly good, and such as to encourage the resort of shipping to his place of abode. An Englishman has resided on the island for several years past as the agent of a mercantile house in Sydney and his report of the usage received by him at the hands of Ropera is satisfactory. Covetousness appears to be that chief's besetting sin, and the indulgence of it his aim in all he does. If anyone accosted him while on board he immediately made a demand for muskets, blankets, pipes, and if denied all these, tobacco. He is said to be both a warrior and a conqueror, and to have made repeated and successful attacks upon the inhabitants of the Middle Island, multitudes of whom he has subjected to his yoke. Some of the natives here wore convict clothing, such as is used at the penal settlement at Norfolk Island, whence, on various occasions, the felons confined there have managed to escape in boats. Have these men escaped hither, and if so, what has become of them?

"'We only remained a few hours at Entry Island. On leaving it we ran through Cook Strait, passing several places named by him, and experiencing variable winds and unsettled weather during our run of twelve days, we arrived in the Bay of Islands and came to off Kororareka, all hands on board glad to see the well-known place again. Every nook and corner, bay and islet, rock and promontory of this vast harbour seemed to welcome us with a smile, and were truly welcomed by us. But the pleasure of being once more at anchor at a place fondly familiar to us all, after a most weary cruise, was not a little embittered by the uncertainty attending the *Isabella's* fate, that schooner having parted company from us in a gale of wind two nights since, when both vessels were on a lee-shore, and only darkness brooded over the deep. We had not, however, very long to wait and watch, for near midnight on the second night after our arrival the bright glare of a burning blue-light from some vessel entering the inner harbour told us of the *Isabella's* arrival, which was immediately responded to by a gun from the *Alligator*.

"'We remained here at anchor six days, when the order for sailing was unexpectedly given. One reason assigned for sailing so hurriedly was the existence of mutiny among the soldiers of the 50th Regiment, who had procured a quantity of spirits from the dealers at Kororareka, where one of them knocked down a midshipman of the *Alligator* who was on **[455]** duty. Some of the men were afterwards brought to a court martial at Sydney, but the result had not transpired before we sailed thence. The men who formed that detachment were certainly as ill-disciplined a body as I had ever done duty with, but much may be said in extenuation of this. Most of them had arrived in small separate parties within the current year from England, and only a few had been any time in the army, fewer still with their regiment at home. The whole company had hardly been completed at Sydney when ordered on the expedition to Cape Egmont, and were just landed there when summoned to re-embark. On board the schooner it would have required talents for command of the first order to subject them to

strict discipline, and after two months at sea, during which they were subject to many privations, it can be no matter of surprise, however much of regret, that they fell before the temptation, and, under the maddening effects of strong drink, forgot they were soldiers, having previously forgotten that they were men.

"'In the preceding narrative I have endeavoured to relate events in the exact order of their occurrence, leaving facts to speak for themselves, and principally solicitous of putting true facts on record, for all facts are not true, seeing that some things are said to be facts that never had any existence at all, except in the imagination of the narrator, or in the credulity of the retailer. And some facts are so stated, as to be what Dr. Cullen calls false facts, either by the omission of something that happened, which, if added, would alter their character, or by the addition of something that never happened, which from being added to that which did happen, changes truth into falsehood; the one producing the effect of wrong perspective, the other of faulty colouring or distortive caricature. To the truth of the facts as stated in my narration, so far as they fell under my own observation, the publicity which I now give to them pledges me both as an officer and a gentleman, and much more as a Christian. For the correctness of any opinions interwoven with those facts I do not pledge myself; my readers will be competent to detect any fallacies in my reasoning, and need not yield themselves to my judgment, although they will in justice and courtesy rely upon my testimony until it be contradicted.

"'In reviewing the whole affair, it is impossible, however, to close one's eye upon the errors of judgment which attended our expedition, any more than upon the complete success by which its operations were rewarded.

"'The first question which obtrudes itself is obviously this: Why was His Majesty's ship *Alligator*, assisted by a detachment of soldiers, sent to New Zealand to act at all against the natives, without reference to, or the counsel of, His Majesty's accredited representative in that country? And this, too, in the teeth of the Secretary of State's recent official letter to the chiefs, introducing Mr. Busby, concerning whom Lord Goderich writes thus to them: "In order to afford better protection to all classes, both natives of the Islands of New Zealand and British subjects who may proceed thither, or be already established there for purposes of trade, the King has sent the bearer of this letter, James Busby, Esq., to reside amongst you as His Majesty's Resident, whose duties will be to investigate all complaints which may be made to him, etc."

"'Again, it cannot fail to be matter of deep surprise, as it ought ever to be a subject of sincere regret, that the expedition when sent was so inadequately provided with interpreters. Mr. Battesby's only knowledge of the tongue in which he was appointed to communicate on a question of life and death had been acquired on Kororareka Beach [now Russell, Bay of Islands]. While his qualifications for the delicate office of an interpreter, both moral and literary, had been obtained while filling the somewhat different situation of a retail spirit seller and marker of billiards at the same place.

"'Thirdly, having a Resident in their country, having provided the people with a flag, having paid national honours to that flag as the standard of an independent nation, albeit a nation of savages, ought we not, in our national capacity, to have had respect to the laws and usages of the New Zealanders, and prior to making a peremptory demand for the release of their, it might be, lawful prisoners, and that too without the ransom they affirmed themselves entitled to (a demand becoming well our power, but of very doubtful propriety if taken in connection with our right to make it, and to make it, too, at the point of the bayonet), ought not some negotiation to have been entered into, some inquiry to have been made as to the right of those natives, agreeably to their own laws, to demand such ransom even when too weak to enforce its payment?

"O, it is excellent
To have a giant's strength, but it is tyrannous
To use it like a giant."—*Shakespeare.* **[456]**

"'The British Resident ought to have been applied to to become the organ of communication between the Government of New South Wales and the New Zealanders at Cape Egmont. A competent interpreter of unimpeachable veracity might have been obtained either from the Church Mission, in Mr. Busby's own immediate neighbourhood, Paihia, or from the settlement of the Wesleyan Mission at Hokianga; and, if not for the ungracious, undutiful, and hardly loyal purpose of acting under the King's authority in direct contradiction of the King's word pledged to the chiefs of New Zealand, a purpose which I am far from attributing to the Colonial Government of New South Wales, it is difficult to understand why there was nothing like inquiry or preliminary negotiation—unless the *ex parte* statement of John Guard be inquiry—respecting the particulars attending the loss of the *Harriet*, seeing that such inquiry might have elicited some truth necessary to be known, and that such negotiation might have placed any ulterior proceedings, however severe, upon the sure basis of justice and moderation.

"'Of the errors committed in the execution of the affair I have occasionally made mention in the course of my narrative. They consisted mainly in exacting too much from the natives, and yielding too little; in acting rather according to momentary impulses than upon a set of fixed principles; in treating the New Zealanders as savages, and forgetting that they were, notwithstanding, men; in inflicting wrong upon them, and making no reparation; while suffering neither actual nor imaginary wrong from them, without inflicting summary vengeance. In hazarding which opinion I put out of the question altogether the private and unofficial, though grievous injuries done to Whiti at Te Namu, to the natives when the firing first commenced, and to the dead body of the chief whose head was so inhumanly converted into a tennis ball for the sport of private soldiers, and refer only to the public acts of public men, acting in a public capacity, which are and ought always to be public property. Looking to those acts it is impossible not to censure the breach of faith at Moturoa, the refusing to give the natives what they had been promised for a very essential benefit conferred; to the forcible seizure of Whiti, and the imprudence of committing him to the custody of bitter personal enemies; to the savage cannonading of two villages, crowded with a mixed multitude of men, women, and children; and to the gratuitous and crowning cruelty of burning the habitations, destroying the defences, and consuming the provisions and fuel laid by in store for many coming months, of upwards of a thousand miserable wretches; and that, in the case of the last two towns that were burnt, after resistance had ceased, and, forsooth! *because* merely resistance had been offered at all by an independent people to an unwarranted attack upon their lives and properties; and, moreover, after every object proposed by the expedition in the New South Wales Council itself had been fully accomplished, and without injury of any sort to us, and almost without accident of any kind.

"'What effect the operations previously detailed may have upon the subsequent relations of the two tribes so severely punished, or upon the future intercourse of Europeans with the coast on which we made such hostile descents; whether the tribes in the neighbourhood of the Taranaki and Ngatiruanui people will come down upon them in their crippled and houseless condition, war with, and enslave, or destroy them altogether; or whether they may be able to strengthen their weakness by a defensive alliance with some of their neighbours, time alone can discover, and time will certainly tell. It is greatly to be feared that the former will be the case, for they possess powerful and hitherto implacable enemies in the Kapiti (Entry Island) and Waikato tribes, whose aggressions in times past they have hardly been able to repel, and by whom they are in present peril of being cut off, unless, indeed, they should find time, before the return of their ancient foes, to reconstruct their overthrown fortresses and rebuild their demolished towns, when it is thought they may be able to recruit their numbers by a junction with the Ngatiawa tribe who have recently sustained an assault from the Waikato natives. As regards their future

visitors from the Australian colonies, woe to the crew of any vessel hereafter to be shipwrecked on their coast. Even fools are taught by experience, and however ignorant the New Zealanders may be, they are certainly no fools. The experience they have acquired by our recent visit may teach them that if Europeans fall into their hands it is not consistent with their own safety that any should escape alive to complain of ill-usage, and bring down upon them an armed force, compounded of naval and military men, from New South Wales. It remains to be seen whether they will be content to wait till the winds and waves **[457]** convey victims to their shore for slaughter, or whether they will not rather choose to wreak speedy vengeance upon the crew of the first vessel that may venture near to trade with them."'

Mr. Colenso continues:—

"Thus far Dr. Marshall, whose own words, without addition or alteration, I have uniformly quoted, although I have (in a few places) omitted largely, as already mentioned. As may easily be supposed, Dr. Marshall, writing too at a time when so little of a reliable nature was known of the New Zealanders, gives very much of other information respecting them that is both truthful and interesting, which he also supplements with many sound and useful remarks; but such are far too extensive for introduction here. Nevertheless, from his concluding remarks I make the following extracts, (1) because they are so truthful, and so faithfully and eloquently written; (2) because I myself, after a long experience in New Zealand, fully agree with Dr. Marshall in them, and therefore add my testimony to them; and (3) because those words—written more than fifty years ago—were but the prologue, as it were, to the sad and thrilling tragedy which has ever since been daily acting here in New Zealand.

"Dr. Marshall says: 'Navigation, commerce, and trade brought their influences early into operation in this savage country, and were thus trying an experiment upon the minds of the New Zealanders. To the astonishment of those who were for civilisation to be the forerunner of evangelisation, navigation did no more for New Zealand than it had done for all the world beside, namely, make known its situation and extent to the civilised nations of the earth, and open the way for commerce to improve upon the discovery. Commerce was not slow to follow in the way thus opened to her, and the spacious harbours of New Zealand enabled her shipping to prosecute the pursuit of wealth with a widening prospect of success, by enabling them to make more strenuous efforts, and to continue them longer, in seas so remote from Europe. But, beyond thinning the forests of its stately inhabitants, and propagating among the natives a filthy and terrible disease, commerce, while returning enriched herself from the ports of New Zealand, left the country unimproved by her visitations, and its aboriginal tenantry not a little injured by her importations.

"'If navigation only ascertained for these islands their geographical positions, the utmost that commerce can be said to have done, is the discovery of their value, and the partial development of their resources, with a display of which to invite trade to add to her inventory the productions of the soil of New Zealand. Trade, never indolent when wealth was the sure reward of industry, landed with her wares among a people of savages; she brought them muskets and gunpowder because they delighted in war; she sold them tobacco and gin because from the use made of these articles by their visitors, they esteemed them luxuries, and partook of them till they became necessaries. For the former she received in exchange the heads of murdered men; for the latter she obtained lands and forests, and flax, the last an article of considerable value every-where but in New Zealand. But trade was too busily employed in taking care of herself to care for the natives by whose property she flourished and on whose vitals she fed; her footsteps in the land left indeed their stamp behind them, but for that stamp her presence might be unsuspected—a thinning of the tribes, the almost depopulated shores of New Zealand, leave room enough for the most cursory observation to detect the impressions of

her feet. Misery, disease, and death remain where she trafficked. I say not that the natives were not previously subject to these accidents of our human nature, for they are evils to which all flesh is heir, but facts, undeniable facts, bear me out in affirming that misery unheard of before, diseases un-known before, and deaths made fearfully more numerous than, and of a kind unthought of before, have been introduced with the introduction of trade among a people who owe no debt of gratitude whatever to trade, however she may have increased in value and in bulk the contents of her warehouses and the sales in her markets by the productions of a foreign soil, sometimes forcibly, and at other times fraudulently and by surreptitious means obtained from the rightful owner; although I am free also and glad to confess frequently procured by fair and equitable dealings. Trade and commerce and navigation have succeeded and combined with one another upon New Zealand ground. They have improved by the adventure and benefited themselves and their promoters, *but New Zealand they have neither directly benefited nor improved.*'

"Here, then, I end my pleasing yet mournful task of bringing forward the words of my dear deceased friend, Dr. Marshall. Of them—of him—I think I may truly say, 'he being dead, yet speaketh.' Very likely in **[458]** days yet to come much more will be thought of his own words than at present.

"Before, however, that I entirely quit my subject, I would offer a few remarks of my own upon portions of what I have written. And, first, I would briefly quote from Dr. Dieffenbach's work on New Zealand, who was himself a visitor in New Zealand, and a sojourner for some considerable time in those very places on the west coast of the North Island within six years after Dr. Marshall's visit thither in the *Alligator*. I knew Dr. Dieffenbach well, and I have no reason to suppose that he knew anything of Dr. Marshall, or of what he had written. Dr. Dieffenbach, however, mentions very feelingly the series of sufferings and losses and deaths which those poor unhappy tribes of New Zealanders who dwelt on that coast subsequently suffered, year after year, from their numerous and powerful and deadly foes. And he also says: 'There are still natives at Te Waimate, which is known as the place where, on the shipwreck of the barque *Harriet*, a fierce struggle ensued between the natives and Europeans, in which several men were killed on both sides. Although this conflict, according to all the accounts I could collect, was caused by the Europeans, His Majesty's vessel *Alligator* afterwards inflicted a severe and summary punishment on the natives.' I should also state that with Dr. Dieffenbach on this occasion were some of those very resident Europeans whom John Guard knew and referred to.

"Second, I would observe that it was a national custom—indeed, a law—of the New Zealanders to appropriate all salvage from wrecks, even when of their own tribe; and such, being a law among themselves, and universally carried out and always expected, was never resisted or found fault with. To this we may rightly enough demur; but let us just look at home among the good Christians of Britain in the nineteenth century, and note the heavy, excessive, unjust demand almost invariably made for salvage, and consequently brought into the law courts."

Colenso first published this material in a series of articles in the *Waipawa Mail* between 22 January and 5 March 1881. Much of the narrative is simply quoted from Dr Marshall's account—it is reproduced in full because of Colenso's clear sympathy with Marshall's humantitarian sentiments.

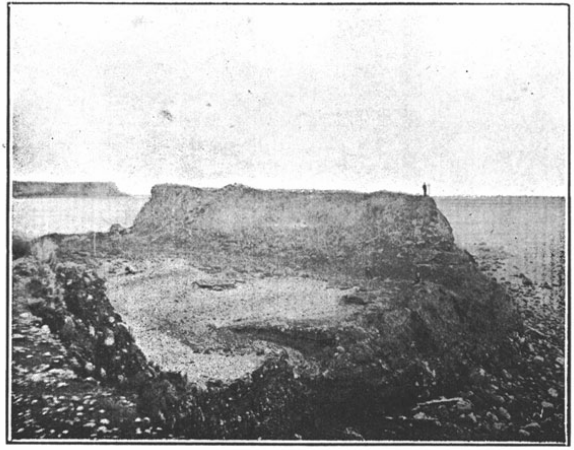


PLATE No. 16.

Te Namu *pa*, from the north.

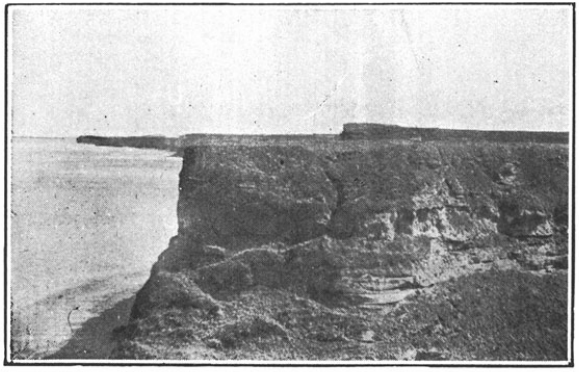


PLATE No 18.

Orangi-tua-peka, or Waimate *pa*, from the south.

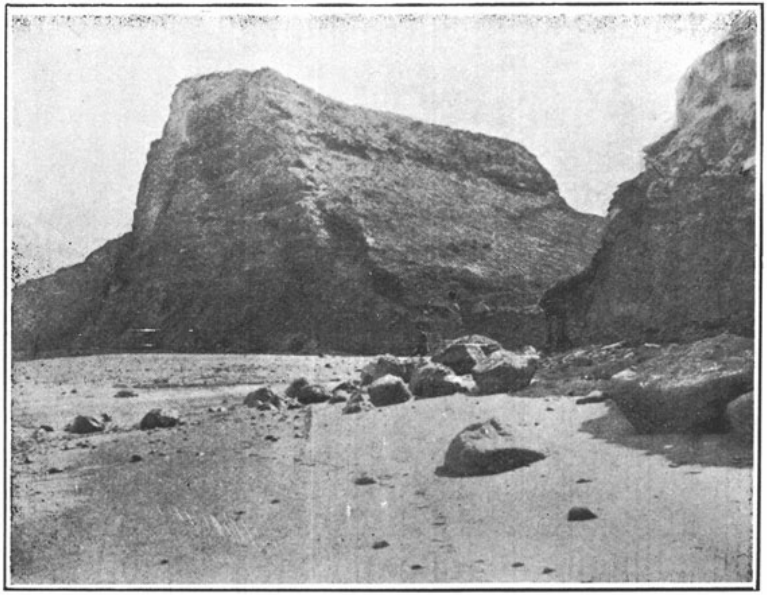
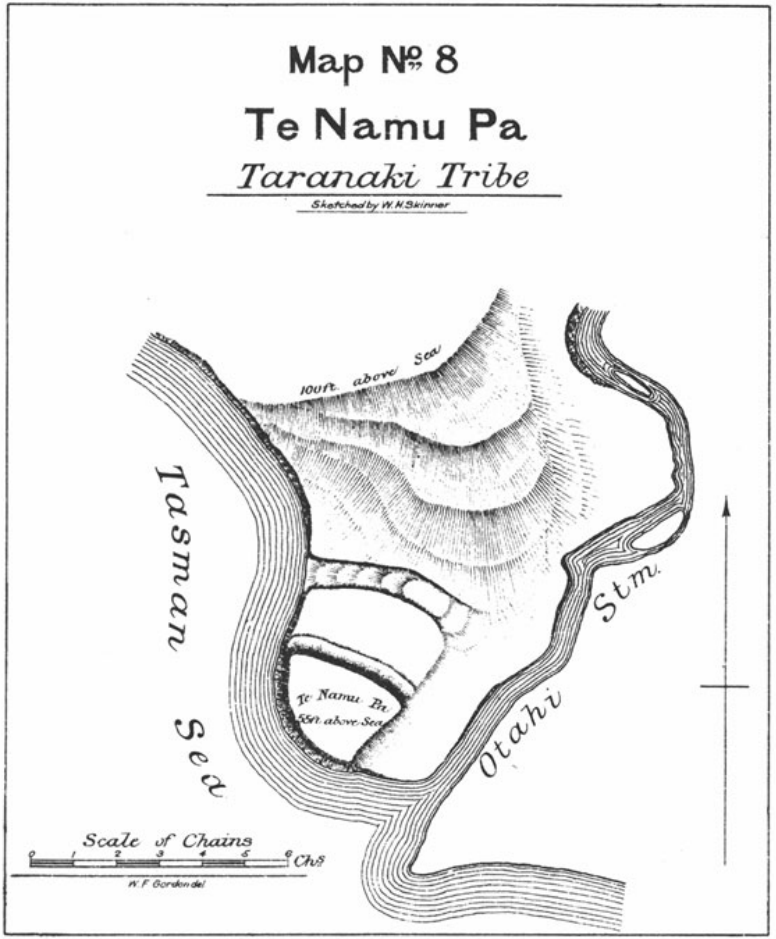


PLATE No. 19.

Nga-teko, from below Orangi-tua-peka.

From: *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 1910. Volume 19 No. 2: History and traditions of the Taranaki coast.



FURTHER WANDERINGS
COLENSO 3 at MTG HAWKE'S BAY
ON 22 & 23 FEBRUARY 2019