

After Waireka

**Events Relating to Jury's Hill,
Waireka and the Ōmata District
During the Taranaki Wars**

Graeme Kenyon



The Battle of Waireka (28 March 1860) ended with the over-running of a hastily-built Māori fortification named Kaipopo, located on Jury's Hill.

Quite close to the site of Kaipopo, the grassy hilltop surface still carries the indentations of another entrenchment, which was put there about three months later by the British army.

This project originated from a request for further information about Jury's Hill and what happened there after the Battle of Waireka.

Published by Lone Gull
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First Published 2018
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ISBN

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Printed in China through Asia Pacific Offset

Front and Rear Cover:



Standing on Jury's Hill and looking towards Mt. Taranaki.
The depression in the foreground is the remains of a trench forming the Waireka Redoubt.
At the extreme left, to the left of Waireka Rd West, is the site of Kaipopo.

Panorama by Jim Tucker Media August 2020
With thanks to Len and Heather Jury.

This is a scrapbook collection of contemporary writings, the backbone of which is a sequence of newspaper clippings accessed from that valuable website resource, Papers Past. It is supplemented by the writings of a few settlers and soldiers who kept a diary of the events as they saw them, together with fragments recorded by historians from that colonial period.

A kind of narrative emerges.

However, it must be seen against the background of more important events which were occurring in the north and south of New Plymouth, and it must reflect the narrow settler viewpoint of the times.

There is a minimum of analysis.

This is not a history, though perhaps it will be a handy resource.

The *Taranaki Herald* provided a very detailed daily journal of events.

Much of it was loaded with propaganda.

The discourse and some of the terminology used would not be acceptable today.

Indeed, nor was it particularly edifying even for those times. It ought to be kept in mind that by the 1860s many Māori people were able read and understand English, and the hostile tone of these newspaper articles would not have been lost on them.

However, it was war time. Both sides soon had plenty to be hostile about.

Unfortunately, there seem to be few written documents left to us from those times, which record the bravery and determination of the Māori resistance fighters, or their grief and outrage at *their* losses.

The settlers and the local press were often very critical and unappreciative of the leadership of the British Army, and to address that bias, included are a few extracts from Capt. C. Pasley R.E., and diaries of the rollicking Morgan Grace, and the pious Sergeant Marjouram R.A.

In addition, included here are some brief extracts from more recent sources:

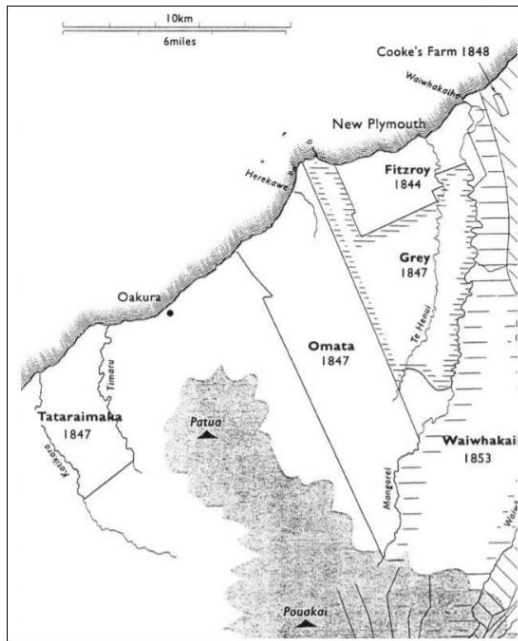
a Waitangi Tribunal report entitled *The Taranaki Report Kaupapa Tuatahi*

and a PhD thesis: *The Wars and Iwi Losses Taranaki 1860-70: A Summary* by Heather Bauchop.

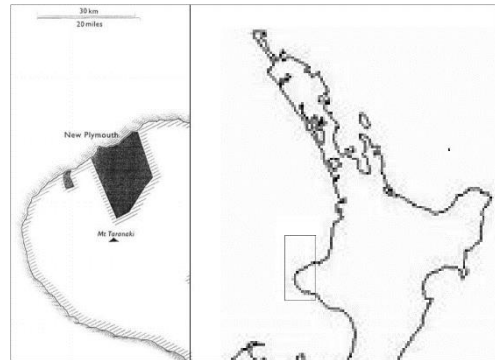
Finally, there are some extracts from the research of present-day archaeologists Nigel Prickett and Janice Adamson.

Graeme Kenyon

Auckland 2020

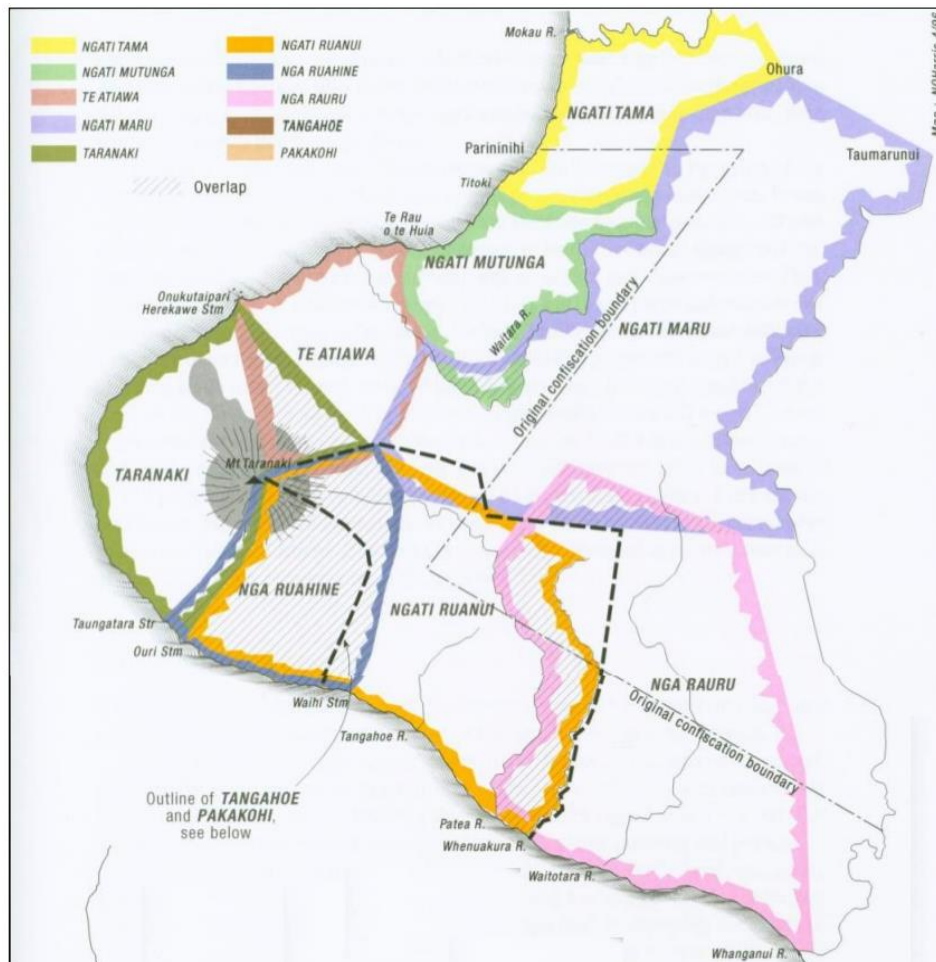


The Taranaki Report Kaupapa Tuatahi p28



Extract from a map showing land purchases from Māori, by the Crown, between 1844 and 1860.

Māori had retained ownership of the lands between Ōmata and the Tātaraimaka block.



The Taranaki Report Kaupapa Tuatahi

Extract from Figure 4 "Claimants' Boundaries" p.12

It serves to identify the various tribes and the lands they traditionally occupied.

Prior to the war, subgroups of some of these iwi had been feuding between themselves over issues including the sale of land.

When war broke out in 1860 it was initially between the Governor and the people north of New Plymouth (Te Ātiawa).

Shortly after that, war parties from south of New Plymouth (**Taranaki** and **Ngāti Ruanui**) marched to New Plymouth in support. By the end of the war people from all of the tribes shown here, and in addition war parties from the Waikato, had joined in support of their Te Ātiawa brothers.

Some hapu remained aligned to the British throughout this period.

Redoubts, Stockades and Rifle Pits

Archaeologist Nigel Prickett describes the various redoubts, stockades and blockhouses of the Taranaki wars in detail in his PhD Thesis: *The Archaeology of a Military Frontier: Taranaki, New Zealand, 1860-1881* Vol 1. In order to clarify terminology, here are a few brief extracts.

“Like the blockhouse, the **stockade** is suggestive of a planned or long term role...
... Stockades were costly to erect in both time and money. A report on payments concerning the construction of the Omata Stockade shows a total of 84 days carting with bullock wagons and 241 work days by the six carpenters who were employed. In addition much work... was carried out by Militia who were on pay and rations. It took five months to complete the Omata stockade although it was defensible if not comfortable after two months...”
Prickett pp 315-317

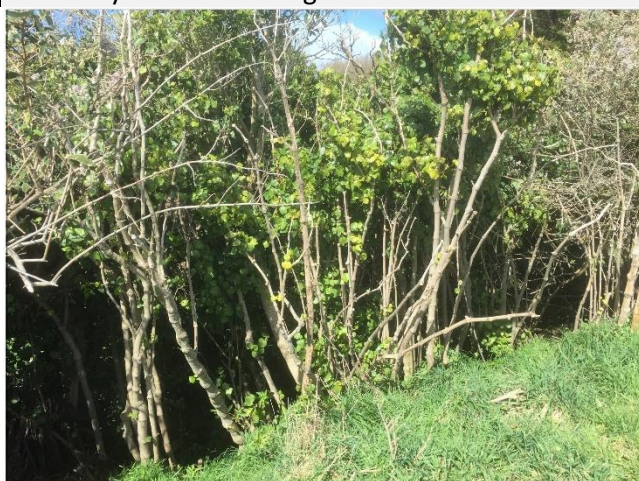
The baulks of timber comprising the solid walls of the Ōmata Stockade were tree trunks in the round, or larger ones split, and set vertically in the ground.

“The most important class of European fortification in Taranaki ...is the **earthwork redoubt**. The redoubt was made to a great variety of plans which were commonly based on the square or the rectangle with flanking defence at the angles to cover the sides...
The great advantage that they had over other fortification types was that they could be rapidly thrown up by men who could put up sufficient earthworks to be at least partly protected as they worked. During the first Taranaki war the Waireka camp involving about 290m of ditch and bank was thrown up in one day by working parties detached from a force in excess of 300 men...”
Prickett pp 318-323

Waireka Redoubt (or “the soldiers’ camp”) was an earthwork, partly palisaded with timber from a nearby post-and-rail fence.

The description of earthwork redoubt (above) could apply almost as well to the so-called Māori “**rifle pits**” which were thrown up quickly on the farms surrounding Jury’s hill during the conflict. (During the early stages of the war not all Māori had rifles – many, if not most of their firing weapons at that time were smooth-bore muskets and “tūpara” (double-barrel muzzle-loading shot guns).

“Most of these fortifications have been constructed in such a manner as to be perfectly impervious to shell or other appliances used by our artillery department.
The smaller pits were open, and consisted of a hole in the ground capable of containing two or three natives; these again were flanked in every direction with nicely formed oblong holes, over which a strong roof had been placed, and means taken by a most ingenious hollowing out of the bank to form a fire place and chimney; so that the inhabitants, whilst being free from smoke, enjoyed safety from any missile that might be sent from the soldiers' camp to dislodge them.



Most of these entrenched residences are situated at the edge of wooded gullies, down which the occupants have but to rush in order to ensure safety, without care has been taken in time to cut them off in the rear.

W. I. Grayling *Taranaki Herald* 1 September 1860

* See Appendix 1 for a more detailed description of the Ōmata Stockade, the Waireka Redoubt and the rifle pits surrounding Jury’s Hill.

Photograph Len Jury

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Jury's Hill and the Battle of Waireka

Jury's Hill, sometimes referred to as Waireka hill, is located on the Tapuae Ridge a few km south of New Plymouth. Midway up this hill, and adjacent to what was then the Ōmata Road (now Waireka Road West), was the home of Mrs. Jury. Her son, John Jury, farmed a small block, and lived in his own house on a flat some distance away, adjacent to the lower Waireka-nui valley, not far from the sea. Today there is no trace of Mrs. Jury's cottage, or the farmhouse of John Jury, but the Waireka heritage site is marked by a plaque at the intersection of today's Sutton Road and Waireka West Road. Further down, near the bottom of Jury's Hill, is located the historic Waireka cemetery.

Commanding the old Ōmata Road, and overlooking the old South Road and the Ōmata Stockade, Jury's hill was a position of some strategic importance during the first two Taranaki wars.

The centre of the fighting in the first Taranaki war was north of New Plymouth, the fight having commenced over the disputed sale of a block of land at Waitara. However, in late March 1860, Māori from southern Taranaki, who had their own grievances, marched towards New Plymouth and commenced building a fortification, roughly opposite Mrs. Jury's by-then-abandoned cottage on Jury's Hill. This hastily constructed Māori pā was referred to as Kaipopo.

"The fortification was alongside the road from Omata, and about a mile and a half south of the stockade commanding that settlement; the surf-beaten shore was less than three-quarters of a mile away. The district was already partially settled by Europeans, and farmhouses were scattered over the much-dissected coastland between the ranges and the sea. Clear streams, rock-bedded, coursed down through the numerous narrow wooded valleys. One of these was the Waireka ("Sweet Water"); it was joined just at the beach by a smaller hill-brook, the Waireka-iti. This broken terrain, with its spurs, knolls, and ravines giving abundance of cover, was an admirable country for the Maori's skirmishing tactics. The natives who composed the fighting force on this side of New Plymouth were chiefly Taranaki ... A war-party of Ngati-Ruanui ... arrived just in time for the battle"

The New Zealand Wars and the Pioneering Period Cowan Vol 1 p 172

Following the killing of three settlers and two boys in March 1860, the Māori occupying forces at Kaipopo were engaged by the British armed forces and the settler militias on 28 March 1860 in an action known as The Battle of Waireka. Towards the end of the day their fortification on Jury's hill was over-run by a squad of 60 sailors and marines from the HMS *Niger*. This brought the battle to a close and the British forces withdrew immediately.

The Māori were able to return the next day, bury some of their dead, and, without molestation, retreat with their casualties and some plunder which had been looted from the abandoned farms in the Ōmata area.

Two days after the Battle of Waireka, the war ship *Niger* was sent south, down the coast, to bombard Warea in retaliation.

This action merely united southern Māori in a determination to continue fighting.

After the Battle of Waireka there was a withdrawal of the Māori forces from the south of New Plymouth. It was but a temporary interlude. Ōmata, with its stockade, formed the southern flank of the British forces now based at Marsland Hill, within the town of New Plymouth.

Waireka became the scene of repeated skirmishing. Armed parties of settlers and troops went out from New Plymouth to engage, to destroy Māori property and to gather crops where possible, while Māori responded by continuing to pillage and burn the houses of settlers, until eventually the village of Ōmata was all but destroyed.

Throughout that year of war, Jury's Hill was re-occupied by British and Māori forces in turn, while other more strategically important events took place in the north and the south of New Plymouth.

Friday 20 April 1860 Colonel Gold's Expedition South

Friday.—At an early hour this morning the blue jackets and marines at Mount Eliot, 150 in number, struck their tents and proceeded along the Omata road. They were followed by 30 carts laden with camp equipage, ammunition, stores, provisions &c., &c., and two 24-pounder howitzers, and four 6-pounder field pieces, with 40 artillerymen. The carts were driven by armed militia and volunteer Rifles, in number about 50. The 65th started about

Taranaki Herald 21 April 1860

In April a number of British warships arrived in New Plymouth and offloaded munitions and troops.

On Friday 20 April a large armed force led by Col. Gold set out with the intention to invade the territory of the Taranaki and Ngāti Ruanui Māori who had fought the British

at Waireka. This large expedition, with its unwieldy baggage train, was unable to make significant contact or fight the Māori resistance forces and was considered by the settlers to be ineffectual. However, Gold's army was carrying out a deliberate "scorched earth policy" (although that term had not yet been coined). In return the result was wholesale destruction of settler property by the much more mobile Māori. Frustrated settlers, restricted within the town defences and under martial law, could only watch with anger and dismay. This strategy, which typified Gold's handling of the First Taranaki War, caused resentment and criticism by the newspaper and the more militant settlers.



Arthur Atkinson was a member of a well-known clan of settlers (the Richmonds and Atkinsons.) His wife was **Jane Maria Atkinson** (nee Richmond). Their prolific letters and journals recorded much of the history of this period. Arthur Atkinson wrote well and had a wide range of interests including Māori studies. His brother **Harry Atkinson** was a Captain (later Major) in the Taranaki Rifle Volunteers and after the war became one of New Zealand's first prime ministers.

Arthur Atkinson wrote in his diary, with his usual sarcasm in regard to Colonel Gold:

"Golden Calf had got as far as Warea, had burn'd several raupo huts, destroyed a few hundred bushels of wheat &c (most of which was Parris's) & took a little of the iron-work out of Komini's mill, got sight of the pas they came down to take & then returned to Tataraimaka. A few Maoris showed themselves & fired & the soldiers returned it ... Saw Parris in the evg. He is very melancholy about the results of the expedition..."

The Richmond-Atkinson Papers Vol 1 Scholefield p568

Arthur Atkinson's wife **Jane Maria** added further derision:

"On Friday Col Gold started on an expedition ...with a firm determination to thrash everything he met, and on arriving at Tataraimaka encountered a body of wheat stacks, whereupon he ordered a halt and commenced at once ..."

The Richmond-Atkinson Papers Vol 1 Scholefield p568

Historian James Cowan provided a somewhat more balanced assessment:

"A four-days expedition along the coast southward as far as Warea was the principal military operation during April, 1860. The movement was directed against the Taranaki and Ngāti-Ruanui Tribes who had fought at Waireka. The column consisted of 180 Royal Navy seamen and marines, 280 of the 65th, eighty Volunteers and Militia, forty Royal Artillery with two 24-pounder and four 6-pounder field-pieces, and twenty Royal Engineers. Colonel Gold was in command, and Commodore Beauchamp-Seymour accompanied him. It was a rough march across numerous ravines and unbridged rivers, and through bush and scrub. Wareatea, Mokotura, Warea, and other settlements were entered; several pas were demolished, wheat-stacks were burned, a flour-mill rendered useless, and cattle and horses looted. On the return journey a force of two hundred men was left in an entrenched position on the Tataraimaka Block as an advanced outpost for the settlements. This force was withdrawn later. It was in retaliation for the destruction of villages and other property on this expedition that the Taranaki Maoris presently devastated the whole of the abandoned pakeha settlements, and systematically pillaged and burned nearly every house outside New Plymouth".

The New Zealand Wars and the Pioneering Period Vol 1 Cowan p 182

CONTINUATION OF JOURNAL OF
EVENTS.

Saturday, April 28.—Great anxiety felt for news from the expedition south. It is believed that as the weather is fine an attack will be made upon Tapuinikau, supposed to be four miles from Warea, where the forces had camped last night. This stronghold of the rebels was distinctly seen from the Cordelia, and appeared to be in a well chosen position, on an eminence surrounded by bush. There is a good cart road up to this pa, but it traverses country covered with flax, toe-toe, and light bush. The Warea mill is two or three miles up the Warea river, which we hope by this time is destroyed. This mill is used by all the Taranakis south of Mokotunu, and as they have a large quantity of wheat in grain, a great object would be attained by burning this mill, as it would cut off their means of supply¹ in the shape of lilipi¹ and wheaten cakes.

Continuation of Journal of Events

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This mill is used by all the Taranakis south of Mokotunu, and as they have a large quantity of wheat in grain, a great object would be attained by burning this mill, as it would cut off their means of supply in the shape of lilipi¹ and wheaten cakes.

About 3 p.m. this day several persons arrived in town from the camp, and it was a matter of surprise how they succeeded or how they had run the risk of coming through the enemy's country from such a distance. We were soon told that the expedition had returned to Tataraimaka, an advanced force having first reconnoitred the enemy's position, and the main body of the troops, and the naval brigade, were returning to town. This intelligence astonished as well as disappointed us all, and we could not hear any satisfactory reason assigned for the abandonment of the campaign in that direction without striking a blow.

We were informed that a portion of the naval brigade had endeavoured to find the Warea mill to destroy it, but had not succeeded in doing so ; that soon after a return to Tataraimaka was ordered; that the troops struck their tents and marched back, and reached Tataraimaka at 12 this day; that while leaving Warea, a few natives had fired upon them; that on reaching Komene's kainga, (settlement,) they discovered about 70 or 80 natives who were viewing the ruins, who opened fire upon the military; that a brief skirmish had taken place, when it was believed one native was killed, as he was seen to be carried away after he fell; that the firing was at a range of 900 or 1000 yards; and that the expedition had arrived at Tataraimaka without further molestation.

We are also informed that every village on the coast south of Kaihihi, Porikapa's village, had been burnt; all the canoes cut up and burnt; and some horses and cattle driven up. On the arrival of the expedition at Warea, as seen from the Cordelia, a few natives were observed about the village, who opened fire, and that the three guns fired into the village was in consequence, which had driven them back into the bush. The blue jackets, under Capt. Seymour, then entered the village and took possession and set it on fire, respecting the church, which was not touched.

Many are the opinions expressed as to the cause of the return of the expedition without doing anything further than what is mentioned above, and all feel disappointed that something more was not done.

Taranaki Herald 3 May 1860

*See Appendix 2 for a news report with further details on Gold's expedition south, from a correspondent who took part in the expedition.

Māori response to the destruction of their property was not long coming.

¹ Mixture of flour, sugar and water

May 1860 Waikato Māori enter the Taranaki War

News arrived from Waitara this evening that 1000 Waikatos and 60 Ngatiuanui and Taranaki natives all armed arrived at Mokau on Tuesday last. The chiefs are Rewi Rameti and Wa-ro, the leaders of the

In early May there were reports that Māori from the Waikato were assembling north of New Plymouth.

Taranaki Herald 5 May 1860
Journal of Events

The town of New Plymouth, which had been under martial law for some time, was now very much on the defensive. It became dangerous to travel outside the picketed boundary of the township. A well-known settler (Capt. Richard Brown) was shot and severely wounded near Waiongana River mouth, between New Plymouth and Waitara on 2 June 1860. (Brown died of his wounds three months later, on 25 August).

Ōmata Stockade communication with New Plymouth

by the wireless yesterday. A very complete and useful mode of telegraphing by means of balls on a yard-arm, originated by Sergeant Marjouram, R.A., has been adopted by the military authorities here. Staffs with the apparatus have been erected at the Bell Block-house and Ōmata Stockade, and on Marsland Hill. Any number of words can be transmitted with great rapidity, and, altogether, the system appears to be adapted exactly to our circumstances. Sergeant Marjouram deserves something more than mere credit for his ingenuity, as by means of the system information is communicated in a few minutes between the posts named. The system is equally adapted for night signalling by substituting lanterns for the balls. "There was a rumour in town to-day that

Taranaki Herald 2 June 1860
Journal of Events.

A system of communication between the army base in New Plymouth and the Ōmata Stockade was set up by Sgt. Marjouram.



Cropped from: Rawson, H. F. ref 1/1-000502-G
Alexander Turnbull Library records/22693620

June 1860 Southern Māori prepare to return to the Waireka area

to Waitara this morning. We have been informed that a messenger has reached W. Kingi from Ngatiruanui informing him that the whole of that tribe, mustering 800, have started to join the Taranaki tribe, who will come up to Waireka to fight where their relatives fell. This intelligence was brought into town by a native who has been to Mataitawa with a coffin for a deceased native. We have heard that the Ngatiruanuis have reached Warea, and it is said if not prevented by the troops at Tataraimaka will march up to Ratapihipihi and Waireka. A son of Mr Billings died to-day.

Māori who had retreated south following the Battle of Waireka now began to move back towards New Plymouth.

On Friday 22 June a large party of Taranaki and Ngāti Ruanui Māori were reported as assembling at Warea, about five miles (8 km) further down the coast from Tātaraimaka.

It was feared they would return to Waireka, and to the nearby native reserve at Ratapihipihi, on the southern outskirts of New Plymouth.

Taranaki Herald 23 June 1860
Journal of Events

Wednesday 27 June 1860

The Battle of Puketakauere

Wednesday.—Early this morning the firing of artillery was plainly heard, and smoke seen rising from Waitara. Great excitement prevailed in town, and general anxiety felt for intelligence. The firing and the smoke were

Thursday.

12 noon.—News of the most painful nature just received by a mounted volunteer from Waitara, and which exceeds the worst apprehensions entertained. 29 KILLED and 33 WOUNDED of the different corps engaged during yesterday's attack, including Lieut. Brooke, 40th Regt., killed, Capt. Seymour, R.N., wounded, severely. Lieut. Brooke is said to have been entangled in a swamp and tomahawked after having put several to the sword. Further particulars will be

Taranaki Herald 30 June 1860 Journal of Events

This battle took place to the north of New Plymouth.

Led by Major Nelson, it was a significant battle and a disaster for the British. Cowan wrote:

"The defeat at Puke-ta-kauere and the increasing confidence of the Maoris made it dangerous for the hemmed-in citizens of New Plymouth to venture out beyond the precincts of the town.

It was now that the central portion of the settlement was entrenched, and it was considered necessary to remove the women and children.

A proclamation calling upon the families to prepare for departure by sea was issued by Colonel Gold.

Steamers were sent to take the women and

children to more peaceful homes until the war was over, and most of them went to Nelson, where they were treated with great hospitality; but there were some stout-hearted wives and mothers who steadfastly refused to leave their husbands and sons, defied the authorities to shift them, and remained to share the alarms and privations of a state of siege. Reinforcements of men and artillery came in from Auckland; the principal addition to the garrison was the headquarters of the 40th Regiment (Colonel Leslie), nearly two hundred and fifty strong. Major-General Pratt arrived from Melbourne (3rd August) in the Victorian Government's warship "Victoria," with his Deputy Adjutant-General, Lieut.-General Carey".

The New Zealand Wars and the Pioneering Period Vol 1 Cowan p 190

29 June 1860 Tātaraimaka evacuated

Friday.—An express just arrived in town that the southern natives have attacked the camp at Tataraimaka and have burnt the houses of the settlers, and that the troops were fighting their way back into town. Firing of artillery and small arms heard. Militia and Volunteers fell in under arms. The light company 65th and the 12th marched down to render assistance, if needed, and 60 blue jackets were posted in the church with their brass 12-pounder. Great excitement in town.

6 p.m.—The troops from Tataraimaka and the relief arrived in town. Three houses on the Tataraimaka were in flames and a slight skirmish had taken place before the

Taranaki Herald 30 June 1860 Journal of Events

On return from his expedition south, Gold had left 200 troops at Tātaraimaka as an occupying force.

In June they were withdrawn to New Plymouth.

Upon withdrawal of the troops, Māori burned most of the settlers' houses in the Tātaraimaka Block.

Tuesday.—Every building at Tataraimaka, excepting the Chapel, is burnt to the ground. The Tasmānian Maid

Taranaki Herald 7 July 1860 Journal of Events

Settlers deplored what they regarded lack of resolve on the part of the British Army.

Settler **Arthur Atkinson** wrote (2 July 1860) "Most of the Tataraimaka houses are now burned, I believe - from what I can, hear, by the Taranakis only - Ngatiruanui is still the other side of Warea". On the same day, **J.C. Richmond** wrote to C W. Richmond: "Tataraimaka houses are all gone, and Omata going. Soon we shall see smoke at Hurworth. We do not quite understand what the good fruit of delay is supposed to be. We see nothing but destruction, demoralization and doubled bloodshed ..."

The Richmond Atkinson Papers Volume I Scholefield p 607

Early July 1860 The southern Māori consolidate their forces at Kaihihi.
They claim Tātaraimaka by conquest, then move towards New Plymouth.

Wednesday.—Weather squally and wet. From Tataraimaka the rebels have retired to Kaihihi, to which place they have driven all the stock belonging to the settlers of that district, consisting of sheep, cattle, pigs, &c. They will remain at Kaihihi till the Ngatiruanui tribes come up, and then have a grand feast. A few words

Taranaki Herald 7 July 1860 Journal of Events

The central portion of New Plymouth was entrenched. The settlers and soldiers prepared for a miserable winter on picket duty.

The major burden of nightly sentry duty fell on the settler militia.

Sunday.—The Southern rebels are still at Tataraimaka and Kaihihi. It is said that they have divided the block amongst themselves preparatory to cultivating portions of it. They say the block is now theirs by conquest.

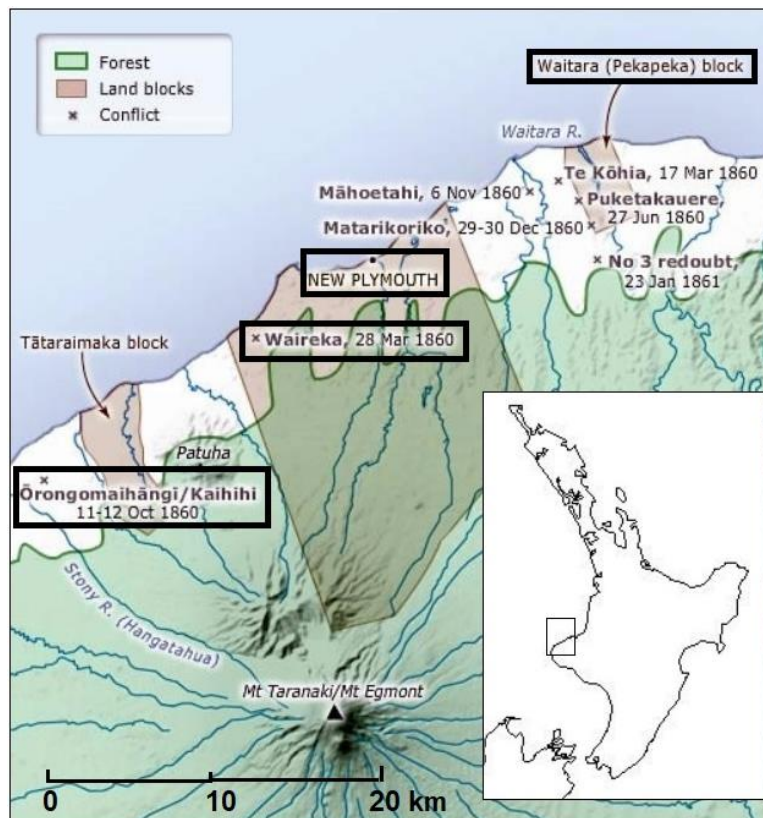
Friday.—Weather wet and cold. No news from North or South. Sentry boxes, as fast as they can be made, are being placed along the line of piquets, and add materially to the comforts of the men in this unusually rainy season. The trenches are being pushed forward, the naval brigade taking their turn about with the military and civilians.

Taranaki Herald 21 July 1860 Journal of Events

Monday for Nelson and Melbourne. A native messenger arrived to-day from the Poutoko pa, with information that the southern insurgents are approaching Tamati Wiremu's pa (Te Poutoko). They are in great force and intend to build a pa at Waireka and occupy Ratapihipihi. Tamati Wiremu, with 30 men, will hold his pa, which is on the main road. The Taranaki

News now arrived that the southern Māori were moving towards Waireka with the intention of entrenching there, and threatening New Plymouth.

Taranaki Herald 28 July 1860 Journal of Events



Taken from:

'Taranaki War map 1860-61',
(Ministry for Culture and Heritage),
updated 2-Apr-2019

Shows the relative positions of:

Waitara (where war commenced),

New Plymouth,

Waireka (Jury's Hill),

Kaihihi where the Māori had fortified and consolidated their resources.

27 July 1860 British troops encamp on Jury's Hill, Waireka .
The Waireka Redoubt - sometimes referred to as the Soldiers' Camp

On Friday 27 July, to meet the expected insurgence, British troops set up camp at the top of Jury's Hill, a few dozen metres above the site of the Kaipopo Pā².

Friday.—A large force of artillery, 12th and 40th, in command of Major Hutchins, started early this morning to take up a position at Omata, to check the onward movement of the rebels: They were seen last night at Wainau, on the beach this side of Tataraimaka, and are believed to be above 1000 strong—including women and children, who have accompanied this expedition to attack New Plymouth. No less than 10 pas are erected on the Tataraimaka block, 1 on Oxenham's farm, and 9 on Greenwood's farm. These pas are to be occupied in case of retreat, and each is capable of holding 100 men—the pas are all near each other. These rebels, comprising the 4 p.m.—The troops are encamped on Jury's hill, on the site of the rebel stockade taken by Captain Cracroft, R.N., and his men, on the 28th March. The Tas...

The Taranaki Herald 28 July 1860 Journal of Events

The new redoubt was actually about 100m from the old Maori position.
 The force under Major W.J. Hutchins, 12th Regiment, rapidly completed a large redoubt on the hill. It appears to have been thrown up in one day as all the tents were pitched within the defences on the night of the 27th.¹³⁵ The work became known as Waireka Camp, or the 'soldiers' camp' to distinguish it from the settlers' position at Omata.
 The Maori force dug rifle pits on the high ground now traversed by the main road.¹³⁶ Skirmishing took place daily. "The redoubt was partially invested from the 11th to the 23rd of the following month August, during which no duties about the camp could be performed without interruption from the enemy's fire, every wood and water fatigue involving a skirmish."¹³⁷

Troop numbers at Waireka at the time of General Pratt's arrival in Taranaki were as follows:

	Field Officers	Cap- tains	Sub- alterns	Ser- geants	Drummers	Rank & File
Royal Artillery	-	-	-	1	-	11
Royal Engineers	-	-	-	1	-	5
12th Regiment	1	1	2	4	1	127
40th Regiment	-	1	2	4	1	103
	1	2	4	10	2	246 ¹³⁸

Not all military opinion was convinced of the value of the position. Lieutenant Battiscombe, a naval officer stationed at Waitara, wrote in his diary on 26 August:

"Tataramaka [sic] has been withdrawn, not being tenable. 200 men have been sent to "Waireka" about 5 miles from the Town, what for common sense can't tell. They are completely isolated, no earthly use, and 300 men have to march out to them every Sunday with provisions ammunition &c."¹³⁹

¹³⁶ Good descriptions of these fortifications are given in the *Taranaki Herald*, 1 Sep 1860 (by the 'Omata Correspondent', W.I. Grayling), and by Alexander, *Incidents*, pp.189-190.

¹³⁷ E.A.H. Webb, *History of the 12th (The Suffolk) Regiment 1685-1913*, London, 1914, p.279. Grace, pp.41-49, gives a lively account of life at Waireka Camp. ¹³⁸ Carey, p.46. ¹³⁹ Battiscombe, Journal, 26 Aug 1860.

*The
 Archaeology
 of a Military
 Frontier:
 Taranaki,
 New Zealand,
 1869-1881*

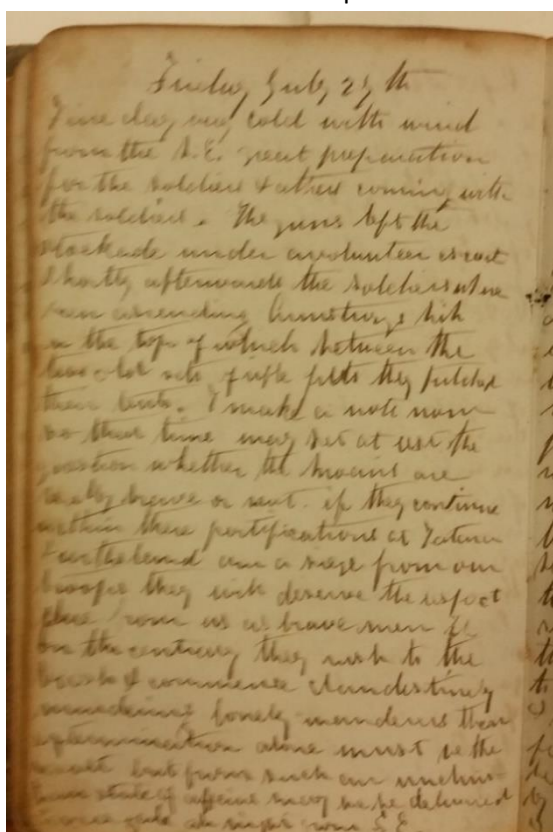
Thesis 1981
 Nigel Prickett
 pp 65-6

² Kaipopo pā was the Māori fortification which had been over-run by Cracroft and his marines at the conclusion of the Battle of Waireka.



Born in 1818 in Kent, **W. I. Grayling** had studied in England as a pharmacist, migrated to Australia and worked there, and in New Zealand as a geologist, before setting in New Plymouth some time between 1854 and 1858. He leased land at Waireka and became a farmer, part-time agricultural scientist and natural products pharmacist. At the outbreak of war, he joined the Taranaki Rifle Volunteers and from his station at Ōmata Stockade he contributed to the *Taranaki Herald* under pen names "Our Correspondent" and "W.I.G."

In addition to his regular reports to the *Taranaki Herald*, Grayling also kept a diary. Much of it is difficult to decipher.



Here he records his thoughts on the day the soldiers set up their encampment on Jury's hill.

"Friday July 27th

Fine day cold with wind from the SE
Great preparation for the soldiers and others coming with the soldiers. The guns left the stockade under a volunteer escort Shortly after the soldiers were seen ascending Armstrong's hill³ on the top of which between the two old sets of rifle pits⁴ they pitched their tents. I make a note now so that time may put at rest the question whether the Maoris are really brave or not. if they continue within there [sic] fortifications at Tatara⁵ & withstand xxx a seige from our troops they will deserve the respect xxx from us as brave men If on the contrary they rush to the bush & commence xxx xxx xxx murderers then extermination alone must be the result but from such an unxxx xxxx state of affairs may he be delivered
xxx gale xxx night from S.E."

Grayling's Diary (Puke Ariki archive collection)

Standing on the site of the redoubt.
View back towards New Plymouth.

July 2020.

Visible in the foreground is a slight ridge, which is the only remaining evidence of the redoubt trenches.

An aerial photograph (over page) shows more clearly the trench remains, as they appear today.



³ Normally referred to as "Jury's", the seaward side of this hill is shown on W. I. Grayling's map (*The War in Taranaki 1860-61* Appendix) as owned or leased by Armstrong.

According to Carrington, Armstrong was growing turnips there at the time (*Taranaki Herald* 7 April 1860)

⁴ This and other references (Jupp, diary 30 March 1860; Penn W. J. 1909 map) confirm that at the time of the Battle of Waireka, Kaipopo had a second component which has been forgotten in recent times - a reserve cluster of rifle pits covering its rear, located near to the bend on Suttons Rd.

⁵ "Tatara" shorthand for the place name "Tātaraaimaka". (Tātara Imaka "discarded clothing") (Evidently in those days Taranaki Pākehā understood, and some of them pronounced "Tātaraaimaka" correctly!)

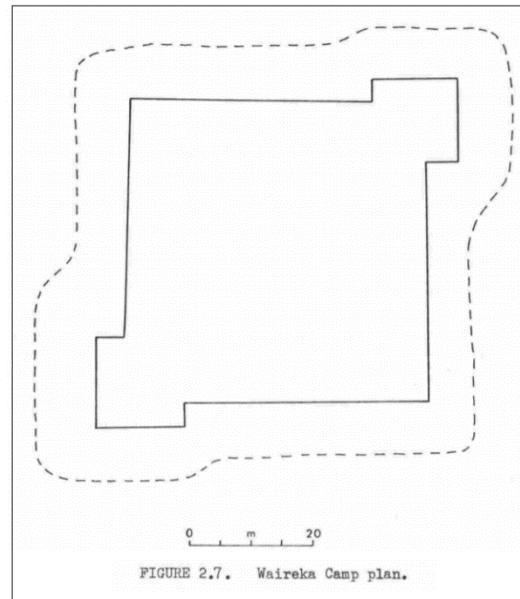
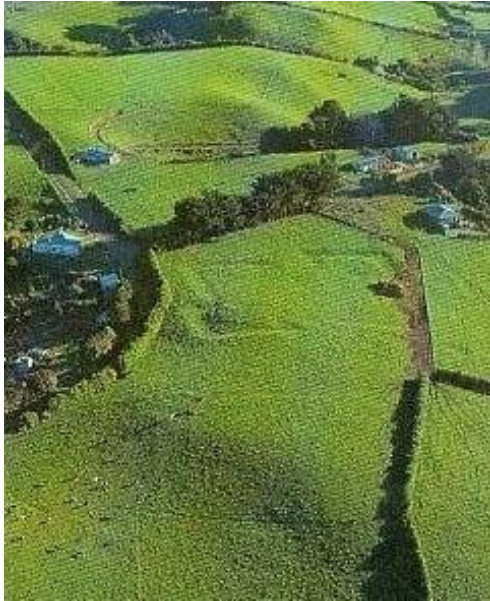


FIGURE 2.7. Waireka Camp plan.

Archaeology of a Military Frontier Prickett p 67

Fortifications of the New Zealand Wars Prickett



George Jupp was one of the settlers with a farm in the Ōmata district. He joined the Rifle Volunteers and was stationed at the Ōmata Stockade. Jupp kept a daily record of his activities throughout these years, most entries being brief, with the very occasional touch of irony.

A man of few words, with little use for embellishment, usually just a short sentence or two recording the weather and his activities for the day – Jupp's diary can be regarded as a particularly reliable and honest record.

27 th .	Cold day. Went to town and back. Snow fell in the evening. Troops encamped on the Waireka Hill.	
28 th .	Fine day. At Omata Stockade.	
29 th .	Sunday, fine day. On the Waireka Hill putting up palisading.	Jupp's Diary July 1860

From George Jupp and W. I. Grayling we know that the weather was fine but very cold on the day the Waireka Redoubt was established. Jupp tells us that the next day some militia men went up from the Ōmata Stockade to furnish the redoubt with palisading.

Partial Palisading of the Waireka Redoubt

The timber for the palisading appears to have been taken from the Ōmata cemetery, located a few hundred metres away near the bottom of Jury's (Waireka) Hill. This was recorded by H. H. Brown two years later, on 2 June 1862. As a trustee of the Ōmata Church, Parson H. H. Brown claimed:

"In July 1860 the military under the command of Major Hutchins 12th regiment destroyed 9 ½ chains [190 metres⁶] of post and 4 rail fencing around the cemetery on Waireka Hill. The fencing was taken for the purpose of constructing a palisading around the camp on the top of Waireka Hill..."

NZ Archives ref IA132/18/18 claims against the military for losses

A signal staff was added a few days later, providing a communications link to New Plymouth, via the Ōmata Stockade

Tuesday, August 7.—The new signal staff which has been erected at the Waireka hill, by our Seigt.-Major Stevens, was used for the first time and found to work very well. *Taranaki Herald* 11 August 1860

⁶ 190 x 4 = 760 lineal m. Probably about enough to furnish two sides of the redoubt with 2m high palisading. Morgan Grace (*Sketch of the NZ War* p 48) informs us "...our right and right front were open..."

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

Before attempting a description of the daily occurrences, I will endeavour as clearly as possible to convey, as far as description alone can do, a topographical sketch of the locality of the seat of action at the Omata.

Before attempting a description of the daily occurrences, I will endeavour as clearly as possible to convey, as far as description alone can do, a topographical sketch of the locality of the seat of action at the Omata.

From the town one main road runs almost

parallel with the coast towards Warea; continuing along which we reach, after passing the Omata Stockade, a cross road known as the bush road, and from which another branches, running parallel with the main Waireka road, with which it is again united by a cross road that takes its course from a short distance beyond the summit of the Waireka hill.

As nearly as possible on the brow of this hill, and to the right of the road, have the soldiers formed their entrenched encampment, immediately opposite which, to the left of the road, is **Grayling's**, farm, bounded on one side by the cross road before described; upon this farm, the rebels, about five hundred yards from the soldiers, have thrown up earthworks and sunk rifle pits, and this they have done in such a convenient manner as to have their rear protected by heavy bush and deep gullies, through which they can at any time retreat.

At some few chains from the opposite of the cross road, they have taken possession of and fortified **Wilkinson's** house, surrounding it with a ditch and rifle pits; they have, moreover, dug a ditch between twenty and thirty chains in length to the bush on **Mr Brown's** ground, whilst their works are again protected by rifle pits situated on the rising ground closely adjoining the boundary between Mr Brown, and Wilkinson's; added to all this they have formed rifle pits immediately in front of the camp, not far from **W. Harrison's** farm.

Perhaps no part of New Zealand could be chosen as better adapted for a guerilla warfare than that on which the rebels are now concentrating, for in every direction deep wooded gullies intersect the country, and I am certain that in no one spot could a level piece of ground exceeding one hundred acres in extent be met with.

Taranaki Herald 18 August 1860 (The journalist is W. I. Grayling)



The photo (approximately 1950s) is from the collection of Len Jury.

The faint imprint of Waireka Redoubt is visible in the photo

Note the deeply ravined and broken terrain.

The gullies would have been densely bush covered. The faint outline of old Hurford Road is still visible.

Greaves' property (leased by **Grayling**) lay east of the old Hurford Road, **Wilkinson's** to the west.

Today's South Road replaces the old Hurford Road.

Most of **Parson Brown's** is out of frame, bottom centre of photo.

The location of **W. Harrison's** is unconfirmed.



Morgan Grace was a medic attached to the 40th Regiment. Many years after the events, he wrote a somewhat colourful memoir entitled "*Sketch of the New Zealand War*" (1899).

This extract below, from Grace's book, gives us a description of the entrenchment and subsequent skirmishing around the Waireka Redoubt.

"Soon after my arrival in New Plymouth, a wing of the 12th regiment, under Major Hutchins, disembarked in the roadstead. A flying column, consisting of some companies of the 12th and 40th, some Royal Engineers and a few artillerymen, was despatched to encamp on the Waireka, the land on which the first engagement between the Maoris and Volunteers had been fought. I was put in medical charge of the wing.

General Pratt was now in command, and all dispositions were carried out with the formality observed in a European campaign. Although we were passing through a peaceable, open, well-cultivated country, skirmishers were thrown out, a rear guard formed, our baggage waggons were protected by outlying skirmishers, and we proceeded with all possible caution, as though every hedge, hillock, and break concealed a lurking enemy.

This had the worst possible effect on the morale of our men, all new to the country.

Arrived at Waireka, we proceeded hastily to entrench ourselves, as if danger was imminent. Before nightfall the lines of our earthworks had been drawn, mounds raised, trenches dug, tents pitched, all within a fortified space. So afraid of a surprise were we that, although we had double pickets out, we had not dared to encamp near either wood or water. In order to secure water from a neighbouring stream, we detached on each occasion an armed party of thirty or forty men to cover the advance and retreat of our water-carriers. Next day we commenced sinking wells. We continued this operation for days. The deeper we sank, the drier the ground, and never once did we turn up either gravel or stone.

The soldiers began to think that the devil was in the country.

They had never seen the like before. Finally the Engineers declared the land waterless, and the fatigue party broke off this work. Our daily expeditions for water were in time extended to search for potatoes. Had it not been for the frequent night-alarms, given by the outlying sentries, followed by the cry, "Man the defences," our lives would have been pleasant enough.

All this over-cautious watchfulness had a depressing effect on our men.

By degrees our pickets and scattered handfuls of men went farther afield, until at length many of us began to doubt the existence of any enemy. I made one of these excursions with two or three brother officers. We found on this occasion the body of a farmer which had been shoved into a drain. The settler had been tomahawked in the head, legs, and arms.

This was evidently the work of the Ngatiruanui, who were bitterly savage against us.

The appearance of this unfortunate man, who had evidently been surprised whilst examining his homestead, gave me 'quite a turn'..."

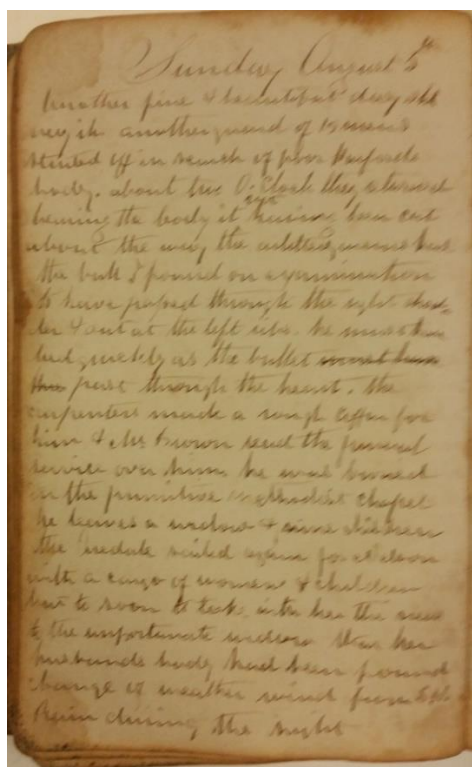
Sketch of the New Zealand War Morgan Grace pp 42-3

With the passage of time Morgan Grace's imagination added colour to many of his recollections, and in matters of detail his testimony is not always entirely accurate.

An artillery man (Gaffney) had been found tomahawked.

The farmer referred to here (found dead the next day) had not, in fact, been tomahawked.

Thursday 2 August 1860 John Hurford and an artilleryman are reported missing



"Sunday August 5

Another fine & beautiful day but greyish another guard of 19 sent off in search of poor Hurford's body. about two O'clock they ... the body it was ...[not] ... cut about the way the artilleryman's had the bullet proved on examination to have passed through the right shoulder & out at the left rib. he must have died quickly as the bullet passed through the heart. the carpenters made a rough coffin for him & Mr. Brown read the funeral service over him he was buried in the primitive methodist chapel he leaves a widow & nine children..."

Grayling's Diary (Puke Ariki archive collection)

Hurford and four artillerymen from the Waireka Redoubt had been ambushed. Three men escaped.

A few days later Grayling's full report appeared in the *Taranaki Herald* 11 August 1860

On Thursday, August 2nd, John Hurford, a farmer in the Omata district and attached as a militiaman to our stockade, wishing to visit his farm to see some potatoes that had been pitted left this without permission about 2 o'clock for the soldiers' camp on the top of the Waireka hill where he was joined by four artillerymen, and from thence proceeded by the bush road to his farm where they commenced pig hunting, and it was not until they had continued for upwards of half-an-hour that the natives appeared and fired on them, when one of the artillerymen ran across the bush and succeeded in making the stockade from Honeyfield's farm uninjured. The other two escaped into the bush and reached their own camp in the middle of the night.

The next day Captain Burton rode up and made arrangements with Major Hutchins to send a party of men in search of the two missing men. On the return of Captain Burton to the stockade twelve men were told off and started for the soldiers' camp, under the command of Lieut. Armstrong, where they were joined by forty soldiers, under Lieut. Mair, and at once proceeded in search of the absent. The volunteers after sometime found the body of the artilleryman Gaffney, but could see nothing of poor Hurford, the party consequently returned to their respective quarters.

On Saturday an endeavour was made through the friendly natives to learn the whereabouts of Hurford's remains; the descriptions given pointed only to the spot where Gaffney had been found. The natives did not seem to imagine that more than one white man had been killed. It appears from this that Hurford must have come by his death from an

accidental shot, and that the savages were not aware of his having fallen; this may account for the body not having been tomahawked in the usual way.

On Sunday another expedition was organised to make further search for our missing comrade, consisting of eighteen men, under Lieut. Armstrong, and forty regulars, under Lieut. Mair. This time success crowned their efforts, for they found Hurford lying on his back on the grass land, the bullet having struck him in the back by the shoulder blade passing diagonally through the body and coming out of the lower rib by the left side.

The body was conveyed to an outhouse near the stockade, when, so soon as the coffin was prepared, it was borne to the burial ground, attached to the Primitive Methodist chapel, where a grave had been prepared next to one of his children. The Rev. H. H. Brown read the funeral service. The funeral was attended by Capt. Burton and all who could be spared from the stockade. Hurford leaves a widow and 8 children to struggle their way alone through the world.

With us at the stockade the Sabbath, generally speaking, is a delightfully quiet day: some read, others write, whilst some commune with their own thoughts and are still; but this Sunday the sacred quiet has been broken by the unwonted sound of the carpenter's hammer, every blow of which seemed to convey to the thoughtful the idea that it might be his turn next. It was but a few days before this when our comrade, for whom we are now fulfilling the last offices required by his earthly body, was full of health and comparative happiness, and even buoyant with joy for the future.

August 1860 Skirmishing. Māori make their presence felt in the area.

Wednesday, August 8.—This morning several natives were seen and shots heard in the direction of Ratapihipihi, after a short time they again disappeared in all probability towards their camp at Tapuai.

Thursday, Aug. 9.—The firing heard this morning at the soldiers camp proved to be a slight affair between the natives and soldiers. Early in the morning three soldiers, one only armed, accompanied James Autridge to his father's farm to assist him in milking the cows, they had barely commenced operations when some fifteen or twenty natives rushed from Autridge's house and fired on the party, the soldier with the rifle received a flesh wound in the thigh and another in the knee. Immediately on the alarm being given, fifty men started from the camp to the rescue, and commenced firing on the already retreating natives; after the skirmish was over, a native mat was found near a pool of blood. The wounded man was removed to the camp where, I am happy to hear, he is doing well. W. I. G.

Ratapihipihi refers to the Native Reserve and a Māori village, less than a km inland from the Ōmata Stockade.

Tapuae (mis-spelt Tapuai) is the ridge of hills of which Jury's Hill is a part, extending west of the redoubt and towards the sea.

Taranaki Herald 11 August 1860

Skirmish at **Autridge's**

Māori were found in the house.

A few days later Autridge's house was fired and destroyed.

As we will see later, it is not certain if it was burned by the Māori or by the military.

Friday.

5 P.M.—We have just heard from our Omata correspondent that "the natives have in good earnest taken possession of Ratapihipihi again, from whence they are sending out parties to annoy us. This afternoon our sentinel, who is placed at the edge of the gully, had two shots fired at him; we all directly mustered and returned them with interest, whether with effect I cannot say."

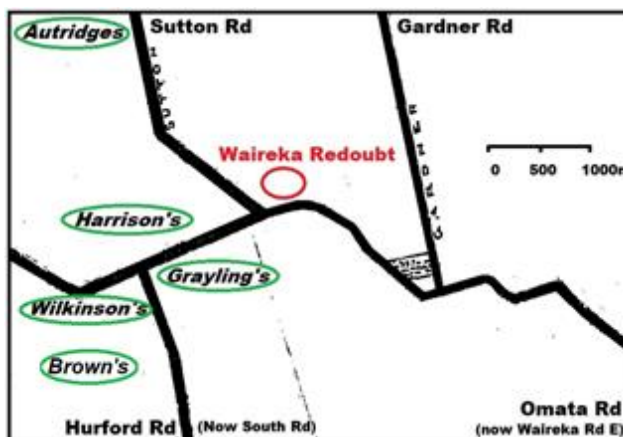
Friday. Mr W. Carrington's house at Tapuae has been destroyed.

Saturday, August 11.

A party of Militia and Volunteers, under the command of Major Herbert, Captains King, Watt, Stapp, and Atkinson, proceeded to the camp at Waireka, where the rebels were in force on Grayling's, Wilkinson's and Rev. Mr Brown's farms, the rebels firing on the party—Sergeant Free, of the Volunteers, being hit on the knee by a ball, which fortunately, however, only inflicted a slight wound. The Victoria sailed to-day for

Taranaki Herald 18 August 1860

Sunday.—The Tasmanian... main... to Waitara to-day. Weather threatening. A portion of the Naval Brigade, and a body of the 65th and 40th Regiments, were sent to Omata to-day with provision carts. The rebels have thrown up strong entrenchments across the road, and have sunk a large number of rifle pits on Grayling's and Harrison's farms, some within four hundred yards of the camp. Several natives were seen in Wilkinson's house, and a shell was thrown with beautiful precision into it, knocking down the chimney and bursting through the roof amidst the yells of the savages inside. The detachments all returned to town this afternoon. The T-



Māori sink rifle pits on **Grayling's** and **Harrison's** farms, and **Rev. Brown's**, close to the Waireka Redoubt. A shell is lobbed into **Wilkinson's** house

locality, and will continue with the journal of events from Saturday, the 11th of August.

Early this morning natives were seen from the stockade stripping Allen's house, which is situated at the corner of the cross road that joins the second parallel road from the beach, but they were soon interrupted by a few shells judiciously thrown from Major Hutchins' camp, after which the soldiers were observed burning and clearing any brushwood or furze fences that might offer cover to the enemy; the Cracroft rifle pits were also filled in.

Several shells and occasional small arms were fired over Grayling's farm, where the rebels might be seen rapidly at work forming their earthen protection.

A skirmishing party was then sent from the camp consisting of thirty men under Lieutenant Mair, but the natives in the covered pits proved too strong for them, they consequently retreated to the trenches, from whence they continued, at intervals during the day, with a well directed fire. One native was shot at a long range by Lieutenant Mair.

About eleven o'clock between twenty and thirty natives were observed leaving Captain Burton's premises in the bush with packs on their backs, evidently bound through the bush for the Waireka.

To protect our sentinels for the future, Captain Burton has this afternoon had thrown up three earthen breastworks, so that our men can now watch the gullies in comparative safety.

At the soldiers' camp after breakfast a double row of sentinels were stationed round the breastworks.

In the afternoon another skirmishing party, sixty in number, consisting of men of the 40th and 12th, under the command of Captain Hair, of the 40th, and Captain Miller, of the 12th, left the camp and again made an attempt on the enemy, but without much effect.

About 2 o'clock in the afternoon, one company of the 65th regt., came from town, and halted for some time at our stockade, closely following which came a body of militia and rifles, under the command of Major Herbert, our Adjutant, Captain Stapp, also accompanying them. After communication had been carried on for some time both with the town and the camp by means of the excellently arranged system of signals, at about half-past 3, the expedition started for the Waireka camp. After crossing Mr McKellar's fields one of the mounted party that had preceded us came back from the camp to say that we had better return to town again as it was too late to commence operations that day, but Major Herbert thought differently; he said, we have come thus far, let us go forward and see if we cannot be of some service.

In consequence of Major Herbert's determination, we proceeded, accompanied by the troops, to the camp, from whence there was occasional firing both from the cannon and small arms, one shell was very happy in its course, for it fell on Grayling's farm, completely in the centre of a batch of Maoris. As

the civilians were marching up the hill a bullet from a Maori gun passed across Sergeant Free's knee, tearing his trousers without doing farther injury. For an attack in the morning, we were ordered to return, having, I am sorry to say, had our march for nothing.

On my first arrival at the stockade all appeared to be tolerably quiet at the camp we had just left, but between 8 and 9 o'clock the cannon again boomed forth their messengers of death, followed by occasional volleys of small arms.

Sunday, August 12.—Our friends at the camp were disturbed early this morning. About 4 o'clock A.M. heavy firing was heard, which was continued at intervals nearly the whole of the day. At 1 o'clock a body of soldiers and sailors, escorting provision carts for the Waireka, reached the stockade. Col. Leslie, Lieut.-Col. Carey, Adjutant-General, Dr. Smith, Captain Pasley, and many other officers of rank accompanied the party, and after inspecting our strong little fort proceeded to the hill camp, after staying there sometime the whole party returned to town, no engagement having taken place beyond the trenches.

The Maoris have this time placed themselves in a very safe position, for by means of the trench to the bush they can at any time retreat towards their stronghold at Tataraimaka.

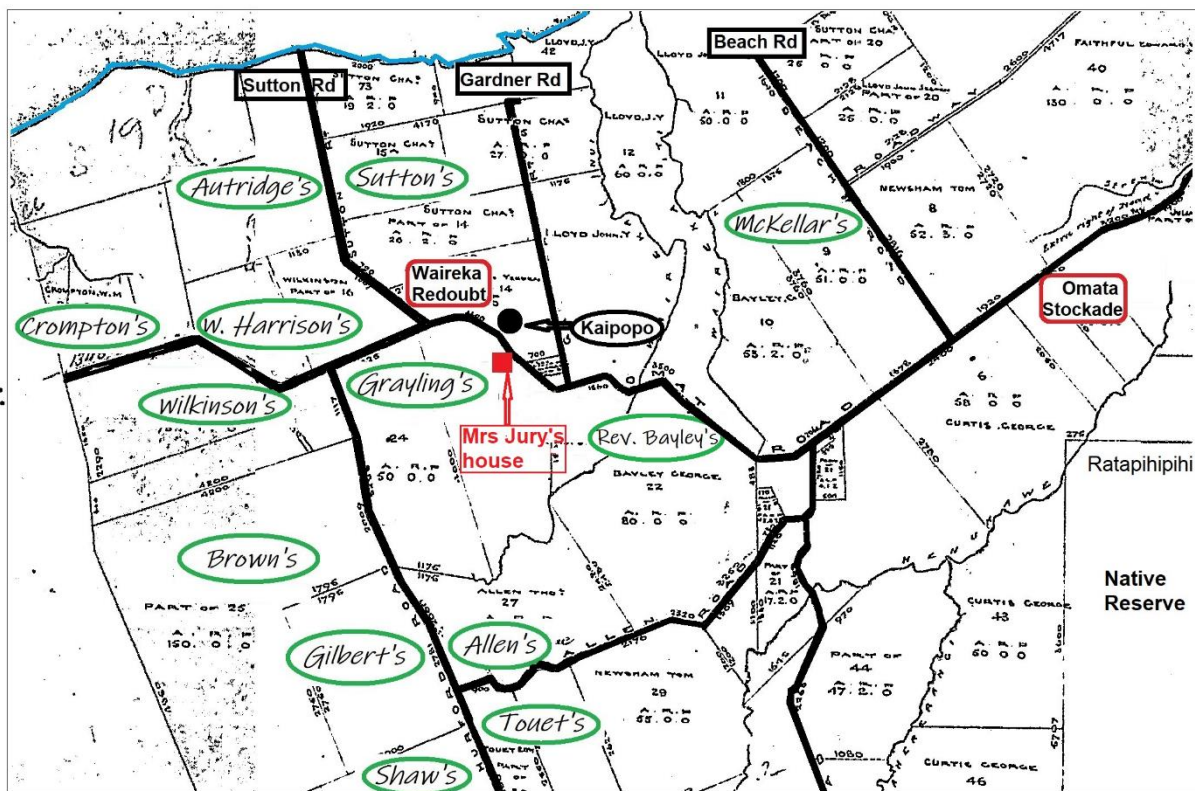
Monday, August 13th.—From early this morning occasional firing heard from the Waireka camp.

The natives appear daily growing bolder. This afternoon some approached within 700 yards of the stockade. Towards night they amused themselves burning Steer's house, and I am sorry to inform you that Law's well bred mare Nora was taken away. In all probability every house not immediately under the protection of the stockade will now be burnt. Grayling's, and many others in that neighbourhood, having already been consumed.

Tuesday, Aug. 14.—Natives seen at Allen's and Gilbert's farm hard at work collecting everything in the shape of food. They have also removed plank. ing from Gilbert's house. They are bearing these loads round the back of Gilbert's towards their head quarters at Wilkinson's or to their new pas at Wm. Harrison's, on the opposite side of the road.

Wednesday, Aug. 15th.—Heavy firing from the soldier's camp. The rebels approached within 1000 yards of the stockade, coming from the Waireka and passing up Curtis's fences where they endeavoured with great perseverance to catch some horses, after which they proceeded up the road towards Captain Burton's residence.

Taranaki Herald Journal of Events 18 August 1860



Approximate location of farms referred to.

Fragments from *Taranaki Herald*

Burton's residence. J. Shaw's and Touet's houses in flames this afternoon. These bold rebels were

sent on signals, on about half-past six, the expedition started for the Waireka camp. After crossing Mr McKellar's fields one of the mounted party that had preceded the main body back from the camp

Tuesday, Aug. 14.—Natives went at Allen's and Gilbert's farm hard at work collecting everything in the shape of food. They have also removed plank-ing from Gilbert's house. They are bearing these loads round the back of Gilbert's towards their head quarters at Wilkinson's or to their new pas at Wm. Harrison's, on the opposite side of the road.

On Wilkinson's ground strong fortifications as head quarters had been established, whilst further down the road, near

and protected by the same again on Harrison's farm. The works of the enemy extend as far in the rear of the camp as Autridge's farm, near the sea coast.

in and Job H. to which many horses have been driven away. Two strong pas can be seen that have been erected within the last few days on W. Harrison's farm. The

About three o'clock, Autridge's house in flames, and in the town direction, Peter Elliot's.

Natives have been seen to pass down the bush pressed a number of retreat. One set of covered-in rifle pits are on Grayling's farm, situated beneath which, in the bush, a quantity of small whares have been erected, in which the natives not on duty have evidently resided. An entrance

Early this morning natives were seen from the stockade stripping Allen's house, which is situated at the corner of the cross road that joins the second

An entrenched fortification with palisading has also been thrown across the road on the apex of a hill between Grayling's and the Rev. H. H. Brown's gate, from which can be commanded a magnificent view of the whole country.

On 18 August H. R. Richmond wrote: "An expedition has gone to take supplies to Waireka today - consisting in all of 300.

C.B. [Charles Brown] and Harry [Atkinson] are of the party. They have got safely there.

The maoris are strongly fortified in pahs, trenches and rifle pits almost on all sides of the camp, and it was thought that nothing would be allowed to pass without a desperate struggle ..."

The Richmond Atkinson Papers Vol 2 p 627

On Thursday afternoon, August 16th, Blaschke's, Berridge's, Jupp's, Pote's, Parker's, Ball's, Gud-geon's, and Colesby's houses were burned,—a pretty fair quantity of mischief for one afternoon's work. Judging from the smoke, I also imagine that White's, Messenger's, Greaves's, Newland's, Patterson's, and all in that neighbourhood, have ceased to be. Some idea in the loss of this kind of property alone may be imagined if we average the value of the houses at two hundred pounds each.

Captain Burton's residence has at last followed the rest. It appeared ungrateful of the natives to have destroyed this dwelling after having rested beneath its sheltering roof so long.

Friday, August 17th.—Very early this morning firing heard from the soldiers' camp. The natives busily engaged upon Honeyfield's farm driving cattle and horses away. About one o'clock p.m., they paid a visit to the village, and set fire to Grylls's house, when Major Hutchins sent from the camp several shells which fell with great precision near the conflagration, with what effect cannot be said, as the building was hidden from our view by a hillock. As the afternoon advanced, all the other houses in the village were ignited, including Job Harrison's, Miss Shaw's school, Newsham's large store, and Ware's Omata Inn; in fact, the village now has completely ceased to exist.

About three o'clock, some natives were seen coming from the road at the end of which Poharama's pa is situated, driving working bullocks, whilst another man was coolly seated driving a loaded dray. With all our philosophy this was really too much to be quietly borne, consequently we opened fire from our stockade upon them. One shot fired at eight hundred yards passed very closely over the man driving the cart, who, taking the hint, quickly dismounted and guided his bullocks into shelter; the others, finding our fire too warm for them, left some of their bullocks behind, six of which found their way to the stockade, from whence they were driven by some of our men to their owners in town. Some horses have also been stolen from close proximity to the Moturoa pa.

The natives at this pa, I am given to understand, are *very, very sick*. As they are our dear and affectionate allies, it behoves us to do all in our power to alleviate their sufferings. In their present state it strikes me that it would be advisable to remove from them every exciting cause. Their position must indeed be peculiarly painful,—securely placed as they are in a strong fortification, armed as allies by a kind and liberal government, to whom they have sworn allegiance,—to find themselves, under these circumstances, incapacitated by *sickness* from pulling a trigger to prevent half a dozen of the enemy from stealing before their eyes the property of their white brothers in arms. The desire for avenging such bold impudence must tend to increase the already raging fever.

Saturday, August 18th.—Rev. G. Bayley's stable on fire. It is true that every savage is gifted by nature with an excessive development of the organ of destruction, these Maories certainly shew great

judgment in not burning and destroying all at once, so that they are thus enabled to gratify their leading passion, whilst they avoid satiety.

About three o'clock, Autridge's house in flames, and in the town direction, Peter Elliot's.

Natives having been seen to pass down the bush road towards Poharama's place, some of our men from the stockade threw themselves into arms near the road by which they would return, which ere long took place, when a volley from the rifles warned them for the future to be a little more cautious in their movements. The whole amount of damage effected I cannot say, but one man was evidently badly wounded in the shoulder. After the first volley they immediately followed their usual tactics by running to cover and firing upon our party, but happily without effect.

Sunday, August 19th.—Another cold and showery day. About half past 9 a.m. a body of militia and volunteers under the command of Capt. Brown and Atkinson were seen in the distance preceding as an advanced guard a body of soldiers escorting provisions and stores for the Waireka camp under the command of Lieut. Colonel Sillery. Capt. Mould, R. E., with some few men of his corps, also accompanied the escort. In the afternoon, after having safely delivered their charge at its destination, the whole party returned towards town. The natives appear particularly quiet to day, in all probability they are holding a cabinet council (or rather I should say a bush one) as to what mischief they will be enabled to effect on the morrow.

Monday, August 20th.—No improvement in the weather; having no fires to sit by we feel the effect of the cold very much. Firing of heavy guns heard from the Waireka. Great many natives seen going towards Peter Elliot's farm, upon which a large barn is still remaining. Some little time after the movement of the Maoris had been signalled to town, firing was seen in the country between Stephenson's Smith's and Peter Elliot's. The natives appear to have formed their head quarters for the occasion in and near Peter Elliot's farm. How much we wished that it was in our power to assist the attacking party from town by marching down the road and commencing operations in the rear of the enemy; but I am sorry to say that our complement of men is too small to allow of us being indulged in such luxurious recreations. We know nothing here as to the result of the skirmish. From the stockade we observed the Maoris to retreat two or three times, but as the men returned to town they closely followed, and on their way fired a house which we supposed to be Mr Stephenson Smith's.

In the evening several shots were fired from Rata-pihihi, which after an interval were answered from various parts, being evidently a concerted signal.

In the neighbourhood of the stockade very few Maoris have shown themselves to-day, one or two alone having been observed as far off as Gilbert's.

All those houses immediately within reach of our rifles are still standing, and I have now some hopes that they will continue uninjured. W. I. G.

Refers to period Thursday 16 August – Monday 20 August

Taranaki Herald 25 August 1860

From the viewpoint of the Waireka Camp (Redoubt) Morgan Grace describes the scene at this time.

"A few days after this [*referring to the discovery of John Hurford's body*] some Maori appeared in our immediate neighbourhood, and Major Hutchins ordered a reconnaissance.

About 150 of our men were thrown into skirmishing order, and instructed to feel their way under cover of some gorse hedges, with the object of getting between the enemy and some neighbouring ridges of elevated land.

It was my duty to accompany the force, and as the troops opened out from the centre and extended to both sides, I found myself on the most distant--the left flank of the line of skirmishers.

As soon as the Maori saw our object, they opened fire. Our bugles sounded "Take cover." Our men immediately fell flat, crept up anyhow to some gorse hedges, and fired blindly through the fences at anything or nothing. As I lay prone on the ground, clutching absolutely --not figuratively--at the blades of grass, the balls ripped up the sward around me. I first drew in one leg, then another, then tucked in my arm, anon tried to bury my head in my shoulders, or my buttock in my back. It was useless. There was no escape. My soul was frozen within me. My orderly, Corporal Prince, was lying beside me. I knew nothing of his state of mind. The bugle sounded. My heart stood still, then the blood bounded back to my brain... I looked after the wounded without cover and under fire.

Now that I had something to do, my fear was gone. The instinct of the doctor was uppermost. The wounded on either side were alike interesting to me. Apparently, if both parties had been firing at me, it would not have made much difference. Training is a wonderful human moulder: I am certain martyrdom is nothing to persons educated to look for it.

As soon as the strength of the Maori was revealed, the retreat was sounded and our men returned to camp. Very little mischief was inflicted on either side. The range was too long for Maori smooth-bores. They were chiefly spent balls that frightened the wits out of me. I happened to have been at a point where the fire from two angles converged. The trajectory of our rifles was probably too high to hurt any one, for the Maori were up to their chins in rifle-pits.

This little affair left a bad impression on the Maori. A *reconnaissance en force* seems a fine military exhibition, when defined in words: with the Maori the mere formal dignity of a withdrawal amounts to nothing. A single Maori as long as he was in view would feel bound in honour to retire with formal dignity, though pursued by a whole army. But ours seemed the retreat of a powerful force.

The Maori concluded we were afraid. Had our men on this occasion been pushed on, and allowed to put their fortunes to the test of battle, it is no exaggeration to say millions of money would have been saved and thousands of lives.

Major Hutchins dared not risk it. Had the attack failed, he would have been cashiered.

Had it succeeded, he would have been tried by court-martial and reprimanded.

His instructions did not admit of an aggressive movement...

...In a few days the Maori erected earthworks to our left front 800 yards distant, to our left 600 yards distant, and to our left rear about 500 yards. We took no notice of them.

One fine morning they opened fire simultaneously from these works. We stood to arms, making no reply except by occasional sharpshooters from our flanking angles. The Maori fire had no effect on us. As our right and right front were open, we continued to draw water from the neighbouring creek and armed parties foraged for potatoes and vegetables coast-wise.

We had occasional skirmishes with the enemy, who laid ambuscades for us; but our modes were too uniformly guarded to admit easily of surprises. Once we surprised an ambuscade consisting of about six or eight Maori. They all got off, as usual; but one poor fellow, as he was vaulting over a gate 800 yards distant, was caught by an Enfield bullet in an extraordinary way. Our musketry instructor, when running full pelt, dropped on his knee, fixed his sight at 800 yards, pulled the trigger, when down fell the sable warrior. He was up again and bundled off on one leg and two arms whilst you could cry "Jack Robinson," and left nothing behind him except his mat".

Sketch of the New Zealand War Morgan Grace pp 44-50



Sergeant William Marjouram, Royal Artillery, served in New Zealand for six years, and while in New Plymouth was appointed chief of signals. He was responsible for the signal system at Ōmata Stockade. A reformed alcoholic who had found salvation, Marjouram devoted much of his diary to his religious observations. Shortly before the redoubt was abandoned, Marjouram had been assigned there, probably to set up a signal station. Marjouram's diary, edited by a colleague (Sergeant W. White R.A.), outlines how he saw the situation in New Plymouth.

August 28th. — The Victoria has returned from Auckland, with General P [Pratt] on board. He paid an unexpected visit to the Governor on the subject of the war, and it is evident that he now intends to begin work in earnest.

Shortly after disembarking, he issued a proclamation, that all the remaining women and children, 246 without distinction, should be prepared to leave the place for Nelson by the 1st of next month. This notice has created a great sensation among the ladies, and there is every appearance of a civil war between them and the authorities. Should such a struggle occur, they will, I fear, come off second best.

Our once beautiful province is now a desolation. Tataraimaka, Omata, and other places have not a house standing. The settlers' cattle are nearly all gone; and what is to become of the settlers themselves? They cannot return to their homes for many years to come. The labour of eighteen years has been destroyed by the ruthless hands of the savage Maories. Many once happy families have now left the settlement, weeping. Their eyes will probably never see their homes again.

Our town is now in a state of siege. An entrenchment has been thrown up all round it, and we can speak of our barriers and bastions as if we were before Sebastopol. The graves in our churchyard are being trampled down by bullocks, placed there for safety. Our chapel exhibits the appearance of a lodging-house. During service, we find half our pews occupied with bedding and wearing apparel. The chapel yard is filled with tents, and in front of the door a large fire is blazing, at which the men are busy cooking their meals.

The streets, from constant traffic, are ankle deep in mud, and bodies of armed men are incessantly on the move. At night may be seen women and children, dragging along, looking for a place of rest, — a general order having been issued that every person must sleep within the entrenchment.

I have reason to believe I am not destined to go to Waireka now, as it is probable the camp will be broken up. The natives have deserted their pas and rifle-pits in that locality, and, it is supposed, are gone further into the bush.

August 29th. — A most unaccountable change has taken place among the enemy. The forces south of the town have gone, nobody knows where⁷, and those at the Waitara have decamped in the direction of Waikato. An officer came from the Waitara to-day overland, but did not see a native. The strong pa which cost us so much loss on the 27th June,⁸ has been evacuated, and destroyed by our troops.

The officer reports that the whole of the rebels have crossed the Waitara river, and that the Waikatos are gone home with a large quantity of plunder. What the present movement means, it is difficult to say. I cannot suppose that they are satisfied; but no doubt they intend to follow their old custom during war, of going home to plant potatoes, and then returning to fight. Yet, unskilled as they are in the stratagems of war, they are wise enough to leave a few men behind, who move about the bush within sight of the camp, lighting large fires, to make us believe that they are still present in force. Doubtless, however, a few days more will throw considerable light upon their purposes and movements.

Memorials of Sergeant Majouram Sgt W. White pp 246-7

⁷ In fact the militiamen at Ōmata Stockade were aware that the southern Māori had moved from Waireka to Burton's Hill.

⁸ Refers to Puketakauere where battle was fought on 27 June, with a disastrous result for the British forces.

21 August 1860 The southern Māori withdraw from Waireka, to gather in force at Burton's Hill

Grayling (W.I.G.) continues the narrative in his regular report to the *Taranaki Herald*.

At this time he has little idea of any reason for the Māori moving.

A prominent Chief (Aperahama) had been shot while in one of the trenches – some thought this might have been the reason for departure.

Before the soldiers destroyed and filled in the Māori entrenchments, W. I. Grayling was able to give a detailed description of the six sets of rifle pits the Māori had positioned to surround the Waireka Redoubt. Grayling also reports a funeral, laments the stripping of planking from settlers' houses, by Māori, to cover their rifle pits - and reports that from Ōmata Stockade, more than 3km distant, the Māori could be seen in force on Burton's Hill.

Taranaki Herald 1 September 1860

Friday, August 21th.—After all the bad weather, we enjoyed a portion of one of Taranaki's beautiful days. The natives at the Waireka, imagining in all probability that the constant look out kept by our soldiers, with their readiness in firing both rifles and cannon whenever an opportunity occurred, had rendered their quarters too warm, have altogether forsaken their extensive works for Burton's hill, where, in all likelihood, they feel that safety for a time may be ensured. If they are once permitted to erect a strong pa with fortifications on this spot, it will require an immensity of force and loss of life to remove them. The works forsaken by the enemy at the Waireka, six in number, are of the most ingenious construction, both as regards shelter from the inclemency of the weather, and as offering when over pressed a safe means of retreat. One set of covered-in rifle pits are on Grayling's farm, situated beneath which, in the bush, a quantity of small whares have been erected, in which the natives not on duty have evidently resided. An entrenched fortification with palisading has also been thrown across the road on the apex of a hill between Grayling's and the Rev. H. H. Brown's gate, from which can be commanded a magnificent view of the whole country. Nearer the Waireka, to the left of the road, more rifle pits were dug, whilst in Mr Brown's bush small whares, as shelter for the supports, have been erected. On Wilkinson's ground strong fortifications as head quarters had been established, whilst further down the road, nearly opposite Mr Crompton's residence, rifle pits have been sunk and protected by covers. The same again on Harrison's farm. The works of the enemy extend as far in the rear of the camp as Autridge's farm, near the sea coast.

Most of these fortifications have been constructed in such a manner as to be perfectly impervious to shell or other appliances used by our artillery department. The smaller pits were open, and consisted of a hole in the ground capable of containing two or three natives; these again were flanked in every direction with nicely formed oblong holes, over which a strong roof had been placed, and means taken by a most ingenious hollowing out of the bank to form a fire place and chimney; so that the inhabitants, whilst being free from smoke, enjoyed safety from any missile that might be sent from the soldiers' camp to dislodge them. Most of these entrenched residences are situated at the edge of wooded gullies, down which the occupants have but to rush in order to ensure safety, without care has been taken in time to cut them off in the rear. Most of the houses which at the beginning of the war were under the protection of the sacred "Tapu" of the

Māoris, have been dismantled of their planking to strengthen the fortifications of the enemy. This imaginary sacred Maori right having been thus broken through, will at the conclusion of the war allow of hard working settlers once again to commence operations on their farms without a question being raised as to native rights on the subject, and under the protection I trust of our own true British flag alone, and not as payment for quietude to panders to a savage race.

Saturday, August 25th.—Many natives seen going from the Waireka towards Captain Burton's ground with cattle, horses, and loaded drays. Captain Burton's hill is situated at a right angle about three miles in a direct line from the beach; about two miles and one third from our stockade; and about two miles and one half from the Waireka camp: it is a clearing from which the natives can make the bush in any direction.

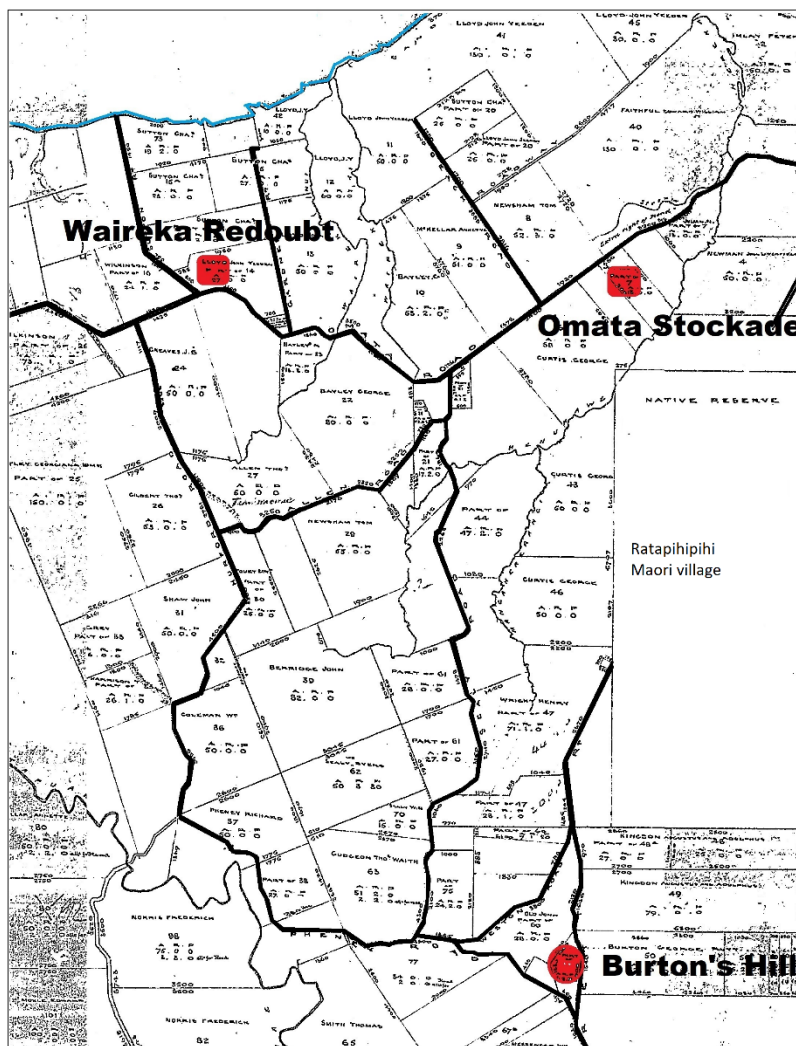
Sunday, August 26th.—At 2 o'clock to-day our flag was hoisted half mast high in commemoration of Mr Richard Brown's funeral, which was to take place at that hour in town. There are many of us here, although disabled by duty from paying this last tribute of respect, who felt that a valued friend had been lost; one on whose word we could always strictly rely, and who, both in substance and in feelings, participated without oppressing us in the pecuniary losses which at one period fell so heavily on this Province.

Monday, August 27th.—Natives still observable in numbers on Captain Burton's hill. These natives appear to show great judgment in their movements, as they have selected a spot some little distance from their present head quarters for feeding their stolen stock, on account of its containing better feed; in fact, all their actions appear to be governed by a matured judgment. A party of militia and riflemen, under the command of Captain Richmond, arrived to-day with our much needed provisions.

Tuesday, August 28th.—Soldiers engaged in destroying the native fortifications at Waireka.

I am happy to inform you that, although their party has diminished to a small number, Tamati Wiremu and Ropata Ngarongomate are still in the land of the living, deeply sympathising as far as influenza goes with their allies the Pakeha.

The houses standing in the immediate neighbourhood of the stockade are Law's, Curtis's, McKellar's, Good's, the three Juliens', Mace's, and Honeyfield's. Curtis's being more immediately under the rifles of the stockade, has received, in all probability, less injury than any property about. W. I. G.



The location of Burton's Hill has been superimposed on this early map of the Ōmata District. (* See Appendix 5).

(Modified from:
RACK56
Puke Ariki Archives)

Highlighted are some of the early roads. Those of today follow approximately the same course.

Burton's Hill is located on an elevated section of today's Barrett Road.

It is on the west side of the road, a few hundred metres past the intersection with today's Phenev Road.

Looking north from this elevated position it is possible to view the sea. It is also possible to identify the top of Jury's Hill (Waireka Redoubt) about 3 – 3.5 km distant.



Burton's Hill August 2020

Sunday August 26th
 Very dirty weather wind with
 much rain from the N.W.
 Natives still at Capt. Burton's
 whether they intend building a
 pah or not cannot be said...

Monday
 Maoris have left the Waireka
 & are now at Burton's where we
 are given to understand they
 intend building a strong pah...

Sunday August 26th

"Very dirty weather wind with much rain from the N.W. Natives still at Capt. Burton's whether they intend building a pah or not cannot be said..."

"...All the Maoris have left the Waireka & are now at Burton's where we are given to understand they intend building a strong pah..."

Grayling's Diary (Puke Ariki Archive Collection)

Monday.—We hear from Waireka that Aperahama, a chief of the Taranaki tribe, and of considerable influence, was shot dead on Saturday by a shot from the camp; since which the rebels have left their trenches and rifle pits, and disappeared.

Taranaki Herald 1 September 1860

A chief, Aperahama, was in the Māori trenches at Waireka, some distance from the British entrenchment on Jury's Hill, and appears to have been hit by a bullet from the Redoubt.

...own since our last. The Natives have, for the present, left the entrenchments they had formed before the camp at Waireka, and they have been destroyed and filled in. They are known to have suffered loss from the fire of the artillery from the camp, and probably found the place getting too hot for them. A portion of the force is moving towards Waitara, and the remainder have taken to the bush at the back of the Omata district, and are busy forming a pah on Captain Burton's land—a very elevated position, from which the whole of the surrounding country can be seen. News...

Some people associated this with the movement of Māori away from Waireka.

Others speculated that part of the southern Māori force was moving towards Waitara, while the others were building a pā on Burton's Hill.

The New Zealander 5 September 1860

...begin. We have had rifle pits and trenches dug by the southern rebels within 1,000 yards of the camp at Waireka, in spite of shelling and an occasional sally. The strange part is that the natives, who had shown so much ability to hold the ground, should have suddenly abandoned it for no known object. The same observation applies to the Puketakauere pah, which was as mysteriously abandoned, and afterwards destroyed by a portion of Major Nelson's force. The idea is that the natives, surfeited with plunder, have removed it to a safe distance, and probably that the planting season is dividing their attention.

The appearance of a general slow withdrawal continued to puzzle the observers.

It was noted that the time for planting crops was near. (Unlike the British Army which had its commissariat, Māori fighters had the disadvantage of no choice but to fight part-time and rotate their forces, as their manpower was also needed to tend to their crops and supply themselves with food.)

Nelson Examiner 5 September 1860

Strangely, there was no discussion in the newspapers about any plan to counter the build-up of Māori forces on Burton's Hill – until early in September, when a carefully planned attack was suddenly attempted.

This was an elaborate expedition, comprising three divisions, the first including rockets and artillery. It was a failure. Māori, possibly forewarned, simply vacated their position. After a 20 mile (32 km) march and a freezing cold night, the settler militias vented their frustration by burning Ratapihipihi⁹ on the way home.

⁹ Ratapihipihi, on the outskirts of New Plymouth (see previous map) was the village of Manahi, a Māori chief, thought by the settlers to have been responsible for the killing of three settlers and two boys, leading to the Battle of Waireka.

Tuesday 4 September 1860 The Expedition to Burton's Hill

So quietly was everything arranged, that nothing was known for certainty of an intended movement until late in the afternoon of Monday, when, after being supplied with extra ammunition, each division was directed to fall in at the hour of eleven at night.

No. 1 division, with the artillery and rockets on the beach facing the boat house, No. 2 opposite the Brigade Office, No. 3 in a line at the Militia Office. Carts were provided to carry forty rounds of extra ammunition for each man at night.

Taranaki Herald 8 September 1860

Journal of Events

"So quietly was everything arranged, that nothing was known for certainty of an intended movement until late in the afternoon of Monday, when, after being supplied with extra ammunition, each division was directed to fall in at the hour of eleven at night.

No. 1 division, with the artillery and rockets on the beach facing the boat house, No. 2 opposite the Brigade Office, No. 3 in a line at the Militia Office. Carts were provided to carry forty rounds of extra ammunition for each man,

at the same time each division was separately provided with ambulance accommodation in case of need, and every man directed to take cooked food with him...

... No. 1 division at the appointed hour marched up the beach as far as the Moturoa pa, from whence they struck off by the cross road that leads to that which passes the Omata stockade, from whence Messrs. F. Mace, Edward and Charles Messenger joined them as volunteer guides. Continuing on to Sealy's or No. 4 road they were joined by 100 men from the Waireka camp, when they immediately marched up the road towards Gudgeon's farm, from whence they struck across to the Barrett or number 3 road, upon which Burton's hill, the stronghold of the natives, was situated, down which, after having communicated with No. 2 division, they returned to town.

No. 2 division commenced their journey by marching up the Omata road before described, until they reached the branch No. 2, or Elliot's road, at which they arrived between 12 and 1 o'clock.

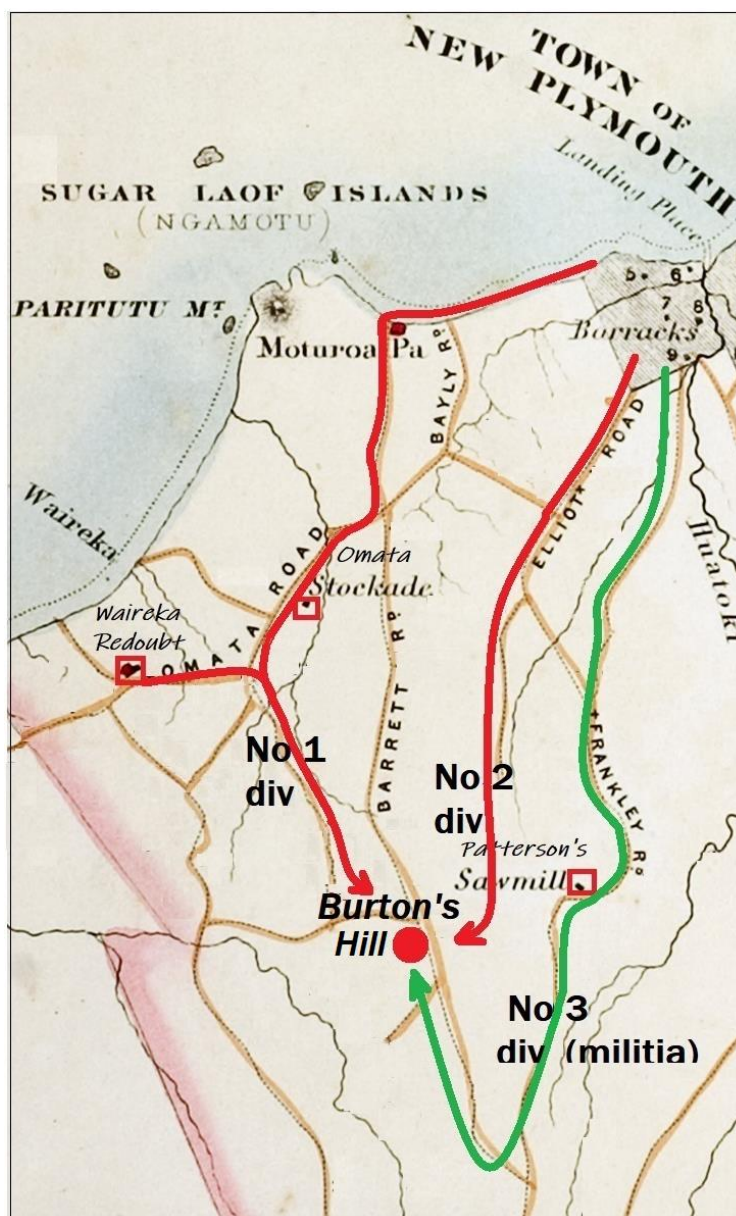
After proceeding some distance along the road they diverged, crossing some fields from Cowling's and halted, when Kingdon and Looney, the volunteer guides, went up the road to see that all was clear. Having perceived recent native tracks, they returned to the main body, which remained stationary until daybreak when the ammunition and carts being moved to the extreme rear, at eight a.m. they marched into the bush as nearly as possible in a southerly direction towards Wheeler's clearing, when a skirmishing party was sent out.

Finding no signs of the enemy they returned to the open lands, from whence the Colonel in command sent out three horsemen to communicate with No. 1 division, which being effected orders were given to return to town, which was reached at 10 a.m.

No. 3 division, of 150 men of the Militia and Volunteers, in command of Major Herbert, Captains C. Brown, W. C. King, Captain and Adjutant Stapp, Capt. Des Voeux, (in charge of mounted escort), Lieuts. McKellar, Morrison, and Hirst, proceeded by the Frankley Road to Patterson's saw mills, where they halted till morning, and continued their march through a dense forest till they reached A. Brooking's clearing about three miles in rear of Burton's, when they came upon Burton's road and continued the road through Messenger's clearing towards Burton's Hill anxiously expecting the signal gun of attack in their front; they arrived at the hill at about 10 a.m. and found the place evacuated, though quite recently occupied by the enemy as logs were burning and some native dogs running about.

When it was found that the other divisions had returned to town, No. 3 division continued their march through Ratapihipihi — some of the foremost of the division having rushed forward to burn the houses of the murdering traitor¹⁰ Manahi — a halt was made at Honeyfield's farm which, by the Omata road, weary and tired, town was reached at about half past 1 p.m. "

¹⁰ Manahi had sworn allegiance to the Queen and been issued with arms, after which he changed sides and aligned with the fighting forces from the south — thereafter abhorred by the settlers and held responsible for the killing of the three New Plymouth settlers and two boys, triggering the Battle of Waireka — hence the epithet "murdering traitor".



Taken from: ARC2004-3006
(Enlargment) Puke Ariki Archives
Modified to show approximate
routes of Div 1,2 and 3

No. 1 division of 18 men of the Royal Artillery, with 1 24-pounder howitzer, 2 3-pounder field pieces, and 3 5½ inch mortars, 32 of the Royal Engineers, 105 of the 40th regt. (from the Waireka camp), 216 of the 65th regt., and 13 of the naval brigade, with 2 tubes and 30 rounds of 24 pounder rockets, in command of Lieut.-Colonel Silbery, Capts. Turner and Barton, Lieuts. Bailie, Urquhart, Whitbread, White, and Talbot, 65th regt.; Capt. Hare, Lieuts. Clerk, and Burton, 40th regt.; Gunner Buckle in charge of rocket tubes, proceeded by Moturoa and Senly Road;

No 2 division, of 88 men of the 40th regt., 86 of the naval brigade, and 73 of the 65th regt., in command of Lieut. Colonel Leslie, Capt. Shaw, Lieuts. Hobbs, Gibson, and Adjutant Johnson, 40th regt.; Lieuts. Wrixon, and Ensign Pagan, 65th regt.; Commodore Loring, Lieuts. Hume, Medley, Parish, Connolly, Midshipmen Heneage, Gambier, Gassiot, and Horne, naval brigade, proceeded across Elliot's and Looney's farms.

No. 3 division, of 150 men of the Militia and Volunteers, in command of Major Herbert, Captains C. Brown, W. C. King, Captain and Adjutant Stapp, Capt. Des Vœux, (in charge of mounted escort), Lieuts. McKellar, Morrison, and Hirst,

News clips from *Taranaki Herald*
8 August 1860

A total of almost 700 men with heavy artillery, rockets, ammunition carts and ambulances marched overnight in bitterly cold conditions, through cart tracks, mud and dense bush.

The militiamen, who had marched the greatest distance, probably felt the greatest disappointment.

W. I. Grayling concluded, in his report to the *Taranaki Herald* 8 August 1860:

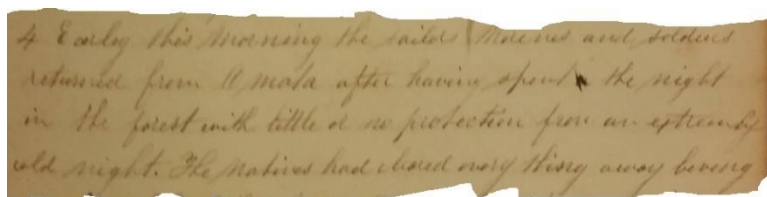
"...The march of this [No 3] division, composed solely of militia and volunteers, was both the heaviest and the longest, reaching as it did, in a right line from the beach, five miles and a half, being in the extreme rear of all the divisions.

Allowing for the meandering of the road, the distance marched could not be far short of twenty miles [32 km] ...

... The expedition was very trying to all the force, the roads being in places knee deep in mud, and the night bitterly cold..."

Dissatisfaction increased further when the men learned later that the British officers had been informed some hours before the expedition set out, that the Māori had already left Burton's Hill.

Settler, Francis Gledhill, never short of an opinion, recorded this in his diary (Puke Ariki Archives):



4 Early this morning the sailors, marines and soldiers returned from Omata after having spent the night in the forest with little or no protection from an extremely cold night. The natives had cleared every thing away leaving

4. Early this morning the sailors, marines and soldiers returned from Omata after having spent the night in the forest with little or no protection from an extremely cold night.

The Natives had cleared every thing away living and dead. The Volunteers and Militia returned at half past 12 O'Clock. The most mysterious [*mysterious*] and vexing feature of this expedition is that Authorities were made aware of the fact by telegraph from the Omata Stockade that the Natives were going away at 5 P.M. the very evening of the 3 inst or about seven hours before they moved off to attack them.

The natural result was that they found the Pah empty of all animals except fleas and their first cousins. A portion of these men had been on duty to day until four O'clock and had to muster again at 11 O'clock to march 5 or 6 miles in exceedingly bad roads by moonlight. When daylight appeared many of them were marched through bush roads near twenty miles which so fateagued [*fatigued*] them that they could scarcely walk into Town.

Great dissatisfaction was manifested when the men learnt that it was well known to the Commander seven hours before they left Town and before they were called together that every native was gone away with all the spoil of weeks collection..."

F.U. Gledhill's Diary (Puke Ariki Archive Collections)

SEPTEMBER 1860.

George Jupp's Diary (Puke Ariki Archives Collection)

3rd. Fine day. On parade. Went to Omata on Escort, back to town by 4 p.m. Fell in again down in the town $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 p.m. to march by Pattersons saw mill on to Burtons Hill. We started about 11 p.m., marched up the Franklin road on through the mud and water. We at last arrived at the saw mills and halted for the night. We made some fire, tried to keep ourselves warm but a more wretched night I never spent. Morning at last came. We had a tott of rum issued to each man.

4th. Fine day. We started early, went through Newlands farm into the Mountain road to Burtons Hill, but the natives had left their fires burning, some of their dogs behind. We expected to find the troops or find natives here, but we saw none. We marched home by the Whalers Gate, reached town by 1 p.m. We then found out the natives left Burton Hill about 9 p.m. and Captain Burton of the stockade sent to General Pratt a message to that effect. If he followed them he would overtake them soon, as they had carts heavy laden, but he would not follow them so they once more escaped. Pratt went with the troops a short distance beyond Ratapikipiki and back again to town, and we laying hours in the cold waiting for him. My wife and family left in the "Airdale" for Nelson.

There was a suspicion that the Māori may have been notified in advance of the expedition.

Arthur Atkinson (on sick leave in Auckland) wrote: "It seems from the Taranaki Herald ... that ... a large (mixed) force had gone (by three different roads) to attack the Maories on Burton's hill. They found fires alight &c but no natives. It is said they were fore-warned by 'Friendly Natives'. This is the first time the soldiers have been allowed to go into the Bush & tho nothing was done, it is the promise of better things to come".

The Richmond Atkinson Papers Vol 2 Scholefield p634

Sergeant Marjouram, who would never criticise his superior officers, laid the blame for the failure of the Burton's Hill mission elsewhere. His thoughts were expressed in his usual pious style.

September 4th. —Weary and almost worn out, I sit down to describe a well-planned but utterly frustrated night march on the enemy.

Yesterday evening it was rumoured that an attack was contemplated, and at eight o'clock P. M. orders were issued to prepare for the march at eleven. We left the town in three divisions, under the command of General P. [Pratt] Every one fully expected to be hotly engaged before many hours, for we knew that the enemy were that day in pretty strong force on Burton's Hill and Ratapihipihi. Added to this, a new feature in our mode of warfare was about to be adopted, as we were now entering the bush for the first time since the commencement of the war.

The divisions separated for different roads at the Omata inn, or rather where the inn once stood, for it has met with the fate of the rest of the village. Our party entered the bush at once, and made its way slowly to the expected scene of conflict; the mud in the road frequently allowing the wheels of our guns to sink until the axle-tree was grazing the ground. The keen S. -E. wind made our march a very cold one, and we were glad to reach our intended position.

We expected to attack at once; but the General determined to wait for daybreak, as the extent and exact whereabouts of the rebels' position was not known. So we endeavoured to pass two hours of intense cold as best we could. Some lay down in the mud, and were asleep in a moment; others, with myself, preferred to move about. When day broke, we began to look out for our foe, but, as usual, we were too late, for it was evident they had decamped the morning before our arrival, having, no doubt, received information of our intended movements.

A question naturally arises—Who is the traitor ? In every attack we have made or attempted, the enemy has been prepared to move off, should he find us too strong, or to take up a favourable position, should he intend to make a stand. Here they had no pa, but had been living in temporary huts, being ready to enter the bush at any time, in case of sudden attack. Our plans, however, had been so carefully arranged, that it would have been difficult for a single Maori to have escaped, and this they seemed to have thoroughly understood. So, SUSPECTED TREACHERY.

After a night of fruitless expectation, we started for town, arriving at ten A. M. I had not sat down to rest since ten o'clock on the previous night, therefore it is no wonder that I feel tired to-day.

Our expedition reminds me of the celebrated couplet— ' The King of France, with twenty thousand men, March'd up the hill, and then march'd down again: ' while our mortification is increased by the terrible certainty that there must be foul play amongst us, or the enemy could never obtain such accurate information respecting our intended movements. We are almost tempted to cry out, with the Assyrian king in old time, ' Will you not shew me which of us is for the king of Israel ?' True, we believe that the very One Who thwarted Benhadad is now on our side, and will one day overthrow the designs of those who have risen up against us; in the meantime, ' Duties are ours, events are God's. '

Memorials of Sergeant Majouram Sgt W. White pp 249-50

It is difficult to conclude that this gruelling exercise had achieved anything, other than to confirm that the Māori forces had (for the time being) cleared out from the area.

However, the expedition was significant in one respect: it was the first time the British Army had entered the bush, a tactic which Atkinson and other settlers had long been advocating.

Capt. C. Pasley (Royal Engineers) can now bring us up to date with an over-view of the events of the war, from the viewpoint of the British military command:

"The general ... [Pratt] ... determined upon the following plan of action: first, to hasten by every means in his power the departure, which had already commenced, of the women and children to the southern island, when a considerable portion of the permanent garrison of New Plymouth would be added to his available field force; and in the meantime to employ the troops in surrounding the town with a palisade and ditch, and in making gabions for siege operations, should they be required. Next, to attack and drive the southern natives from their position at Waireka. Then, reinforced by the garrison of that post, to march to the Waitara and to attack and capture Puketakauere, and the chain of pas which connected it with the forest. Then, in the event of the enemy taking refuge in the bush and refusing to submit, he proposed to follow them up to their strongholds by the system of operations which he afterwards carried out with complete success. Lastly, he intended to follow the Taranakis and Ngatiruanuis into their own country, and to inflict a severe and well-merited chastisement upon those tribes.

The failure of a portion of this plan, and the necessary postponement for some time of the remainder, arose entirely from circumstances over which the general had no control. He proceeded to Auckland for the purpose of requesting the support and assistance of the Governor and Executive in effecting the removal of the women and children. This was promised, and steamers were despatched to New Plymouth to convey them to Nelson, in the middle island.

During the general's absence, which only lasted for a few days, the enemy adopted a most unexpected and unaccountable step, in suddenly and simultaneously abandoning their strong positions both at Puketakauere and Waireka.

The Waikatos proceeded northwards to their homes, the Taranakis retired to Tataraimaka and Kaihihi, the Ngatiruanuis returned to their own country, W. Kingi and his followers fell back into the forest, and all the great works which had cost the Maories months of hard labour, fell into the hands of the troops. As the officers of the native department at Taranaki were of opinion that the Waikatos at least, if not the southern natives, would return in all probability in much larger numbers in about a month or six weeks, the general, on his return from Auckland, resolved to employ the interval in completing the preparations upon which he had previously decided, not, however, neglecting any opportunity which might offer of inflicting a blow upon the rebels who remained in the province.

An unexpected difficulty now arose in removing the women and children. The alarm which they had previously experienced, and which had induced them readily to consent to leave the province, disappeared with the main body of the enemy, and nearly all of them absolutely refused to embark. The general at length finding that it was out of his power to effect their removal without the use of actual violence, was most reluctantly compelled to abandon the attempt, and to allow about a thousand women and children to remain, thus depriving himself of the services of about half a battalion of soldiers..."

The War in New Zealand C. Pasley 1863

South of New Plymouth Māori had evacuated both Jury's Hill and the area surrounding it, and had now also abandoned their briefly occupied position on Burton's Hill.

They retreated south with cattle and other plunder to three strongly fortified pā at Kaihihi, a little south of the Tātaraimaka block, which they now held.

The Māori now considered Tātaraimaka to be theirs (a) by right of conquest, and (b) as utu (payment) for the loss of the block of land at Waitara, which had been the cause the war.

Two weeks were to go by before the military decided on an expedition to Tātaraimaka.

In the meantime...

Winter in New Plymouth. Sickness and tensions

It was a bitter winter.

An influenza epidemic caused much suffering to the Māori .

The natives at this pa, I am given to understand, are *very, very sick*. As they are our dear and affectionate allies, it behoves us to do all in our power

Taranaki Herald 25 August 1860

The pā referred to here by the writer (Grayling) is the Moturoa pā, within the New Plymouth precincts.

“Influenza among the natives” was being reported in newspapers throughout the country.

The fighting Māori who had been entrenched around Ōmata were facing cold, wet conditions and would have been particularly susceptible.

Settlers and their families, confined in the town, endured over-crowding, unhealthy conditions and the risk of outbreaks of infectious disease.

In 1860 they were lucky.

No large outbreaks were reported that winter.

Diphtheria came in the following year.

Tension between the Military Authorities and the settler families in New Plymouth.

PROCLAMATION

In communication with His Excellency the Governor and the General Government of New Zealand, and under the absolute necessity that exists for all women and children, without distinction, being as speedily as possible removed from New Plymouth. His Honor the acting Superintendent will warn all those drawing rations to be prepared to embark for Nelson about the 1st proximo.

The remaining families, without distinction of rank, will also be warned in alphabetical order, and must be prepared to proceed to Nelson on or about the same date. The Government having made arrangements for their reception at that place, and having agreed to maintain them there.

Steamers will be provided for the above purpose.

By Command,
R. CAREY,
Lieut.-Colonel,
Deputy Adjutant-General.

Head-Quarters,
New Plymouth, 28th August, 1860.

Women and non-combatants were required to leave New Plymouth for Nelson, on steamers provided for the purpose.

Some families continued to refuse free passage to Nelson.

New Plymouth was at that time under martial law.

Repeated proclamations from the military authorities in New Plymouth began to reflect a certain amount of frustration.

(This matter came to a head a week later).

The British forces now withdrew from the Waireka Redoubt, leaving Jury's Hill unoccupied.

Friday 7 September 1860 The British troops abandon their redoubt on Jury's Hill

when the Maoris withdrew southward at the end of August their fortifications were destroyed and the opportunity was taken to abandon the redoubt. Pratt wrote to the Governor, "I withdrew the detachment stationed at the Waireka on the 7th inst., with a view of concentrating the Forces preparatory to further operations."¹⁴¹

141 Pratt to Browne, 8 Sep 1860: AJHR, 1860, E-3C.

The Archaeology of a Military Frontier: Taranaki, New Zealand, 1869-1881 Nigel Prickett p66

(Prickett points out that the "further operations" mentioned here by Pratt refers to Waitara in the north of New Plymouth, where he intended to move on Kairau and Huirangi.)

Friday.—The abandonment of the Waireka camp having been decided on, carts, with an escort of military, left early this morning to bring in the tents and baggage of the troops stationed at Waireka.

3 p.m.—The troops from Waireka have arrived in town, and are camped in Queen-street, near the Union Mills. The Tasm

Taranaki Herald 8 September 1860 Journal of Events

Sergeant Marjouram wrote in his diary:

September 7th - ... To-day, the camp at Waireka has been broken up, and the men returned to town. This step has greatly dissatisfied many of the settlers, as well as the militia at the Omata stockade. It is very probable we shall have to fight for this very same spot; for when the rebels return from the south, they are sure to take up their position here.

I went to the Omata stockade this morning, to instruct the signalman in the use of the improved signals.

Great confusion exists among the ladies at present; no less than three steamers, carrying from two hundred to two hundred and fifty women and children each, have left this week for Nelson, and the remainder are to follow in a day or two. Many who had received notice to go on board, hid themselves, and could not be found; others had an escort sent after them, which they resisted, declaring they would never leave.

One militia captain was ordered to go with a party of men to fetch away a few women by force; and, on refusing to obey the order, was placed under arrest.

Many people are dying from various causes, chiefly from the depression created by the desperate state of things in the province. Still men will not hear the warning voice. Drunkenness is more frequent, the closing of the public-houses at three P. M. rather increasing than decreasing it. I could wish I had the same opportunity here, as in the camp, of talking to the men; but no one is allowed outside the lines, and it is impossible to collect them within.

Memorials of Sergeant Marjouram Sergt. W. White

Marjouram understood the strategic value of Jury's Hill, and his concern at abandonment of the Waireka Redoubt proved to be prophetic.

On this day also he reported the conflict between the military authorities and the settlers regarding the order that women and children be sent as refugees to Nelson. There are many accounts of this incident, and also of the sickness and generally unhealthy living conditions in New Plymouth.

Property damage around Waireka, caused by the garrison during their occupation

Not all of the destruction of settler property had been due to Māori.

During their occupation of the redoubt on Jury's Hill, the military, too, did their share of damage.

"Mrs Jury's claim for compensation against the military details how her house suffered further destruction at the hands of the troops, who removed whatever useful materials they could to construct the temporary cookhouses in this camp (Taranaki Relief Fund Commissions 1861)..." p122

"Military claims for compensation show not only destruction of houses and fencing to reuse materials by the Military, such as that which occurred at Mrs Jury's property, but also burning of houses, including the home of William Crompton (Taranaki Relief Fund Commissions 1861), presumably so Māori could not use them as shelter..." p123

"In her claim for compensation, Mrs Jury described her house as being burnt and destroyed by Māori, although there was no clear archaeological evidence of burning, such as a burn layer or molten glass, uncovered during excavation. It seems probable therefore that the house was deconstructed by Māori, with parts ending up at Kaipopo Pā ...

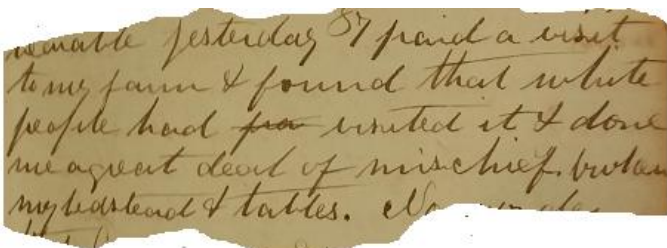
The military claim by Elizabeth Jury also describes what remained of the house being taken away by soldiers and used to build temporary cookhouses at the nearby British Waireka camp.

If the house had been burned this would not have been possible..."

P 165

Improving Our Condition J. Adamson

Grayling, who was leasing a farm¹¹ almost directly opposite the Waireka Redoubt, was less than impressed when he visited his home the day after the garrison had encamped.

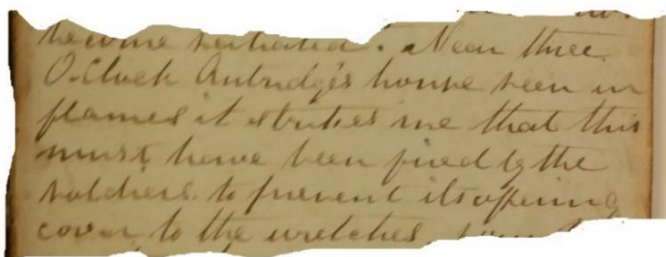


Yesterd^y I paid a visit to my farm & found that white people had ~~been~~ visited it & done me a great deal of mischief broken my bedstead & tables.

"Yesterday I paid a visit to my farm and found that white people had visited it and done me a great deal of mischief broken my bedstead & tables..."

Grayling's Diary (Puke Ariki archive collection)

Also, Grayling recorded in his diary this private thought, that Autridge's house may have been burned by the military:



Near three O'clock Autridge's house seen in flames it strikes me that this must have been fired by the soldiers to prevent its offering cover to the wretches...

"...Near three O'clock Autridge's house seen in flames it strikes me that this must have been fired by the soldiers to prevent its offering cover to the wretches..." Grayling's Diary

Saturday August 18 1860

However, in his report to the *Taranaki Herald* (25 August 1860) Grayling withheld this suspicion, and

About three o'clock, Autridge's house in flames, and in the town direction, Peter Elliot's.

stated only that the house was "in flames", making a clear implication that the burning was done by Māori.

Charles Autridge himself, in his claim to the Commission (July 1861), stated that the house had been "burned by the enemy"

¹¹ According to an old cadastral map in the collection of Len Jury, the owner of Grayling's leasehold property was J. S. Greaves. An article in the *New Zealander* 16 February 1861 refers to the owner of the property as "Mrs. Greaves".

July 1860. I had a house on my property at Omata - 1/2 an acre - 45 ft front - 18 ft 6 in - 5 rooms. I was in 1858 - then was also largely used nearly as long as the house - The property was let. The tenant was obliged to abandon the house at the commencement of the war - the house was burnt - I found the charred remains -

The owner of a property in Ōmata, F. J. Greaves, described in detail the destruction of a house on that property, in a subsequent claim to the Taranaki Relief Fund Commission.

"In 1860 I had a house on my property at Omata...
...The property was let. The tenant was obliged to abandon the house at the commencement of the war'
The house was worth about £100 or £120. The house was burnt. I found the charred remains..."

It is possible that this refers to Grayling's house. (Grayling was leasing from J. S. Greaves at the time.)

I was employed in the Commissariat at the time - Fatigue parties from the troops pulled down the house & I had to cart away the timber. A portion was used as a Magazine in the Camp. The fencing was also pulled down by the troops & I then had to cart that away for Firewood. The whole of the fencing that was destroyed & taken away was so directed by order of Major Hutchins..."

The claim of F. J. Greaves includes this sworn statement by settler John Elliot:

"John Elliot being duly sworn states -
I knew F. J. Greaves & remember his property at Omata. In July 1860 I saw it when stationed at the Waireka Camp. I was employed in the Commissariat at the time. Fatigue parties from the troops pulled down the House & I had to cart away the timber. A portion was used as a Magazine in the Camp. The fencing was also pulled down by the troops & I then had to cart that away for Firewood. The whole of the fencing that was destroyed & taken away was so directed by order of Major Hutchins..."

After the boarding of the House had been taken the House work was burnt by the Military
When the Waireka Camp was abandoned the whole of the timber about was burnt". John Elliot
National Archives Series 132 Taranaki Relief Funds Commissions

"...After the boarding of the House had been taken the House work was burnt by the Military
When the Waireka Camp was abandoned the whole of the timber about was burnt". John Elliot
National Archives Series 132 Taranaki Relief Funds Commissions

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF EUROPEAN SETTLERS RESIDENT AT TARANAKI, NEW ZEALAND, WHOSE HOMESTEADS, &c., HAVE BEEN BURNED BY THE REBEL MAORIES, BETWEEN THE PERIODS OF THE 17TH MARCH, 1860, AND THE 31ST MARCH, 1861; SHEWING THE APPROXIMATE DISTANCE OF EACH HOMESTEAD FROM THE NEAREST MILITARY POST OR GARRISON.

Names of Settlers.	Name of District.	Approximate distance from the nearest Military Post by Road, and sundry other Remarks.
Grayling, W.I.	Omata	3 miles from Omata Stockade, 1/2 mile from Poutoko
Greaves F...	"	4 do. any Military Post, back in the bush.
Jury Mrs....	"	1 1/2 mile from do.
Crompton W. Omata	"	2 1/2 do. Omata Stockade, and 1/2 from Poutoko

Grayling's neighbour William Crompton made a similar claim to the Commission, stating that his house had been burned by the military. Interestingly, this official list of burnings by Māori includes Greaves, Crompton and Mrs. Jury.

The War in Taranaki p.108-9 Grayling

Each of these three later made claims against the military for the destruction of their houses. It is difficult to know how to interpret this discrepancy.

isions. An Omata settler, whose land is on the sea side of the road, applied for compensation for an acre of bush which had been felled by the troops: the decision was—"Nothing allowed for the standing bush, as the land was cleared and became more valuable in consequence." This refers to an isolated piece of bush in a fern section! Another one claimed £5 because his shrubbery had been cut down "to take away cover from the enemy:" the decision is—"Ornamental, no real value; cannot be entertained." The doctrine that because a thing is only ornamental it has no real value, is new if not true. A claim for £60 for a house destroyed by order of the military authorities, is thus

disposed of:—"One-half (£30) is allowed for the house, it being understood to be old." Another house was burned by the troops; but compensation could not be allowed—the board remarking, "It is probable that the rebels would have completed the destruction of the house if it had been left." A claim for turnips and straw eaten by the commissariat bullocks is thus dealt with:—"The turnips and eaten straw, it appears, were eaten by the gun bullocks, for which there was not any stockyard, and they necessarily roamed about and got access to such food as was to be found; the damage was not done by order, and the claim is not admissible by this board." It will evidently be only for

As it turned out later, the Government did not always respond with great generosity in compensating settlers for damage caused by the military.

Taranaki Herald 28 May 1864

Altercation between Settler Militia and British Military regarding families refusing to leave New Plymouth for refuge in Nelson

The White Swan sailed this evening for Nelson with families. We were truly concerned to see force employed by the military authorities on the occasion. A few families, under orders to embark in the White Swan, refused to leave. The father of one of these (Mr S. Andrews) was sent

to the guard-room, and an officer of Militia (Capt. W. C. King) placed under arrest for refusing to accompany a file of soldiers to coerce the wife. The end was that she yielded. The proceeding occasioned great agitation, and has left a painful impression.

Taranaki Herald 8 September 1860 Journal of Events

Francis Ullathorn Gledhill hailed from Halifax where he had been a businessman. One of New Plymouth's earliest pioneers, often quoted or mentioned in the local newspaper, with an interest in local and political affairs, he maintained prominence as a store-keeper, auctioneer, real estate agent and entrepreneur. Not all that he wrote in his diary was based on first-hand observation. Parts of his journal are incomplete, and parts appear to have been retrospectively recorded.

11th Tuesday We have passed through a very exciting time. The whole town has been in a commotion owing to the Military Authorities compelling by force females and children to leave the settlement for Nelson. This force was applied to families who have not been troublesome to either the General or provincial Governments neither in asking for house room or for rations. The feeling became so strong with the Militia that many were led into rash expressions and were consequently in accordance with military rule sent to prison. Cat. W.C. King was put under an arrest on Friday the 7th inst. for

refusing as a Capt. to employ force to compel women to go on board the steamers then waiting in the roadstead.

Gledhill's Diary (Puke Ariki Archive Collections)

Monday 10 September 1860 Pratt's expedition to Waitara

Monday, Sept. 10.—At an early hour this morning every one was astir preparing for the expedition. Numerous carts were loading with ammunition, camp equipage, stores, &c.

"... Major-General Pratt, with the largest force yet taken into the field in New Zealand—it numbered fourteen hundred men, including a Naval Brigade, detachments of the 12th, 40th, and 65th Regiments, Rifle Volunteers, and artillery—marched out to

Kairau and Huirangi, on the plateau above the left bank of the Waitara. The force burned four entrenched villages and looted many horses and cattle—some of which had, no doubt, previously been looted from the settlers.

There was a sharp engagement near a large grove of peach-trees at Huirangi with some of the Atiawa under Hapurona, and the bush and trenches which sheltered the Maori tupara men were raked with grape and canister shot from the field-guns. A stockaded blockhouse was erected at Onuku-kaitara, on the site of the palisaded pa which had been evacuated by the Maoris soon after their victory in June".

The New Zealand Wars and the Pioneering Period Cowan Vol 1 p 191

Wednesday 19 September 1860 Hutchins' Expedition to Tātaramaka

Wednesday, Sept. 19.—Weather gloomy, and showers from the N.E., notwithstanding, the expedition South assembled, and left town at 7 a.m., consisting of the following men, in command of Major Hutchins, 12th Regt. 157 of the 12th Regt., under Capt. Miller, Lieuts. Richardson, Lowry, Mair, and Ensign Hirst; 270 of the 65th, under Capts. Strange and Barton, Lieuts. Bailie, Pennefather, White, Talbot, and Ensigns Pagan and Butler; 17 men of the Royal Artillery, under Capt. Strover, R. A., and 2 24-pounder howitzers, and 2

rocket tubes, 24 and 12-pounder; 13 Royal Engineers, under Captain Mould, R.E.; 68 Militia and Volunteers, under Capt. H. Richmond, Capt. and Adjutant Stapp, and Lieuts. Morrison, A. McKellar. Hirst, and Jonas, and 10 men and 1 sergt. mounted corps; Captain Pasley, R.E., (Staff,) and 50 friendly natives, under Mr Good, accompanied the expedition. We understand that the main object of this movement is to destroy the pas erected by the rebels on the Tataraimaka block, and have not heard whether the troops are to proceed further south. A steamer from the

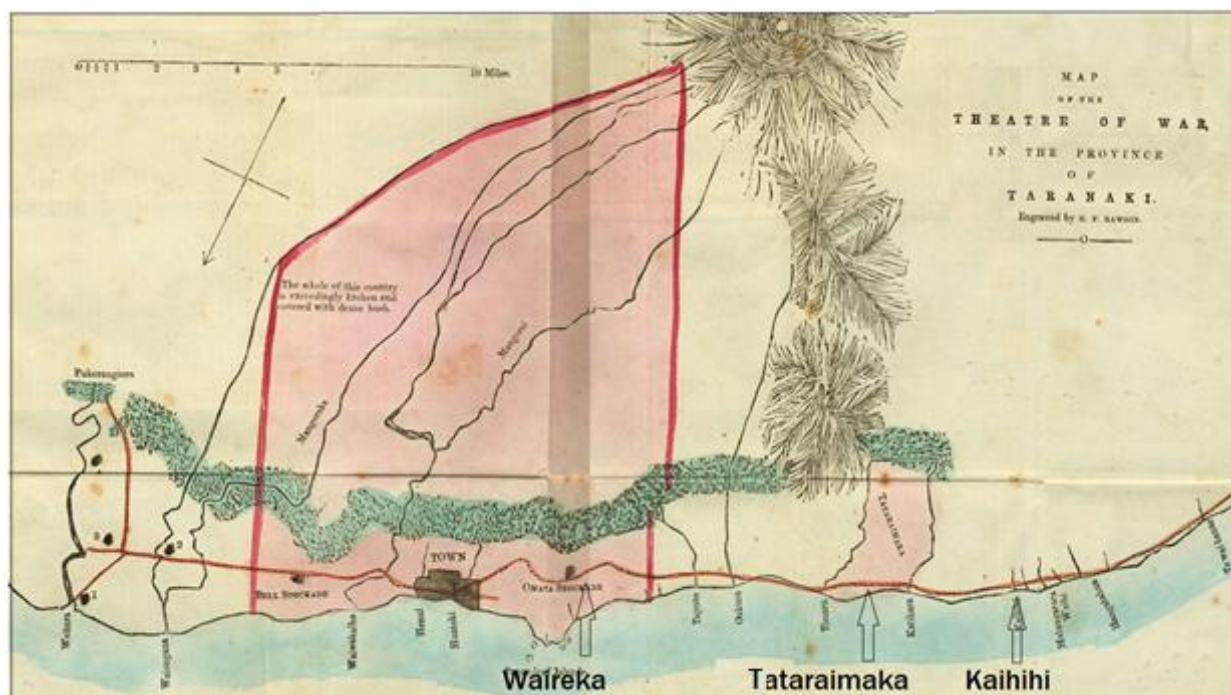
We are informed that the rebels have taken up a position in a pa about 600 yards in rear of Kaihihi, which Major Hutchins is preparing to attack, and has sent for reinforcements and a heavy gun, which, we hear will proceed to-morrow, or next day, as the gun is to come up from Waitara.

Monday, Sept. 24.—During the day, Major Hutchins' force returned from the South. For an account of the expedition

The Taranaki Herald 22 September 1860
29 September 1860

"On the 19th September a force of six hundred men under Major Hutchins (13th Regiment) marched for the southern settlements, and went as far as the Kaihihi River, where three occupied pas close together were discovered. It was found that twenty-six settlers' homes had been burned on the Tataraimaka Block, and about a hundred in the Omata and Waireka districts.

The loss in stock driven off from the Tataraimaka was a hundred head of cattle, between two and three thousand sheep, and many horses." *The New Zealand Wars and the Pioneering Period* Cowan p 192



Taken from Grayling's map, published in *The War in Taranaki in the years 1860-61* W. I. Grayling

*See Appendix 3 for more details on the expedition to Tātaramaka

Tuesday 9 October 1860 Pratt's Expedition to Kaihihi

Tuesday, Oct. 9.—Weather fine. The expedition to Kaihihi left town this morning between 7 and 8 o'clock, and will encamp to-night at Tataraimaka.

Total rank and file, 1043; exclusive of bullock drivers and servants. The Light Company of the 65th gave three farewell cheers before leaving for their late Colonel (Major-General Gold.) One 68 pounder gun, and three 24-pounder howitzers, and 50 carts laden with ammunition and camp equipage and baggage accompanied the expedition, and the Wonga Wonga, with extra ammunition, left during the afternoon to communicate with the forces on the land. It is thought there may be some fighting, the Ngatiruanui are reported to have come

up to reinforce the Kaihihi rebels, and Wi Tako with men from Wellington, Otaki, Rangitikei, &c., to have joined. Wi Tako was at Pungairere, about 10 miles beyond Warea, last week. This chief has been preparing for this for some time, having sold all his property at Wellington. Firing was heard in the forest this morning in rear of the Ilua, and as the garrison has been much weakened by the departure of the military to the South, every precaution has been made against an attack. Persons residing outside the lines are to sleep in town; no troops are to go outside the lines; and in-lying piquets are again told off to be under arms during the night, and to parade at 4 o'clock in the morning until further orders.

Taranaki Herald 29 September 1860 Journal of Events



James Cowan 1870-1943, journalist, bilingual – he walked the battlefields and was early enough after the war to be able to interview and record first-hand the stories of many of the Māori and Pākehā fighters.

Of the Kaihihi expedition, Cowan wrote:

“On the 9th October a composite column numbering over a thousand—bluejackets, Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers, 12th, 40th, and 65th detachments, Volunteers, and Militia—marched from New Plymouth along the south road with the object of reducing the fortifications on the Kaihihi River.

Major-General Pratt was in command. The Taranaki Rifles, Mounted Rifles, and Militia numbered 105, and there were 105 friendly natives of Te Atiawa under the charge of Mr. Parris, of the Native Department. After a march of twenty miles across difficult country for the large cart-train which accompanied the column, the force entrenched itself on the north side of the Kaihihi River and within three-quarters of a mile of the principal pa, Orongomaihangī.

On the 11th October a sap was commenced towards the fortification by Colonel Mould, R.E. ... The outer palisade of the pa was covered with green flax ... and the artillery—a naval 68-pounder, two 24-pounder howitzers, and a Coehorn mortar—failed to breach it until next morning (12th October), when a small opening was made. Preparations were being made to blow up part of the stockade with a bag of powder, and an assaulting-party was ready, when the garrison of the fort rushed out at the rear, and the place was taken.

The Kaihihi River was crossed, and the Mataiaio pa, a square fort, was rushed by the 65th and found empty. The remaining pa was Puke-kakariki, a fort on the edge of the river-cliff, about 300 yards from the first pa taken; after a short bombardment it was captured without opposition by Captain Stapp's Rifle Volunteers and the friendly natives. All three pas were double-palisaded and well rifle-pitted, with shell-proof dugouts. Ropes of plaited flax hanging from the cliff-top at the first pa taken showed the way by which the Maoris escaped into the bed of the Kaihihi.

All three pas were destroyed”.

The New Zealand Wars and the Pioneering Period Cowan Vol 1 p 192

*See Appendix 4 for more detailed accounts of the expedition to Kaihihi

Our contemporary sources, and in particular the local newspaper, have emphasised the losses to the settlers in the Ōmata and other districts during the months of August, September and October 1860.

Māori, of course, also suffered much loss at the time – and later, very much more.

Here are some extracts from a 1992 paper on the iwi losses during just those few months in mid to late 1860.

The Maori from Taranaki continued to maintain a threat around New Plymouth, and a presence to the north and south. McLean estimated that there were forty Taranaki and Ngati Ruanui at "Burton's farm" and Puketotara, kainga¹² inland from New Plymouth. At Tataraimaka 200 Maori from the southern iwi occupied several small pa. McLean wrote about them in hostile terms as "secretly murdering every stray European they can lay hold of "

Towards the end of August there was a decrease in pressure as many Maori returned to their homes, abandoning their most advanced positions, including Puketakauere which had served its purpose...

...The British forces destroyed a number of Maori settlements. Ratapihipihi was burned.¹³

...Maori settlements to the south of New Plymouth suffered as well.

In addition to an outbreak of influenza, which added to the misery of the war, there was still pressure from the Imperial forces. Maori entrenched close to the British camp at Waireka retired under fire on 29 August - with three casualties.¹⁴

At the end of September Pratt reported the damage done to the iwi around New Plymouth by the recent campaigns. He wrote that troops under his command had, over the previous few weeks

destroyed between twenty and thirty paha many of them very recently built, and provided with rifle pits and other defences constructed with the most careful and elaborate manner. The rebels did not venture to defend any of these places, but deserted them all on the approach of the troops, in some cases in such haste that on our entry we found meat half-cooked on their fires. We have also destroyed a great number of "whares" or native habitations, and a considerable quantity of provisions.¹⁵

South of New Plymouth the attacks on Taranaki iwi continued.

On 9 October Orongomairangi, Pukekakariki and Mataiaio on the Kaihihi River, around eighteen miles from New Plymouth, were advanced upon by the Imperial troops, led by Pratt and Colonel Mould of the Royal Engineers, and 150 Maori under Parris. They waited as the forces under British command began to sap up' towards the pa.

On 12 October the Taranaki people evacuated their pa. General Pratt noted in his report that these pa were very strongly fortified, and had they been defended the British would have suffered heavily. He was of the opinion that the flax covering the pa would have made them impervious to musket fire, and even heavier artillery would have had difficulty penetrating the fortifications.¹⁶

The Wars and Iwi Losses Taranaki 1860-70: A Summary Heather Bauchop 1992

¹² kāinga is a Māori village

¹³ Major General Pratt to Governor Gore Browne, 31 August 1860, BPP/IUP, v 12 1861, p.126.; Cowan, NZ Wars, I, p.191.

¹⁴ Major General Pratt to Governor Gore Browne, 31 August 1860, BPP//uP, v 12 1861, p.126.; Cowan, NZ Wars, I, p.192.

¹⁵ Major General Pratt to Governor Gore Browne, 29 September 1860, Encl.4 in NO.48, BPP//uP, v 12 1861, P.147.

¹⁶ Major General Pratt to Governor Gore Browne, 16 October 1860, Encl. 1 in No.53, BPP//uP, v12 1861, p.165.

An over-view of the events of October 1860, as seen by the military at the time, was provided by Captain C. Pasley (Royal Engineers) in a lecture he gave in March 1862:

"In the beginning of October the general received intelligence that the Taranaki tribe had built a couple of new pas on the river Kaihihi, about sixteen miles from New Plymouth. He determined to attack them. There were evident signs reported by a reconnoitring party that the natives intended to defend them, inasmuch as they had covered them with fascines of green flax. He looked upon this as a favourable opportunity for making a serious attack upon them. He left New Plymouth on the 9th of October with 800 men, and the following artillery, viz., one 8-inch gun, two 24-pounder howitzers, two cohorn mortars, and some rockets. To give an idea of the difficulty of moving in that country, I may mention, that the 8-inch gun, which was slung on a devil carriage, required eighteen bullocks to draw it. It was attended by six carts carrying the platform, carriage, ammunition, &c., requiring in all nearly sixty bullocks for one gun. The train of carriages for the whole column, comprising only 800 rank and file, was considerably more than a mile in length, although nothing unnecessary was carried. That night the force encamped at Tataraimaka, and on the following morning reached their destination.

The enemy's defences consisted of three pas, two on the north, and the third on the south side of the river Kaihihi. Their flanks were well covered by deep and impassable ravines, and the only way by which the pas could be approached was flanked by a line of rifle-pits on the margin of a patch of dense forest. The pas were sufficiently near for mutual support, and were well provided with flank defence.

The nature of the ground made it necessary first to attack Orongomaihangai, the strongest of the three.

On the morning of the 11th, a working party and guard of the trenches advanced to within 250 yards of the pa, and commenced the construction of a parallel. The enemy showed themselves during this operation, but did not for some time open fire. They appear to have misunderstood the nature and object of the work, and to have been in momentary expectation of an assault.

It was not until the breastwork was nearly completed, and the guns brought up, that they became aware of their mistake. They then opened a sharp fire from the pa and from the rifle-pits. The guns and mortars commenced shelling the pa before noon, and kept up their fire till dark, without making a breach in the stockade.

In the course of the night approaches by sap were commenced and carried on till morning, when it was discovered that the enemy had abandoned all their pas during the night.

It appears that, although the shells passed through the stockade without doing it any material damage, they searched the rifle-pits, and must have inflicted considerable loss on the enemy.

General Pratt's intention was to follow up this success by a march further to the south, with the view of attacking other pas belonging to the same tribe, but he was reluctantly compelled to abandon this intention, by the receipt of a letter from the Governor, informing him that a strong force of Waikatos was already on the march for the Waitara.

Considering the nature of the country, the total absence of roads, and the impossibility of securing a communication with the town by sea, owing to the exposed and rocky formation of the coast, it could not be anticipated that any operations of importance further south could be concluded in a less time than several weeks, and in the face of the Governor's warning it would have been extremely imprudent to have attempted any thing of the kind at that time. A few days afterwards it was ascertained that the Waikatos had actually arrived at W. Kingi's pa, whence they sent a challenge¹⁷ to Mr. Parris, the land purchase commissioner..." *The War in New Zealand Capt. C. Pasley 1863*

¹⁷ To Mr. Parris: "Friend,--I have heard your word--come to fight me, that is very good; come inland, and let us meet each other. Fish fight at sea--come inland and stand on our feet; make haste, do not prolong it. That is all I have to say to you--make haste. From Wetini Taiporutu, From Porukoru, From all the Chiefs of Ngatihaua and Waikato!" (Parris, who knew Māori well, had been chief advisor in the disastrous Waitara purchase decision.)

Tuesday 6 November 1860 The Battle of Māhoetahi

Tuesday, Nov. 6.—Before 4 o'clock this morning the troops prepared for the march to Mahoetahi, the carts were filled with baggage, ammunition, &c., and 2 howitzers (24 pounders), were in readiness to start at 5 a.m. The Militia and Rifle Volunteers mustered opposite the Militia Office, and the whole force commenced the march at 5 o'clock precisely. The

Taranaki Herald 10 November 1860

Journal of Events

For some time the progress of a war party from Waikato had been watched and reported in the *Taranaki Herald*. This taua resolved to engage the British forces in a fight of their own, and began to entrench on an old Māori pā north of New Plymouth, known as Māhoetahi.

Before they had completed their entrenchment, impatient for action, these men notified the military authorities in somewhat provocative terms, of their willingness to fight (see footnote on previous page). On this occasion the British response was uncharacteristically swift and the Waikato taua was routed, with many casualties, the British casualties being few.

As this was the first action in the war which could be regarded as a clear victory for the British, it was reported in great detail and at length in the *Taranaki Herald* - and by early colonial writers such as Cowan (*The New Zealand Wars* Chapter 21) and Wells (*History of Taranaki* pp212-215).

Arthur Atkinson was in Auckland on sick-leave at the time, but his brother Harry (who led the Taranaki Volunteer Rifles contingent in this action) has left a letter outlining his role in the affair. (*Richmond-Atkinson Papers* pp652-655). To this account, Harry Atkinson added the following:

"The fight was now over. We collected 30 dead, six wounded and one unhurt Native. I had charge of the prisoner coming into Town. He is a fine young man, calm and dignified. I asked him through an interpreter how he came to be taken. He said he was near-sighted, that through the noise, smoke and the panic that seized them when they found us advancing so quickly, he became quite confused and came out on the wrong side of the pah. He did not find out his mistake till too late, when he thought his best plan would be to sham death, so he lay down and made himself quite stiff. Several of our men turned him over to see where he was wounded and thought it rather curious that they could find no wound upon him. Morrison tried to open his eyes but they closed again at once. At last when the cart came with the dead they were going to put him in when he came to life. Bill was one of the first men in the pah and shot a Native directly he got in. Poor young Brown¹⁸ was talking to him when he was killed. The ball must have passed over Bill's head, had it been an inch higher Brown would have escaped, an inch lower it most likely would have hit Bill. It was the 65th and us that did all the fighting; the rest were held in reserve as it was thought that the Maoris were going to rush the big gun! ! ! We had a great many more men in the field than the Maories had, but I don't think that those who fought were at all unequal".

Harry Atkinson *Richmond-Atkinson Papers* p654



This memorial stands in the grounds of St Mary's vicarage in New Plymouth.

It marks the graves of Ngāti Hauā chief Wetini Taiporutu, his son Hemi, Ngāti Apakura chief Whararangi, Ngāti Kōura chief Hakopa and two unnamed chiefs, all of whom were killed at Māhoetahi on 6 November 1860.

Mahoetahi NZ Wars memorial - St. Mary's, New Plymouth (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 2-Apr-2019

¹⁸ 15-year old Frank, son of Parson H. H. Brown of Ōmata.

"By December, 1860, the Maori belligerents had constructed a series of field fortifications on the plateau bounding the Waitara River on the south (left bank), and garrisoned these works with considerably over a thousand men. Kairau and Huirangi were the principal defences—skilfully engineered lines of rifle-pits, trenches, and covered ways, their flanks resting on the thickly wooded gullies that dissected the edges of the tableland. These works barred the way inland to the historic hill pa, Puke-rangiora, high above the Waitara. A new system of fortifications on the front of this ancient stronghold was named Te Arei ("The Barrier"), and was designed as the citadel of the Atiawa".

The New Zealand Wars Cowan Vol.1 p201

Major-General Pratt had taken over command of the British forces and the focus of war remained on the North of New Plymouth, the next two major actions being at Kairau and Huirangi. Pratt concentrated his forces at Waitara and planned a strategy to lay siege and to sap towards the Māori defences north of the town of New Plymouth. For the next few months media attention focused mainly on these major events.

29 December 1860 Matarikoriko

Cowan wrote: "...Pratt moved from Waitara towards the Kairau forts on the 29th December. The first operation was the reduction of the stockaded trenched pa at Mata-rikoriko ("Winking Eyes"), a short distance inland of Puke-ta-kauere and somewhat nearer the Waitara River. The column numbered nine hundred men of all arms, with four guns. When the force reached the site of the old Kairau pa (destroyed on the 11th September), about 1,100 yards from Mata-rikoriko, a large redoubt was commenced for the accommodation of five hundred men. This redoubt was intended as a depot for the attack on the pa, and also for a movement against Huirangi.

Working-parties of one hundred and fifty men were employed, under a brisk fire nearly all day from well-masked rifle-pits on the edge of a deep wooded gully about 150 yards from the redoubt. The garrison had a sleepless night, for the natives kept up a fire, with little intermission, until daylight next morning.

On the 30th December the Royal Engineers and the rest of the working-parties raised and improved the parapets, formed firing-steps, and made barbettes and platforms for the guns. Two 8-inch guns were mounted on the left face of the redoubt, pointing towards

Mata-rikoriko. The firing on both sides was exceedingly heavy. It was estimated that the British troops expended 70,000 rounds of rifle ammunition in less than twenty-four hours, besides about 120 rounds of shot and shell. On the morning of the 31st the pa was found to have been evacuated during the night, and it was quickly occupied by two companies of the 65th under Colonel Wyatt. The British lost three killed and twenty wounded. The Maoris, so far as is known, had six killed. A number of the 56th Regiment remained in occupation of Mata-rikoriko.

The New Zealand Wars and the Pioneering Period Vol 1 Cowan pp 201-2

Matarikoriko was of major strategic importance. The way was now open for Pratt to advance.

Meanwhile, however, all was not quiet on the south side of New Plymouth. Rumours abounded.

...actory state. — Intelligence has been received in town that the Taranakis and Ngatiruanuis are assembling, and about to move on another expedition to the town.

Friday, Nov. 30.—Fires were seen last evening in the direction of Patterson's Saw Mill. Parties of natives have been seen on Burton's Hill; and this morn-

ing we are informed that 40 Waikatos under Taphana, went through the bush yesterday, on their way to meet the Taranakis and Ngatiruanui at a large meeting about to be held. It was rumoured yesterday that the southern natives are coming up in force to occupy Burton's Hill and Waireka again. A party of Taranakis under P-

The Taranaki Herald 1 December 1860 Journal of Events

January 1861 Māori forces re-occupy Jury's Hill, Waireka

"While the General was steadily making his way across the Kairau plateau, the Taranaki and Ngati-Ruanui Tribes on the southern section of the coast dug themselves in very strongly on the hills at Waireka, and completely barred the roads by a remarkably skilful system of trenches, rifle-pits, and stockaded pas.

Several expeditions from New Plymouth during the summer of 1861 engaged the natives at Waireka Hill, Burton's Hill, and the vicinity of Omata, but without serious casualties on either side.

The New Zealand Wars and the Pioneering Period Cowan Vol 1 p 204

A native from Taranaki, named Epiha, informs us that 600 Ngati-ruanui are at Oeo, the boundary river of the Taranaki district, and are waiting the arrival of some Wanganui and Waitotara natives, when they intend moving up. The Taranaki tribe will join. A native (Tamati Kawerau) who lives and is in charge of Mr Riemenschneider's house and premises at Warea, tells us that the Taranakis still talk of an attempt on the town. He also says that the Ngati-ruanui are bringing up food for the Waikatos.—*A + 4 n. n. the men in the prison were*

Taranaki Herald 29 December 1860

Tuesday, Jan. 15.—The Southern natives are said to have moved up from Kaihihi, several have been seen in the vicinity of the Omata Stockade.—At Kairau and

Friday, Jan. 18.—Some excitement was caused this morning by the discharge of musketry in the direction of Mr Standish's farm, a mile from town. A few men belonging to a marauding party of Southern natives had observed some persons at work making hay in Mr Standish's field, and, creeping up, fired upon them, but without hurting any one. The natives did not wait for pursuit, and none was attempted. Friendly Maories report that a stockyard has been made near Mr Dingle's farm, to which several horses, and a good many head of bullocks have been driven by the Southern rebels.—Two mounted natives were sent out from town to recover, if possible, the horse of one of our settlers, which had been captured by the natives. They met the *tau* at no great distance, in the Omata road, numbering 150 to 200, who deprived the messengers of their horses, and they returned to town on foot.

Taranaki Herald 26 January 1861

The Ngati-ruanui and Taranaki tribes are once more tempted into the arena, the latest intelligence from the coast reporting the former as having arrived at Umuroa in the Taranaki district, about 45 miles hence. Their coming at all is alleged to be due to the powerful persuasions of the Waikato chief Epiha, who visited each tribe for the purpose. It would be too much to suppose that any scruples would have held these people in check, though we can well believe they may have been restrained by the fear of the penalties which overhang them for their crimes. The design is to re-occupy Waireka Hill, according to native custom, owing to their losses sustained there last March; and a diversion in that quarter, though coming too late for the relief of the rebels at Waitara, probably formed the scheme of the Waikato.

Taranaki Herald 5 January 1861

Saturday, Jan. 19.—The southern natives are at Omata, and small parties are out to maraud and murder; firing has been heard in that direction to-day, and it is rumoured the rebels are employed digging rifle pits on Waireka Hill.

Taranaki Herald 19 January 1861

Monday, Jan. 21.—Fires have been seen this morning in the direction of the Mangorei district, supposed to be the burning of the remaining houses in that quarter. Cattle have been driven towards Waireka in considerable numbers, where the southern tribes, with a portion of the Waikatos, are busily employed fortifying the hill.

Taranaki Herald 19 January 1861

HMS *Niger* had recently arrived in New Plymouth.

Captain Cracroft decided it was time to act.

22 January 1861 A Failed attack on Jury's Hill

J. C. Richmond to Mary Richmond Taranaki, 23 Jan 1861

Yesterday an abortive expedition came off to the Waireka hill. A large force of natives was known to be at work there; the town was threatened and Capt. Cracroft, who has been lying off here with the Niger for the last ten days, came on shore to propose an expedition, which Colonel Sillery refused to undertake. The Capt. went on board and meditated, looked at his weather glass saw the wind was not likely to trouble him, determined to send every spare man by water to the attack, asked for volunteers from the ship, and every man volunteered: then at 3 o'clock a.m. set out in his boats, sending a letter on shore to Sillery to say that he had started and should be glad of support. Sillery in this 'fix', sent out 200 soldiers and afterwards 140 volunteers, but Cracroft could not land, having a bad pilot and the troops got into a skirmish on the road, which detained them till they learned Cracroft had returned. A sergeant was killed in the skirmish ... He had straggled from his party ...

Richmond-Atkinson Papers Vol 1 p 681

Tuesday, Jan. 22.—At about 3 a.m. 40 of the 12th, under Capt. Williams and Lieut. Dudgeon, 10 of the 40th, under Ensign Morphy, and 130 of the 65th, under Lieutenant and Adjutant A. H. Lewis and Lieutenant Chevalier, the whole under the command of Lieut.-Col. Young, 65th Regt., with 1 24-pounder howitzer, left town to take part in a combined attack on Waireka Hill, a party of 120 blue-jackets from H.M.S. Niger under Capt. Cracroft, R.N. having left in boats during the night to land on the coast in rear of the rebels' position. At daylight, firing having been heard in the direction of Waireka, the bugles of the Militia were sounded and 108 Militia and Rifle Volunteers, under the command of Major Herbert, mustered and followed by the road taken by the military. Abreast of Mr Langman's farm, where the furze fences offer great cover to an enemy, the advanced guard observed three or four natives running towards the road to fire at Major Herbert who was some 200 yards in advance with a few mounted volunteers, with whom he was riding alongside. The rising sun prevented the natives from seeing the approach of the men, who after giving a shout or two pushed through the fence at every gap and in skirmishing order (firing as opportunity offered), drove the natives from their cover off the farm, across the road into Mr Stephenson Smith's and P. Elliot's, and finally into the bush, where the natives were left to themselves. This was evidently a party out for live stock, and,

but for the check received, would have fired into the backs of the horsemen. No further incident occurred on the road. On reaching the Omata Stockade, where the troops were halted, it was ascertained that they had been fired upon by natives from Jack Wright's house (near the Whalers' Gate), and Hospital Sergeant Burnett mortally wounded. It is believed that the natives suffered some loss from the fire of the troops. Sergeant Burnett died at the stockade. Large parties of natives could be seen crowning the Waireka Hill, and whilst a signal of the whereabouts of Captain Cracroft was anxiously looked for in that direction, a telegram was received from town that the gallant captain had returned to his ship (owing to a difficulty in finding the proper landing place). The land force therefore started homewards and struck off the Omata road through W. George's farm to the beach. On their arrival in town, it was stated that in Mr George's house was concealed a party of 50 or 60 natives, who probably not deeming it altogether safe to attack so large a force, remained out of sight until the road was clear, and they were seen from a hill top to leave the premises and go in the direction of Ratapihipihi. This party was probably on the look out for the Omata escort, which should be made up to a strength sufficient to repel attack. Whilst the force bivouacked at the Omata Stockade Major Lloyd's house at Waireka was burnt by the rebels, and shortly afterwards Mr W. C. King's large barn of hay, near the site of his house burnt last Sept.

Taranaki Herald 26 January 1861 Journal of Events

TUESDAY's expedition to Waireka must undoubtedly be called abortive. Like many a very wise scheme, it failed entirely of the purpose for which it was planned.

Taranaki Herald 26 January 1861

Cracroft would have been frustrated that this attempt to take possession of Jury's Hill was so much less successful than his famous raid three months previously at the Battle of Waireka.

However, he took a positive view and did not regard the action as fruitless.

He recorded in his Journal:



Tuesday, January 22nd.—On Saturday I observed from Marsland Hill large parties of natives on Waireka heights, digging, and apparently entrenching themselves: but no attempt was made by the authorities to ascertain their object.

Yesterday morning the *Tasmanian Maid*, with some military officers on board, went round the Sugar Loaves to reconnoitre. This manoeuvre was performed without any previous communication having been made with me, and a more ill judged one I cannot conceive.

In the afternoon, accompanied by Lieutenant Wells and Doctor Patrick, and piloted by Mr. Standish of Taranaki, I ascended to the summit of the highest Sugarloaf, (Paretutu,) a precipitous rock of considerable elevation, difficult of

access, but from whence a good view of the interior for miles was obtained. From here we could see the natives very distinctly still hard at work. Reports that a pah was commenced had come into town early in the day, but no palisades were visible. We saw three farmsteads, stacks, &c., in flames, and great numbers of sheep and cattle in the enclosures beyond Waireka, which doubtless had once been the property of the unfortunate settlers. The weather was magnificent, and the water so smooth that a dingy or punt could have landed with perfect safety anywhere along the beach. Noting all these things carefully, at sunset we descended, returned on board, and after due consideration and reflection, carefully weighing the chances of failure against those which promised a successful issue to the attempt, I determined to land and surprise these ruffians if possible before daylight in their half finished entrenchments.

The announcement of this intention was received with intense satisfaction by the ship's company. They all feel the degradation daily and hourly accruing here, and enter heartily into the object of the expedition. Some extra preparation was necessary for the extra risk which the men, who, by the way, were all volunteers, would be exposed to. Special orders were given to the officers and petty officers in charge of the subdivisions and sections. Each man tied a strip of white round his right arm. And at 10h. 30m. p.m. I shoved off from the ship with a landing party consisting of 118 souls (including Mr. Standish, who undertook to be our guide,) besides crews to bring back my galley, two cutters, and a surf boat.

Before leaving I wrote to Colonel Sillery informing him of the expedition, which I told him was undertaken entirely on my own responsibility, and requesting him, if it was consistent with his duty, to send a force out to meet me at daylight, to make a diversion should it necessary, and also to send some ambulances or spring carts to the Omata Stockade. The night was calm and fine, and the moon shone brightly. We pulled as quietly as possible up to the Sugar Loaves, and waited between the two outer ones until the moon set, shortly after midnight. Then continued on towards the intended landing place, about four miles distant, situated at the entrance of the little Tapui stream, under the Poutoko Pah, inhabited by friendly natives, off which we arrived at 1h. 20m. a.m.

It was now intensely dark, and I stood close in to the beach to reconnoitre, leaving the other boats in the offing. While thus occupied, we got inside the line of breakers, and a heavy sea broke only just clear of the boat. Our guide, who had also undertaken to pilot us to the landing place, now began to have doubts whether this was the right spot; then he was sure it was not, and requested me to pull on a little further to the southward. He was evidently all adrift, —at all events there was nothing like a landing place to the southward; so we returned and tried to the northward, but all in vain; and I began to despair, for the roaring of the surf was increasing every moment.

We continued, however, pulling backwards and forwards, seeking for some inlet into which the boats might be thrust, but without finding any. At length, soon after 4h. a.m., daylight revealed our position, and showed how utterly impossible it would be to land without running the risk of staving and losing the boats; and with a heavy heart I gave the order to return on board.

As we pulled away we could see the natives coming out of the entrenchments, not much more than half a mile from the beach. They little knew what a narrow escape they had had¹⁹; but such is the glorious uncertainty of this wild coast. There certainly was no visible reason for the heavy swell which rolled in between 8h. p.m. and 1 h. a.m., during a perfect calm, and completely frustrated my intentions. In the meantime Colonel Sillery had sent out 300 men, with a 24pounder howitzer, to the Omata Stockade, where they waited patiently until recalled upon the news reaching the Commandant of my return.

And so ended my "failure," which is sure to be sharply commented upon.

But the movement was not altogether fruitless, for the force which marched out from the town unkennelled an ambush, prepared by the natives that very morning near the Whalers' Gate, for the daily Omata escort, and in the skirmish that followed we had a valuable hospital surgeon killed.

The enemy's loss was of course unknown. The Taranaki Herald had the following remarks upon the expedition, which I cannot forbear quoting.

Taranaki Herald, 26 January 1861

<p>TUESDAY's expedition to Waireka must undoubtedly be called abortive. Like many a very wise scheme, it failed entirely of the purpose for which it was planned. But the general intention was good, and the plan at least better than that of the first Waireka expedition, which, for several months, was the only success of the war. The position of affairs in and about the town was such as to justify something of a sharp remedy at the hands of any one who had it to apply, and we have cause to thank Capt. Cracroft for his effort. The same perfect inaction and appearance of fear which preceded and attended the first fortnight of General Pratt's presence among us was emboldening the southern natives to creep up to the very town, and to threaten an attack. The sight of eight hundred of his</p>	<p>countrymen cooped up within a semi-circle of a mile radius, while the Maori, no stronger in numbers, danced his war-dance around them, and fired into our narrow bounds, was too much for the gallant commander of the Niger. Long may such a sight be intolerable to our brave seamen. The expedition as undertaken was a strong remedy, but one which, if the Niger's crew had landed, the result would have justified. As it was, the advance of our troops and volunteers, in all probability, saved the lives of the next escort to Omata, by unkennelling the ambush at the Whaler's Gate. It also reminded our neighbours, the Ngatiruanui, that the very men who discomfited them at Waireka in March last, were still alive and not more nervous about encountering them, than at that time.</p>
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Here is how militiaman Francis Gledhill saw it:

22nd. The last few days have not produced much change in the features of the war. A few large guns have been fired daily but with what success is not known. This morning we were surprised by Capt Cracroft

22nd. The last few days have not produced much change in the features of the war.

A few large guns have been fired daily [daily] but with what success is not known.

This morning we were surprised by Capt Cracroft of the Niger with 120 of his blue jackets leaving in his boat for the Omata district. Arrangements had been made that he was to go in below Omata and bring up his men and about 500 soldiers volunteers and militia were to meet him in Omata and there attack the Natives who are there in great numbers collecting horses and cattle.

This proved a failure owing to Frank Standish having undertaken to direct the boats to a good landing place; but being utterly ignorant of what he had undertaken the men could not land and had to return as also the land forces without doing anything.

F. U. Gledhill's Diary (Puke Ariki Archive Collection)

¹⁹ Cracroft was wrong about that. The flotilla was being watched and an armed Māori shore party was in place and waiting. (*The News* 7 February, via *Daily Southern Cross* 15 February 1861).

Thursday, Jan. 31.—The sentries at Fort Stapp saw a large fire this morning about 1 o'clock in the direction of Mr W. Bayly's farm, and since daylight this morning Mr J. S. Smith's house has been fired by the rebels. A reconnoitring party of 100 men of the 57th and 65th regts., and 40 Rifle Volunteers, the whole under the command of Major Butler, 57th Regt., with a 24-pounder howitzer, started from town at 10 a.m. All the farms on the line of road were searched, and although numerous tracks of natives were seen, no natives were encountered. Whilst the expedition halted this side of Hereka'we Hill, two or three shots were fired and natives seen in the direction of Andrews' farm. The Major then decided on reconnoitring the country in that direction. The force retraced their steps as far as the junction of the Omata and Elliot roads, which latter road they took, the Volunteers thrown out in advance as a line of skirmishers. Several ruins of smouldering buildings were past. Near Hurdon chapel lay a bullock recently shot by the natives and not dead; this was dispatched by our men. Natives were seen and heard in Andrews' bush, whence two or three shots were fired, but the bullets fell short. Advanced parties of the Volunteers continued along the road, and some natives having been observed running from Billing's and on the knoll near Dingle's farm, a few Volunteers on Cowling's hill, under Captain Atkinson, opened fire at 900 yards, with some effect as was afterwards found, for

on the skirmishers reaching the knoll, Mr Rundle, who had ridden forward, discovered a native lying dead in the road, blood trickling from a bullet wound under the shoulder. The body was brought in on the gun, but cannot be identified by the natives. The man was well dressed. Amongst other things, two full cartridge boxes, a box of caps, and £4 in gold and 6d. in silver, were taken from him. The gun could not be found. The party returned to town by the Frankley road without meeting with any other natives. A short time after the force left town, five natives crept up under the furze hedges to within 200 yards of Mr Gilbert's house, about 300 yards from the Carrington Road Blockhouse, and 600 from Marsland Hill, and fired a volley at his children, who were standing on a house looking out,—fortunately missing them. The whole proceeding could be seen from the Barracks. Mr Gilbert, who was working on his farm, with great coolness and courage ran back to his house for his "Brown Bess" and chased the rebels, who retreated directly they had given their fire, and fired two shots at them. A small party from the Blockhouse with Capt. Turner, 65th Regt., who ran up from the Barracks to the Blockhouse, also went out in pursuit, and followed the natives as far as Mr Hursthouse's farm, but they got clear off, and were afterwards seen standing on a hill in R. Lethbridge's premises at the edge of the bush.

Taranaki Herald 2 February 1861 Journal of Events

It seems the Māori were now once again well-entrenched on Jury's Hill and the surrounding districts.

(From the News, February 7th, 1861.)

The southern Natives are now occupying the ground from Allen's corner in the bush road across Mrs. Greaves farm, over Waireka hill to the cliffs on the beach; on Waireka hill there are 3 or 4 pahs and in that neighbourhood several others with an immense number of rifle pits.

Since the *Niger* boat expedition every available landing place between Omata and Tataramaka block is said to be guarded by rifle pits and picquets placed there every night. It seems to be the general impression on the minds of some people that the boats from the *Niger* were not seen by the rebels, so far from this being the case it is stated that the boats were not only watched, but parties of rebels were stationed in the different gullies, on the cliffs, and as far as the river Oakura so as to have disputed the landing. Amongst the southern natives are about 200 Waikatos, and there is no doubt but that they obtain a good deal of flour from Tatanaki south, which is forwarded on to Waitara.

Up to this time, the southern Natives have sent out repeatedly marauding parties from their pas at Waireka, and have succeeded in driving off, or shooting cattle horses and sheep, to the estimated value of thousands of pounds, and have destroyed property by fire to an

equal amount. The Omata Stockade has been attacked at long distances by them, for the purpose evidently of keeping the garrison there well employed while others were doing the settlers the damage we refer to, and strange to say not a trigger has been pulled to keep them in check notwithstanding the pause in active operations at Waitara, and the large body of men under arms at this moment in the province. At no period of the war have the limits of safety round the town been so circumscribed as at present.

Since the rebels have been located at Waireka, they have collected a large number of cattle and horses which are sent from time to time to the Ngatiruanui country.

They are living in clover at present, they have plenty of potatoes which are taken from settler's cultivations and as much beef and mutton as they like to eat. If allowed to remain there much, there is no knowing what they will do next, they now come within $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile of Town, and as they have always stated they would make an attack on the Town, it would not be at all surprising if some night we should be alarmed by yells and firing off guns—there is no doubt the impression on their mind is that we are afraid of them. The sooner this illusion is dispelled the better.

9 February 1861

Chevalier's lucky shot

Saturday, Feb. 9.—An escort of military and militia proceeded to Omata at 6 a.m. with provisions. The rebels are to be seen in force on Waireka hill, and have strengthened their position materially. Rifle pits are dug over the adjacent lands, and a pa and rifle pits command the road up the Waireka hill. Two pas are erected on the ridge commanding Jury's ground, and for some distance in rear defences have been made.—The efficacy of the Enfield rifle at a long range was proved a few days since, when Lieut. Chevalier, 65th regt., fired a few rounds from the Omata Stockade at a body of natives on Waireka hill, a distance of 2,500 yards. The rifle was given sufficient elevation by adding to the length of the sight, and a steady aim taken. Two shots we are told by the Poutoko natives, took effect, wounding two natives—one (Himeona of Warea) having been so severely wounded, that he was carried to Warea. The distance was so great that the natives neither heard the report of the rifle, nor knew where the bullet came from.

Taranaki Herald 16 February 1861

Lieut. Chevalier, who was a renowned marksman, had been an instructor at an army base in West Auckland and the rifle range there was later named after him. The suburb is now known as "Point Chevalier".

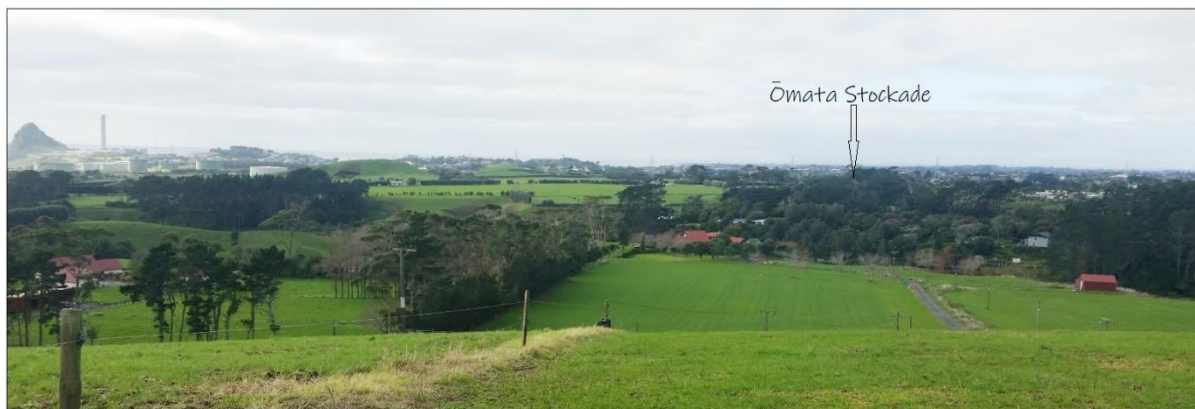
This was written up by Murray Moorhead into an amusing story –

"Bull's wool and bull's eyes" in his book *"Military Tales of Old Taranaki"*.

Chevalier was said to have taken a few shots from the Ōmata Stockade towards the top of Jury's Hill, and wounded two Māori, the distance "2,500 yards" being so great that "the natives neither heard the report of the rifle nor knew where the bullet came from".

According to the scale on "Google Maps" the range of Chevalier's shot was just under 2,000m – actually, about 2,110 yards – so the distance claimed, of 2,500 yards, was a slight exaggeration.

Even so, this would seem to be outside the range for a rifle musket of that era.



This photo is taken from the Kaipopo site (about 100 m from the top of the Hill), towards Ōmata Stockade. The hedge row which marks Beach Road is just visible, at a distance of about 1500m (1,650 Yards). Even at that distance a human target would be barely visible without a telescope.

"The Enfield's adjustable ladder rear sight had steps for 100 yards (91 m) – the default or "battle sight" range – 200 yards, 300 yards, and 400 yards. For distances beyond that, an adjustable flip-up blade sight was graduated ... from 900 yards (820 m) to 1,250 yards (1,140 m)".

(Wikipedia: "Pattern 1853 Enfield")

If the above newspaper report is true, Chevalier wounded two men, perhaps by firing into a group. His weapon was probably a Pattern 1853 Enfield, using an especially elevated "sight".

The "minie" rounds would have been "spent" at this range but perhaps still capable of wounding.

A fortnight later a Māori sharpshooter fired at a group of soldiers outside the Ōmata Stockade, from a hill on Major Lloyd's farm, a distance of 750 yards, and severely wounded one of them.

23 February 1861 Skirmish at Major Lloyd's Farm

Saturday, Feb. 23.—

5 P.M.—We have delayed our publication in order to give particulars of the affair at Omata. During the morning and until 2 p.m. irregular firing of small arms, with occasional volleys, and the howitzer has been heard. The expedition having just returned from Omata, we learn that the party under Major Herbert on reaching the stockade, and soon after they had piled arms, received a volley from 80 to 100 muskets from the rebels posted on the hill on Major Lloyd's farm, a distance of 750 yards, wounding one man of the 57th severely. The men immediately fell in and returned a brisk fire, the howitzer throwing a few shells into the hill, which dislodged the rebels at once, who retreated towards the beach. The force then advanced in skirmishing order, and took possession of the hill, the site of an old fortified pa. Major Herbert then sent on a part of his force towards the Waireka gully, remaining with the howitzer and the remainder of the force in position at the hill. They continued engaged with the rebels, who were in great force in the gullies and flax bushes on the flats, for some time. Lieut.-Colonel Young's party now arrived, and halted at the hill, with a much needed supply of ammunition. After a short time, Colonel Young, who now took command, resolved to proceed by the Omata road to Waireka, and capture the pa there situated, and also intercept the

retreat of the natives. Accordingly the party, with the 24-pounder howitzer, marched to the Omata road and advanced along it a short way, having thrown out skirmishers on each side, when they received several well directed volleys from the hill near Ware's Inn, about 300 yards in their front. The fire was briskly returned, and the enemy were seen to make a precipitate retreat to the dense bush. Two shells were thrown with good precision from the howitzer a little beyond the crest of the hill, whence the shots had been fired. About this time an order arrived from town that the party were not to proceed to the Waireka hill, and consequently they returned to their position at Major Lloyd's hill much to the regret of all concerned. The natives having retreated beyond range the whole force by degrees returned to the Omata stockade, where they halted for an hour. The casualties were as follows:

WOUNDED.

57th Regt.—Private Michael Hogan, severely; Private Edward Dunnett, slightly.

65th Regt.—Private Joseph Turner Bennett, slightly; Private John Fermbach, do.; Private John Glover, do.

The native loss, as usual, cannot be ascertained, but it is supposed they suffered severely, as yells of pain were clearly distinguishable from the customary yells of defiance, and more than one was observed being carried away.

Taranaki Herald 23 Feb 1861



The "hill" referred to above, on Major Lloyd's farm, would have been Te Ngāhoro, an ancient pā 750 yards (700 m) from Ōmata Stockade.

Photo Len Jury



Sunday, Feb. 24.—A native from Waireka, Tamati Kaweora, (a teacher at the Grey Institution,) reports that the native casualties in the skirmish on Major Lloyd's farm (Waireka) yesterday, were the following:—

Hori, of Okahu, Taranaki, killed.

Hohua, of Manawapou, Ngatiruanui, mortally wounded.

Hami, of Tangahoe, Ngatiruanui, severely wounded.

Another man had a part of his scalp torn off by a bullet, and others were slightly wounded. The party on the old pa on Major Lloyd's farm who fired the first volley were about 60 of the Ngaraūru, or Waitotara natives, who for the first time had come into action. 300 were posted at Ratapihipihi to cut off the retreat of the escort, but thought better of it.

Taranaki Herald 2 March 1861

A somewhat maudlin news report from an Auckland newspaper, the *Daily Southern Cross*, on 1 March 1861, seems to suggest that nerves were now becoming stretched to breaking point.

<p>All the marauding parties in the neighbourhood of the town have their head-quarters at Waireka, from whence they go out in parties to plunder, murder, and burn. The most active in these proceedings is the Ngatiruanui tribe; men who have received greater kindness from the settlers of this place, than almost any others. Formerly they were constantly employed by the farmers here in cutting bush, harvesting, &c.; and now, without even the shadow of a cause, they come up, and turn out perfect fiends. It is to be hoped that a day of reckoning will come, when they will be obliged</p>	<p>to disgorge their ill-gotten plunder, and receive such chastisement as will be a warning to the rest of the tribes.</p> <p>It is much to be regretted that some strong demonstration is not made to the south. The impunity with which these tribes have been allowed to carry on their depredation, and cold blooded atrocities, is from all we hear, not unlikely to induce them to make an attempt on the town. The past week shows the taste of these savages for blood, and also that their appetite is not yet satiated.</p>
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<p>Your memorialists, therefore, earnestly pray that your Excellency will be pleased to visit this settlement, to judge personally of the state of affairs, and to take such measures as to your Excellency may seem fit.</p>

A petition had been sent to the Governor outlining the troubles of the New Plymouth settlers, pleading and concluding with a request that he visit and observe for himself.

Another article in the same paper, on the same day, continues in a similar vein, showing a very low state of mind and uncharacteristic respect for the prowess of the fighting Māori.

(And giving a rather interesting re-evaluation of the battle of Waireka, one year after the event!)

<p>The war has now lasted a year, and those who recollect the state of men's minds in Taranaki when martial law was first proclaimed, and compare it with their present state of gloomy despondency, must be struck with the melancholy change which twelve short months have brought about. The whole male population then turned out high in hope and confident of success; though they had but one hundred regulars to support them, and though the town of New Plymouth was open to attack and crowded with women and children. And they were not hopeful without reason, for the Maori then was more afraid of an open position occupied by settlers than he appears to be now of regularly fortified and strongly garrisoned redoubts. The native was certainly under-rated at that time, but he has since made good use of his year's apprenticeship to the trade of war as carried on in Europe, and is a foe far more to be feared.</p>
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<p>Had the Waikatos, who are now fighting at Hapurona's pa, been at Waireka, a few fugitive militiamen and volunteers might have possibly reached town that night, but the main body of the Taranaki settlers would have been left on the field. The men who so boldly attacked No. 3 redoubt would have made short work of Jury's house and its haystack. The result of the year's operations is, that our bravest and best settlers are weary and worn out by harassing duties in the field and in the trenches, and more than anything else by that "hope deferred which maketh the heart sick": whilst the insurgents, notwithstanding their severe losses, still show a bold front, and seem less likely to give in than ever. The domestic misery caused by this long protracted struggle can only be seen and fully appreciated at Nelson and at Taranaki, but it requires no great stretch of the imagination on our part to realize it to ourselves.</p>

Daily Southern Cross 1 March 1861

The war-weary settlers did not know it, but within a few weeks there was to be a temporary reprieve.

Thursday 21 March 1861 Māori forces withdraw from Waireka

The success of the sapping tactics of General Pratt, to the north of New Plymouth, were nearing their conclusion. There had been a brave but unsuccessful attack by Māori on No 3 Redoubt – and negotiations between Commissioner Donald McLean and the Waikato Māori statesman Wiremu Tamihana, together with other chiefs, had been taking place.

The significance of these discussions was probably not known to the settlers of Ōmata at the time.

There was still no sign of a reprieve in the Waireka district, and reports of the fighting continued...

Taranaki Herald 23 March 1861

Wednesday, March 20.—The southern rebels have been burning extensively to-day. This morning between 1 and 2 o'clock they fired Mr Fishleigh's houses, about 600 yards from No. 3 Blockhouse, and large volumes of smoke have been rising in the direction of the Carrington road. Natives were seen moving down the gully towards Hammerton's mill with lights, but retired on receiving a volley from the blockhouse, which commands the gully. An escort, with supplies for Omata, of 200 men and a 24 pounder howitzer, under Lieut.-Colonel Young, 65th regt., marched at 8 a.m. this morning. It was expected there would be some skirmishing, as it was

reported that the southern rebels had sunk rifle pits on Bundy's hill which commands the road this side of the Herekawe stream, and were prepared to attack the escort. The report was unfounded. A white flag flying at Pontoko, the friendly pa, was taken to be a flag of truce on Waireka, and the men were ordered not to fire at a small pa recently constructed on Law's land, near the site of the Omata village. All the cattle and sheep have been driven south, and having burned all the houses, small parties of these natives are now turning their attention to the destruction of the fencing on the farms, &c.

... however, with bitterness rather than relief, the following report was published the next day, in the *Taranaki Herald* Journal of Events: The Māori at Waireka were withdrawing their forces and once more retiring to their fortifications in the south.

Thursday, March 21.—The startling intelligence (if any thing can surprise now-a-day) reached town that the Waikatos have left Te Arei and are on their way home. This morning they were observed leaving and crossing the river, and firing their pieces in the air. Mr. McLean and the native chiefs slept in Te Arei pa last night. At about 9 a.m. it was known in town that the southern natives had left their position at Waireka and retired south. About 10 o'clock Captain Burton and another from the O-nata Stockade rode into town and stated that he had taken a few men from the stockade and been over the position, thus confirming the previous report. The rebels have retired upon Kaihihi, where they have halted. These southern hordes have been for two months and upwards on our land at Waireka. In addition to the cold blooded murders committed by them last March, many estimable settlers have fallen since into their hands by the most treacherous means. The abstraction of live stock, agricultural implements, and household property has been enormous. In addition to all this, the destruction of property that could not be carried away has been wanton and complete, houses having been burnt, and even fencing destroyed up to the morning of their flight, and after it had been decided upon.—The Tasmanian

Taranaki Herald 23 March 1861
Journal of Events

Friday 22 March 1861 End of hostilities announced. A fragile cease-fire.

NOTICE.

A cessation of hostilities having been granted to the enemy in the Province, all active operations for the present will cease, and, during the truce, the Major-General Commanding requests that the most amicable relations should be kept up between the natives and the settlers. He desires, however, that the following rules be still attended to:—

That all persons in the town still keep within the outposts; and at Omata, Bell Block, and Ngapuketurua near their stockades; and that all the usual guards be kept; and parties will only be allowed to proceed beyond these limits who have passes signed by the Deputy Quarter-Master General.

By Command,
CHARLES SILLERY,
Colonel, D.Q.M.G.,
Commanding Garrison.

Taranaki Herald 23 March 1861

"Before the winter of 1861 most of the troops in Taranaki were withdrawn to Auckland, Colonel Warre remaining in New Plymouth with his regiment, the 57th. Major-General Pratt left for Melbourne after the arrival of a new Commander-in-Chief, Lieut.-General Sir Duncan Cameron...

... Soon after Sir George Grey had succeeded Colonel Gore Browne as Governor of New Zealand, ...

... a new native policy was promulgated".

The New Zealand Wars Cowan Vol 1 p 224

Settler John Newland records the bitterness with which settlers responded to the news. He noted this in his diary, a few days later (28 March 1861)

28th. Anniversary of the Battle of Waireka. The Ngatiruanui and Taranakis have left Waireka, and gone South. These Tribes have been a source of great annoyance to us having threatened to attack the Town many times but never made the attempt. On hearing of McLean's arrival they took themselves off on Thursday 21st. They have fallen back on Kaihihi where they have halted. These wreaches have taken live stock, agricultural implements, and household property to an enormous amount, in addition to all this the destruction of property that could not be carried away has been wanton and complete houses have been burnt and even fencing destroyed up to the morning of their flight and after it had been decided upon.

A fragile cease-fire commenced in Taranaki.

as. Nothing that has hitherto been demanded is to be insisted on, except that Ngatiruanui and Taranaki are to give up Tataraimaka and Waireka, which they now hold by "right of conquest," that the question of the Teira block is to be referred to arbitrators, whose decision is to be absolute, and the mails are to be allowed to pass. If these points are conceded, things are virtually to return to the *status quo ante bellum*; for the indefinite time.

Taranaki Herald 11 Jan. 1862

At the end of hostilities the southern Māori had not signed a truce. They continued to claim ownership of the Tātaraimaka block and the land at Waireka.

Their claim was based on a right of conquest - and that they had not been driven from Waireka but had left of their own accord.

Tātaraimaka and Waireka would be held as utu (payment) for the loss of the block at Waitara which had been "sold" by Teira.

One or two farmers cautiously returned to their land at Waireka.

And were warned off, in no uncertain terms.

"Taranaki. Te Ika a Maui. The house where lie the laws which are in force here of King Matutaera Potatau, near the gate for payment of offences which stands here.

	£	s.	d.
1. Minister of the Gospel	50	0	0
2. Newspaper Mail	300	0	0
3. Maori Disciple of the Governor	200	0	0
4. Wealthy Pakeha—don't let them go through the gate, if they do	5	0	0
5. Pakeha Policeman	500	0	0
6. Maori Policeman	5	0	0
7. Maori Assessor	5	0	0
8. If he comes as a Kingite	0	15	0
9. A King's Letter in the Mail	0	5	0
10. A Letter against the Authority of the King	1	0	0
11. Letters from Kinsmen Outside	0	5	0
12. Letters Tempting the Tribe	0	15	0
13. Letters not sent by the Mail	1	0	0
14. A Neutral coming as a Pakeha	0	5	0
15. A Preaching Maori Minister	55	0	0
16. Letter Badly Tempting the Tribe, seize it and make the bearer pay... ..	0	5	0
17. The above is the Law for the Pakeha Tolls of the Maori.			
1. A Cart of Wheat or other things	0	1	0
2. Things carried on a man's back	0	0	1
3. A Pig carried in a cart	0	0	6
4. A Pig driven	0	0	6
5. A Cow or Horse each	0	0	6
6. There are no rules referring to neutrals outside, but a load carried from inside the gate	0	0	1
7. Money of the tribe for purchasing, free			
8. The Law of the Maoris inside and outside of the gate			
9. Do not Steal, O Man (or evade the tolls) if you do you will pay	5	0	0
By authority of the keepers of the gate of Matutaera, KERE, Policeman, ROPOMA, Policeman.			

8th July, 1862.

On the 8 July 1862 a great native meeting was held at Kapoaiaia.

The number present was estimated at 600, and consisted of members of the Taranaki, Ngāti Ruanui, Ngā Rauru, and Whanganui tribes.

The meeting resolved that if the road making were extended beyond Waireka it would be looked upon as a declaration of war.

At this time also, the southern Māori established a toll-gate effectively blockading the land south of Waireka.

The toll board, in the name of the Māori King Matutaera Pōtatau, was later taken possession of by the military in the action at Katikara on 4 June 1863.

The toll board must have been as impressive as the toll charges were outrageous; described as 7'6" (2m) high and 2'6" (0.8m) wide, white, with well-formed green letters.

Translated:

The History of Taranaki Benjamin Wells pp 237-8

* If it is attempted to carry the road making (or mending) beyond Waireka, it will be considered a *casus belli*: a line is to be drawn round the open land near Town (we are not told when), and any pakeha crossing it will be treated as a trespasser and imprisoned till a fine is paid: Messrs Touet and Sutton are again threatened with the sword if they do not leave their farms: Tataraimaka, Kaipopo (Waireka hill), Waiwakaiho, Waitaha (Bell Block), and Waitara, are declared to be theirs, not ours any longer. It only remains for them to enforce their notice of ejection.

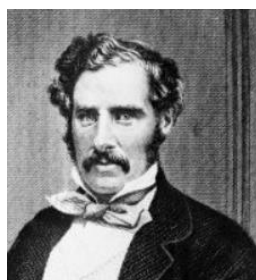
Taranaki Herald 19 July 1862

The threats made against the two farmers, Sutton and Touet, were confirmed a year later by a letter from Charles Brown:

"...Touet and Sutton, about a twelvemonth ago occupied their farms the other side of the Waireka, by degrees the natives frightened Sutton off, and I had to provide a place in town for Mrs Touet and Miss Touet, and give Touet 1/- a day to remain on his farm, but which he left a day or two ago because the natives threatened to kill him"

C Brown to J. C. Richmond 6 March 1863

Richmond-Atkinson papers Vol 2 page 26



George Grey had returned to New Zealand in late September 1862 to replace Thomas Gore Browne, and commence his second term as Governor of New Zealand. Calls for investigation into the sale of the land at Waitara continued. Tensions in Taranaki remained.

Governor Grey was conducting negotiations with the Māori King diplomats as early as January 1863.

He had no intention of surrendering the land at Waireka or Tātaraimaka.

And if he had been quietly planning to restore Waitara to the Māori, then he chose to make no such announcement at this time.

The Second Taranaki War.

March 11 1863 British re-occupy Jury's Hill. Hostilities recommence.

The next move was by the British: to re-occupy the old Waireka Camp (Waireka Redoubt) and to build another redoubt a few hundred metres away on Wilkinson's farm, overlooking Poutoko.

This new fortification was referred to as St. Patrick's redoubt (or sometimes Puotoko redoubt).

MILITARY MOVEMENTS.

Some excitement prevailed in Town on Wednesday last, when it transpired that a force of Military were under orders for Waireka. On that day bullocks and carts were pressed for immediate service, and other signs given which meant that a movement to some part of the Province was intended. On Thursday morning at 8.30 o'clock, 300 of the 57th Regt. under Colonel Warre, C.B., Captains Woodall, and Gorton, Lieuts. Brutton, Thompson, Tragett, and Waller, Adjutant Clarke, and Asst. Surgeon Hope, together with Lieut. Ferguson and a detachment of the Royal Engineers, paraded under Mount Eliot and marched off by the Great South Road towards Omata, preceded by several carts laden with baggage and camp equipage in charge of Lieut. Cox, 57th Regt. His Excellency Sir George Grey, General Cameron, and suite, followed. The troops reached Waireka at 10 o'clock, and encamped on Wilkinson's farm, near the southern boundary of the Omata block, where

a Stockade is to be erected. A number of the Taranaki tribe have been for several days at Wairau, a native settlement between Omata and Tataraimaka, who no doubt were surprised by the sudden occupation of the territory said by them to be theirs by conquest in 1860-61, and it has given rise to considerable conjecture as to their intentions. The smoke of large

Sir George Grey, General Cameron and staff, together with the Colonial Secretary and the Native Minister, have daily visited the camp and the Poutoko. It is said that on Thursday two delegates from the Taranakis met the Governor at the Poutoko.

THE LATEST FROM THE CAMP.—The military have commenced a redoubt on Wilkinson's farm, on a hill overlooking the Poutoko and surrounding country, which they are rapidly constructing. No

Taranaki Herald 14 March 1863

The old redoubt at Waireka was re-used when troops marched south in March 1863 to reoccupy the Omata and Tataraimaka Blocks at the opening of the Second Taranaki War. At first it was used only by a day piquet from St Patrick's Redoubt. In April 1864 a signal mast was erected at Waireka.¹⁴³ and the piquet increased to one sergeant, one corporal and 15 privates.¹⁴⁴ The signal station was discontinued in March 1865.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ Warre to Deputy Quarter Master General, 3 Apr 1864: New Plymouth Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book 4 Aug 1863-13 May 1865 (NPL).

¹⁴⁴ 7 Apr 1864: New Plymouth Garrison Office Letter Book 30 Nov 1863-22 Mar 1865 (NPL).

¹⁴⁵ 7 Mar 1865: New Plymouth Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book 4 Aug 1863-13 May 1865 (NPL).

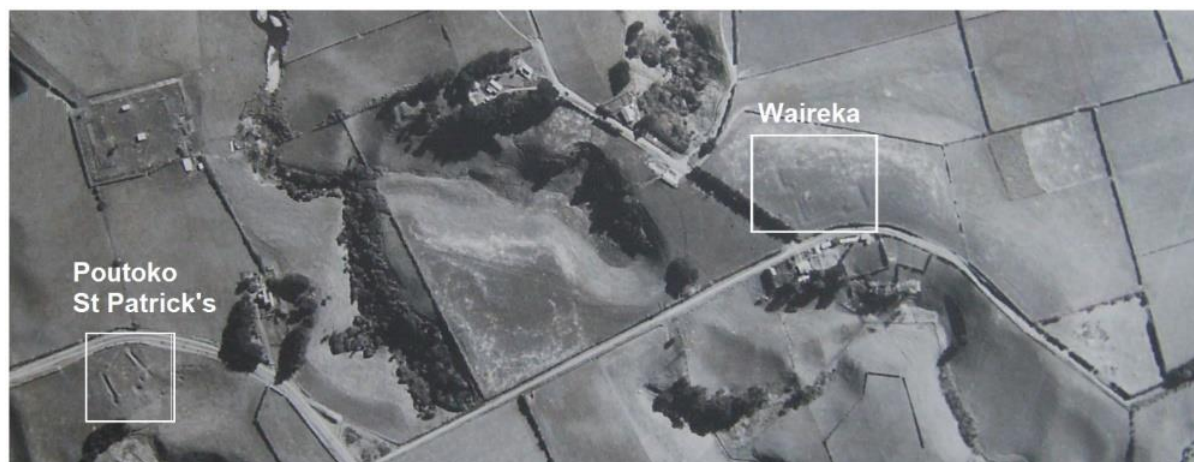
THE
ARCHAEOLOGY
OF A MILITARY
FRONTIER:
TARANAKI,
NEW ZEALAND,
1860-1881

Nigel Prickett
p66

This fortification, “St. Patrick’s” or “Poutoko” redoubt, was to be used as a staging point for re-occupation of the Tātaraimaka Block and the building of further military facilities there.

St Patrick’s Redoubt

Waireka Redoubt



(Detail) Photo from the collection of Len Jury)

This aerial photo was taken in the 1950s when the remains of both redoubts were still visible.

Arthur Atkinson, now back in New Plymouth, recorded this in his journal:

Th 12 Mar ... About 8.30 300 of the 57th passed on their way to Omata to begin road making, or rather mending from the stockade to the Poutoko. About 11 Domett came in & I rode with him to 'the camp.' They are on Wilkinson's farm, the southern boundary of Omata.

The Govr. was down there and had an interview at Poutoko with Reihana & two others from Parenga Kingi's division²⁰ of Taranaki. I did not like to go near enough to hear (though Domett²¹ said 'Why don't you come? What does it matter if you do hear?') but I heard the main points from 'Bob'²² & others. They still claim our land as theirs by right of conquest but offer to give up Tataraimaka if all the runangas north & south agree to it & if he gives them Waitara ...

Richmond-Atkinson Papers Vol 2 Scholefield p 30

Atkinson’s interesting remarks show that even after the British re-occupation of Waireka Hill, Parenga Kīngi (who was vehemently opposed to British occupation) may have been willing to negotiate with the Governor and the Premier, to give up Waireka and Tātaraimaka in exchange for the reinstatement of the disputed Waitara Block.

Grey was adamant.

“... I have Tātaraimaka in my hands, and my hands shall be strong to hold it.”

TAMIHANA: O Governor, all the blocks in the neighbourhood of Waitara over which the soldiers went shall be retained for the Queen alone; but the determination of Ngātiruanui and Taranaki, as expressed by them, is to continue in the possession of the Waireka and Tataraimaka blocks, over which their feet travelled.

*[Wiremu Tamihana:
Māorii chief and Māori King diplomat]*

THE GOVERNOR: Do you hearken: I shall be obstinate about Tataraimaka. After my return to Auckland I shall embark in the steamer, and proceed to that place, and there abide. Now, will Waikato go there and join them, or will Waikato go to Taranaki and assist me? O ye sons, you are in error, for I have Tataraimaka in my hands, and my hands shall be strong to hold it.

Taranaki Herald 21 March 1863

²⁰ Parenga Kīngi, a leader of the Taranaki forces opposing the British.

²¹ Alfred Dommett, at the time the Premier of the New Zealand Colonial Government.

²² This is Rōpata Ngārongomate (known as Bob Erangi - see brief biography in *Taranaki Herald* 25 June 1885). He was a Māori leader aligned to the British, whose pā was at Poutoko. Brother-in-law of W. Carrington.

April 4 1863 The re-occupation of the Tātaraimaka Block

<p style="text-align: center;">TARANAKI. (FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.) April 13th. 1863.</p> <p>ANOTHER step towards the restoration of Taranaki has been taken; Tataraimaka is occupied by our troops. On Saturday, the 4th instant, a force of about 300 men, under Gen. Cameron, moved down and took possession. It was composed of 200 of the 57th, under Colonel Warre and Captain Mercer, 100 artillerymen acting as cavalry, but having two guns with them. There were also a few of the Royal Engineers under Major Mould. This</p>	<p>TARANAKI. (FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.) April 13th, 1863.</p> <p>Another step towards the restoration of Taranaki has been taken; Tataraimaka is occupied by our troops. On Saturday, the 4th instant, a force of about 300 men, under Gen. Cameron, moved down and took possession. It was composed of 200 of the 57th, under Colonel Warre and Captain Mercer, 100 artillerymen acting as cavalry, but having two guns with them. There were also a few of</p>
<p>the Royal Engineers under Major Mould. This was all the fighting force; but of course the Governor, Mr. Domett, and Mr. Bell went also. They met with no opposition; indeed they did not see a single native, I believe, until they got on to the block, and then they were met by Hoani and a few of his people, and some friendly natives from town, and one Poutoko who welcomed the Governor in usual Maori fashion. An armed party of the Taranakis were watching proceedings from the other side of the Timaru, (which forms part of the inland as well as the northern boundary of the block), but they had nothing to say unless the Governor were to cross into Maori land, in which case there would be war. The site for the redoubt has been well chosen. It is a little cliff on Mr. W. Bayly's farm, at the southern end of the block overlooking the Katikara stream and the beach, and commands a good landing-place. Of course this move has caused a great deal of talk among the Southern natives. Parenga Kingi (generally known as Cucumber King), the most violent of them, was away at the time it was made, and came back in a state of high excitement. Whether they mean fighting or not I cannot say, but their attitude is still as determinedly hostile as ever. They have severely reprimanded Hoani for having welcomed the Governor, and have forbidden him from holding any further communication with the troops, or from supplying them with anything, on pain of being driven out from the tribe. They have stopped Hori Te Kaioroto, a Wanganui chief who came up with an armed party to see how things were going on, from coming in to see the Governor, though invited and willing to do so; and they said that if the Governor touches or attempts to mend the road between Tataraimaka and Omata where it passes over native land, or to put a new bridge over the Tapuae, they shall look upon it as a casus belli, and all the friendly natives say they mean it; but they are such adepts at threatening and boasting that it is perhaps safer to see before believing.</p> <p>I may mention one fact that will help to show in what current their thoughts are running. A native, nominally friendly, but who lives certainly on the extreme edge of friendliness, last week offered <i>twenty shillings</i> for a pound of gunpowder, and said he had £50 he wished to lay out. If they think it a good investment at such prices as this, they must either have an inordinate love of wild ducks and pigeons or else have other than feathered game in view.</p> <p>I should also tell you that they are bringing up large quantities of cattle, horses, and produce, one herd alone having sold last week for £350. Among these cattle the settlers occasionally recognize some that were taken from them by the natives during the war, but the Government will not allow any proceedings to be taken in these cases; in fact in one case they actually interfered to stop proceedings when our resident magistrate was preparing a warrant against a Maori who sold a bullock proved to have been stolen. This sort of thing may perhaps excite a little surprise out of Taranaki, if it is ever noticed; but here it is looked upon as part of the policy, and taken almost as a matter of course.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>Daily Southern Cross 16 April 1863</i></p>	

Grey would have known that the welcome he was given at Tātaraimaka, by Hoani and others, was hardly representative of the southern tribes. Hoani was later reprimanded by his peers. Perhaps Grey was gambling on Waikato remaining passive, thus isolating Ngāti Ruanui and Taranaki.

THE TARANAKI DIFFICULTY.

[From the *Wellington Independent*, March 28.]

At last we are fairly face to face with the Taranaki difficulty. The fact that Sir G. Grey has moved the troops southward as far as Omata or Waireka, is in itself of little importance; but as a step towards taking possession of Tataraimaka and holding it, it possesses a very considerable significance. In order that our readers may not be misled by such a high sounding phrase as "moving the troops southward," we must ask them to bear in mind that Omata is only somewhere about two miles from New Plymouth—or a little further than Kai-warra-warra is from the Post Office; while Tataraimaka is only ten miles, or a little further than the Hutt Bridge. Beyond Tataraimaka, the purchased lands at Taranaki do not extend; and in determining to hold that block, the reinstatement of the whole of the settlers on their lands is therefore implied. The weary waiting time appears to have now expired: but it remains to be seen whether Sir George is master of the situation, or whether a renewal of the war will follow. We profess to have great faith that the former will prove to be the case, and not the latter.

We cannot think that after waiting so long, the Governor has now made a hap-hazard movement; but rather that he has sufficient reason for believing that the Ngati-ruanuis will not be countenanced by their former allies, and that the only opposition which his troops will really meet with, will be that of the tongue—that while the southern natives are debating as to whether they ought to prevent the occupation of Tataraimaka, the occupation will have become complete. If Sir George is not thus master of the situation, and war is renewed, we may rest thoroughly satisfied that it will be no mere pipeclay display as it was before, but conducted with the most thorough earnestness. If Sir George Grey can reinstate the Taranaki province without bloodshed, there will be no man in the Queen's dominions whom we should so much feel disposed to envy; but even if Sir George is only able to reinstate the Taranaki province by waging war with the Ngati-ruanuis, and by confining it to there, can teach them a severe lesson without injuring the prospects of the other provinces, there will be no Governor anywhere who will deserve to be raised to such a height of popularity.

... while Māori prepared to resist.

During the week, several rumours have been circulated in town respecting the conduct of the Southern natives since the occupation of Tataraimaka. As we have no means of getting at the truth of any of these, we will only mention one or two which we believe to have some foundation. It is said that Hoani's proceedings on Saturday last has been disapproved by the *iwi* (tribe), and that in consequence he has been summoned before a runanga and ordered to hold no communication with the troops. We also hear that the occupation of Tataraimaka has been made without any consent on the part of the natives; and as it is said no communication of any kind has been had, it may be concluded, that the silence of the natives is

ominous. We have heard from natives in town, that they are preparing to resist not only the occupation of Tataraimaka but also of Waireka, and that natives from the south are gathering in Taranaki. We have also been told that a letter has been received from a native down the coast, telling the friendly natives to be *tupato* (on their guard). We give these statements as we hear them, for what they are worth, and we do not vouch for the truth of them.

An armed party of natives remain on guard at the gate, and no European is allowed to go beyond Tataraimaka. Parenga Kingi was absent when the troops occupied the block, and we hear he was very much excited when he heard that Tataraimaka was in the hands of the soldiers.

On April 24th Grey sent an eloquent despatch to his superiors in London in which he claimed to have discovered evidence regarding the Waitara purchase which had been hitherto unknown to him, (and, he suggested, possibly also to his predecessor Thomas Gore Browne) – evidence which made it necessary to abandon the Waitara purchase, the block which had triggered the war in Taranaki. Grey wrote:

“Leaving apart, however, those far higher considerations which influence Your Grace, I know that we are both to stand at the bar of History when our conduct to the native race of this country will be judged by impartial historians, and that it is our duty to set a good example for all time in such a most important affair. I ought therefore to advise Your Grace, without thinking of the personal consequences which may result to myself, that my settled conviction is that the natives are in the main right in their allegations regarding the Waitara purchase and that it ought not to be gone on with....”

Letter reproduced in *England and the Maori Wars* A. J. Harrop 1937 page 169

Arthur Atkinson – now dabbling a little in politics - quite disenchanted with Governor Grey who he had long regarded as being devious and untrustworthy – tried to look into Grey’s mind.

Grey was, characteristically, planning a move “out of left field”.

Atkinson guessed it, and made this note in his diary:

17 April 1873 “...When I got home heard that Bell had had an interview with Teira & Ihaia in which incidentally they talked about the Waitara block & Teira is said to have made important admissions²³ - that William King & the others came to live there for mutual defence against Waikato, that he (Teira) never meant to sell the sites by the pas (Hurirapa &c) and also meant to reserve 200 acres (for King?), all of which Bell has made a memorandum of - for Grey of course who there is little doubt only wants a show of reason to give up the land ...”

Richmond-Atkinson Papers Vol 2 page 34

... At Tataraimaka, the 57th have completed the redoubt on Bayly's farm, (named St. George's Redoubt) and have constructed another on the site of an old

However, at this moment Grey maintained silence and his proposal was kept confidential.

Military movements south continued.

Taranaki Herald 18 April 1863

At this somewhat crucial moment in the history of the Taranaki wars, the *Maori Messenger*, as a Government propaganda tool, exceeded itself by portraying the Taranaki and Ngāti Ruaniui Māori as peaceful and submissive, and even willing to restore Tātaraimaka to the settlers.

Maori Messenger 20 April 1863

... and, are boundless. Some supposed that the tribes at Taranaki would have contented themselves by sullenly looking on; but they appear to be strenuously exerting themselves for good, advocating the restoration of all lands ceded heretofore to Europeans, in consequence of being impressed with a conviction of the justice and good intentions of the ruling powers towards them.

all honestly, approve. The Ngatiruanuis and Taranakis have in this matter acted simply as all right minded men should do; for it must be borne in mind that it is no concern of theirs, as to when or how the settlers are to be put in possession of their farms. It must be owned, however, that the conduct of the Natives in this affair is highly praiseworthy and will doubtless gain them many friends, who look at things in their true light.

²³ Atkinson is referring here to the events which lead to the controversial purchase from Teira of land at Waitara, which was defied by William King (Wiremu Kīngi), leading to the Governor launching the war.

But in reality, the moves to build military facilities and to repair roads south of Waireka were regarded by the Māori as hostile, and everyone in Taranaki would have known that.

In fact, to Māori, these military activities meant that war had already recommenced.

Their first response (20th April) was to vandalise a ford across the Tapuae stream, not far from the Waireka Hill.

<p>... The Taranakis have only made one move this week that we have heard of, we will leave our readers to divine the meaning of it lest we should be called alarmists. There being no bridge now over the Tapuae, and the crossing being, therefore, difficult from the abrupt nature of the banks, a party of soldiers had been detailed to shave them down a little, and to do a little macadamising on</p>	<p>each side. For the latter purpose a quantity of stone had been collected from the bed of the river and put in heaps on the bank. The natives heard of what had been done and on Sunday night or Monday morning thirty of them, headed it is said by Parenga Kingi, came up and threw all the stone back into the river, where it now lies. This is the on¹</p> <p><i>Taranaki Herald 25 April 1863</i></p>
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Perhaps Arthur Atkinson had written the above piece for the *Taranaki Herald* at this time. The phrasing suggests it. He had diarised, in his usual laconic fashion:

<p>Tu 21 Apr 1863 ... The news we heard yesterday about Tapuae is quite true. The soldiers had been improving the crossing by the Tapuae (the bridge having gone) & had collected a lot of stones to macadamise it a little on each side & on Sunday night Parenga Kingi & 30 others came & threw all the stones back into the stream, where they now lie. This looks peaceful & submissive.</p>
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Richmond Atkinson Papers Vol 2 Scholefield page 37

<p>... The natives are offering almost incredible prices for powder and caps; even ironsand is in some demand, a small sample of this mineral (about a pound) having been sold by some young rascals. We hear that a native (Te Meiha, alias Big Jack,) of Hauranga, who has been trying hard to buy gunpowder in town, has gone south with a large sum of money. It is to be hoped that the authorities at Wanganui and Wellington, and even at Nelson and the further southern ports, will be vigilant, as it is quite possible this man will go a long distance in the hope of getting ammunition.</p>

By mid April it was well known by the settlers that Māori were re-arming.

A further reminder was given in this report describing efforts to procure stocks of ammunition.

Taranaki Herald 25 April 1863

The text of the *Maori Messenger* article, proclaiming a passive stance by Māori, now appeared in the British newspaper *Home News*. Included also was the prediction that Grey would NOT be requiring further British troops.

Upon learning what had been published in the British newspaper, *Taranaki Herald* responded with an angry editorial, offering some propaganda of its own...

These are not the words of a half-informed Under Secretary of State, speaking at a distance of the whole width of the globe from the things he speaks of, but are from the *Maori Messenger* of 20th April, and must be looked upon therefore as the Government account of the state of things here and the prospects of the Native question ten days ago. We may remark in passing that the article we have quoted from is founded upon a total misconception of the meaning of the letter referred to. Two friendly natives write a letter giving an account of a meeting of one section of the Taranaki

tribe, at which they and one other native, also friendly, recommended that Tataraimaka should be quietly given up to the Governor. One of the hostile natives

The fact of the misinterpretation of a letter by the *Maori Messenger* is nothing so new as to call for special remark; but it is surely remarkable that the Government should choose such a critical moment as the present to circulate among the natives a statement of the condition of things here which every Maori in Taranaki and Waikato knows to be utterly false. W."

... and in the same column, a clear warning to all, against travelling south of New Plymouth.²⁴

On Sunday last news came into town through Hone Wetere and others, that the Taranakis and their allies intended to commence hostilities against us the next day. But Monday passed and nothing was known to have occurred. On the morning of that day, however, there were 40 or 50 Taranaki natives lying in wait on the road between Tataraimaka and Omata to murder the first Englishman that should pass by. They were divided into three parties, with a considerable distance between them, so as to prevent all chance of escape. No one passed while they were there, the mounted orderly having been detained accidentally beyond his usual time, and they withdrew, without accomplishing their purpose, owing, it is said, to the influence of Tamati Hone, head of Ngatiruanui. They make no secret of their object; the hapus to which all belong are known and the names of their leaders; the exact spots where they lay are also known. This might be thought a sufficiently hostile demonstration,—and no one knows it will not be

repeated to-morrow—but the Government make very light of it. On Sunday last, on the receipt of the news we mentioned, the Superintendent wrote to the Colonial Secretary asking for timely notice of danger, that he might warn such settlers as were at a distance from the town, but, we are informed, has received no such warning yet. On Tuesday, too, after the ambush had been discovered, his Excellency himself, as we are informed, told two settlers living in the bush 'that he saw no reason for their coming into town.' Not a single word of caution have the settlers received from the Ministry or Governor, except with regard to the wild ducks on the Oakura; and, except that, for a few hours on Monday, travellers to Tataraimaka were advised not to proceed, though not till after the ambush had been withdrawn; but, on the other hand, his Excellency has, on several occasions, advised individual settlers to go back upon their land. Must we have another such tragedy as that at Omata before our rulers are convinced that the Maoris are in earnest? O."

The newspaper warning proved to be prophetic.

Two days later (4 May 1863) the first shots were fired.

²⁴ The Hone Wetere named here was Hōne Wētere Takerei te Rerenga.

Wētere was a Chief at Mōkau, and the Master of a coastal trader called *Paraninihi* which regularly brought goods (and occasionally military intelligence) from Mōkau to New Plymouth.

(Wētere later changed sides, to become notorious in 1869 as leader of a taua which wiped out the British garrison at Pukearuhe, and murdered the Rev. Whiteley. This incident was referred to at the time as the "Whitecliffs Massacre").

4 May 1863 The Ambush at Wairau Stream, near Ōākura

A military escort travelling between New Plymouth and Tātaraimaka was ambushed on 4 May 1863. The *Taranaki Herald* expressed shock and outrage in the strongest possible terms. In anticipation of further hostilities, with banner headlines, the paper recommenced its "Journal of Events" which had been terminated two years before.

Taranaki Herald 9 May 1860

BARBAROUS MURDERS OF TWO OFFICERS AND SIX SOLDIERS BY THE MAO- RIES.

Journal of Events.

We resume our diary of daily occurrences from the date we concluded it on the 23rd March, 1861.

Monday, 4th May 1863.—This day will be as long remembered as Tuesday, the 27th March, 1860, when five of our settlers were shot down and tomahawked while peaceably following their several vocations on the Omata road. To-day we have to chronicle the murder of eight more of our fellow countrymen under circumstances as horrible as those which attended the death of Messrs. Ford, Shaw, Passmore, and the two little boys. At about 10 o'clock this morning the

inhabitants of New Plymouth were thrown into a state of great excitement by the arrival in town of Ropata Ngarongomate from Poutoko with the intelligence that the natives had attacked a party of the 57th Regiment on their way to town from Tataraimaka. The General, who was on his way to Poutoko, with Colonel Warr, and who met Ropata, hastened on, and was soon after followed by the Governor, and his Excellency had not long left town when his A.D.C., Capt. Bulkeley, galloped back to announce to the Colonial Secretary that several soldiers had been shot. The excitement of the townspeople reached its height, when confirmatory tidings came in town by more than one horseman, on reeking horses, that no less than six men and two officers had been waylaid and shot down by an ambuscade of natives on the beach near Wairau, between the Oakura river and the Tataraimaka block, exactly in the same

*See Appendix 5 for the detailed news report, and the full inquest into the Wairau Ambush.

The Governor had been in the habit of riding regularly between New Plymouth and his military base at Tātaraimaka, and there is little doubt that the intention of the ambush had been to take his life. There are anecdotes that he had been personally warned but chose to disregard the warning. Whatever, it was public knowledge at the time, that traveling south of the town was potentially dangerous. Grey was fortunate: he did not ride to Tātaraimaka on that day.

The first shot in the second Taranaki campaign was fired on the 4th May, 1863.

The Taranaki and Ngāti-Ruanui planned ambuscades to cut off communications between Tataraimaka and New Plymouth, and warnings of these intended ambush tactics had been sent to the authorities in New Plymouth by friendly natives, but were lightly regarded.

Sir George Grey was in the habit of riding out to the military post at Tataraimaka (fifteen miles from New Plymouth), and on the morning of the 4th May a party of thirty or forty young warriors lay in ambush waiting for the Governor and his party, who were expected to pass along the beach road that day...

...The ambuscade was laid on the coast just beyond the Oakura, at a place where two small streams, the Waimouku and the Wairau, flow down to the shingly beach. (The spot is on the farm of Captain Frank Mace). Low but thick bush and brushwood grew close to the beach here, and in its cover between the mouths of the two streams, which are not more than 100 yards apart, the Maoris awaited their unsuspecting enemy. The Governor did not pass that day, but a small military party did. This was an escort of the 57th taking a prisoner of the regiment into New Plymouth from Tataraimaka. There were six soldiers, under Colour-Sergeant Ellers and Sergeant S. Hill. With them also were travelling two officers, Lieutenant Tragett and Assistant-Surgeon Hope, who were mounted. The officers were riding along the beach a little ahead of the soldiers...

The New Zealand Wars Vol. 1 Cowan pp222-3



Very early photograph of the Wairau Stream at Ōākura.

Puke Ariki Collection

(The Sugar Loafs and Paritutu, 9 km away, are faintly visible in this remarkable photograph).

The caption reads: "Scene of massacre near Wairau Stm. Taranaki.

Dr. Hope, Lieut Tragett & others of 57th Regt

killed by Maoris in Ambush May 4th 1863"

11 May 1863 The Governor now restored the disputed Waitara Block

The news was leaked two days before the official proclamation:

We are able to state that the Waitara block is now given up by the Governor, not given to any one in particular, but he simply withdraws from it and leaves the owners and those who claim to be the lords of the manor to settle their title

among themselves. The Mataitawa natives have been invited by the Governor to live on the block. "Teira," Tamihana tells us, "is to receive £600 from the Governor."

Taranaki Herald 9 May 1863

A PROCLAMATION DECLARING THE ABANDONMENT OF THE WAITARA PURCHASE.

By His Excellency Sir George Grey, Knight Commander of the Most Honorable Order of the Bath, Governor and Commander-in-Chief in and over Her Majesty's Colony of New Zealand and its Dependencies, and Vice Admiral of the same, &c.

WHEREAS an engagement for the purchase of a certain tract of land at the Waitara, commonly known as Teira's block was entered into by the Government of New Zealand in the year 1859, but the said purchase has never been completed:

And whereas circumstances connected with the said purchase unknown to the Government at the time of the sale of the said land have lately transpired which make it advisable that the said purchase should not be further proceeded with:

Now, therefore, the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Executive Council, doth hereby declare that the purchase of the said block of land is abandoned and all claim to the same on the part of the Government is henceforth renounced.

Given under my hand at New Plymouth and issued under the Seal of the Colony of New Zealand this 11th day of May, 1863.

G. GREY.

By His Excellency's command,

ALFRED DOMETT.

—GOD SAVE THE QUEEN!

Taranaki Herald 16 May 1863

But too late. Hostilities had already started.

Worse: the proclamation may well have been seen as capitulation following the ambush.

Saturday, May 16.—Paora, of Mataitawa, (little Paul), who is in town to-day, says that as Waitara was the cause of the murders last week, they shall join their friends the Taranakis if the Governor attacks them. He says that though they had all along asked for Waitara to be given up to them it was only when the Governor heard of the murders

that his heart stood still, and he said "Ah! I must give up Waitara." It will be seen that this fully bears out what is said in this morning's leader of these people; though we only heard of it after it was in type. We pledge our word that it was actually said. Paora says his people have heard nothing of the movements of Waitara.

Taranaki Herald 16 May 1863

A second ambush took place near to Waireka Hill about three weeks later, on May 29 1863.

One of the perpetrators was a young part-Māori man called Hōri Teira (George Taylor).

Unfortunately for Hōri he was captured.

The story of Hōri Teira, who many years later became a well-known farmer in south Taranaki, is a lengthy and interesting one.

*See Appendix 6 for the full story of the prisoner, Hōri Teira.

29 May 1863 The Ambush at Poutoko

Saturday, May 30.—A correspondent at Oakura has kindly sent us this morning

“About 2 p.m. Lieut. Waller, 57th Regt., proceeded towards Poutoko, and at about 2.15 several shots were heard by the people at Oakura and the Tapuae ford. The sounds were supposed to proceed from the vicinity of Mr. Carrington's house.

About 2 p.m. Lieut. Waller, 57th Regt., proceeded towards Poutoko, and at about 2.15 several shots were heard by the people at Oakura and the Tapuae ford. The sounds were supposed to proceed from the vicinity of Mr. Carrington's house.

Major Logan immediately ordered 15 men under

Ensign Duncan, and subsequently Capt. Shortt with 15 more to proceed to the Tapuae directing that the picket of 30 men at that place should at once advance to Mr. Carrington's house. Lieut.

Warburton, R.E. rode on to communicate the orders to the Tapuae party, and proceeded on to Carrington's house.

At the bottom of the gully a horse was lying apparently dead. Two orderlies passed the spot with intelligence that Lieut. Waller was safe in Poutoko camp [*St. Patrick's Redoubt*], and that a native had been killed. Almost on their heels a party under Captain Russell, 57th Regt., arrived at the scene of action, but such was the expedition displayed by the Oakura party, that the latter came to the spot only two or three minutes afterwards. The combined parties under Colonel Warre, who presently arrived, entered the adjoining bush in the gully, and, after a careful search, a native, unwounded, was discovered and seized by Private Miley, 57th Regiment, of the Oakura party. The man was taken alive, and on his person was found the watch and chain and other valuables belonging to the late Lieut. Tragett, and a rifle belonging to one of the victims on that melancholy occasion. He was secured, by the men and brought to Poutoko, having been previously interrogated. He stated that he formed one of a party of seven who laid the ambuscade; that he was taken with a fit or sudden faintness after the attack had been made on Lieut. Waller; that he was carried a considerable distance into the bush, and finally left to his fate. On being taken he entreated to be shot. He is a half-caste.

Lt. Waller states that he was proceeding down the gully along the road, having taken out his revolver as a precaution, in consequence of warnings received from Mr. W. Carrington. After rising the hill towards Poutoko, he was saluted with a volley from the hill above. His horse fell, shot through the head, and, with difficulty disengaging himself, he cocked his revolver and went behind a piece of fern. One man advanced towards him, and taking a deliberate aim Lt. Waller shot him in the body. The man fell in the road and close to the horse. The second shot missed fire, but the natives seemed cowed and did not advance. One man fired a second time at Lieut. Waller, but happily without success. He accomplished his retreat into camp successfully, having shouted first as if help were at hand, which caused the assailants to disappear. There is no doubt that the man shot by Lieutenant Waller was carried away by the remaining five, and that they carried the half-caste as far as possible without endangering their own safety. But it was impossible for them to carry away two men. The man shot by Lieut. Waller was probably the head of the party. Lieut. Waller's escape to which under providence His coolness- and determination contributed so much, was hailed with repeated cheers as he returned to Oakura camp.

It will be seen from the above that combined parties from Poutoko and Oakura discovered Hori, and that he was captured by Private Miley from the Oakura camp. Hori says he was the first man who jumped off the bank, and that he then immediately became senseless. It is supposed Mr Waller's shot must have struck his head and glanced off, though with sufficient force to stun him.

Afterwards he got up and went some distance off and hid.

Taranaki Herald 30 May 1863

4 June 1863 The Storming of Katikara

Under the direction of General Cameron, the first major battle took place on 4 June, 15 miles (24 km) south of New Plymouth and south of Tātaraimaka, at the Katikara River.

The 57th and 70th Regiments, led by Colonel Warre, with a supporting bombardment from the *Eclipse* anchored off the river mouth, over ran the Māori position, cleared the rifle pits and trenches and drove the Māori inland.

Plans to Confiscate and Militarise the land south of Ōmata now commenced.

The Tātaraimaka Block was to be re-purchased and the land between there and Ōmata confiscated.

NEW NATIVE POLICY.

OCCUPATION OF NATIVE LAND.

ENCOURAGEMENT OF VOLUNTEERS.

[From the *Wellington Advertiser*, May 26.]

It will be seen from the following that the native land between Tataraimaka and Omata is to be taken possession of by the Government and to be given to military settlers. It is thought that the inducements offered will promote volunteering.

It is rather strange that we should receive this important intelligence as to the *policy* of the Government through an *Otago Government Gazette*.

"New Plymouth,
"10th May, 1863.

"SIR,—The Government has determined to take possession of the block of land between Omata and Tataraimaka in this province upon which the late murders were committed, in order that a settlement may be placed thereon of persons able to protect themselves.

"The intention is to give each settler fifty acres of land, with one acre at the site of the villages, on the condition that they

shall hold the land on a system of military tenure.

"Much of the land to be allotted is a very fine quality, corresponding land at Tataraimaka, which is further from the town of New Plymouth, having been bought by settlers before the war at from £5 to £10 per acre.

"It has occurred to Government that there might be many active young men at Otago qualified to form such a settlement, who would be willing to become settlers on the above conditions of military tenure and free grants of land.

"Your Honor would oblige me by giving me your opinion on this point by return of post, the object being to place the men on the land with the least possible delay.

"Further particulars will be sent next mail. I will only add now that Government will undertake to have a stockade or stockades built for them, and find them guns, ammunition, and with necessary rations.

"I have the honor to be Sir,

"Your most obedient servant,

"ALFRED DOMETT.

"His Honor the Superintendent of Otago."

It was planned to occupy this land with a militia, known as "**Military Settlers**".

Recruitment efforts commenced, directed particularly towards the Otago gold fields.

Taranaki Herald
6 June 1863

(This preparation to confiscate land was later given legal status in December 1863, with the passage of the **New Zealand Settlements Act**.)

... an enormous. The natives seen last evening were probably the same who were seen on the edge of the bush in rear of the Omata Stockade on Sunday.—Wm. Harrison, from Oakura to-day, informs us that the natives are still busily employed strengthening their position at Kaitake. They appear to have concentrated their forces at this place, and are making a very strong defensive fortification on the spur of the range.—We hav

Meanwhile, Māori built a strong fortified position on the Kaitake Range.

Taranaki Herald 13 June 1863

General Cameron, who was now in command, brought about a change in tactics – one which the settlers had long advocated - meeting the Māori guerrilla forces with a re-formed Volunteer Corps of bush fighters, who occasionally referred to themselves as "gorillas".

—The Volunteer bush parties of military and civilians are daily out on "native hunting" expeditions, and the effect produced by them is that instead of having the country around swarming with murdering and marauding savages, not a native is now to be found within many miles of the town. Not a track of them can be discovered, and we are informed that so fearful are the rebels of our guerrilla parties, that in communicating with

Mataitawa they have to go round the mountain. There is no doubt that had the present system (recommended by Governor Browne to General Pratt) been adopted during the last war, an immense amount of valuable property would have been saved, and some of our fellow-settlers who were savagely butchered within a mile of the town would now be living amongst us.

Taranaki Herald 20
June 1863

"Bush ranging" commenced...

The Taranaki settlers are thankful for small mercies, and are rejoiced beyond measure at this change of tactics—not merely because it is in itself a wise one, but mainly because it indicates an appreciation by the commander of the necessity for adapting the mode of warfare to the enemy against whom the war is made. They are not singular in the belief that hitherto our non-success has

arisen from the want of genius in the commanders who directed the troops, and the snubbing of subordinates who, like Major Nelson and Captain Cracroft, put their do-nothing superiors to shame. Any indication that military genius has taken the place of incompetence, may well cause Taranaki to rejoice and the whole colony to do so likewise.

... very much to the satisfaction of the settler militias.

Taranaki Herald
20 June 1863

Grey, however, saw a bigger picture...

June 30 British Troops evacuate Tātaraimaka

Governor Grey decided that the root of his problem was the Māori King movement.

He now decided to abandon Taranaki for the present

and move his forces back to Auckland to prepare for an invasion of the Waikato.

NEW PLYMOUTH, JUNE 27, 1863.
ARRIVAL OF THE ECLIPSE FROM
MANUKAU WITH IMPORTANT NEWS.

RISE OF WAIKATO.

TROOPS TO LEAVE TARANAKI.

THE Eclipse arrived this morning from Manukau with important news from the North, the particulars of which we have not been able to learn, but the Waikatos are said to have risen. That something serious has occurred may be judged by the fact that instead of General Cameron coming back here, the Eclipse returns to Auckland to night with the 70th—and we hear that Capt. Mercer and the Mounted Artillery, the 40th and the 65th are to follow. We suppose Tataraimaka will now be temporarily abandoned, and the troops will move to the Poutokere and the

Tuesday, June 30.—The evacuation of Tataraimaka for a second time took place to-day, and was effected skillfully and rapidly under the superintendence of Lt.-Colonel Logan, 57th Regt. Everything of value was brought away or burnt, and the redoubt left standing. The troops halted at Oakura. Some

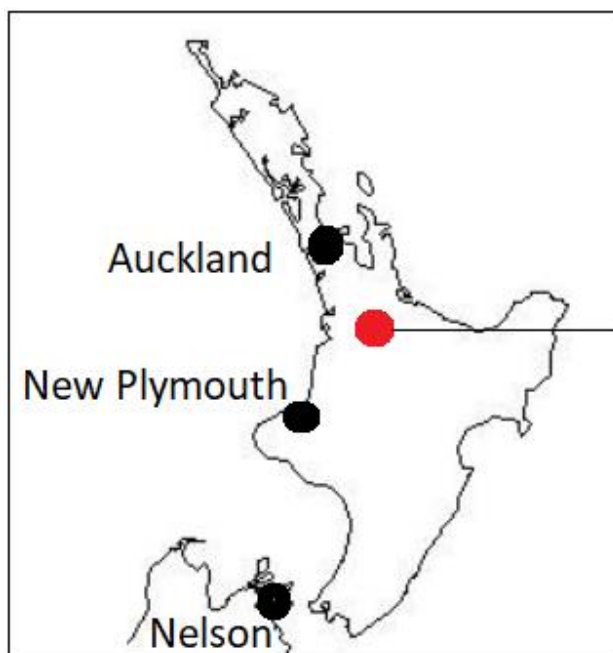
towards Kaitake. Soon after the evacuation of Tataraimaka the rebels came down and fired several volleys over the grave of those of their people who were killed on the 4th ult. and yesterday in bravado danced the war dance, no doubt emboldened by the supposed giving up of the Tataraimaka block to them.—

Taranaki Herald 4 July 1863

Taranaki Herald 27 June 1863

Troops were evacuated from the Tataraimata Block, and later from other fortified areas in Taranaki. All media attention now focused on the Waikato.

Grey directed General Cameron to complete the “Great South Road” from Auckland to the Waikato. An Army staging point (Queen’s Redoubt) was established at Pokeno at the bottom of today’s Bombay Hills. Transport of troops into the territory of the Māori King was facilitated by Captain Sullivan (*HMS Harrier*) whose sailors dragged six boats from Drury, overland to the banks of the Mangatawhiri creek, (the border of the Māori King’s territory) where he established a Naval camp. From here, troops would be ferried a little downstream, across the creek, and into the Waikato.



Below: *HMS Harrier*’s naval camp on the bank of the Mangatawhiri, a tributary to the Waikato River, and jumping off point for Cameron’s invasion.



Photograph by Montague Higginson just prior to its handover to colonials in December 1863
Naval Camp (Auckland Museum)

12 July 1863 General Cameron invades the Waikato.

Taranaki abandoned.

Waikato War commences.

Waikato Māori who were fighting in Taranaki now withdrew to defend their homeland, leaving the fighting there to their West Coast brothers.

Mr. F. U. Gledhill
Will sell by Auction, THIS DAY, the
19th instant, at his Rooms in Devon-
street, at 2 o'clock,
A QUANTITY of CANARIES
New Zealand Parroquets
An Indian Parrot (with cages)
Tin Teapots

For some of the Militia, life in New Plymouth began to return to normal.

However, intermittent skirmishing continued around Ōmata over the next few months.

On Tuesday the Oakura redoubt was abandoned, every available man being urgently required at Auckland. The necessary carts had gone down to Poutoko the night before, and on Tuesday morning Colonel Warre and staff went down to superintend the evacuation of the redoubt, and Capt. Atkinson's party of bushrangers were moved down as far as Mr W. Carrington's house to co-operate with the soldiers in case of need. The weather was chilly, a cold southerly wind blowing with showers of hail and rain, but the last tent was struck before noon, and shortly after the redoubt was evacuated. The burning of the mess whare and other raupo buildings, and the long train of bullock carts attracted the attention of the natives at Kaitake, and a party of them

came down, and as soon as the redoubt was empty fired at it, and before the rear guard had got to the Tapuae (1½ miles) they had actually taken possession. They did not hold it very long, however, after Col. Warre had ordered the 'right about' and advance, but firing a few shots retreated to the other side of the Oakura, where they turned and fired again, but of course quite harmlessly. The 57th and the Volunteers returned the fire for a few minutes from the brow of the hill, with what effect we cannot say, the return of Maori casualties not having reached us. The Volunteers were left behind in the redoubt for half an hour to see if the natives would show again, but they were too wise.

After the nearby Ōākura Redoubt was abandoned and temporary buildings burned, it was immediately occupied by Māori from their fortifications in the Kaitake Ranges.

Though,
not for long...

Taranaki Herald
15 August 1863

ON Tuesday last the perfect lull which followed the abandonment of Oakura (we might almost have said the fight at Kaitake) was a little broken by the natives attacking a party of soldiers near Hurford's clearing towards the back of the Omata block. On that day Captain RUSSELL, 57th Regt., with 60 men went out to escort some settlers who wished to bring in some sheep which it is supposed had been driven by the natives across the Tapuae into the back bush clearing beyond, as nearer Kaitake and therefore

Taranaki Herald 29 August 1863

Māori from Kaitake were supplementing their commissariat with stolen sheep and an attempt was made to arrest one such group of raiders.

On the banks of the Tapuae Stream near to Hurford's, a number of sheep, and carcasses were found.

A reserve of 30 men were left there and the remainder of the soldiers began to herd the sheep, when they were fired on. The reserve held the Māori in check, at the cost of two men lightly wounded, while the troops retired.

It was considered prudent by the owners to leave the sheep behind.

Taranaki Herald 19 September 1863

On Sunday morning just as people were going into Church, news was brought in that three settlers, T. Langman, J. Sole, and W. H. Rowe, who very foolishly had gone unarmed to a distance of three miles or more from town, had been attacked by a party of natives—that Langman was badly wounded and Sole missing.

Langman (wounded) and Rowe, being very fit, outran the attackers and stumbled home. Sole took to the bush and hid until he was later rescued by the Army.

Harry Atkinson rounded up his "bush rangers" and set off in pursuit of the attackers, catching up with one as he leisurely climbed Burton's Hill.

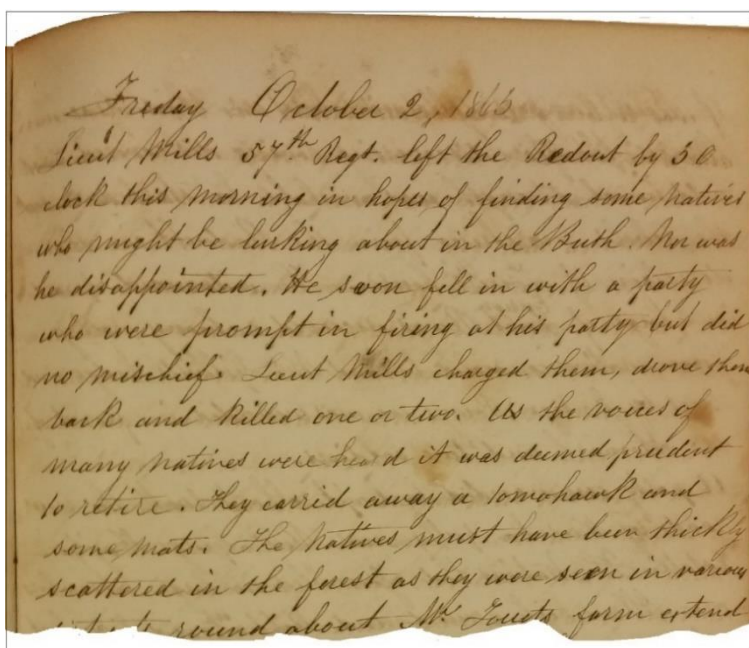
A few shots were fired but Atkinson's men were unable to catch the raiding party.

A somewhat more serious action took place two weeks later at Allen's Hill...

2 October 1863 Action at Allen's Hill

Cowan: "The principal engagement during the latter part of 1863 was an encounter on the 2nd October at Allen's Hill, on Hurford Road, five miles and a half [9 km] from New Plymouth along the south road. Colonel Warre took out a strong force of the 57th and the settler-soldiers, and there was some brisk fighting on the hill and in the fields around the homestead to the west of it. Captains Atkinson, Webster, and W. B. Messenger were in charge of the Volunteers and Militia, numbering between ninety and a hundred. Captain Frank Mace and some of his mounted men were also engaged. Two V.C.s were won at Allen's Hill, by Ensign J. T. Down and Drummer D. Stagpoole, of the 57th, who went to the rescue of a mortally wounded comrade under fire near the bush...
... Seven natives were killed in this morning surprise". *The New Zealand Wars... Cowan Vol 1 p227*

Here is F.U. Gledhill's account of the action at Allen's Hill:



Friday October 2. 1863

Lieut. Mills 57th. Regt. left the Redoubt [Redoubt] by 5 O'clock this morning in hopes of finding some Natives who might be lurking about in the bush. Nor was he disappointed.

He soon fell in with a party who were prompt in firing at his party but did no mischief. Lieut. Mills charged then, drove them back and killed one or two. As the voices of many Natives were heard it was deemed prudent to retire. They carried away a tomahawk and some mats.

The Natives must have been thickly scattered in the forest as they were seen in various districts round about

Mr. Touet's farm extending to Mr. Wellington Carrington's house.

One party burnt Mr. Touet's shed. Another party commenced firing smartly into the Poutoko Redoubt where Captain Wright had command of the 70th. Regt. Col. Warre was informed of this who dispatched Major Butler with 80 men of the 57th. Regt. from Town. Col. Warre 41 and staff accompanying him. Capt. Short with 90 men and the two companies of Bush Bangers followed close on their rear. Major Buttler discovering having discovered that additional strength was available he started to seek the rebels marching from the Redoubt in the direction of Touet's house.

The advance guard in charge of Ensign Powys received a heavy volley [volley] from Natives concealed behind Mr. Gilbert's hedge and trees by Ensign Powys was wounded in front of the stomach and two soldiers. A party commanded by Capt. Shortt took the new road by Waireka Gully near Revd. George Baylys Estate. The Natives had assembled in large numbers on Allens high ground and kept up a good fire but they were shortly dislodged. Sometimes the Natives and soldiers were only a few yards apart. The Volunteers went by the old road and crossed the Waireka gully in great haste (having heard firing) were immediately engaged. They took their positions on the rising ground in front of Gilbert's garden where the Natives were.

The Natives always keep their own council as regards their wounded and dead. Nor have they deviated [deviated] from their rule in this case...

Gledhill's Diary (Pike Ariki Archives Collection)

Taranaki Herald recorded the event in more detail, the next day....

A much more serious affair occurred yesterday on the South side of the Town, at Omata. At 3 o'clock in the morning, Lieut. Mills, 57th Regt., started from the Redoubt with the intention of laying an ambush at Hurford's Hill. Happily, however, before they had got as far as that they came upon an outlying picket of the enemy, who

A much more serious affair occurred yesterday on the South side of the Town, at Omata.

At 3 o'clock in the morning, Lieut. Mills, 57th Regt., started from the Redoubt with the intention of laying an ambush at Hurford's Hill. Happily, however, before they had got as far as that, they came upon an outlying picket of the enemy, who fired at them, but without effect.

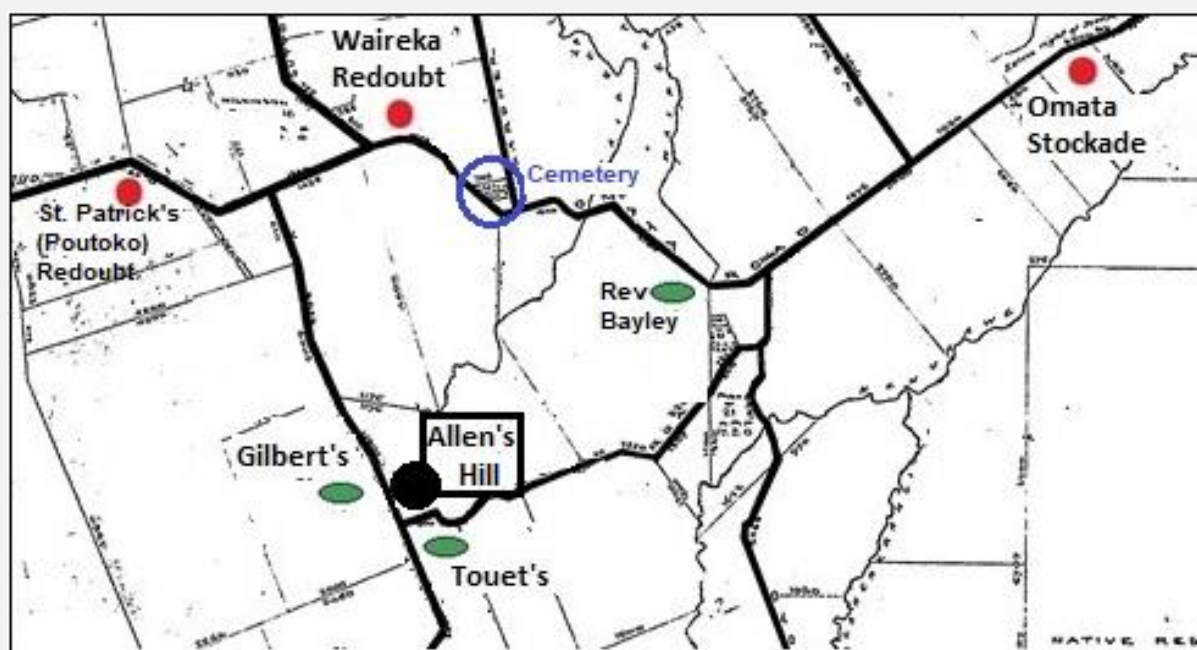
The natives were charged and driven back with the loss of one or two killed, and Lieut. Mills, hearing the voices of natives about in different parts of the bush of course retired, bringing away a tomahawk and some mats with him.

Some time after daylight the rebels were seen about Mr W. Carrington's house, and near Rangiuuru, the pa lately occupied by the Poutoko natives, and also inland by Touet's shed, which they burned, and they soon commenced, in great numbers, firing into the Poutoko [St. Patrick's] Redoubt where Captain Wright, 70th Regt., was in command.

News of this was instantly sent to Colonel Warre, and Major Butler, with 80 men of the 57th Regt., was at once despatched from Town to reinforce the Redoubt, Colonel Warre, C.B., and Staff following. Capt. Shortt, with 90 men and the two companies of Bushrangers, were told to follow immediately, which they did at a very smart pace. When Major Butler knew that support was at hand, he advanced from the redoubt up the road towards Touet's, and as the advanced guard, under Ensign Powys, were passing Gilbert's garden, they received a heavy volley from behind the hedge and among the trees, wounding Ensign Powys badly and two soldiers.

About the same time Captain Shortt was advancing up the new road at the head of the Waireka gully, and behind the Rev. Mr. Bayly's place.

The first volley killed the regimental dog, a great favourite. After this, fighting was very sharp here for some time, the enemy being in great numbers in the bush all round, and also on Allen's hill, from which latter place, however, they were very soon driven. In places the soldiers and natives were occasionally only a few yards apart, and Captain Shortt's party were very hardly pressed until the arrival of the Volunteers who, upon coming scene of action (by the old road across the Waireka gully), were immediately extended along the little ridge at right angles to the road and overlooking Gilbert's garden, in which a great many of the natives were.



This drew off a considerable part of the fire from Capt. Shortt, and enabled him, after sending in his wounded, to join the main body.

This left the Volunteers on the left front; after a few minutes they got the word to retire behind the next rise, where they remained for perhaps an hour. Here they received some very heavy volleys, knocking up the ground and whistling overhead but doing no harm: there were also some fair single shots from rifles.

After a while Capt. Atkinson's company was withdrawn, and left Capt. Webster's alone behind a hedge to draw the natives on but this they seemed disinclined for though a good many shots were exchanged.

Some notion of the number of the enemy may be gained from the fact that they extended from Fort Robert (Rangiuru) right round to Touet's place. A little howitzer practice was made upon them near the former place. What the Maori loss has been it is impossible to say. Several were seen down, and we have no doubt they suffered heavily, for two reasons — because our men fire much more coolly, and much better than Maoris, and because the latter ceased firing when we did; and because they did not attempt to oppose the re-crossing of the Waireka gully, as they certainly would have done had they been in good spirits.

Col. Warre, who was personally in command during the engagement directing the various movements, after it was over thanked the Volunteers for the important help they had rendered him, complimenting them on the orderly and prompt way in which they executed the orders they received. 'He was only sorry he had not men enough to have enabled him to follow the enemy up,' and we are certain that nothing would have pleased officers and men better if the gallant Colonel had been in a position to let them make a closer acquaintance with the enemy.

The following is a list of the casualties on our side. They are all of the gallant 57th Regt.

Ensign P. E. Powys, severe

Sergeant Samuel Harvey, severe

Corporal Edward Rea, dangerous

Drummer Dudley Stagpool, slight

Private William Reeves, dangerous

“ Patrick Burke, dangerous

“ Thomas Finn, mortal

“ Michael Foley, severe

“ Henry Cain, dangerous

We cannot conclude even a hasty account like the present without noticing the perfect coolness and steadiness of all the forces engaged, and we are only sorry we cannot yet record, as it deserves, the conspicuous bravery of many under as heavy a fire as has often been experienced — here at least. It is evident now, what has for some time been, conjectured, on good grounds, that the natives are in large numbers on the South as well as on the North side of the Town. Speaking in round numbers we doubt whether it would be an exaggeration to say that there are 500 men on each side of us, and it is clear that if we are to hold the country, as we have been doing, we shall have to fight and fight hard. Bush ranging is still the right thing, we believe, for it is in the bush we shall have to meet them, but it must be with a 'wise valour' as the poet says — the strength of the bush parties being greatly increased, as no doubt it will be after the timely demonstration of the force of the enemy yesterday, and some regular system of supports be adopted.

Taranaki Herald 3 October 1863

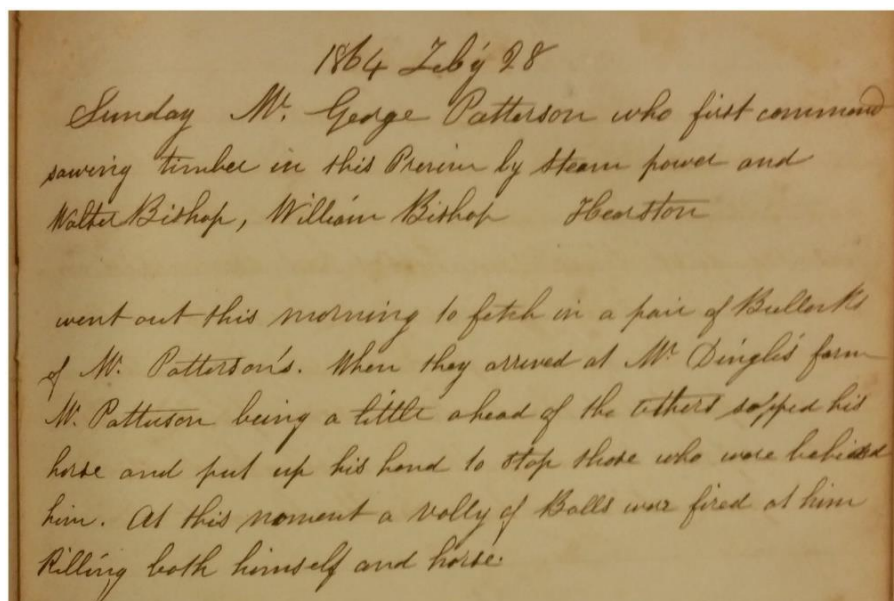
In addition to the two V.C.s that were awarded, a third man, Antonio Rodrigues was later awarded the rare New Zealand Cross.

(Rodrigues' grave may be found in the historic cemetery at the bottom of Jury's Hill, see above map).

The Allen's Hill skirmish was not the last action of military significance to occur near Waireka.

While the war continued to the south, two more significant events may be recorded here.

28 February 1864 The Death of George Patterson



F. H. Gledhill was moved to write in his diary:

Gledhill's Diary
Puke Ariki
Archives Collection

Sunday. Mr. George Patterson who first commenced sawing timber in this Province by steam power and Walter Bishop, William Bishop [blank space] Hearston went out this morning to fetch in a pair of Bullocks of Mr. Patterson's.

When they arrived at Mr. Dingles' farm Mr. Patterson being a little ahead of the others stopped his horse and put up his hand to stop those who were behind him.

At this moment a volley [volley] of balls was fired at him killing both himself and horse. Gledhill's Diary

Colonial historian Benjamin Wells wrote:

"On Sunday the 28th of February, several settlers tempted by the beauty of the day roamed abroad on a visit to their once happy, but now desolate homes. The first that proceeded on the Frankley Road was one of Mr. Dingle's sons, who was in the habit of daily visiting his father's farm.

This morning he found one of the horses entangled in the supplejacks. Having set the animal free, he returned unharmed. A party of four on foot soon followed, accompanied by Mr. George Patterson, on horseback, who passed on some 300 yards in advance. When the four on foot reached the hill near to where Mr. Dingle's house formerly stood, they saw Mr. Patterson wave his hand as a signal for them to return, and at the same time several natives, armed with guns and tomahawks, appeared on the scene and shot Mr. Patterson.

The four on foot seeing this, and having but one gun and five rounds of ammunition, retreated towards town, W. Bishop turning and firing occasionally on the pursuers. When the news reached town Col. Warre collected a force and went out and recovered the body, which was found lying on some logs by the side of the road with three bullet wounds in it, one through the heart, and frightfully mutilated with tomahawks.

Mr. Patterson's boots and hat were gone, and his horse lay shot and tomahawked.

Mr. Patterson was a native of Northumberland, and by profession a steam and civil engineer.

He had performed some professional work much respected.

He left a widow and several young children".

History of Taranaki Wells pp 240-1

This was a shocking reminder that things had NOT yet "returned to normal" in the Ōmata district.

MR. G. PATTERSON BARBAROUSLY KILLED BY THE SOUTHERN NA- TIVES.

A portion of what follows appeared in a Second Edition on Monday last.

It is our most painful duty to record the death of an old and most respected settler who has been killed and barbarously mutilated by the natives with their usual atrocity. Great anxiety was caused in town yesterday by the report that five settlers had been shot at by the Maoris, and that Mr. G. Patterson was missing. It seems that they had been going along the Frankley road about 10 o'clock on Sunday morning to look for some strayed horses or cattle, and Mr. Patterson being on horse-back was 200 or 300 yards ahead. When the other four got to a rise in the road just by where Mr. Dingle's house stood, they saw Mr. Patterson raise his hand to them as a signal, and immediately turn his horse and canter back, and at the same time they saw several Maoris beyond coming towards them. As they had only one gun among them, and had not seen any Maoris very near, they also turned and ran towards town. And it was well they did, or their lives must have been sacrificed too, for they had already approached within 50 or 60 yards of an ambush which was lying on a little bank overlooking the road. They had run but a few yards when they heard a volley and a fiendish yell close behind them, and looking round could see nothing of Mr. Patterson, but instead some natives following them closely, and one of them (C. Hurstone, who having been ill lately was weak and could not run well) would certainly have been killed if it had not been for the coolness and courage of William Bishop, who by the use of his rifle kept them off and enabled the party to reach town safely.

When the news reached town Colonel Warre having waited to collect a force, sent out parties in different directions, consisting of the 57th, the Bushrangers, and volunteers for the occasion. But the first to arrive on the spot was a small party of settlers 10 in number, 4 of whom had been looking for cattle near Merton. They had their rifles with them, and hearing the firing, and well knowing what it meant, with most commendable courage they instantly set off in the direction they heard it in, so as to give help if possible. At Mr. Tatton's place they fell in with six others coming from town and together went on to the scene of the tragedy. They found Mr. Patterson's body lying on some

logs beside the road; it presented a terrible spectacle. He had received three bullet wounds—one through the heart, and had been afterwards frightfully mutilated about the face with the tomahawk, so that those who had known him well could hardly recognise him. His hat and boots were taken from him, and his revolver, which of course he had no chance of using. His horse, which was lying a little distance off, was shot in three or four places and tomahawked as well. Of the various parties sent out one consisting of the 57th and No. 1 Bushrangers went up the Frankley road; and another up the Hurford road, under Major Butler; and a third, consisting of about 35 men of No. 2 Bushrangers under Captain Atkinson, up Burton's road. When the advanced guard of the latter party reached the top of Burton's hill they saw four or five Maoris going up the hill on which the chapel stands. Captain Atkinson sent a party to follow these, and took the rest straight over the bush covered ridge into Colesby's clearing to cut them off. When the leading file got out into the clearing they saw 50 or 60 natives below just turning the corner to enter the bush about 300 yards off. They waited for a few more men to come up and then fired, hitting one, traces of whose blood were left along the track. The natives fired one or perhaps two shots and then ran, throwing away kits and mats, so that nothing more was seen of them, though their track, which was very devious, was followed to the Hurford road, where it came out some way above Moyle's clearing. They are brave enough over defenceless men when they get them in their power, but dare not face half their number of armed men when their assailants must cross a clearing to get at them. We hope the time is not far distant when this handful of cowardly butchers who for a long time have been living within three miles of our outpost will be cleared out of Kaitake, and the same may be said of Manutahi and Mataitahi. We have no wish to advise what is imprudent, but if we have not men enough here we sincerely trust General Cameron will be able to spare us the requisite number before very long.

Mr. Patterson's untimely death will be deeply felt by all the people of Taranaki. He was well known and respected by all, being thoroughly upright, and for energy, perseverance, and industry had not perhaps his equal in the place. He leaves a widow and a large family of young children.

Nigel Prickett (*The Archaeology of a Military Frontier* p143) noted that following the death of Patterson, Colonel Warre was petitioned by settlers to improve security behind the township, so that farmers could return to their land.

The result was the building of four blockhouses on the southern border of New Plymouth: Puketotara, Ratanui, Dingle's and Allen's Hill.

May 1864 Four Blockhouses constructed on New Plymouth's southern flank

These blockhouses commanded the Mangorei, Carrington, Frankley and Hurford roads.



Illustrations taken from

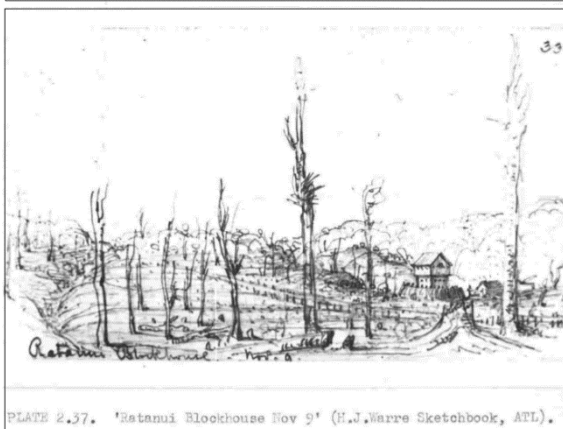
THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF A MILITARY FRONTIER: TARANAKI, NEW ZEALAND, 1860-1881

Nigel Prickett pp 144-9

Dingle's Blockhouse

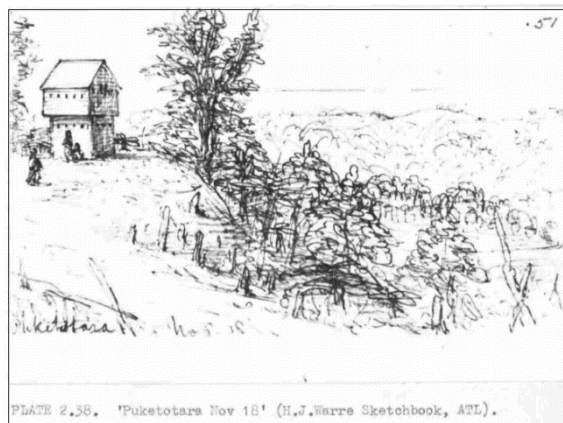
(Frankley Rd. about 100m south of the corner of Frankley Rd. and Patterson Rd.

A cairn at the corner marks where Patterson was killed.)



Ratanui Blockhouse

(About 50m east of Carrington Rd, 200 metres on the town side of Atkinson Rd. corner.)



Puketotara Blockhouse

(on the site of the former Puketotara pa, which was destroyed by troops in September 1860.

"Overlooking the Waiwakaiho River immediately over Mangorei Rd., from the junction with Karina Rd." (Prickett).

Allen's Hill Blockhouse was built near the junction of today's Hurford and South Rds.

The location is Allen's Hill "now deeply cut by the main road ... the blockhouse appears to have been on the top of the hill". (Prickett).

Some of the farmers would now have been able to cautiously return to their farms, while the war continued to the south and to the north of Ōmata.

Many of the fighting Māori now turned to a newly conceived syncretic religion: Pai Mārire, which quickly degenerated in some instances to fanaticism, and indeed to forms of terrorism. Not yet fully understood by the settlers, the movement was to become known as "Hauhau".

The following was an early example of it.

The last serious event to occur near to Ōmata, took place at Ahuahu, a little south of Ōākura.

6 April 1864 The Ambush at Ahuahu

A force of 100 men were ambushed while out destroying Māori food plantations. In all, six men were killed (five decapitated), 12 men wounded (some seriously) and one missing.

DEFEAT AT AHUAHU.

It is this week our painful duty to record the first real defeat which our forces have suffered at the hands of the natives during the present war, and which has cost us the lives of at least six of our fellow countrymen, including, we deeply regret to say, Captain Lloyd of the 57th Regt. Beside twelve

The decapitation of the bodies is a new feature in the war, and we have yet to learn the motive which induced the Maoris to resort to a practice which can only find its parallel in the deeds committed by them in their cannibal state.

Taranaki Herald
9 April 1864

The decapitation of Capt. Lloyd and the others heralded a level of violence not seen before. It had been intended to send a chilling message. Lloyd's head was sent around the North Island for display, by Hauhau extremists, until eventually it was recovered four months later at Waitōtara in the far south of Taranaki. (*Taranaki Herald* 16 July 1864)

Arthur Atkinson, in an uncharacteristically serious style, captures the horror of the incident... and hints at his suspicion of who might have been behind the attack.

A. S. Atkinson, journal New Plymouth, W 6 Apr 1864

... At 12.30 I was going down to attend the funeral of Sergt. Appleby (who died of wounds received at Kaitake) ... & at the boatsheds I met Richie & others running back.

They told me I was to get my gun as we were going out somewhere ... Some of our men had been killed at Ahuahu & others wounded had been left behind, including Cap. Lloyd of the 57th.

Started about 1.15 got to Oakura ... turning up inland just beyond Wairau. Here there were some pickets stationed to give the stragglers a chance of getting in.

Hemi who was here went on with us to take us the way they had retreated by ... Col. Warre ... fired two shells to see if the Maoris were still about.

Just after this we heard a cooey close by & then saw a man put his head up out of the fern about 80 yards off – he was one of the Melbourne men who had escaped & hidden.

Two or three minutes afterwards another showed himself, also close by, & we could see another (chiefly by the sun on his bayonet) ... Col. Warre's party ... found six bodies lying on or close by ... where the rifle pits are. Five of them had had their heads cut off & taken away, including Cap. Lloyd whose body was in the rifle pits. The bodies were in the carts when I came up but there were the pools of blood & their heads must have been fearfully hacked for near most of the pools there were bits of brain too, & a little farther on ... there were portions of one poor fellow's bowels ... I found also a little thing ... made of two small squares leather on one side & silk on the other, connected with black ribbon. On the silk on one square was I. H. S. & on the other M. It is worn round the neck (one square in front & one behind) – by strict Catholics, Free says, – as a sort of symbol I suppose. I gave it to him to find who the owner was & restore it to his friends. By this time the sun had set & we came away but with vengeance in our hearts ... It is difficult to imagine how the thing could have happened because our men had decidedly the advantage of position – but they must have been struck with panic. Got home at ¼ to 12 & was glad to find Maria & Mary sitting up for me.

... The natives came up the hollow ... firing & yelling, & there is no doubt a panic seized our men (that is all but two or three) & they fairly ran – the 57th by all accounts taking the lead but it should be said that they had no officer or sergeant with them.

One man (Milne of No 12) says he shot a sandy or reddish haired Maori who rushed on him with a tomahawk whilst he was fixing his bayonet & before he could lock it & it fell off as he fired.

The story sounds probable a newcomer would not invent reddish (rusty) hair for a Maori (like Parenga King's for example) because it is only a rare exception.

Richmond Atkinson Papers Vol 2 Scholefield pp 102-3

