



## Appendix 1 Fortifications on and near Jury's Hill

### 1. Kaipopo

This pā was hastily built, in no more than a day or two, by Māori fighters from Taranaki, to overlook the Ōmata Stockade and command the Ōmata Road. It may have been still under construction when the Battle of Waireka commenced (28 March 1860). It was over-run by Capt. Cracroft RN and 60 sailors and marines, at the conclusion of the battle.

George Jupp assisted in demolishing the fortification. Jupp's Diary 30 March 1860

30<sup>th</sup>. Fine day. We went with the party to the Waireka Hill to destroy the pas. We found two, very strong with the chambers underground where they could fire out without themselves being seen. We found lots of plunder that the natives had taken from the settlers houses. found some cooking utensils of my own.

### The dual nature of Kaipopo

It is curious to note that in his diary entry above, Jupp refers to finding two pā. Grayling also refers to two pa, on p83 of his book *The War in Taranaki during the years 1860-61*:

"The stockade marked *Pa* is that from which Captain Cracroft took the flag, its rear being protected by another, situated in the bend of the road that wends towards the sea shore..."

Grayling appears to be referring to Sutton Rd. as the site of this second component of Kaipopo.



Penn *The Taranaki Rifle Volunteers* 1909 provides a map which does indeed show rifle pits just inside the bend of Sutton Rd.

Detail from Penn's map

Grayling again refers to the dual nature of Kaipopo when he describes in his diary the location of the Waireka Redoubt as being "between the two old sets of rifle pits".

"...Shortly after the soldiers were seen ascending Armstrong's hill<sup>1</sup> on the top of which between the two old sets of rifle pits they pitched their tents..."

Grayling's Diary July 27 Puke Ariki Archive

Reference to Penn's map (above) confirms that this perfectly describes the location of the redoubt.

Together with Jupp's comments, the following descriptions make it fairly clear that the Kaipopo pā was not a palisaded stockade, but merely a flag pole, a roughly constructed fence across the front, and some "rifle pits" or trenches, some of which were covered with boards.

...the flag fell, notwithstanding that it had been planted on a mound surrounded on one side by palisading and on three by covered rifle pits.

7 April 1860  
*Taranaki Herald*

Military historian Alexander noted:

"...On examining the ground afterwards I was particularly impressed with the strength of the position of the pah, and the easy manner of retreat in the rear..."

*Incidents of the Maori War 1863* Sir James Alexander p.121

<sup>1</sup> Armstrong's Hill is now normally referred to as "Jury's Hill" or "Waireka Hill".

Grayling is alluding here to the fact that Armstrong was, at the time, farming the seaward side of the hill. (see "Armstrong's turnip field" Carrington, *Taranaki Herald* 7 April 1860).

Rev. Thomas Gilbert was at Kaipopo on the morning of the fight and nervously took note of what he saw. He recorded his impressions of the Kaipopo fortification:

"I saw how they had burrowed into the earth; first covering their square holes with rails, doors, and boards, and then putting the earth thrown out over them. Here, doubtless, they intended to take refuge in case of close attack, and so it proved; as I have since learned that a sailor had his leg cut by a native when he slipped through this roof of earth and wood. I observed that the entrenchments were made on the town-side of the pah only, that level ground surrounded it on all sides but that facing the Omata stockade.

The pah itself was made of rails and posts cut from the fences near, tied with flax and some wire, from a wire fence close at hand, occasionally twisted in.

I did not view it as a very formidable affair, but ugly and forbidding enough in its commanding position – especially as a steep hill must be ascended to get to it from the road."

*Soldiers and Settlers* Rev. Thomas Gilbert p104

All of these fragments of information have been summed up by Nigel Prickett, to form the only picture we have today:

"...there was no stockade, the defence depending on rifle pits and trenches, supplemented....by a low fence." And "...Kaipopo where rifle pits faced New Plymouth, the rear being open."

Prickett, N.J. (2008) *The Military Engagement at Katikara 4 June 1863* Auckland Museum 45:5–41 p.37

(Together with the second and separate set of rifle pits a short distance away, protecting the rear.)

Kaipopo was sited near the top of Jury's Hill, between the summit of the hill and the historic Ōmata cemetery below. It was on the seaward side of what was then Ōmata Road, about opposite the site of the cottage of Mrs. Jury (of which there is also no trace today).

As a matter of interest, the Māori fighters made use of Mrs. Jury's house at the time, possibly as a field hospital, as related many years later by militiaman Joseph Hawken to historian W. Seffern:

"The natives said the soldiers were all fools. They were only after the flag, whereas if they had only looked about, they might have killed scores of wounded Maoris who were lying close at hand in Jury's house, from which place they could not possibly get away".

*The Budget* 10 July 1897

Evidently when Jupp (in his diary) recorded a party from Ōmata Stockade destroying "two" pā on 30 March 1860, this did not include filling in the rifle pits, as they were reported being filled in by British soldiers in August 1860.

...the attacking 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.

*Taranaki Herald* 18 August 1860



Cropped from an aerial photograph

*Archaeology of a Military Frontier* Prickett p 67

Today there are no visible surface remains of Kaipopo.

## 2. Māori Rifle pits on and around Jury's Hill dating from after the Battle of Waireka

There are many descriptions of rifle pits dug by Māori in the vicinity of Jury's Hill, during the time the soldiers occupied the Waireka Camp (Redoubt). (For example, see pages 13-15).

The 65th and 40th had to escort prisoners to Omata and the Waireka hill, where at four hundred yards from Major Hutchins' redoubt the Maories had sunk rifle pits, and invested the post on Grayling's and Harrison's farms.

*Incidents in the Maori War* Alexander p 183

[from the redoubt] ...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.

*Sketch of the New Zealand War* Morgan Grace p 50

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 ..."

H. R. Richmond: *The Richmond-Atkinson Papers* Vol 1 p 627

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

Three fragments from

*Taranaki Herald* 18 August 1860

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

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.

As neatly 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.

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 from Gilbert's house. They are bearing these loads round the back of Gilbert's towards their headquarters at Wilkinson's or to their new pas at Wm. Harrison's, on the opposite side of the road.

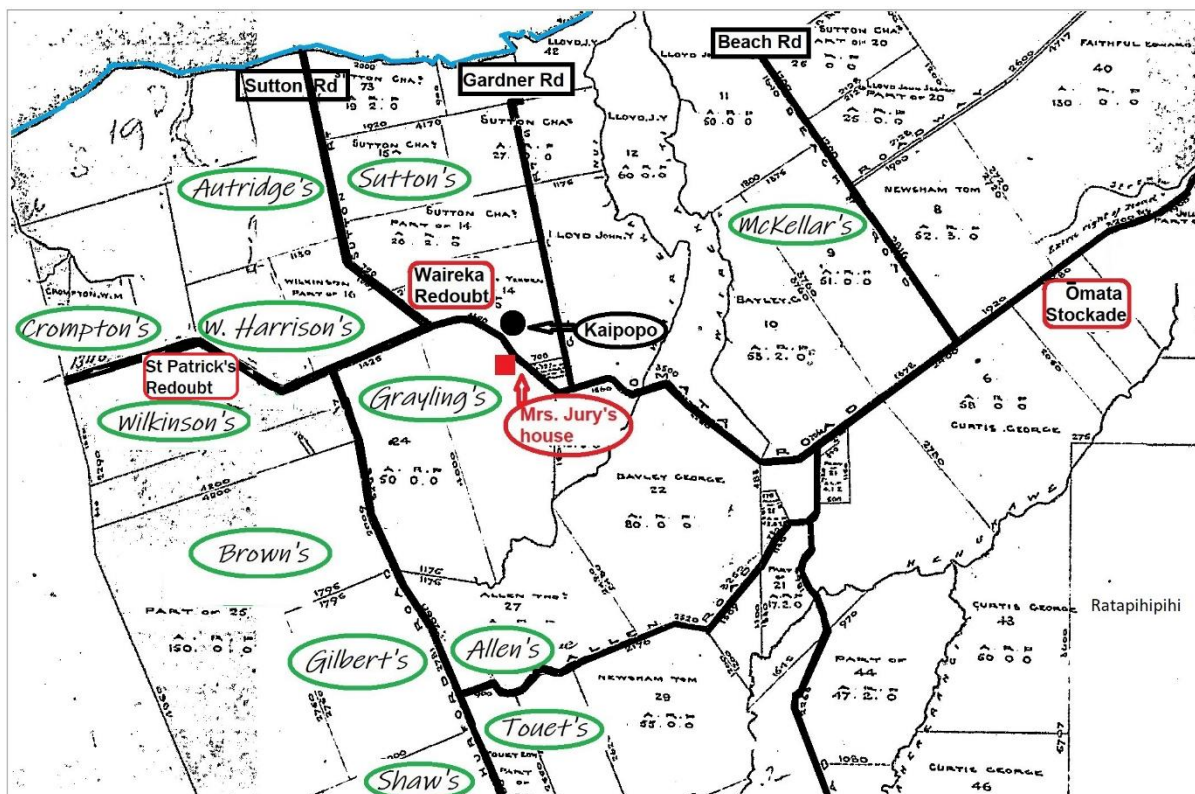
Thursday, Aug. 16th.—During the night two bullock carts were taken away by the enemy—one from Curtis's farm and one from Job Harrison's—added to which many horses have been driven away. Two strong pas can be seen that have been erected within the last few days on W. Harrison's farm. The enemy may be seen this morning in almost every direction, even as far in our rear as the whaler's gate, dri-

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

*Taranaki Herald* 1 September 1860

Māori rifle pits destroyed.





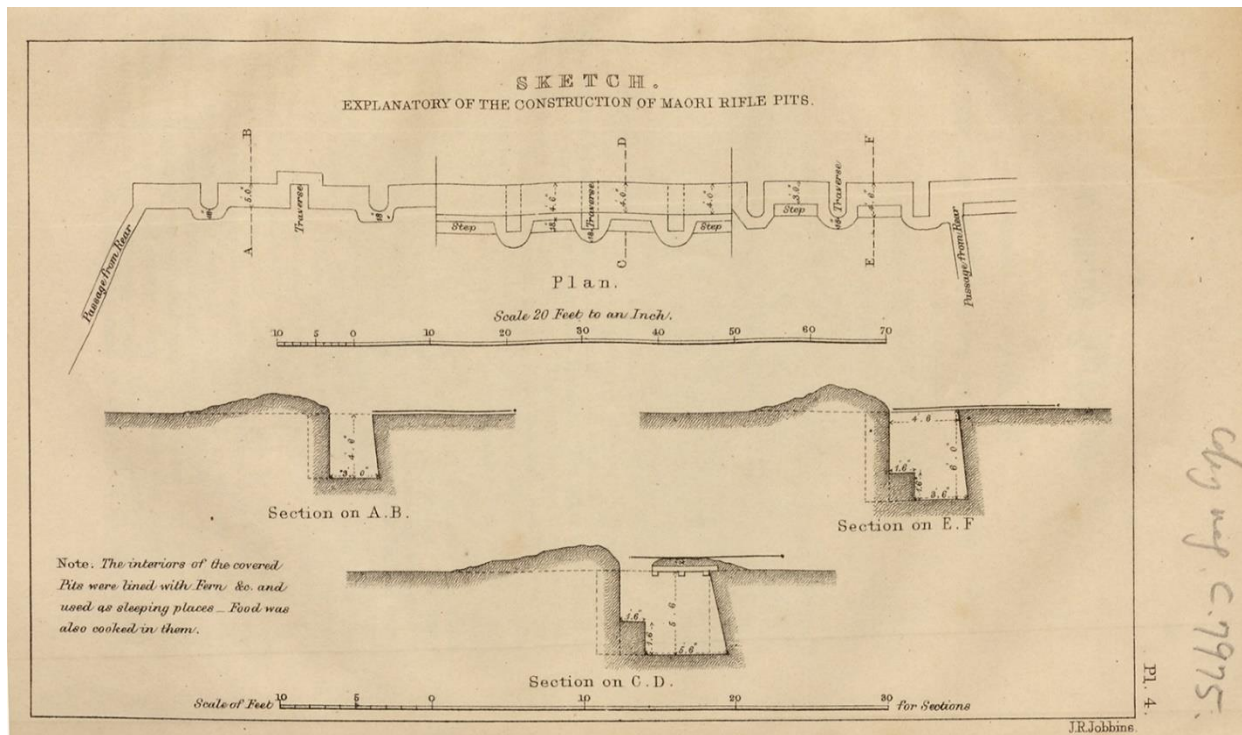
After the soldiers from Waireka Camp had finished destroying the fortifications which had been placed around Jury's Hill, *The Taranaki Herald* was able to report:

*Taranaki Herald* 1 September 1860

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 Antridge'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 Maoris, have been dismantled of their planking to strengthen the fortifications of the enemy. The

Compare the description in the right-hand paragraph (above) with the rifle pit excavated at the site of Mrs. Jury's house, by J Adamson, a few pages on – and the sketch by J. R. Robins on the next page.



Sketch from J.R. Robbins *The War in New Zealand* 1863 Capt. C. Pasley

Māori covered rifle pit, interior lined with fern, used also as sleeping and cooking place.

Today we do not know how thoroughly the soldiers destroyed these Māori fortifications.

Māori fighters re-occupied Jury's Hill and the Waireka area in January 1861 and recommenced to fortify.

It would be difficult now to determine whether any remains are from the first or from the second occupation.

**Monday, Jan. 21.—** 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* 26 January 1861

**and.** The rebels on Waireka Hill, observing the approach of the force, ran to their rifle-pits, and into cover, and fired several shots at the party halted at the stockade, vainly endeavouring to emulate

*Taranaki Herald* 23 February 1861

**Saturday, Feb. 9.—**

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 rifle

*Taranaki Herald* 16 February 1861

"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..."

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



### 3. Excavation of a rifle pit on the site of Mrs. Jury's house

...the house was constructed by Jesse Jury sometime circa 1847.  
After Jesse died in 1851 his widow Elizabeth Jury continued to live in the property with her family until 1860 when they would have moved into New Plymouth town for safety, eventually shifting to Nelson for the duration of the war. The house was not rebuilt after the Taranaki war, but has been farmed by the Jury family to the present day

Improving Our Condition Adamson p 164

Settlers whose properties were damaged or destroyed during the war were able to claim compensation for their losses. Many of these claims documents still exist and they provide an interesting resource for the historian.

*Mr. Jury* *Elizabeth Jury*

*Statement of Losses sustained by the late Insurrection at Taranaki New Zealand*

Particulars of the property destroyed or damaged	Nature of Loss or Damage	How Occurring	Amount
Dwelling House situated at Omata	Damage and Burnt	By the Rebels	100 0 0
Outbuilding do	do	do	10 0 0
Waring Utensils	Stolen	By the Rebels	0 3 5
Furniture	do	do	0 0 0
Cooking Utensils &c	do	do	9 7 0
Garden Tools & implements	do	do	1 5 0
11 Skep Bees @ 1/-	Destroyed	do	11 0 0
2 Cows £15 @	Stolen	do	30 0 0
4 Calves £3 @	do	do	12 0 0
15 Sheep £1 @	do	do	15 0 0
1 Mare in foal	do	do	40 0 0
1 Horse	do	do	35 0 0
2 Pigs £1 @	do	do	2 0 0
5 Tons Potatoes £1 @	do	do	5 0 0
10 Chairs £1 @	Destroyed	do	10 0 0
Orchard 1/2 acre	Destroyed	By the Rebels	5 0 0
Garden 1/4 "	do	do	5 0 0
Rent of 15 Acres of Land from 1st May 1860 to August 1861 @ 2/- per acre			18 15 0
Total			£365 5 6

*John Jury acting on behalf of my mother Elizabeth Jury solemnly declare that the above is a true account of her losses sustained from the late Taranaki Insurrection*

*John Jury*

*Witness* *James Lee* *James Lee*

*2nd 1861*

John Jury filed a claim on behalf of his mother in which her property losses are listed.

The house, utensils, livestock etc is itemised and valued (total value is £365.5.6)

The "Nature" of their losses are described as "stolen", "destroyed" or "damaged" and the "How Occurring" column attributes the losses to "by rebels". There seems to be some crossing out and possible doubt about the claim that the house itself was "burnt" "by the rebels".

Statement of losses sustained by Elizabeth Jury. Taranaki Relief Fund Commissions, 1861. Archives New Zealand, Wellington, IA132.

A recent excavation (J Adamson) shows no evidence of the house having been burnt, However, at least one list of properties burned by Māori does include Mrs. Jury's house.<sup>2</sup> It is most likely that the confusion arose from the fact that Māori removed the fencing wire, (and probably also the doors and/or some boards) - materials which have been noted as part of the construction of the Kaipopo pā (March 1860). Undoubtedly the house and property was damaged. As a matter of fact, as has already been noted, there is a recorded recollection of Mrs. Jury's house being used by Māori during the Battle of Waireka, as a field hospital for their wounded (Militiaman Joseph Hawken narrative, as recorded by W. H. J. Seffern and published in *The Budget* 10 July 1897).

Later on the Military considerably further damaged the house by taking parts of it for the building of the Waireka Redoubt (July 1860), and it is possible that any remains may have been burned by the British at that time.

Anyway, this claim on behalf of Mrs. Jury records that chains and fencing were "destroyed" "by the rebels" "to build Pa" – which is very much in accord with Thomas Gilbert's recollection of how the Kaipopo pā was constructed just prior to the Battle of Waireka (*Soldiers and Settlers* 1861 p104).

Until recently there was no surface evidence of exactly where Mrs. Jury's house had been sited, on what is now the Waireka West Rd. Even Len Jury recalls that the paddock was referred to as 'Granny's paddock' but as a child he never knew why. However in recent years the site has been located and an extensive archaeological survey carried out, documented by Janice Adamson in her University of Auckland PhD Thesis (2013) "*Improving Our Condition An Archaeology of Improvement in Taranaki, New Zealand 1841-1860*". Adamson was not looking for evidence of fortifications, and a surprise finding was the existence of trenches and rifle pits cutting through the footprint of Mrs Jury's cottage.

This can only suggest these entrenchments were made by Māori after the destruction of the house, and as parts of the house were still in existence and used in the construction of the Waireka redoubt, the Māori entrenchment must have been made after that. Probably not during the British occupation of the redoubt, as that would have been a somewhat daring undertaking, considering how close the entrenchment was to the redoubt (almost within point blank range!) More likely this entrenchment was made after January 1861, when Māori re-occupied Jury's Hill. In fact it may well be one of the rifle pits referred to in *The News* February 7 1861 (see page 42) and *Taranaki Herald* 1 September 1860 (see page 73).



Mrs Jury's, Area B. Removing the topsoil on the first day of excavations quickly revealed the presence of artefacts, which were marked with a skewer then recorded and bagged.

Figure 47 from  
*Improving Our Condition*  
Adamson p 149

First evidence of an entrenchment was the pattern of concentration of artefacts found.

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<sup>2</sup> See page 30. The list is from an appendix to Grayling's *The War in Taranaki During the Years 1860-61*.

Recording of the A Horizon artefacts showed the distribution of finds to be concentrated around the location of potential features rather than occurring throughout the surface of the site. It was initially unclear how this patterning of the artefacts related to these potential features (Figure 51). However, this later became clear when the artefacts were concentrated within a war period Māori “gunfighter” rifle trench system...

... Inter-cutting many of the postholes relating to the house were features relating to a previously unknown land-war period Māori rifle pit and trenching system, or “gunfighter pā” (drawn in grey in Figure 50). The features relating to this were clearly constructed after the house was destroyed in 1860, and are made up of a number of interconnected rifle pits/bunkers and trenches.

To the north east and south west of the pits and trenches were lines of palisade stakeholes.

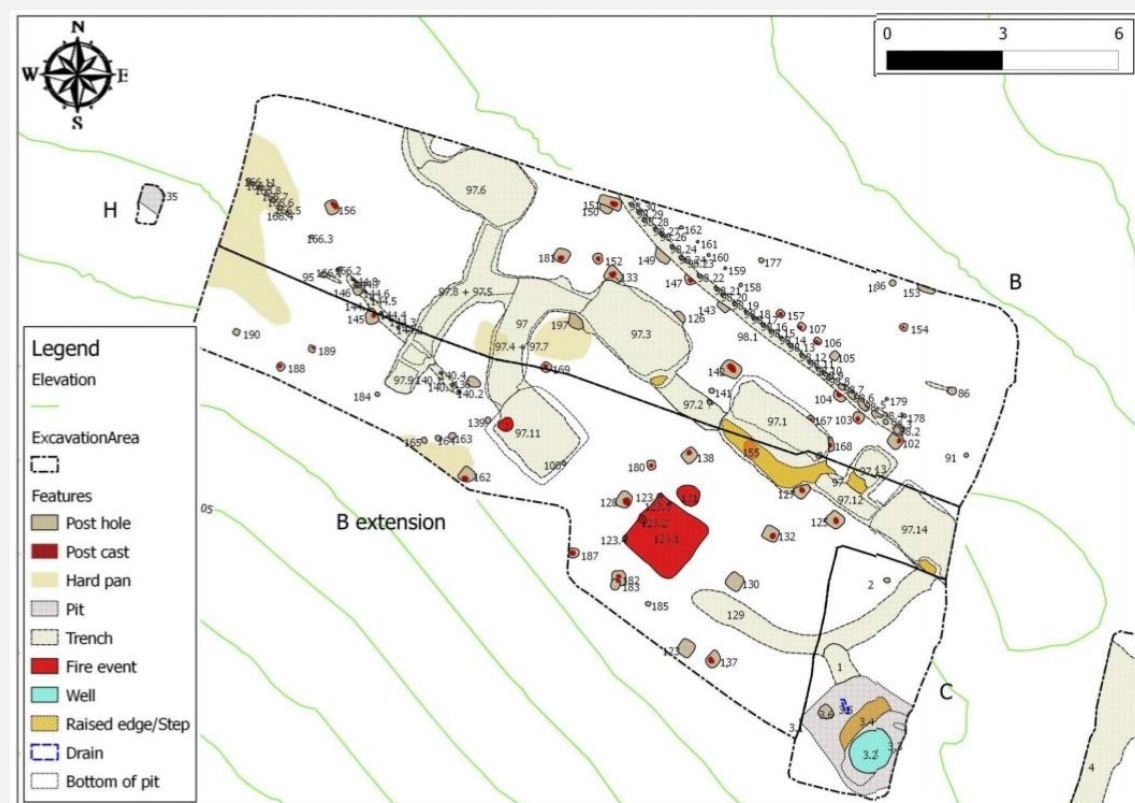
The rifle pits and trenches contained a high density of artefacts as a result of backfilling and this was the reason for the unusual finds distribution observed early on in the excavation.

All features in Area B and B extension, including rifle pits and trenches, were excavated by hand.

One rifle pit had a small fire scoop on its base.

As these features associated with Māori occupation were unexpected and went beyond the Authority provided, permission was granted from the Historic Places Trust to continue excavation.

Iwi were notified, who blessed the site and subsequently maintained a regular presence.



*Improving Our Condition Adamson p150-154*

As an amusing aside – when excavating Mrs. Jury’s well the archaeologists were forced eventually to give up, still a considerable distance short of the depth of the original well.

This fits nicely with Morgan Grace’s anecdote describing the effort of the soldiers to dig a well in 1860 when the redoubt was being built. As already recorded, Grace wrote:

“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”.

*Sketch of the New Zealand War Grace p42*



Figure 65 below shows the final state of the excavation in Areas B and B ext., with the layout of the pit and trench system.



Figure 65 Mrs Jury's, Area B and B extension fully excavated, showing rifle pits, trenches, and palisade row crossing the footprint of the house which is represented by an alignment of mostly square postholes. The square fire feature, situated between the house and the sleigh lean to, is shown in the left centre of the image.

The fortification consists of a series of rifle pits which are connected with trench systems to allow movement between the pits. An escape trench, to the left of the image, curves around, intersecting with the square fire feature. This trench then connects to an escape trench around the site of the well, in the lower left of the image. An alignment of postholes relating to a palisade row can be seen in front of the rifle pits. In the top left of the image the trench divides leading to the left to another bunker at the rear, and to the right to another firing position. The pit in centre right of the

image, to the left of the spoil heap, has a step down into it from the escape trench. This can be seen in more detail in Figure 66. The pit and trench system extends further in the direction of the road, probably in order to protect the thoroughfare, and also extends into the storage pits in Area D, where it seems to stop.



Figure 64 Mrs Jury's, extent of Taranaki war period Māori gunfighter trench system (in green)



Figure 66 Mrs Jury's, partially excavated rifle pit feature 97.14, looking northwest, showing steps down into the bunker from the escape trench, shown in the centre left, also partly excavated.

Excavation of the palisade row is continuing in the top right of the image. The square postcast and posthole in the upper centre right of the image relate to the house.

Most of the wood was found in the base of the rifle pits, and this was probably left over from the house destruction and later used by Māori to cover the pits for protection. Some of this wood has been burned. Two fired percussion caps were recovered, but it is not known whether any fighting occurred on the site. As described previously, there are no contemporary accounts of the features being used actively in defence. However Iwi oral traditions, mentioned when blessing the site occurred after discovery, describe the

pits protecting women and children until they could escape (Reverend Albie Martin pers. comm. 12 December 2007), but there is little archaeological evidence to either particularly support or negate this. One rifle pit did have a small fire scoop in the base indicating Māori occupation of at least one pit for a short period of time (Feature 97.15).

As described above, most of the artefacts relating to the house, such as ceramics, glass, nails etc, were recovered from the rifle pit and trench features, and it is probable that this was due to a cleanup process when the gunfighter pā was destroyed and the pits and trenches were filled.

The Māori trench system built in the strategic position across the footprint of Mrs Jury's house was probably a statement of possession. Similarly, the backfilling of the trenches and restoration of the land after the war, likely to have been carried out by members of the Jury family and local community, was probably a statement of re-possession.

*Improving Our Condition* Adamson pp 174-5

The full text of this thesis of J Adamson may be found at:

[https://www.academia.edu/11857858/Improving\\_Our\\_Condition\\_An\\_Archaeology\\_of\\_Improvement\\_in\\_Taranaki\\_New\\_Zealand\\_1841-1860](https://www.academia.edu/11857858/Improving_Our_Condition_An_Archaeology_of_Improvement_in_Taranaki_New_Zealand_1841-1860)

At the end of 1860, southern Māori returned to Tapuae Ridge, digging rifle-pits by the road through remains of Mrs Jury's house that was destroyed earlier in the war (Adamson 2008). A skirmish at Waireka on 23 February 1861 may have involved these rifle-pits (Prickett 2005: 116).

Rifle-pits revealed in January 2008 archaeological excavations by Janice Adamson include a line of square pits connected by a trench, with escape trenches to the rear (Adamson 2008; Prickett 2010: 89). Under pasture; more will exist than has so far been uncovered.

*Fortifications of the New Zealand Wars* Prickett p 153



#### 4. Waireka Redoubt

The Waireka Redoubt (sometimes referred to as Waireka Camp, or Soldiers' Camp) was established on Friday 27 July 1860, at the top of Jury's Hill (sometimes known as Waireka Hill).

It was placed a little above the site of the Kaipopo pā which had been the Māori defensive position on Jury's Hill in the Battle of Waireka (28 March 1860).

According to Morgan Grace (*A sketch of the New Zealand War* p 53) the redoubt was demolished six weeks later on 7 September 1860, when it was no longer needed and British troops were withdrawn to New Plymouth.

Grace's memory is occasionally inventive. Were the trenches also filled in at that time?

If the British did not destroy the trenches in 1860, then they certainly should have, because in January 1861 the Māori forces re-occupied Waireka and were reported in the *Taranaki Herald* (January 19 1861) to have been "employed digging rifle pits on Waireka Hill."

The Waireka pa has been rebuilt since its capture by Captain Cracroft. The new pa crowns the brow of a steep rise, at the foot of which the small valley with its thick belt of wood, through which the natives were last year driven, still flourishes. This pa is admirably constructed so as to command the roadway and all approaches from the front, and it is protected by a chain of rifle pits which sweep the surrounding gullies. No provision, however, had been made against attack from the rear, and I, as well as others, am therefore fully persuaded had Captain Cracroft only been able to effect the landing which he not long since attempted, that he would have achieved an infinitely greater and more conclusive success than he met with on his first brilliant onslaught, the more especially as he would have been gallantly supported by Colonel Young who was pushing forward to his assistance, instead of being deserted by a Commander who was ordered to be at home by dark!

This piece suggests that the Māori had entrenched themselves either on top of, or very close to the site of the Waireka Redoubt. Either the Waireka trenches had been destroyed by the British – or the Māori would surely have put them to their own use in January 1861.

Were the Māori treated to a ready-made abandoned set of trenches in 1861?

*Taranaki Herald* 20 April 1861

This raises the question of whether the remains which can be seen now are the remains of the original Waireka Redoubt, or a new set of trenches, dug when the British re-occupied the site on 11 March 1863.

The redoubt in 1863:

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,<sup>143</sup> and the piquet increased to one sergeant, one corporal and 15 privates.<sup>144</sup> The signal station was discontinued in March 1865.<sup>145</sup>

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).

*Archaeology of a Military Frontier*  
Prickett pp 67-8

Mr Jesse Jury, of Waireka Farm, Omata, made an interesting discovery when ploughing on the old battlefield a few days ago. This was an old bayonet. The instrument of war no doubt belonged to one of the military forces

engaged there now about 47 years ago. The bayonet will be handed over to the Taranaki Rifles for inclusion among the relics displayed in the orderly room at the Drill Hall.

*Taranaki Herald*  
5 February 1908

The redoubt today:

"Under pasture, in good order and highly visible; outstanding example of a classic redoubt form".

*Fortifications of the New Zealand Wars* Nigel Prickett p 153



(Taken from: *Improving Our Condition - An Archaeology of Improvement in Taranaki, New Zealand 1841-1860* Janice Adamson)

Jury's Hill.

Aerial photograph by Hans-Dieter Bader 17 March 2006.

Looking east, showing the outline of the Waireka Camp in the centre of the image, the only remaining visible relic of the fighting which took place in this area during the 1860s, and now protected as a historic site.

Stationed at the Waireka redoubt in 1861, Morgan Grace wrote:

"...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..."

The redoubt was an earth work, partly palisaded with timber taken from the cemetery at the bottom of the hill (see page 9). A little stream runs through the steep gully in the top middle of the photograph above. Len Jury believes the redoubt garrison obtained their water from this stream.



There is a plaque on the side of the road at the corner of Sutton Rd and Waireka Rd. West.

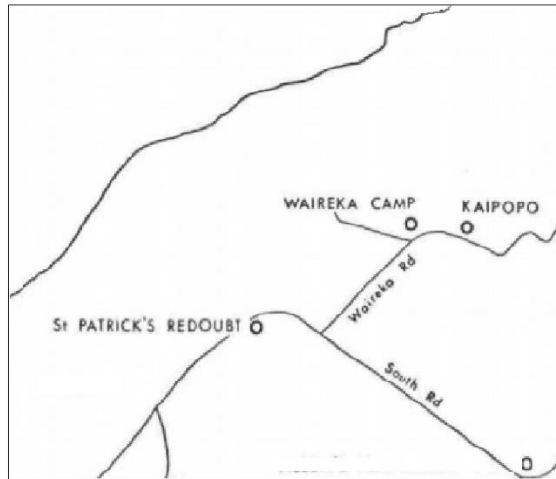
It reads:

ABOUT THIS HILL THE FIRST MAJOR  
ENGAGEMENT THE OF THE TARANAKI  
WAR THE BATTLE OF WAIREKA  
WAS FOUGHT 28 MARCH 1860

Photo Len Jury



## 5. St Patrick's Redoubt (Poutoko)



The remains are visible in this 1950s photograph.



Today a house occupies the site.

attended. 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 r...

*Taranaki Herald* 14 March 1863

(Refers to Thursday 12 March 1863)

The establishment of St Patrick's (Poutoko) Redoubt on what was Wilkinson's farm.

It was abandoned in March 1864 when a blockhouse was erected a little further south.

#### St Patrick's (Poutoko) Redoubt

The redoubt was completed and occupied on March 20.<sup>269</sup> It was called 'St Patrick's Redoubt', or 'Poutoko', after a small Maori settlement situated over the main road from the north end of the present Plymouth Road. On 1 April it was occupied by seven officers and 220 non-commissioned officers and men. 57th regiment.<sup>270</sup> From an archaeological point of view it is of special interest as the first redoubt built under the supervision of Lieutenant Charles Ferguson, R.E., later responsible for the design and construction of many works throughout Taranaki.

Throughout 1863 St Patrick's Redoubt was occupied by regular troops of the 57th and 70th Regiments and briefly, during the absence of the 57th at Katikara River early in June, by the 40th.<sup>271</sup> When most of the 70th were sent to the Waikato in spring nearby St Andrew's Redoubt (see below) was abandoned and the 57th Regiment garrison there was withdrawn to replace the 70th at Poutoko.<sup>272</sup>

On 2 October 1863 a large Maori force approached the redoubt from Kaitake and a brisk exchange of fire took place centred on Allen's Hill, about 1.5 kilometres to the south.<sup>273</sup> At this time St Patrick's was under command of Captain A.B. Wright, 70th. Following the engagement Fort Robert was established not far from Poutoko to provide flank support (see below).

At the end of 1863 there were 150 Militia at St Patrick's as well as regular troops.<sup>274</sup> The whole garrison, together with the Militia at nearby Fort Robert, was under command of the senior regular officer at St Patrick's Redoubt – in January 1864, Captain Shortt, 57th.<sup>275</sup> When St Andrew's was reoccupied early in March the imperial troops abandoned St Patrick's to 100 Militia under Captain Carthew.<sup>276</sup> On 1 August 1864 the redoubt was still held by local forces totalling 250 men.<sup>277</sup>

St Patrick's crucial strategic role waned with the removal of the threat from Maori positions in the Kaitake Ranges in March 1864 and the proliferation of military positions further south. Some time between July and October 1864 a blockhouse was built near the old redoubt. Known as Poutoko Blockhouse this replaced the redoubt as the defended position in the locality. A letter dated 16 October 1864 from Lieutenant Brutton, Garrison Adjutant in New Plymouth, to the officer commanding at the Poutoko Blockhouse reads,

"Sir,

I am directed to request you will employ a fatigue party of the Detachment under your command tomorrow morning, in pulling down the right front face (the one nearest the road) of the Poutoko Redoubt recently vacated by the Taranaki Military Settlers."<sup>278</sup>

The full text of Prickett's 1981 PhD Thesis

*The Archaeology of a Military Frontier: Taranaki, New Zealand, 1860-1881* Vol 1

may be downloaded from <https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/handle/2292/1514>

St Patrick's Redoubt was situated within the major bend of the South Road between Hurford and Plymouth Roads. It shows up well on aerial photograph 1787/5 taken in August 1950 (Pl.2.20). At this late stage the work was still substantially intact, although the west and east walls have sustained some damage. Soldiers' huts can be seen to have been dug into the south facing slopes of the gully behind the redoubt. From the 1950 aerial photograph St Patrick's can be established as a large, off-square work, about 40 x 50 metres, with flanking defence on all four corners (Fig.2.14A). The entrance was through the north side.

St Patrick's Redoubt was completely destroyed when the present house was built on the site in the late 1950s.<sup>283</sup>

- 269 Taranaki Herald, 21 Mar 1863. Warre, Historical Records, p.166, says the 24th.
- 270 Greaves to Gamble, 14 Apr 1863: WO, 0270.I, Appendix v.
- 271 Gamble, Report, 6 Jun 1863: WO, 0270.I, pp.35-36.
- 272 Clarke to Deputy Quarter Master General, 28 Aug 1863: New Plymouth Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book 4 Aug 1863-13 May 1865 (NPL).
- 273 The so-called 'Battle of Allen's Hill', see Cowan, Vol. I, p.221.
- 274 Letter 332, 22 Dec 1863: New Plymouth Garrison Office Letter Book 30 Nov 1863-22 Mar 1865 (NPL).
- 275 Letter 23, 20 Jan 1864: *ibid*.
- 276 Warre to Deputy Quarter Master General, 2 Mar 1864: New Plymouth Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book 4 Aug 1863-13 May 1865 (NPL).
- 277 Letter 261, 1 Aug 1864: Taranaki Militia and Volunteers Letter Book 26 Apr-29 Sep 1864 (NPL).
- 278 Letter 350, 16 Oct 1864: New Plymouth Garrison Office Letter Book 30 Nov 1863-22 Mar 1865 (NPL).
- 283 Personal communication, Mr. L. Jury.

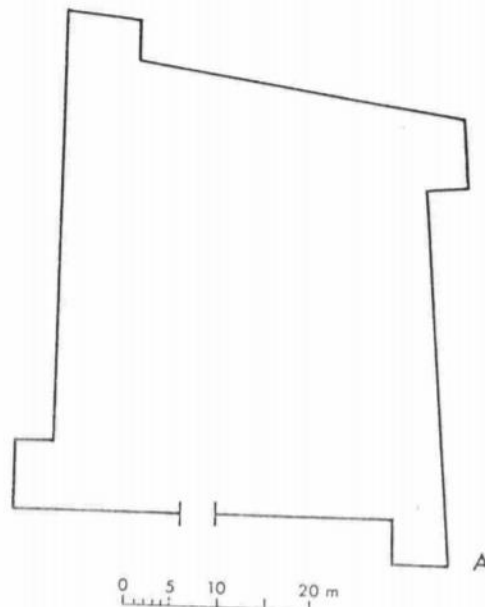


FIGURE 2.14. Redoubt plans: A. St Patrick's Redoubt, Poutoko;

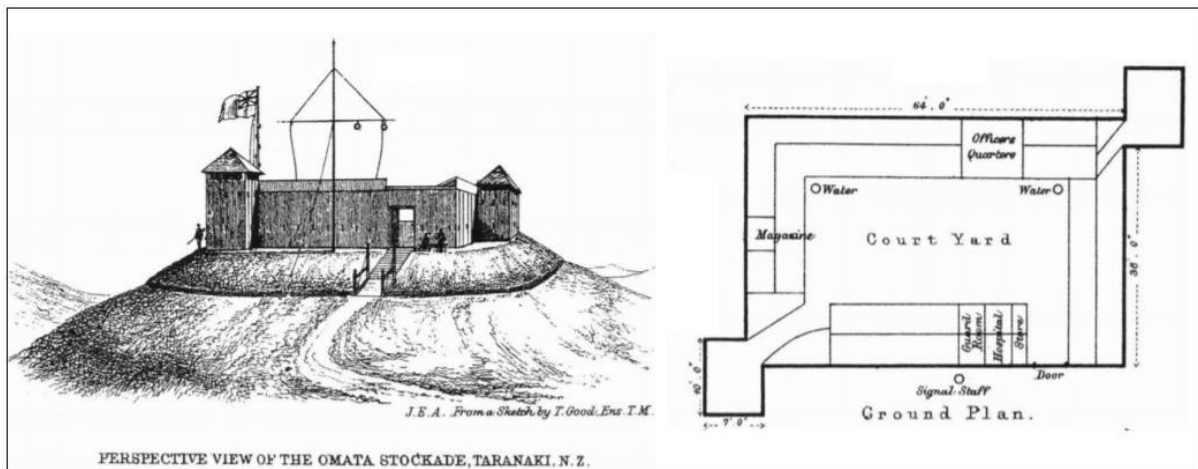
*The Archaeology of a Military Frontier: Taranaki, New Zealand, 1860-1881* Prickett pp102-107

A house on Waireka West Road now occupies the site of St. Patrick's Redoubt. There are no remains to be seen.



## 6. Ōmata Stockade

The site of the Ōmata Stockade is about 2km from Jury's Hill. It was built by local settlers just prior to the outbreak of war, and garrisoned by the local militia.



Drawing taken from Major-General Sir James E. Alexander, 1861

The stockade was constructed of vertical timbers, either whole trunks of small trees or split parts of large ones, and were sunk 3 feet to 4 feet (1 – 1.2m) in the ground. The height of the solid timber wall so formed was 10 feet (3m). The timbers were roughly trimmed with the axe to bring them as close together as possible and to remove any knots outside which might assist an enemy to scale the stockade.

The small spaces left between the logs were covered inside with an upright row of thick slabs. The tops of the timbers were sawn off straight, and sawn battens, 6 inches broad by 3 inches thick, (150mm x 75mm) were laid along the top and fastened to the stockade with 7-inch (180mm) spike nails. The average thickness of the heavy timbers was about 12 inches (300mm), and the whole was proof against musket-balls, and against rifle-balls except at very close range. A row of loopholes was cut all round about 5 feet (1.5m) above the inside floor, and there was a double row in the two small flanking bastions. These bastions were of two storeys each loopholed on all four sides.

The lower part was a sleeping-apartment; the upper was a post for sentries at night and in bad weather. The roof of each bastion was clear of the wall-plate, and was made to project about a foot beyond the wall of the building. This arrangement admitted of the sentries keeping a good lookout all round, and at the same time protected them from the weather. It also allowed of firing through the spaces between the roof and the wall-plate when more convenient to do so (as was often the case at long range) than through the loopholes.

The deep and wide ditch was crossed by a drawbridge which had a span of 10 feet and worked on strong hinges; by ropes fastened to its front edge and running through blocks on top of the inner posts it was lifted up perpendicularly at night. The entrance-gate was made of two thicknesses of timber, each 2½ inches (65mm) thick, and strongly fastened with spike nails riveted. This formed a solid door 5 inches (130mm) thick. Around the inner walls were built the garrison's quarters, leaving an open courtyard in the middle of the stockade. The loopholes were cut at such an elevation as enabled the men to use their rifles clear of the roof, and also to cover any object down to the bottom of the ditch, as well as from the outer edge of the ditch down the glacis, and everywhere around the stockade.

Outside, on the inner edge of the trench, stood the signal-staff, worked from within the building. It was a single tree, 60 feet (18m) long, sunk 6 feet (2m) in the ground, and secured by stays and guys.

*The New Zealand Wars and the Pioneering Period* Cowan pp 167-9



Omata Stockade  
Historic Reserve  
photo 2013



Archaeological  
excavations were  
carried out at the  
Omata Stockade  
from 3 January to  
13 February 1977.

*Archaeological  
Excavations at the  
Omata Stockade and  
Warea Redoubt,  
Taranaki*  
Nigel Prickett  
P 19

... demolished in 1867 (Prickett 1994a: 13–16).

The old pā platform was modified for a rectangular timber stockade, 19.3 × 12.8 m, with bastions at two opposite corners covering all sides; an open yard was enclosed by lean-to building for guard room, magazine, hospital, store and accommodation; outside the stockade was a steep scarp to a V-shaped ditch.

*Fortifications of the New Zealand Wars* Prickett p150



## APPENDIX 2 22 April 1860 Col. Gold's Expedition South

*(From our Correspondent at the Camp.)*

On Sunday three companies of the 65th in light marching order, with 2 guns and 2 ammunition waggons, 2 ambulance carts, and 1 cart with provisions, made a reconnaissance as far as Wareatea. Komene's pa was seen about 3 miles inland, but no natives were observed. On Monday a party were employed in thrashing out the Tataraimaka wheat, destroying the crops of natives engaged at Waieka. On Tuesday the troops still remained encamped at Tataraimaka employed in thrashing Mr. Greenwood's wheat and getting wood

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On Tuesday the troops still remained encamped at Tataraimaka employed in thrashing

Mr. Greenwood's wheat and getting wood and potatoes.

Wednesday the weather was very unfavourable, the troops remained under cover.

On Thursday at 6 a.m. struck tents, and at 7 the whole force moved on towards Wareatea.

The light company of the 65th, and a portion of the naval brigade, under Captain Seymour, furnished the advanced guard; Captain Vernon and his blue jackets bunging up the rear.

The forces arrived at Wareatea at about 4 p.m. Captain Seymour and a few mounted men entered Komene's pa, when Mr G. Lethbridge found the saddle of our murdered townsman Mr Ford!<sup>4</sup>

A reconnoitring party, headed by Captain Seymour, consisting of the light company of the 65<sup>th</sup> Regt., and a party of blue jackets proceeded to the mill in the vicinity of which about 30 armed natives were seen, who, however, deemed discretion the better part of valour and cut across the river to the inland pa. This pa is about 2 miles inland on the town side of the mill stream, situated in the forest apparently on a cliff with a swamp on the seaward side. The party rendered the mill useless by removing a portion of the iron work and some cogs from the wheels.

Friday morning the pa was pulled down, the houses destroyed and a quantity of wheat and oats scattered about. The forces marched at 8 o'clock for Warea.

*Taranaki Herald 28 April 1860*

*(From our Correspondent at the Camp.)*

I now continue my narrative of the march of the force under Colonel Gold to the southward from Komene's pa.

Friday, 27th April, 1860. At about 8 a.m. the tents were struck and the combined force paraded, and as soon as the teams were yoked to, the advance sounded. Shortly afterwards the Cordelia and Tasmanian Maid hove in sight, and a boat landed from the Cordelia, which was sent back and returned with a supply of tobacco for the troops. The light company of the 65th furnished the skirmishers, then followed Captain Seymour, R.N., and the men of the Pelorus, two howitzers, the ammunition and baggage, the flanking parties of soldiers protected the convoy, and Commander Vernon R. N., and the Cordelia's blue jackets formed the rear guard, following two nine-pounder guns.

The road running through a level country, Mokotunu was speedily reached. Some horses and 7 working bullocks belonging to the rebel natives were driven in and yarded by the mounted guides, and the train moved on steadily, the skirmishers forcing their way through flax considerably above

<sup>3</sup> Komene, present as a fighter at most of the battles of the First Taranaki War, was one of the Taranaki Chiefs who helped Brown to recover the bodies of the two boys who were killed just prior to the Battle of Waireka. (*Taranaki Herald* 9 August 1862). Later, after the first Taranaki hostilities had ended, Komene left the Māori resistance forces and aligned himself to the British. An interesting obituary for Komene was printed in *Taranaki Herald* 10 June 1902.

<sup>4</sup> Ford was one of the three men and two boys from Ōmata whose killing led to the Battle of Waireka.

then heads, until the flagstaff of the Warea pa was sighted early in the afternoon, when the halt sounded. The Commanding Officer and Staff passed to the front to reconnoitre.

Natives were seen in the pa by the guides, who, having ventured somewhat in advance of the troops, were saluted by a volley from the pa. The guns quickly came to the front, and opened fire at about 300 yards, whereupon the natives were seen to evacuate the pa, which was shortly afterwards taken possession of by Captain Seymour and his bluejackets and a company of the 65th regiment. On searching the houses a slate was found on which was inscribed the names of 21 natives, supposed to have been present at the morning's muster.

Subsequently, their footsteps were traced by the guides two miles inland in the direction of Komene's pa in the forest. The combined force re-crossed the river, and an earthwork was thrown up on the river side of an old pa, in which the tents were pitched on a kumera ground, and culinary operations were the order of the day.

A yard was formed on the other side of the pa with the baggage train, in which the unfortunate bullocks were doomed to starve until morning. Orders were then given to fire the pa, which were promptly executed, and as each house contained a store of firewood, the conflagration spread rapidly, and continued throughout the night. At sunset a strong guard and outlying pickets provided against surprise and the wearied men soon sunk to repose. During the afternoon the guides brought in a number of mares and foals and endeavoured to ascertain the site of the mill. The mill could not be found, and every person consulted as to its whereabouts, assigned a different locality.

Early on Saturday the guides proceeded up both banks of the river about 3 miles, but failed to discover the mill. At about nine the tents were struck and the homeward march commenced, the teams travelling nimbly. The houses at Mokotunu were levelled to the ground and the march continued without obstruction.

The guides filed five stacks of wheat about three miles inland, and drove in some horses.

No obstruction was experienced until reaching the sand hills near Komene's pa, when the skirmishers descried a party of natives and fired at them at a distance of 800 yards, and one man was seen to fall as if wounded. The force then crossed the Hangatahua river, in which a cart laden with ammunition came to grief. The guides proceeded inland in search of cattle and horses, and, failing to head a swamp, endeavoured to cross it, when one of the horses got fairly bogged, and whilst they were busily employed, a party of Natives fired about 20 shots at them from the surrounding scrub.

*Sauve qui peut* was the order of the day, and the dismounted trooper was taken up by Mr George Lethbridge, the horse being left to his fate. After galloping a quarter of a mile, a guide was ascertained to be missing, and one of the party pushed on for assistance.

This was speedily obtained; and Capt. Turner, with a party of the 65<sup>th</sup>, and Commander Vernon, with his blue jackets, proceeded to within 10 chains of the spot where the guides were attacked, where they halted, and the guides went up and found the old horse lying at its ease uninjured, and a smart application of the whip very soon effected his extrication, in the interim, the missing man turned up in the centre of the line of march. Whilst the foregoing was in progress, a false alarm by the aide-de-camp, that the force sent to the rescue was hotly engaged with the enemy, caused a general halt and a party to be sent in support, who found Captain Turner's and Commander Vernon's men quietly trudging on in their places in the line.

Nothing worthy of notice happened after this; the cattle moved briskly along towards the rich pastures of Tataraimaka, which were reached early in the afternoon. The tents were pitched, and the force rested Sunday, it being resolved to occupy the block with three companies of the 65<sup>th</sup> and two guns, and return to town with the remainder of the force.

No doubt the public will be disappointed at the result of this expedition, which has effected so little in comparison with what was expected from it. As an eye-witness, I have no hesitation in saying that all that could prudently be attempted was done. The nature of the country inland precludes an attack of the forest stronghold by regulars totally unacquainted with the ground, the difficulties of

which must be seen to be appreciated. Even the man Howard, who has been residing with the rebels for years past, either was, or pretended to be, totally at fault as to which gullies and wooded ravines could be headed or passed; and I am fully convinced that if the Commander had attempted to march the troops up to the pa without reconnoitring the country, they would have been entangled in a labyrinth of scrub and gullies, and completely at the mercy of an attacking force, who, securely concealed, could have decimated the columns. If, on the other hand, the reconnoissance had proceeded, the rebels would have vacated their pa; it would have been destroyed, and its occupants would probably have fallen back on Wiremu Kingi. Is the capture of an empty pa worth the risk that would be encountered to reach it ? I think not; and so apparently thought the Commander.

In my humble opinion, a guerilla warfare is the only one which will succeed against the rebels, and this must be carried on by a mounted force of Riflemen ; the horses merely serving to transport their riders to the place of attack, where the force must dismount, leaving every fifth man to look after five horses, whilst the rest proceed to harass the rebels in every possible manner, firing their coast pas, sweeping off their cattle and horses, throwing down their fences, trampling their crops under foot, or turning in the captured cattle. Such a force would require no commissariat or baggage train, merely a few led horses with spare ammunition, and if properly led, such would be the rapidity of its movements that the enemy would be worn out by constant watching to resist its attacks.

To question the capacity of our leader requires abler tacticians than most of those so ready to criticise his conduct. As a Volunteer who has been under fire as warm as any the gallant Riflemen and Taranaki Militia have yet experienced, I may venture to assert that even they would be found unequal to the task of attacking a pa in the forest in an unknown locality. I believe the bushmen are a match for the Maories in the forest where they are acquainted with the country, but placed on *terra incognita*, a raupo swamp, or impassable ravine, would place them completely at the mercy of an enemy thoroughly conversant with every inch of the ground. Whether what I have written pleases or displeases I care little. I am a volunteer; I am proud of the achievements of my fellow-townsmen, although I have not had the luck to be in action with them, and, consequently, lay no claim to their laurels. I know they are brave men, to whom I may safely appeal and ask if it is generous to condemn the officer in command for not effecting the capture of a forest stronghold in a country such as I have described.

The feeling which at present exists between the military and volunteer and militia force, and which has been fostered by an imbecile who has perpetrated a pamphlet intended to vindicate the conduct of the military commander at Waireka, but which directly tends to overwhelm him with shame, displaying, as it does, a total ignorance of the locality, a shameless regard of truth, and portraying a degree of poltroonery which that veteran officer must blush with indignation to have attributed to him and the gallant fellows under his command. That feeling, in fact, is unworthy of the volunteers, admitting that their ground of complaint is a just one, what deeper censure do they desire to see inflicted on the commander at Waireka, for an error of judgment, for aught they know, not justly attributable to him, than that passed by the unfettered New Zealand, and free press of Australia ? What graver punishment than the attempted vindication of his conduct by the imbecile<sup>5</sup> non-combatant in language at variance with truth, regardless of Lindley Murray, and replete with low scurrility and slang expressions. The British public will contrast the tone of this miserable pamphlet with the quiet gentlemanlike narratives of " M " and Volunteer, and I tremble at the decision it will arrive at. Better, ten thousand times better, have trusted to a dignified silence and an impartial public, than have permitted "Fair Play" to traduce the military, and vindicate the volunteers.

*Taranaki Herald 5 May 1860*

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<sup>5</sup> Feelings were running high. The "imbecile" the reporter refers to in his closing paragraph was "Fair Play" who anonymously published a pamphlet deriding the Volunteers and Militia, and completely vindicating Colonel Gold. It was in response to "M" and "Volunteer" who had written lengthy letters which derided Colonel Gold. The army had banned *Taranaki Herald* from printing material such as this. The letters were, instead, sent to Nelson, published in *The Colonist* 8 May 1860 then posted back to New Plymouth for the entertainment of the settlers concerned.

Military historian Alexander wrote:

It being deemed advisable to send an expedition to the south of New Plymouth to act on the Taranaki and Ngatiruanuis, a force was organized consisting of two hundred and eighty men of the 65th regiment, one hundred and fifty blue jackets and marines, eighty Militia and Volunteers, forty Royal Artillery with two 24-pounder howitzers and four six-pounder field-pieces, also twenty Royal Engineers, the whole under the command of Colonel Gold, and Captain Seymour, R.N.

Accompanying this expedition were thirty carts laden with camp equipage, ammunition, stores of various kinds and provisions.

It was considered that invading the territory of the insurgents might stop marauding and murdering in the Taranaki. Starting at an early hour on the 20th April, the force crossed the Waireka valley at 11 A.M. the force encamped at Tataraimaka and a reconnoitring party with two guns was sent out towards Hongatahwa river, when this was reached, a strong pah was observed, and apparently difficult to be got at.

The expedition took up a number of potatoes at Wairau the property of the insurgents, and thrashed out the Tataraimaka wheat belonging to Mr. Girdwood. After some rainy weather, the force struck tents and moved towards the Waireatea, 4 the Light Company, 65th, under Lieutenant Urquhart, and part of the Naval Brigade under Captain Seymour forming the advanced guard--Captain Vernon and his blue jackets bringing up the rear. Waireatea was reached, and Captain Seymour with a mounted party entered Komena's pah and found in it a saddle of Mr. Ford, slain at the Omata lately. A reconnoitring party under Captain Seymour next proceeded to a Maori mill where thirty armed natives had been seen, but these fled, the party rendered the mill useless by removing a portion of the cog wheels and iron works.

The pah was then pulled down, and some of the houses and provisions of the natives were burnt. From Komena's pah Mokotura was reached, some horses and seven working bullocks of the insurgents were secured. The skirmishers forced their way through flax higher than their heads until the flag-staff of the Waieapa was sighted, when the halt was sounded and the commanding officer and staff went to the front to reconnoitre. Natives were seen in the pah by the guides, who venturing too near were saluted with a volley from the pah. The guns were ordered to the front, they opened at three hundred yards; the pah was soon evacuated, and then entered by the troops and sailors. The pah was afterwards burned with the whares in it.

A number of mares and foals were captured, and the mill searched for, but it could not be found. The homeward march was commenced, the houses at Mokotura were levelled and the march resumed without obstruction. To carry out the usual practise of war (though capture but not destroy, should I think be adopted in future) five stacks of wheat were burned inland. Mr. Parris, the native commissioner, lost some wheat in this expedition, which a native had set apart as payment of a debt.

At the sand hills near Komena's pah the skirmishers descried some natives, fired at eight hundred yards and one man was seen to fall. The guides in trying to cross a swamp, whilst searching for horses and cattle, were fired upon from the scrub. After this the force rested to refresh among the rich pastures of the Tataraimaka, three companies of the 65<sup>th</sup> were left there with two guns, and the rest of the force returned to New Plymouth, after being treated to a grand war dance by the allies with the usual shouts, contortions and thrusting out the tongue.

The example having been set of firing pahas and houses, and destroying property, the Taranakis and Ngatiruanuis exacted a fearful utu or payment, on the settlers afterwards, as will appear in the course of the narrative.

Though more was expected of the above expedition in punishing the insurgents of the south, yet considering the extremely difficult nature of the country, the tracks for roads, the steep gullies, the entangled bush, thick scrub and deep swamps, perhaps as much was done as could reasonably be accomplished by a force with wheeled carriages; mounted rifles with pack horses might have done a good deal more, but at the time they could not be got together. *Incidents of the Maori War Alexander pp128-132*

## EXPEDITION TO THE SOUTH.

ON Tuesday evening, Sept. 18, notice was given that an expedition was in process of organisation for the South, to attack the rebels where and whenever they could be met with. 62 rank and file of the Taranaki Rifles and Militia, with a proportionate number of officers, were directed to prepare themselves for a campaign of indefinite length, and to fall-in opposite the Militia Office at 6 o'clock on the following morning. On Wednesday, as can easily be imagined, the town was all bustle and turmoil. Carts in one part loading with ammunition, guns limbering up, rocket tubes being placed in carts, whilst towards the Commissariat stores many vehicles were drawn up to receive the tents, food, and other appliances requisite for the support of upwards of 600 men. All being in readiness, the various corps marched, the 12th, under the command of Captain Miller, being in advance; the main body of the 65th, under Capt. Strange, preceding the artillery, consisting of two 24-pounder howitzers and two rocket tubes; and the baggage, which was protected by the Rifles and Militia, who formed the rear-guard—the whole being under the command of Major Hutchins, of the 12th. In this order, amidst the farewells of the friends still left us in town, we commenced our march along the beach in the direction of the Sugar Loaves, before reaching which the road, so often described, was taken that leads to the Omata Stockade. Here an exchange of some few men and two officers was effected; Capt. Richmond and Lieut. Jonas remaining to take charge of the fort, whilst Capt. Burton and Ensign McKellar joined us. Unfortunately, the rain began to fall in such quantities as to sadly impede the rapidity of our movements. From the peculiar character of volcanic soils, they with a very slight quantity of moisture form a slippery impalpable mud, so that the bullocks fail in obtaining the requisite purchase for moving the heavy guns. Beyond the village of Omata we saw before us the steeply-inclined hills of the Waireka. Gradually and slowly was the march made upwards, an hour having been taken in dragging the guns and carts up the hill. The rear-guard, as a matter of course, for this period were stationary, and without shelter from the cold pelting rain that was falling pitilessly around. Notwithstanding, many a laugh was raised to show that our spirits were not yet quite broken, although of the homes that once remained the blackened chimneys alone stood forth as monuments of utter and complete ruin. The last heavy load having reached the summit of the hill, our march with but slight impediment was continued until the table land above the valley of the Onkura was reached, when a halt was sounded, and preparations made for encamping for the night. Notwithstanding the dampness of the ground, and the wetness of ourselves and baggage in a very short time, with the usual precision and order, the tents were pitched in regular lines. All

wore the appearance of comfort; each corps being placed together. There being plenty of timber for fires, and the weather taking up, we were soon, to use military language, "as we were." I am under the impression that our march would have been continued had the river not been rendered unfordable by the flowing of the tide. Those who have never witnessed the apparent confusion of a large body of men pitching their tents for the night would feel utterly astonished at the regularity of results shown in so short a time amidst so much noise and bustle.

After receiving and cooking our rations for the morrow, orders were given that tents should be lowered at five in the morning, and progress again be made at six. This day's march was on a road running almost parallel with the beach, differing little in physical character from the rest of the Omata district.

*Thursday, Sept. 19.*—The country through which we passed on this day's excursion differs much from that in the Omata. The land in the Oakura district, although much broken and intersected with gullies, contains a large quantity of rich flat land available for the plough, and is entirely in the hands of the natives. It consists of table-land on the summit of precipitous cliffs, beneath which is a broad sandy beach, which continues for two miles, until the Timaru river is reached, after the crossing which, and climbing the inclined roadway, the beautiful level pastoral districts of Tātaramaka burst upon our view. Passing Mr Greenwood's farm and Mr McDonald's, the road again descends to the heavy sandy beach for a short distance, when, after ascending an inclined roadway, we are once again upon the territory of the rebels. Continuing along upon an open country, and crossing the Katikara river, a beautiful flat of open land, known as Johnny's flat, was reached, about one mile from which, in country broken with gullies and covered with scrub and bush, have the rebels erected their strongholds.

Trusting that this description will tend to render plain the movements of the troops, I will describe the order of march and proceedings of Thursday, which turned out, contrary to expectations, a beautifully fine day. In compliance with the orders of last night, by six o'clock in the morning the baggage was ready, notwithstanding that considerably above 100 bullocks had to be joined to their burdens, and every corps in line ready for marching. Captain Stapp, the Adjutant, then addressed the Rifles and Militia, promising that he would endeavour to use all his influence to place us in a position of doing that service which he felt we were so well able to effect. He knew that where he led we would follow; he had every confidence both in our bravery and determination; and would therefore only remark how requisite it was that our movements should be go-

verned by coolness and care, and that in approaching the enemy's strongholds we should endeavour to outwit them by avoiding any ambuscade that might be thrown in our way, and also never to pull a trigger without we could make sure of our aim, and immediately on firing to take advantage of any cover that might be at hand, and also to bear in mind the necessity of acting together and assisting even at the risk of life a wounded or fallen comrade. From Capt. Strange's company a skirmishing party was thrown out to the left, under Lieut. Talbot, on the heights, which threw itself far in front of the main body. This was supported by a subdivision from Capt. Baston's company, under the command of

Acting-Adjutant Lieut. Bailie and Ensign Pagan; the Rifles and Militia forming at six paces distant a flank guard on the heights to guns and baggage. In passing the heights, no less than twelve rifle-pits such positions as to command the road on the beach below, and wherever the structure of the cliff below would allow of it, pits had been sunken. Passing the Hauranga pa, occupied by Big Jack's people, the Timaru was reached; after crossing which, and marching as far as Mr Greenwood's farm, we halted. Upon this farm eight strong pas had been erected, commencing in the rear, upon the right of the road leading to Warea, and extending in advance of each other nearly a mile in a right line from the beach to the pa that had been erected upon that which had formerly been occupied by the 65th. The baggage being left on the flat, the 65th, with the artillery, struck off to the left towards the hill fortifications, which, being found empty, were quickly given to the flames. Another party proceeded to destroy those on the left of the flat; when the Rifles, in their turn, destroyed a very strong pa, which had evidently been intended as the enemy's centre; whilst that on the extreme right was burned by our native friends, who, under the command of Mi Good, had formed part of our force from town. After staying some few hours amusing ourselves by roasting in the fires the potatoes that had been found in the whares, the natives that had been sent to reconnoitre returned with the information that several strong pas had been erected in the neighbourhood of Porikapa's old pa. Consequently, Major Hutchins ordered the guns, with rocket tubes, to advance, directing the baggage to follow as far as Johnny's flat, from which I am at present writing. The guns having gone on in quick time we marched off after them, overtaking them before they reached the Katikara river. In the crossing of this river we had great fun. It had been rendered deep both by the flowing of the tide and the recent rains that had fallen, added to which a heavy sea was setting in; so that, without those that were crossing watched their opportunity, the water washed nearly over them. Imagine the excitement of six hundred men scrambling through such a stream, with the noise that was raised by laughter and hallooing, intermixed

with the voices of bullock-drivers. But all this was soon over, and after dragging the guns with our now weary bullocks over some very awkward gullies, and up steep and slippery hills, we reached the Kaihihi, Porikapa's old pa, from whence, situated in the bush, one pa was visible, but so situated as to require considerable force and time to reduce; consequently, after staying some little time, an order to return for night quarters was given, and I assure you that more reluctance was shown in our return than on our advance. In low spirits we reached the appointed camping-place, when, as all were busily engaged in pitching tents, a few volleys were fired from behind a furze fence, which we had but a short time left. "To arms" and "fall-in" was immediately the word, when the 65th and 12th fired a volley in return. Report stated that a man had been struck in the ear by a bullet from the enemy, but, on enquiry, it was found to have been caused by an accident from one of his own comrades. Competition certainly has great effect. After the tents had been pitched the Rifles and Militia commenced raising breastworks around their tents, and digging rifle-pits for the sentinels. This was followed by the military, so that the whole camp presented to the enemy a breastwork raised by voluntary labour; officers, in conjunction with the men, aiding the works. Double sentries were placed during the night, which passed without farther disturbance.

*Friday, 21st.*—Nothing of particular consequence occurred to-day, despatches having arrived from town stating that we are to remain in our present encampment until the arrival of reinforcements. Towards afternoon some of our friendly natives went into the bush after a pig that had escaped, when they perceived a native endeavouring to steal round for the better bringing his fire-arms to bear, whilst on the hill not far distant several sentinels watching our movements had been stationed. They immediately returned to their companions, when the whole native force started forward, firing in defiance, and concluded, much to the amusement of the newcomers, with a war dance. After this, orders were given that no one from the camp should cross the gully.

*Saturday, 22nd.*—A party of soldiers and Rifles returned to Tatara for the purpose of protecting the men collecting cattle for town, seeking potatoes, and completing the destruction of the rifle-pits. A vessel seen in the distance, supposed to be H.M.S.S. Niger. Most of us, I think, feel both comfortable and happy in our present position, and are ready to obey willingly any orders but to return home without giving the enemy a real practical answer to their defiance. In fact, in town many of us have no home, consequently, we feel more content under the discomfort of a campaign than amidst scenes that remind us of comforts that have passed from amongst us.



*Sunday, 23rd.*—A day of rest. Hollow square formed, and prayers read by Major Hutchins. Towards evening an express arrived from town, bringing to-day's *Herald* and many rumours, one, in particular, that we were to move in the morning. The question in every one's mouth was, "*Where?*" Some hopefully imagined to pursue the enemy, whilst others stated that we were to return to town.

*Monday, 24th.*—At 5 o'clock tents were down, and all ready in line to march; to the last moment hope whispered towards the enemy. But, alas! I am sorry to say, it was for town. Far be it from me to remark upon the gallant and brave fellows that were so ready to co-operate in an attack upon the enemy. Time alone can account for these withdrawals. The day was beautiful, and never have I seen the mountain, covered as it was to its very base with snow, with the sun's rays resting upon it, present so magnificent a sight. As we marched homewards, we again passed over those luxuriant flats so well suited for the support of a concentrated population, in the same order almost as we left town.

The quantity of land lying waste, and the number of houses that have been destroyed, is far greater than is generally imagined. On the Tataru Block, which contains between four and five thousand acres

of rich available land, no less than 26 houses have been destroyed. At the same time, between 2,000 and 3,000 sheep, 100 head of cattle, and many horses, have disappeared. The land of this district is so good that a farmer the year before last raised 42 bushels of wheat to the acre on the land he cultivated.

In the Omata district I cannot exactly describe the loss in stock, but there must have been very nearly 100 houses either dismantled or given to the flames.

The pas which we trusted to have been allowed to attack were three in number—the first and only one in sight occupied by the enemy was the Pukekaka-iki, situated in a right line from Porikapa's old pa, about half-a-mile inland. The other pas were not seen by any of the force; consequently an accurate description of their position cannot be given, but two others are stated to be in the neighbourhood, both of which are situated on the south bank of the Kaihihi river. The Mataiao is about three-quarters of a mile inland, and the other—the Orongomaiha-nga—supposed to be nearer the beach, within reach, I trust, of one of Her Majesty's steam-ship's guns.

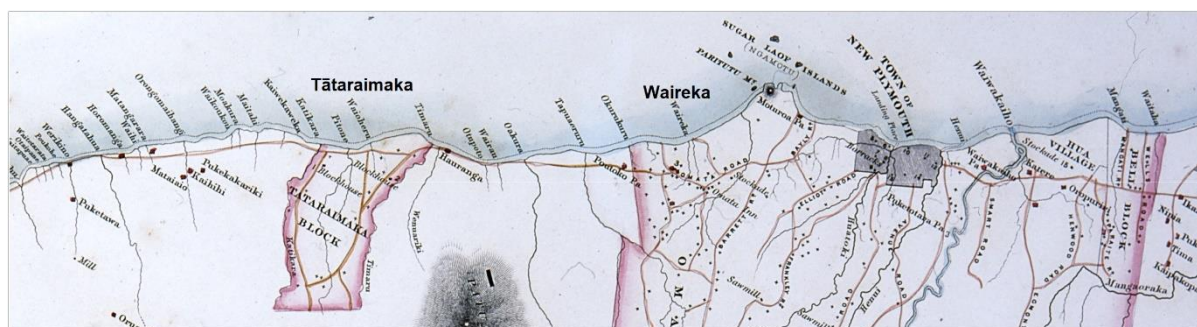
W. I. G.

*Taranaki Herald* 29 September 1860

The Ngatiruanuis and Taranakis having destroyed the settlement at Tataraimaka, south of New Plymouth, and having erected pahi there, Major Hutchins was directed to chastise them; those were the tribes it will be remembered which had massacred the three men and two boys at the Omata in March, and had been fighting and plundering round New Plymouth. The force of Major Hutchins to proceed south, consisted of one hundred and fifty-seven men of the 12th Regiment under Captain Miller; two hundred and seventy of the 65th under Captains Strange and Barton; seventeen men Royal Artillery under Captain Stover; two 24-pounder howitzers and two rocket tubes twelve and twenty-four lbs.; thirteen Royal Engineers under Captain Mould; sixty-eight Militia and Volunteers under Captain Richmond; one sergeant and ten men of the Mounted Corps, Captain Pasley, R.E., (staff officer) and fifty friendly natives under Mr. Good.

Major Hutchins' expedition first encamped on the north bank of the Oakura river, and in the Tataraimaka destroyed eight pahi, some of considerable strength, after which it was intended that more preparations were to be made for attacking the natives posted at Kaihihi, the expedition therefore returned to town.

Incidents of the Maori War 1863 Alexander p 196



Cropped from ARC2004-306 Puke Ariki Archives



## APPENDIX 4 9 October 1860 The Expedition to Kaihihi

Taranaki Herald 20 October 1860

### THE EXPEDITION TO KAIHIHI ON THE 9TH OCT., TO DESTROY THE THREE PAS OBSERVED BY MAJOR HUTCHINS ON THE 11TH ULT.

Before commencing a description either of movements or country, permit me to explain the feelings with which, I think, we have shared in the risks and privations of the various campaigns that have to the present time been undertaken against the enemy.

Sir Cornwall Lewis, in his despatch, only sympathises with our losses, inasmuch, "as being some of those persons who have armed in defence of their own homes;" or, to continue with his considerate remarks for his fellow-Englishmen, "those who have been compelled to leave them." Few have now homes to protect; many of us, even in our own town of New Plymouth, know not where to lay our

heads, consequently we cannot be governed by selfish thoughts alone. Each to the best of his ability is aiding in asserting the supremacy of our Queen Victoria—a duty, in the discharge of which we imagined England would unhesitatingly support us, when we left her already overcrowded country to seek and give value to possessions, in her name, on far-off shores.

The detail of officers and men, I find, have been already published; consequently it only remains for me to state that, in accordance with orders, the force mustered at 6 o'clock, a.m., on Tuesday, the 9th instant, at their quarters, prior to taking up a position on the beach, near the landing place, the order of march from which was,—the 12th advanced guard; 65th, Militia and Volunteers, composing main body; artillery consisting of 2 24-pounder howitzers, 1 12-pounder, drawn by horses, and an 8-inch gun, worked by sailors under Commodore Seymour, R.N., followed by ammunition carts, two rocket tubes, a 6 and 12-pounder, and baggage carts. The rear-guard, consisting of the 40th. Our friendly natives did not leave the town with us, but joined the forces on the road, diffusing themselves amongst the various corps. In this order we continued our march over hill and dale until after passing the Timaru river (the north boundary of Tataraimaka), Mr Greenwood's, and Mr W. Bayly's farms, we were gladdened with the order to "halt and pitch tents." We were not wearied so much by the distance as from the slow movements attendant upon the carriage of heavy artillery over bad roads. I cannot continue further without staying to mention in the highest terms the valuable services rendered on our march by the Royal Engineers, who were always in front mending roads and repairing bridges. Their work is generally effected so quietly, and, at the same time, so effectually, that they are scarcely noticed by any but those who compose the front. Many instances could be given of the manner in which all was prepared for the passing of the heavy gun, weighing, as it did, upwards of four tons. The Tapuae Bridge is not very strong, but in a very short time, by the energetic labours of the Engineers, it was fitted for bearing any weight, and at the same time the hull beyond was cleared of the rocks that crop out and impeded us so much in our march on the prior expedition.

The country on which we camped this night is very similar to what has before been described as composing Greenwood's farm, consisting of table-land intersected with gullies, on the sea side of which are steep cliffs. One peculiarity throughout the whole of this part of the world must strike the most casual observer, and convince him how fitted it is for a continued guerilla warfare. Plains are spoken of, but it must be borne in mind that they are of very limited extent, being intersected in almost every part by gullies, many of which are wooded or filled with high fern and scrub; besides, the surface is not level, for all around raised mounds, excellently adapted for fortified camps, show themselves, evidently owing their birth to some of those convulsions of nature so common in this part of the world.

After the camp had been formed, orders were issued that the tents should be struck at half-past four in the morning, and the troops ready to start at daylight, and that 5 men in each tent should sleep accoutred, and be ready to turn out at the slightest alarm.

*Wednesday, Oct. 10th.*—In obedience to the orders of last night, we marched at the appointed hour; our friendly natives, under Messrs Parris, Good, W. Carrington, and Wills, taking the front as a reconnoitring party. The Light Company of the 65th, under Lieut. Urquhart, forming an advanced guard, extended as a line of skirmishes, supported by Nos. 3 and 4 companies of the 65th, under Lieuts. Bailie and Talbot, and the 12-pounder with horses; after which came the baggage and artillery. The Volunteers were told off into two subdivisions, to act as left flank guards to protect the baggage from any ambuscade that might have been formed by the enemy in the various ravines which we had to pass; the 40th Regt. bringing up the rear. In this order, after passing our former camping place on Hoani's flat, we reached the flat on the south side of Porikapa's old pa (Pawawaha). The country about here is more than ever broken with fissures, and covered with high fern and low koromiko scrub. The natives in their advance exchanged shots with the rebels on the hill to the right of our camp, so often described as the old pa, but before we arrived all was quiet, and the tents were soon pitched. The country chosen for the encampment consisted of a narrow tongue of country broadest seaward, and running inland almost to a point, having deep gullies on both its north and south sides. On the rising ground opposite the northern gully were encamped the 40th and Commissariat. In the centre were a portion of the 65th, 12th, and Volunteers; the staff being situated in a sheltered nook at the bottom of the hill; whilst on the opposite side of the southern gully a small flank encampment was formed and occupied by a portion of the 65th, and was consequently named Fort Urquhart, the friendly natives occupying Pawawaha, Porikapa's old pa. After pitching the tents, working parties were told off from each corps to throw up front and flanking breastworks, upon the completion of which a reconnoitring party was embodied, to examine the position of the enemy, consisting of men from the various corps, when from the left of No. 1 pa heavy firing was exchanged with the enemy. I

have denominated the pas 1, 2, 3, as to their position from the camp. No. 1 (Pukekakariki), from a distance, is apparently surrounded by bush, but on approaching it we found clearings and potato plantations. No. 2 (Orongomaihangai) has evidently been built as their great stronghold, being situated on the precipitous banks of the Kaihihi river, down the face of which was an ingeniously constructed path, protected by rifle pits near the edge of the river: the third (Mataiaio) being situated higher up, on the opposite side of the river. On the reconnoitring party returning to camp, a few volleys only were fired upon us, and the night passed without further disturbance, the front, flanks, and rear of the camp being protected by a double line of sentries.

*Thursday, 11th Oct.*—In compliance with the general orders issued last night, 105 men from the 40th and 65th fell-in at 6 o'clock this morning, under Capt. Shawe, of the 40th, as a guard to the working party, consisting of 27 Volunteers and Militia, 29 of the 40th, 104 of the 65th; the whole to be prepared with blankets and ready cooked provisions for remaining in the trenches for twenty-four hours. With this force, under the direction of the engineering officers, the first parallel was soon com-

pleted, and a platform, flanked on right and left by traverse lines, placed ready for the 8-inch gun. All this was effected without the slightest annoyance from the enemy. They evidently did not understand our General's intended plan of attack. In past affairs the guns had always been brought to the front at the very first. It strikes me that they this time imagined our lines to have been intended to cover the support of those who were to rush the pas, and consequently they, as in the case of the Huirangi, held back their fire until we should be close upon them, but, on the 8-inch gun making its appearance, volleys were fired in upon those engaged in raising the lines. About this time Sergeant Howatt, of the Engineers, whilst standing on the partially completed No. 1 traverse, received a bullet that entered the right thigh, passing through his body, and coming out at the left. The wound is a dangerous one. The first line was about 400 yards in length, being placed nearly parallel to the No. 1 and 2 pas; the 8-inch gun being on the extreme right, 1 24-pounder howitzer in the centre, and another one on the left, with the rocket tubes, the cohorn mortar, (by which so much execution was effected,) being situated near the 8-inch gun, between the two traverse lines.

The first volleys from the natives were answered from the rifles of the various corps acting as guards to the working parties, but it was not long ere the 24-pounders opened and threw some shell into both pas with beautiful precision. One carcass shell from the centre 24-pounder set fire to the whares in No. 2, whilst the shells burst in the mortar burst in the rifle pits passing from one channel to another. The fire from the enemy became hotter than ever, one bullet rebounding from the gun on the left, struck Capt. Pasley, R.E., in the thigh, wounding him severely. Another was received in the calf of the leg by Greaves, a drummer in the 65th. Manning,

a private in the 12th, was also slightly wounded in the knee. Whilst J. Batten, a militia man, driving the cart containing engineering materials to the traverse lines, received a wound in his arm.

The first parallel with the two traverse lines, by dint of extreme hard labor, was completed by nightfall, and during the night, which was wet and dark, the working party advanced their works by two partial approaches 60 yards. The works were continued until 11 a.m. on the Friday, when arrangements were made to rush No. 2 pa, which was effected in gallant style by the 12th, 40th, and friendly natives, and a portion of the volunteers under Lieut. Eliot, being directed to charge, taking with them bill-hooks and axes in order to clear away the palisading. The 24-pounder howitzer, having been brought to the front, and directions given that after the second shot had been fired a rush should be made on No. 1 pa, an exciting race ensued between the friendly natives and Capt. Stapp with his volunteers. It was nearly a drawn match, as the native stuck a little in endeavouring to climb the palisading, whilst our gallant Captain, followed by his men, effected an entrance at the side. The soldiers of the various corps quickly joined and commenced the work of demolition.

The third pa, on the opposite side of the river, was soon after rushed by No. 10 Company of the 65th, under Lieut. Uquhart, and friendly natives, under Mr Good, who had crossed the Kaihihi early in the morning, and likewise given to the flames. At dark last night the natives from the rifle pits, situated near the left flank of our camp, poured in upon us several volleys, in all probability this was a mere ruse to take off our attention from the pas whilst they retreated farther down the coast, as in neither pa was a Maori found. They must have left in a great hurry, finding no time to carry away either their drays, agricultural implements, or potatoes. This is the first time that the rebels have ever flown before us, leaving for their victors 6 bullock carts, 1 winnowing machine, 4 or 5 stacks of wheat, which were given to the flames, and many tons of potatoes.

Of the three pas, No. 2 or the centre one, situated on the cliff at the north side of the river, was evidently intended as the enemy's retiring stronghold. Its front presented a series of zig-zags of palisading immediately behind which rifle pits had been made, in the rear of these was a high bank protecting the huts situated on the edge of the cliff. No. 1 was nearly square and protected on all sides by rifle pits. No. 3 was a weaker fortification, but similar to the others, consisting of palisading and rifle channels.

Whilst all this was going on H.M.S.S. Cordelia anchored off our camp with despatches from Auckland *via* New Plymouth; the Lord Worsley passed up from Nelson; and H.M. colonial steam sloop Victoria from Wellington with Colonel Wyatt, Colonel of the 65th *vice* Gold, soon after communicating with the Cordelia, went on to New Plymouth returning accompanied by the Wonga Wonga, which had waited on the expedition from its first leaving town. In the afternoon Colonel Wyatt landed, and on approaching the encampment of the 65th, was received with three hearty cheers from his men.

The Wonga Wonga had returned from town with

fresh supplies, and from this circumstance I am induced to imagine that it was the General's intention to follow up the retreating enemy, but in the evening the steamer returned to town, consequently we all felt certain that on the morrow we should follow. The cause given for this alteration is that the Waikatos are coming upon us, and the prospect of having a meeting with them lessens the regret every one felt at having to leave the southern rebels for a time.

On Saturday, Oct. 13th, the camp was struck at half-past four a.m., and all in readiness to march by six. The early part of the morning was wet and dreary, but towards noon it cleared up, and turned out a pleasant day for the long march; the Volunteers acting as flank-guard, in skirmishing order through the fern and on the summit of the cliffs, until the Oakura was passed, when they fell in as rear-guard, reaching town about sundown, better satisfied with the trip than any that it has yet been their lot to take part in since Waireka.

The friendly natives, under Lieut. Good and Ensign Wills, were evidently sincere in their co-operation with the military and Volunteers. On the Thursday they were extremely active in skirmishing and burning the fern and scrub in the neighbourhood of the enemy's pas. Their assistance was found most valuable on the Wonga Wonga's boat,

with boxes of ammunition, coming to land, which they with great care soon shouldered, and bore safe to dry land, whilst others held fast to the boat, up to their necks in water, in order to prevent her being knocked to pieces against the rocks, a heavy surf at the time having set in.

We had the pleasure this time of seeing driven before us between 4 and 500 sheep, that had been stolen by the rebels.

My object in this description has not been to criticise military actions, such I leave to those better conversant with military matters; nor have I written whilst labouring under that peculiar disease termed by the ancients *cacoethes scribendi*. My great desire in describing the progress of my fellow settlers through this protracted war is to show that although we are ruined we are still willing to come forth and do our utmost, by acting in perfect obedience to the military authorities, to quell rebellion and punish aggression. In many cases, may be, I have not placed sufficient stress upon the deserved bravery of the individual military corps. If they feel this, let them bear in mind that this pleasing duty lies with others, and that bravery and good conduct will not pass unrecognised or unrewarded. We alone can cultivate self-esteem by feeling that we do our duties to the utmost. W. I. G.

Alexander wrote:

It was in the beginning of October then, the finest time for military operations, clear and cool, and the ground drying up, that the expedition to the Kaihihi was undertaken by General Pratt. Its object was to attack three strong pahs named Puketakiriki, Orongomahangai and Mataiaio, held by the insurgent Maories of the Taranaki tribe, who had been so active in the work of devastation. Two of these pahs were on the right, and one on the left bank of the Kaihihi river, and eighteen miles from New Plymouth.

The strength of the expedition was 1,043 rank and file. Captain Stroker commanded the Royal Artillery, Colonel Mould the Royal Engineers, Major Hutchins the detachment, 12th Regiment; Captain Hare, the detachment, 40th Regiment; Captain Strange, the detachment, 65th Regiment; Captain Beauchamp Seymour, the Naval Brigade; the Militia were under Captain and Adjutant Stapp; the Mounted Escort under Captain Desvoeux, and one hundred and fifty friendly natives under Mr. Parris. With bullock drivers and servants the force looked formidable; and the guns consisted of one 68-pounder, and three 24lb. howitzers; fifty carts were laden with ammunition, camp equipage, and baggage; the steamer "Wonga Wonga" also going down the coast with spare ammunition.

The march to the south, through a very difficult country for wheels, was facilitated materially by the Royal Engineers, who preceded the column, levelled and filled up inequalities in the road, repaired bridges and worked most effectually. The first camp on the 9th October was at the Timaru river, Tataramaika; next day the tents were struck at half-past four, A.M., and the friendly natives were moved to the front as a reconnoitring party. The country consisted of table-land intersected with wooded gullies, and on the sea-shore lofty cliffs.

By eight o'clock on the morning of the 10th October, the force had arrived within three quarters of a mile of the pahs, and the camp was pitched and intrenchments thrown up for its defence. The approaches to the pahs were next reconnoitred. The party which proceeded to the left found high fern and a gully impracticable for artillery, and it was fired upon from rifle pits in the bush; the fire was returned. The right party found open ground near the pahs.

General Pratt had arranged with Colonel Mould, Royal Engineers, second in command, to approach these pahs with a sap, to avoid the loss of life which resulted from a different course adopted in former wars. Accordingly at six A.M. on the 11th, a working party of two hundred and fifty-eight officers and men, carrying tools and gabions, and covered by a guard of one hundred and sixty-one officers and men, advanced in extended order, and with the necessary supports, to cover the working party, which commenced to throw up a parallel within two hundred and fifty yards of the Orongomahangai pah. This was done without interruption from the natives, who seemed at a loss what to make of the operations. At nine o'clock the guns were sent from the camp. At eleven the enemy commenced a heavy fire, and at twelve the guns replied to it. The pah was covered with green flax, and the shot seemed to make little impression on it.

A fire from the enemy in the bush on the left front of the parallel occasioned some casualties. At night-fall the firing ceased on both sides, the parallel was perfected and traverses made for the protection of the guns. At six P.M. the day working party was relieved by seventy-five men, with a detachment of Royal Engineers, the whole in charge of Captain Mould, R.E., who commenced a sap towards the pah and which was continued during the night. At six o'clock next morning the flying sap was rapidly pushed ahead and widened, and defiladed under cover of a mantlette or screen, (a bullet proof blind between two wheels.) A strong skirmishing party was now also moved up, and a howitzer advanced to play on an angle of the pah, and a bag of powder was prepared to blow up part of the stockade, when after a shell and a charge of cannister had been thrown into a small breach which had been made in the palisading, the assaulting party moved up, and the enemy not relishing this mode of attack, evacuated the pah which was immediately taken possession of.

The pah was found to be very strong with rifle pits and covered passages, there was plenty of potatoes inside which the troops made use of. The General, with Colonel Carey, Dep.-Adj.-Gen. now crossed the river and directed Mataiaio to be attacked, which was rushed with fifty men of the 65th and some friendly natives, and was abandoned by the enemy.

An advance with infantry and guns was now made on Puketakariki which was placed on an eminence about three hundred yards from the first pah, a few shells were thrown into it, and the pah was entered and found evacuated; the pah was strong and also full of potatoes.

Between the first and second pah the enemy had formed a line of rifle pits, thinking that the troops would advance in that way; if they had and the sap had not been made, a heavy loss of life must have been the consequence. The pah was covered with green flax, impenetrable to musketry and even offering resistance to round shot.

At Mataiaio was an under-ground hospital for the wounded from the first pah, and many bloody evidences were observed of the enemy's loss. Between the first and second pah the rifle pits were most skilfully contrived, and long ropes of flax from them enabled the defenders to swing over the precipice to the bed of the Kaihihi, and thus escape.

These pahs had the usual two rows of palisading; Orongomahangai had also behind its interior, rifle pits, a mound of earth seemingly of some former pah, as there were trees on it. The projectiles produced small effect on the stockade, bar shot might produce a better effect than spherical balls, and if fired in the prolongation of a face; but howitzers are useful to search rifle pits, if used with small charges and good elevation.

It was Colonel Mould's opinion that similar strong positions, which cannot be completely invested, and from which there are means of escape, inaccessible to troops, may hold out for a limited time



and be evacuated before matters come to an extremity, but that pahs in an open country will be invariably left on the approach of a hostile British force.

The natives must have seen, from the nature of the operations at the Kaihihi river, that it was impossible to hold out against a systemized attack, and thus the attack on these positions had a wholesome effect.

The conduct of the troops of all arms was excellent, the Royal Navy, Regulars, and Militia vying with each other in the field and the trenches. The field-officers in the trenches, Lieutenant-Colonel Sillery, Deputy-quarter-master-general, and Major Hutchins, 12th regiment, took a most active and untiring part in the operations, both in respect of judiciously posting the guards of the trenches, and urging on the working parties.

Among the casualties were Captain Pasley, R. E. severely wounded, also an excellent soldier, Sergeant Howell, R.E. From some dispatches received by General Pratt from the Governor, relating to a threatened attack on Auckland, he marched back to New Plymouth, the force having had four days of very hard work.

*Incidents of the Maori War Alexander pp 205-211*

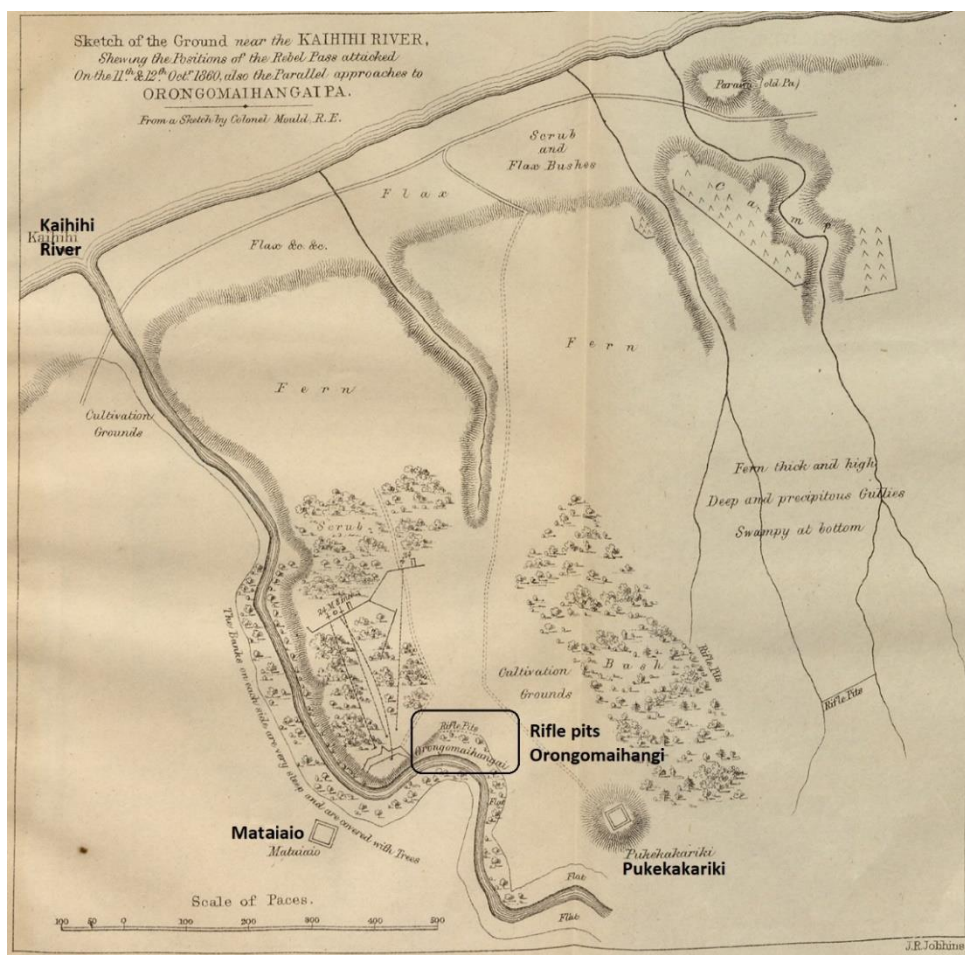


Plate from  
*The War in New Zealand*

C. Pasley 1863

Colonel Mould  
(who made this  
plate) served at the  
time under  
General Pratt.



**Thomas Mould** advocated sapping and directed the Army's first successful use of the tactic here, on 11 October 1860 at Orongomaihangai. Mould himself was wounded in this affray (*The War in Taranaki 1860-61* Grayling p 43).

Pratt used sapping to considerable effect the following year, at Te Arei in the north of New Plymouth.

## APPENDIX 5 An attempt to locate “Burton’s Hill” in 2020



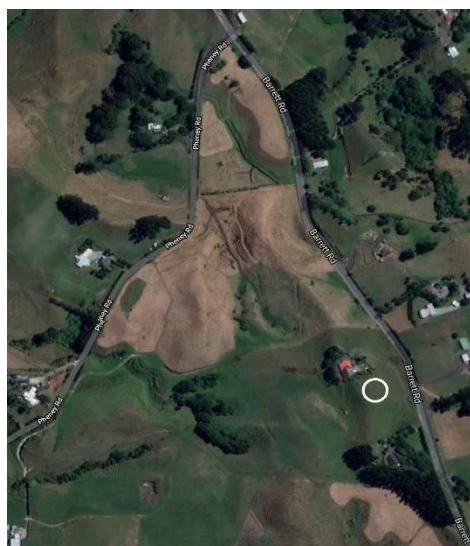
Cropped from an early cadastral map (Len Jury collection) showing old surveyed routes which approximate to today's roads. Marked in colours:  
**Hurford Rd.** (blue),  
**Sealy Rd.** (yellow),  
**Barrett Rd.** (red),  
**Frankley Rd.** (green)  
**Weston Rd.** (purple)  
**Pheney Rd.** (white)



An enlargement shows the block allocated to G. R. Burton.

Within the triangle comprised of Weston Rd., Pheney Rd. and Barrett Rd., a surveyor's mark, in the form of a circle, is marked on this map, just inside the bend on Barrett Rd.

This tiny circle is thought to be “Burton’s Hill”, the highest point on the ridge.

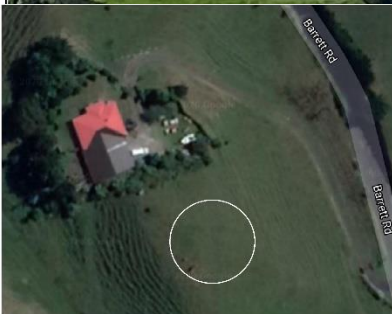


An enlarged “Google Map” also shows these early roads and survey lines, which were drawn on the old cadastral map. These old survey lines enable us to locate the position fairly accurately.

It remains merely to shift the enlarged Google map to satellite mode, and confirm the location. Today Weston Rd. has become part of Pheney Rd., and the bottom side of the triangle (what used to be the start of Pheney Rd) has now gone.

Barrett Rd. seems to have been straightened a little, and there are some road cuttings in this area which may have slightly altered its course.





### Burton's Hill

Photo Len Jury

From the peak of Burton's Hill to the sea  
Is a distance of approximately 4.5 km



And standing on Jury's Hill,  
it is possible, with a telescope,  
to look back  
and discern Barrett Rd. and Burton's Hill.



(telescopic photo Jim Tucker)

The distance from the top of Jury's Hill to Burton's Hill is about 3 km.



## 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 place as that occupied by the central party we mentioned last week. Some time elapsed before particulars of the murder reached town, and we gathered the following, which we believe to be reliable:—A party of the commissariat Transport Corps, with two drays and twelve bullocks, with supplies, were on their way to Tataraimaka, and having crossed the Oakura river heard the report of a volley of small arms, and saw

the smoke of the pieces some half a mile before them. They saw that a party of soldiers and two horsemen (who proved to be officers) were attacked and saw some of them fall, when they immediately abandoned their carts and hastened back to the Poutoko and gave information of what they had seen. Captain Shortt, with a party of 30 men only from the Redoubt at Poutoko, were the first to arrive at the spot, followed shortly afterwards by Colonel Warre, and it was their mournful task to gather the bodies of the following officers and men savagely murdered:—

Asst. Surgeon W. A. Hope, M.B.	
Lieut. T. H. Tragett, 57th Regt.,	
Color-Sergeant Samuel Ellers, 57th Regt.	
Sergeant Samuel Hill,	"
Private Edward Kelly,	"
" John Flynn,	"
" Bartholomew Macarthy,	"
" Wm. Banks,	"

They were on their way, on military duty, to town from Tataraimaka, and apparently had been shot down without a moment's notice. The bodies were all horribly mutilated, and those of the officers stripped of nearly all their clothes. One of the drays was found where the escort had left it, but the other had been driven off, which contained a quantity of flour, potatoes, and groceries. The other dray was subsequently seen being driven up to Kaitake, on the spur of the ranges. Dr. Hope's horse had galloped towards town and was caught by the escort. This fearful tragedy cast a deep gloom over the whole settlement. Dr. Hope was rising in his profession, and had only lately received a staff appointment. Lieut. Tragett was a B.A., and the only son, we believe, of the Rev. T. H. Tragett, of Romsey, Hampshire, England. This gentleman was a great favorite in his regiment, and his untimely and fearful end is deeply and poignantly felt by his brother officers. The two sergeants and the privates were good and gallant men, and their loss will be no less felt by their comrades; one who knew them well said—"There were not six better men in the regiment." Sergeant Ellers was the senior Color Sergeant in the regiment, and Kelly had five medals. Precautions were immediately taken

in town for the safety of its inhabitants. The alarm guns were fired from Marsland Hill, and messengers were despatched into the country to bring into town all who were out on their farms and at work in the bush. A *Gazette* was published calling out the Militia for actual service, and warning people not to go beyond the Omata Stockade. At night-fall 200 Volunteers and Militia were told off for duty at the blockhouses and for patrols, and at 7 p.m. were marched off to their respective posts. The military in garrison were marched off for particular service, and the Mounted Artillery Corps told off for duty during the night. His Excellency the Governor and the General returned to town in the afternoon; and late in the evening the bodies of the murdered men arrived, and were conveyed to the hospital.

*Tuesday, 5th May.*—Military movements have been made to-day at the Poutoko redoubt, and the troops have marched to Oa-kura and taken up a position on native land, where they are constructing a redoubt. No natives have been seen. An inquest on the bodies sat to-day, at the Military Hospital, and, after hearing the evidence of several witnesses, adjourned to Thursday next, when evidence from Tataraimaka of some who are supposed to have escaped back to the camp will be heard. No communication has been had with Tataraimaka. A few people have been permitted to-day to view the bodies of the murdered men, which present a most horrible spectacle. The following is a description of the wounds given by Dr. Mackinnon, the medical witness on the inquest:—

Staff-Assistant Surgeon W. A. HOPE, M.B.,  
Gunshot wound through right shoulder, penetrating both lungs as far back as left side near the spine, where ball remains under skin; tomahawk cut over left side of head, and deep spear wound through face and upper jaw.

Lieut. T. H. TRAGETT, 57th Regt.—Gunshot wound through right side of chest, bullet found under body this morning; gunshot wound through left thigh—no other wound.

Color-Sergeant SAMUEL ELLERS, 57th Regt.—shot through head and speared through abdomen.

Sergeant SAMUEL HILL, 57th Regt.—gun-

shot wound through right side of abdomen, both arms smashed by bullets, ball through head, the integuments of right side of same all burnt by powder, the muzzle of gun must have been held close to the part; head tomahawked and speared through as well.

Private EDWARD KELLY, 57th Regt.—Shot through both thighs and abdomen; head gashed completely open in front and behind by tomahawk; another deep tomahawk cut across left hand at wrist.

Private BARTHOLOMEW MCCARTHY, 57th Regt.—Shot through right hip, two tomahawk cuts over forehead; back of right side of head speared.

Private JOHN FLYNN, 57th Regt.—Shot through right arm and same side of chest, and through left forearm and thigh, and gunshot wound on right side of head, penetrating brain; musket must have been held close to head.

Private WILLIAM BANKS, 57th Regt.—Shot through right knee and left thigh; four terrible tomahawk cuts through back and right side of head; index finger of right hand all but severed, as also middle one, by tomahawk; the man has evidently raised his hand to protect his head.

Mr. Tragett must have died instantly, but Dr. Hope, from the appearance of his countenance, struggled hard with his brutal assailants. There is no doubt that all were shot down by the first volley, and those who were not killed outright were at once dispatched with the tomahawk or its spearhandle. Several natives from the North in town to-day. Mr Tragett's horse was so badly hurt, his leg being broken by a bullet, he was shot. The natives account for the murders of yesterday, that the Southern natives having found that Waireka and Tataraimaka have been occupied by the troops in spite of their word that it should not be, and having waited in vain for signs from the tribes, and being *whakama* (ashamed), determined to begin themselves and endeavour to bring about a war in that manner. It is said, however, that the bulk of the natives will consider their proceeding a *kohuru*, i.e., murder, and will not assist them, which remains to be

seen. The families outside the town have come into town to-day, and the Bell Block settlers moving into the stockade. The entire white population are now within the line of blockhouses.

*Wednesday, 6th May.*—This morning at 10 o'clock the Militia and Volunteers paraded on Poverty-square for inspection by Major-General Cameron. He addressed them as follows:—"I have called you together to-day to express to you my gratification in having you under my command. I feel quite sure you will do your duty as soldiers and be obedient to orders. The number of men required for the blockhouses and patrols has made the duty severe; but I hope shortly to have reinforcements, when your present press of duty will be lessened. I see that some of you will want some drill, and you will have to attend parades pretty often in order that you may become efficient men in the field." There was a good muster of the Militia and Volunteers, and arms and ammunition were served out to those who were not supplied with them. The duties for the night having been told off, the men were dismissed. No news from Tataraimaka. A native in a red coat and a gun with a bayonet fixed (no doubt one of the rifles taken from the murdered men) is to be seen daily on guard at Kaitake on the spur of the ranges. Two muskets were fired last night between the Poutoko and the redoubt at Oakura, no doubt from prowling natives. The Abeona, from Raglan arrived to-day. The captain reports that the Upper Waikatos had driven off all the Europeans, had taken all the native women and half-caste children living with Europeans, and that 600 Waikatos had left for Taranaki, after expressing their intention to fight and slaughter immediately on their arrival in Taranaki. Immediately this was known, a deputation of settlers waited on the Native Minister, Mr Bell, who asked him if it was true that the Government intended to take into their confidence those natives who have been hitherto in arms against us, such as Tamihana and others, and urged the Government to forbid all intercourse with the natives within the lines, thus preventing any treachery and the spread of information to the enemy. Mr Bell informed the deputation that he would see his colleagues on the subject, and requested them to see him again shortly.

*Thursday, 7th May.*—The funeral of the murdered officers and men took place this morning. At 10.15 o'clock the procession moved from the Military Hospital, attended by all the military and inhabitants of New Plymouth who could possibly be present. The bodies of the officers were carried on two Armstrong guns, drawn by 8 horses, the colors of the 57th regt. covering their coffins. The bodies of the sergeants and privates were also carried on two gun carriages drawn by horses, and the firing party consisted of 50 men under Lieut. Waller, 57th Regt. The officers of the 57th Regt. followed immediately behind the bodies of their late brother officers, and the Brethren of the Mount Egmont Lodge of Freemasons, who attended to pay their last tribute of respect to their late Brother Tragett. The bodies of the men were next in procession, followed by the widow and family of Flynn, and several women of the Regt.; these were followed by His Excellency the Governor and staff, the General and staff, and the officers of the different regts. The Artillery Corps, the Royal Engineers, the men of the 57th, 65th,

and 70th Regts., the Militia and Volunteers, with their officers, and several gentlemen of the public departments, made up the line of the procession. The Band of the 57th, who for the purpose of attending were relieved from duty at the outposts, played the solemn and affecting strains of the Dead March in

Saul. On arriving at St. Mary's Church, the bodies of the officers and three of the men (Protestants) were conveyed into the church (the five coffins placed down the aisle) where the Burial Service was read by Archdeacon Govett, assisted by the Rev. H. H. Brown. They were then carried to their last resting place, at the foot of the graves of Capt. Strange, 65th Regt., Lieut. Jackson, 40th Regt., and Lieut. McNaughten, R.A., who were killed during the war in 1860-61, and all laid side by side in one grave. The usual salute was fired over the grave, and the procession moved on to the Public Cemetery at the Henui, where the three remaining bodies were buried in one grave by the Rev. Father Pertius. It was altogether a most imposing and solemn ceremony, and one which will be long remembered by those who witnessed it. All the places of business in



the town were closed, and the flags at Marsland Hill, Mount Eliot, and on board of H.M. S.S. Eclipse (which arrived early this morning from Manukau) were half mast high.—Information has been received from Tataraimaka, we believe by signals, that ten men comprised the party attacked on Monday, and that one man, named F. Kelly, had arrived in camp slightly wounded in the hip, who escaped by a miracle. Another man named Rae, a corporal, is missing, and it is believed he was badly wounded and crept away into the bush and has died, or been found and despatched by the natives. We also hear that the men all had their rifles excepting Private Banks, and each had 40 rounds of ammunition—these are all in the hands of their murderers. We are also informed that the natives have been reinforced and are building a pa at Kaitake and digging rifle pits. An attempt was made last night to shoot a sentry at Oakura, but the natives failed in their attempt. The Eclipse left for Manukau at noon, under steam and sail, and is to return immediately with reinforcements. The evidence of the wounded man Kelly has been received by telegram from Tataraimaka, and we hope to procure it in time to publish it in this issue. The coroner's inquest has not terminated.

*Friday, 8th May.*—We have by way of Mataitawa intelligence received there on the day of the massacre, that the natives concerned in it were of the Patukai (Warea) and Upokomutu hapus of the Taranaki tribe—the very same as were concerned in the ambush we reported last week.—We received this morning the following

STATEMENT OF THE SURVIVOR BY TELEGRAM  
FROM TATARAIMAKA.

Private F. Kelly stated—I was one of the escort that left Tataraimaka. When we got to the Wairau stream we were fired at from the scrub about 20 yards from us. Dr Hope and Sergeants Ellers and Hill fell. Returned fire and extended. We were then surrounded by about thirty maories. At last only three of us left alive. Went to the sand hill with a flag of truce. No notice taken of it—came back—found Mr Tragett dead and Private E. Kelly badly wounded. Retired firing—followed some distance by the maoris—hid, and was picked up by the party from Tataraimaka.

*Taranaki Herald 9 May 1863 Journal of Events*

Following is a reprint of the Coroner's Inquest.

Empanelled on the jury were **Arthur Atkinson** and **F. U. Gledhill**, who we have already met.

**W. S. Atkinson**, an elder brother of Arthur and Harry Atkinson, Crown Agent and fluent in te reo Māori, appeared at the inquest as an interpreter.  
(He had emigrated to New Plymouth a few years before Harry and Arthur.)

**Rōpata Ngārongomate**, (sometimes known as "Bob Erangi") was a "friendly" chief, from nearby Poutoko Pa, and the brother-in-law of Wellington Carrington. He was one of the witnesses

**Wellington Carrington** was another witness. He lived at nearby Tapuae.

Carrington was one of New Zealand's earliest settlers, an early surveyor of New Plymouth, fluent in Māori language, and at the time attached to the Native Office.

**Hōne Wētere** was referred to at the inquest, as an informant.

Otherwise known as Takerei Te Rerenga, Wētere was a Ngāti Maniapoto chief located at Mōkau, master of the coastal trading vessel *Paraninihi* which at that time regularly brought supplies to New Plymouth.

(On a number of occasions Wētere also brought military intelligence regarding the Māori forces.)

Wētere later changed sides, joined the Hauhau movement and was leader of the taua which, in 1869, wiped out the garrison at Pukearuhe (Whitecliffs) and took the life of Rev. Whiteley.

(Along with Te Kooti and others, Wētere was later granted a pardon, by Act of Parliament - and in return, these chiefs granted what the government wanted: railway access through the King Country).

## CORONER'S INQUEST ON THE BODIES OF THE OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS MURDERED BY THE NATIVES.

THE proceedings were opened at the Military Hospital, Marsland Hill, on Tuesday, 5th May, before J. Flight, Esq., J.P., Coroner. The following gentlemen were sworn in as a jury:—Mr. F. U. Gledhill, foreman; Messrs. W. M. Burton, F. Windsor, A. S. Atkinson, J. Knight, W. K. Hulke, B. Middleton, H. Wright, J. Pearce, R. Pitcairn, W. Bayly, J. Colesby. Mr. Fenton watched the case on behalf of the Crown during the first day.

The proceedings began in the usual way by viewing the bodies—a most painful and ghastly sight.

The first witness examined was James Hill, Hospital Sergeant, (brother of one of the deceased) who identified all of the bodies. Dr. Mackinnon was then called and gave a description of the wounds which each had received and from which they died (which description we have already given). He also stated that Asst. Surgeon Hope was coming up to see him partly on matters connected with the health of the troops, and partly on private business.

W. BIRKENSHAW sworn: I am corporal in Transport Corps. Knew Sergeant Eilers perfectly well; knew Private Kelly. I was in charge of the transport carts yesterday; they were going from Poutoko to Tataraimaka. I had four drivers with me; had two carts in my charge; was not in charge of the escort; was on the beach about a mile beyond the river Oakura, when I saw an escort of soldiers coming towards me and two mounted men; could not tell whether they were officers or not; they were about 800 yards from me; heard a volley fired from the bank; saw the splash of the balls in the water; they came from inland of where our men were; immediately afterwards saw two soldiers lying wounded or dead on the beach. Ordered my drays to turn round towards home, and I say fairly retired leaving the

two drays; there were six bullocks to each dray; six bullocks and a dray were taken by the natives and one was left. I did not see the natives take them, but they were gone; we came back and was told the natives had taken them. The dray taken contained five bags (10 cwt.) flour, one sack potatoes, and some small cases containing spirits. I could not see whether the other party were armed; our escort was armed. I saw a native on the beach, who fired at me at 30 yards distance; saw other natives on the beach who massacred the other party—I suppose 30 or 40. We did not commit any act of hostility against the natives who fired at me, nor spoke to him; we did not return his fire; I am positive no gun was fired previous to the volley I mentioned. There was now a good fire kept up for, as near as I could judge, ten minutes by the natives who first fired; saw those natives when they came down unto the beach; one of them raised and dropped a dirty blanket apparently as a signal. Before the firing had ceased at the other party, a native fired at me from behind a grey horse. Left Poutoko about 8 o'clock; the escort consisted of four men and a corporal; am certain the escort guns were loaded; there were two drivers to each dray, and I was in charge, making ten in all; was acting under general instructions to go to Tataraimaka; was to take charge of the drays, and to take my arms, accoutrements and ammunition; was not told to load; took it on myself to load when I was attacked; had received no caution either that day or previously; it is only recently that the transport had an escort: was told by Major Logan about six days previous never to come that road without an escort. The horse from behind which I was fired at was a horse without a rider. Was told to have an escort, I consider as a defence against natives, not to help me over the rivers, as I do not want help. Had not warning that an attack was intended; am positive the man who fired at me was a native; did not return the fire because I had no orders, but if it had come to close quarters I should have fired. I sent the four drivers back from the redoubt to fetch the bodies but did not go myself; one driver (Hartigan) stayed behind; I was on the beach.



By Mr. Fenton: The only road is on the beach. I sometimes go above high water mark and sometimes below it according to the tide. Only saw two men in red coats fall; I had seen them before I saw the escort meeting us. There is a little bend in the beach by a little stream, there I heard a volley, and said to Corporal Steen 'there is something up.' He said it is only the escort discharging their pieces. I ran to the right towards the water and saw two soldiers in red coats lying on the beach apparently dead or wounded; the firing was still going on. I saw no more until I saw the natives in the scrub about 100 or 150 yards off the bodies; the soldiers were lying on the road I usually travel on. I could not say whether they returned the fire; I am sure the two men were not lying on the road before the firing.

STEPHEN HARTIGAN sworn: I am a private in the commissariat Transport Corps. I was one of the drivers on Monday last of two drays conveying provisions from Poutoko to Tataraimaka. There were two corporals and four men in our party. One corporal had a pass. After leaving Poutoko I crossed two rivers and then got on to the strand. We saw an escort coming towards us after we had passed the second river about 200 yards. When we were within 900 yards of each other I heard a volley, in about half a second a second volley. 'I saw the men falling. I saw smoke coming out of the bush; the smoke was from the bush and not from any pieces on the beach. After we had turned the bullocks one man fired on us; it was about four or five minutes after the first volley was fired that we were fired on, and I saw the bullet fly into the water, the smoke came near to my cart. I crossed the Oakura river and laid by in the flax bushes; I also crept down on the sand whilst there. Saw about 40 or 50 natives in the bush and about near it. Saw a native drive away the bullocks and one dray. Saw natives moving about in the bush armed with firearms; they were naked to the waist in the bush by the Oakura; the natives were scattered about one here and one there; I could not see two together. Met Capt. Shortt's party and went back with them to where the bodies lay;

there were eight—some stripped, some dressed, some with even their socks and boots taken off. Saw three clasps, but the medals were torn away; the bodies were lying on the strand about eight or nine yards from the scrub; helped to put them in the cart; came back with the cart to St. Patrick's redoubt. There was a skirmishing party of natives on the top of the cliff to protect the man who drove away the cart that was taken.

TIMOTHY DONOVAN sworn: I am a private in the commissariat Transport Corps. I was with S. Hartigan on Monday last; was the leading man driving the leading team; saw an escort coming towards us; heard a volley fired, then went to the right, when I could see some of the men coming towards us fall; saw one on a grey horse fall off and then staggered four or five paces; and I then saw 20 or 30 natives come down and attack him; they were naked with the exception of something round the middle; there appeared to be about 100 men in all; can swear that they were Maoris; I believe there were from 200 to 300 men; saw them striking as with long handled tomahawks.

ROBERT PARRIS sworn said: I am Asst. Native Secretary. I know nothing myself of the death of the parties before mentioned. I was at Poutoko pa on Monday, 27th April. As I was leaving town I saw Mr. Fleming, who accompanied or followed me, so far as I remember, to Poutoko. On arriving at the redoubt he asked me whether it was safe for him to proceed to Tataraimaka. I told him, from a report I had heard on the previous day, I was afraid it was not safe. I don't remember that I cautioned any other person that day. I have answered on my oath. The report that I alluded to was that the natives had threatened to do something, but what I could not exactly say; they had threatened to commence hostilities. To native reports a good deal of uncertainty always attaches; but at the moment in question I considered it my duty to go to the district on account of that report. I went of my own accord; I was not requested to do so. On account of the reports I had heard I could not at all tell what was likely to take place. I thought it possible that hostilities might

commence that day as it had been threatened by reports I had received. I could not tell how they would commence. It was quite possible that they might commence hostilities by murdering Mr. Fleming. I did think the natives might commence hostilities by murdering Mr. Fleming if he went on to Tataraimaka. Whilst I was at the Poutoko looking towards the beach opposite Wairau in company with Capt. Greaves we saw some one riding on horseback along the beach coming towards the Poutoko, which proved to be Wm. Newland. When he arrived at the Poutoko, I asked him if he had seen any natives. He replied yes; I saw five or six at Wairau. I asked him if they had interfered with him or said anything to him. He replied they said "*tena koe*," that was all. I don't remember any further conversation with Wm. Newland on the day in question, or further seeing him. I don't remember making any remark to him of the danger he had escaped on the day in question. A day or two afterwards I said to Wm. Newland in the town: I think you had a very narrow escape of your life; we have heard that ambuscades had been planted early in the morning, and that they had retired to the ranges a short time before you came up. When I used the word 'we' I spoke of persons generally in the town.

By Mr. Atkinson: Did you communicate to any member of his Excellency's Government the information upon which you thought it your duty to go down to the Poutoko on the 27th April, cautioning persons not to go on to Tataraimaka?—I decline answering that question. It is my duty to state to the jury that I am directed by the Government not to answer any questions respecting any communications with the Government.

By Mr. Gledhill: Do you know whether the authorities had been informed of the intention of the natives to murder any persons passing to Tataraimaka?—I decline to answer that question.

Examination continued: I was not aware directly or indirectly on the morning in question whether there were ambuscades lying. Taranaki and Ngatiruanui natives have been in arms against the Government during the last war. I don't know that terms of peace have been offered to these

natives and that they have accepted them. I am not aware that any other terms have been offered to them but those offered by Colonel Browne himself. I am not aware that they were accepted. I am not aware that any proclamation of peace has been made since the outbreak in 1860. On Sunday, 26th April, I received two letters from Waitara, from Teira and Ihaia, stating they had heard a report that the Southern natives intended commencing hostilities on the following day (Monday); they told me that they were informed by Hone Wetere on the Saturday as they were returning from town, and requested me, should I hear anything further about it, to let them know early on the following morning. I received the letter between 1 and 2 o'clock; I went immediately to the Henui to look for Hone Wetere to inquire if he thought it was correct that he had stated to the Waitara natives the previous day that hostilities would commence on the Monday following. He stated that it was correct that he had heard the report. I went to Waitara the same evening (Sunday); in consequence of that report I went to the Poutoko on the following morning.

ROPATA NGARONGOMATE, on his oath, said as follows—(W. S. Atkinson interpreting): I am a native of Poutoko. On the morning of Monday last I wished to come to town. Monday, 4th May, I got on my horse. The young man named Heretini came. He said "the carts belonging to the Europeans had been stopped. I asked him where had they been stopped? He replied "At Wairau." I asked, did you actually see it? "It was the soldiers who turned me back; I met them at the Kahakaha." I asked him what did you go for? He said, 'to fetch the horse.' I did not get the horse because the soldiers stopped me, and I came back to bring the news to you." I then came on to the camp at this side of the Poutoko. I did not see the commanding officer. I saw an officer of inferior rank (Picot). I said to him be quick and inform the commander that the carts had been stopped. He asked me are they really stopped. I replied yes, the young man tells me so, and the soldiers are coming back. I knew nothing of the deaths of these persons. All I know was that three ambuscades were planted the week before at Oao,

at Wairau, and at Kahakaha. I am in the habit of giving information to the Native Department. I did give information of those three ambuscades to Mr. Parris and Mr. Bell. I gave that information to them on Monday week last. The reason for planting ambuscades is to commit murder. I knew nothing of the ambuscade planted on Monday last—that is, the one where these white people were killed. In answer to my report to Mr. Bell and Mr. Parris, Mr. Bell said nothing, and Mr. Parris said ‘that is correct, be careful.’ I then said to Mr. Parris, ‘be exceedingly cautious.’ Mr. Bell was not present when I told Mr. Parris to be exceedingly cautious. The natives that formed the ambuscade I gave notice of, to the best of my belief, belong to the Taranakis and Ngatiruanuis. There are no persons living at the place where the men were killed. A little beyond the place where the pakehas were killed there are two whares belonging to Taituha. I can’t say whether any persons were living there on Monday last. To the best of my belief Taituha and others belonging to the whares before mentioned were mixed up with the former ambush and also the latter one by which the men were killed. I do not know of my own knowledge the numbers that were in the first and latter ambuscade.

CHARLES BROWN: I am Superintendent of this Province. I had communicated with the General Government on the state of this Province with regard to danger from the natives. Last Sunday week (April 26), on account of the reports I had heard and which I believed to be well founded, I wrote to the honble. the Colonial Secretary that reports were in circulation to the effect that the natives intended to resume hostilities the following day, and that as I had no means of ascertaining the truth of these reports, I felt it my duty to ask him to give me the earliest intimation when it would be necessary to inform the out-lying settlers and road parties to come in. I have received no answer since that communication beyond a general authority within the last two days to engage any accommodation that might be necessary for families coming into town. Prior to that, I rode out last Monday week to warn privately the Mangorei settlers that I did not believe

it would be safe for them to remain there; that I had applied for an official intimation of when it might be unsafe for them, but the official reply might arrive too late to be of any service to them. At the same time the out-lying road parties of Europeans and Natives at work on the site of the proposed German settlement some miles inland were warned in without my knowledge by a native messenger sent by the natives, and were met on their way to town by Captain Stapp whom I had sent to warn them; that road party started again last Monday and were again brought in: the men were willing to go, and therefore they went, both natives and Europeans; they were permitted to go by me, I did not order them. I had received no official communication warning me not to send them. I have received no official information that the proclamation of martial law made in the Province in the month of February or March 1860 has been revoked. I did receive a communication from the Governor about six weeks ago informing me that on the Provincial Government passing a certain law, a proclamation revoking martial law would be issued—a step which his Excellency considered highly desirable. Such a law has been passed and transmitted to the General Government about a fortnight ago, but no proclamation revoking martial law has been issued. I believe the title of

the Ordinance to be the Appropriation of Military Sites Ordinance. I can state that I have been for years on very good terms with the Ngatiruanui natives, and about a month ago I received a second message from that tribe, that what cattle of mine they had seized should be returned as soon as existing difficulties were settled. I then proposed to visit the tribe by the mountain road, when after some hesitation the messenger told me that until existing difficulties were settled it would not be safe for me to do so. I made this statement to his Excellency a day or two after it occurred. His Excellency remarked the natives had a custom of balancing an outstanding account by killing any man who came in their way. I said I had no wish to balance the account in that way.

FLORENCE KELLY sworn: I am a private in the 57th Regt. On Monday morning 4th May left Tataraimaka in company with the



deceased—Color-Sergt. Ellers was in command, Sergeant. Hill was to give evidence against Wm. Banks, a prisoner, who was coming into town to be tried by a court-martial; there were four privates No. 7 and myself of No. 1. Dr. Hope and Lieut. Tragett overtook us on the road and got ahead of us for a good start. They proceeded on the beach and we followed about 200 yards behind, and then they went very slowly and we came up with them gradually until we came within about 30 yards of them; they made a dead halt at a stream. We then came up to within about five yards of them, and presently there was a shot fired from the bank; the shot came from behind a bunch of fern. I looked round on the occasion, Sergt. Ellers and Sergt. Hill were then in rear of me; asked Sergt. Ellers if his firelock had went off accidentally; he told me it had not. The question was hardly asked and answered when a second shot was repeated, at which Sergt. Ellers fell prostrate on the ground. I then knew that as none of our own had went off, it must be Maoris, so I capped my own and fired in the direction I saw the shot fired that killed Sergt. Ellers. The next thing I perceived was Sergt. Hill lying prostrate on the ground too. After the second shot was fired there was a succession of shots from the Maoris. I then looked to my left and perceived Dr. Hope lying also prostrate in the stream. On that occasion Lieut. Tragett dismounted his horse and joined the party which was firing. Private Ryan No. 7 company went a few paces to the front and then to the rear again and sang out 'murder.' I then told him to cease crying, or words to that effect, and to commence firing at the Maoris, which he done. I turned round and saw Private Flynn doing nothing; asked him why he did not load and fire: he told me he was not able—his left arm was broke by a shot. I then told Lieut. Tragett to take Private Flinn's accoutrements and firelock and commence firing; he had no arms himself hadn't Lieut. Tragett. There was one man who I lost sight of—I knew he was there—told me nothing about it, whether he was dead or wounded. Private Banks was lying on the ground apparently wounded in the breast. He pointed out to me several times whilst he was lying on the ground the

Maori that was keeping up the constant fire. At that time there were only three apparently living, including myself. Lieut. Tragett was wounded in the left arm: he gave me the handkerchief which he held round his wound; I put it on top of my bayonet as a flag of truce—Private Kelly doing the same with my handkerchief; we had flags of truce flying for about ten seconds under the fire of the Maoris; they appeared to take no notice of the flag, on which Private Kelly and I knelt down again and commenced firing. I looked round then and perceived Lieut. Tragett lying also on the ground, apparently dead. Lieut. Tragett asked me before he did die what we should do. I told him it was best for us to retire while there were yet three of us living. He answered he could not retire and leave the wounded on the beach. I told him it was useless in us remaining to protect them—that our lives would only be sacrificed too; when I see he was not inclined to retire I also remained and abided my fate. After the death of Private Kelly, did not fire any more, but said it was useless firing any more. When the flags of truce were hoisted, the Maoris taking no notice of our flags, I commenced firing again. Private Kelly checked me for doing so, and said I should not fire while a flag of truce was up. I told him it was useless holding up a flag of truce and no attention paid to it. After firing a short time myself, Private Kelly got a second wound which he sank under. When I see the last man dead but myself I thought I would make some desperate effort to save my own life. While loading my firelock a Maori stooped over the edge of the sand hill and was taking away Sergt. Hill's firelock I think it was. I was then loaded and capped; I fired at the Maori and shot him; two other Maoris took away the man I shot down, on which occasion I took up my firelock and bayonet and ran to the rear, closely followed by the Maoris; they were yelling and shouting after me and firing, on which I turned round to fire and perceived a number of Maoris, about 20, on the beach over the dead and 10 or 11 following me. I threw off my pouch-belts, took ten rounds of ammunition out of it and then threw the pouch and belt into the sea. I also took off my haversack, waist belt and

small pouch and threw them also into the sea. There was some flax tying my boots, it broke, and I pulled off my boots and threw them away. After going about 400 yards on the beach the Maoris gave up the chase. I threw myself into some long fern to hide, for I was exhausted from running. I remained there till the escort came down from St. George's redoubt at Tataraimaka. When I see a Maori trying to outflank me in order to get a drive at me, I presented my firelock, on which he hid. The greatest number of

Maoris I saw was between 30 and 40. The party that followed me fired at me and I at them. I was myself wounded in the thigh before I left the dead. Private Kelly told me before he fell that he had been in many a field and fight, but he had never been so hemmed in before. The first man that fired at us was not five yards away; his first shot did no harm; his second killed Sergt. Ellers; the furthest was not more than 20 yds. away; from the first fire to the last was about 25 minutes. I saw a party ahead on the beach; if they had been friends they might have come up; I thought they were Maoris showing a canoe off; I did not see anything of the escort from Poutoko. The seven forming the escort were armed; Lieut. Tragett was not armed, nor Dr. Hope; but if he had had any he would not have had time to use them, as he fell at once; they were in regimentals. I was lying about two hours hid.

The above is the whole of the material evidence, except that Mr. G. Lethbridge deposed to having seen a cart (no doubt the cart taken) driven up to the Kaitake pa on the day in question. We should say that one witness—Mr. W. Carrington, of the Native Department—stated that he had not thought the road dangerous on that day as he was going to allow his wife to join a riding party to Tataraimaka.

We reprint the verdict with the rider.

"That the said Thomas Heathcote Tragett, William Astle Hope, Samuel Ellers, Samuel Hill, John Flinn, Edward Kelly, William Banks, and Bartholomew McCarthy, on the Fourth day of May, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty-Three, at Wairau, in the Province of Taranaki, were cruelly and barbarously murdered on the Public Highway while in the peaceful discharge of their duty by certain persons of the Native Race to the Jurors unknown by Gunshot, Tomahawk, and Spear wounds and of which wounds the said Thomas Heathcote Tragett, William Astle Hope, Samuel Ellers, Samuel Hill, John Flinn, Edward Kelly, William Banks, and Bartholomew McCarthy did languish and die."

The Jury are of opinion from the evidence presented to them that though the Government were in possession of information showing the dangerous state of the road to Tataraimaka owing to the threatened recommencement of hostilities sufficient precautions were not taken to guard against such murderous attacks from the Natives of the disaffected District which there seems to have been great reason for some time past to dread.

(Signed) FRANCIS ULLATHORN GLEDHILL,  
For self and Jurors.

*Taranaki Herald* 16 May 1863

**Robert Parris**, early New Plymouth settler, was at the time a district land commissioner (one of the few who never speculated in land) but it was also he who had been mainly responsible for the advice to the Governor Thomas Gore Browne to proceed with the controversial Waitara purchase in 1860. He later had a long and successful public career.

**Francis Dillon Bell**, a well-educated and ambitious settler, had, in 1841, been Acting Secretary for the New Zealand Company. He also had been an advisor to Gore Browne in respect of the Waitara purchase, and in his lifetime held a number of important official positions, including (and occasionally at the same time as) being a Member of Parliament.

He is said to have advised Grey to return the Waitara Block in 1863 (*Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* Te Ara). Like W.S. Atkinson he was a fluent speaker of Māori language.

**Charles Brown** also appeared at the inquest. (Capt. In the Volunteers and nominally in charge of the Militia during the Battle of Waireka) Brown was at the time the Taranaki Provincial Superintendent.

The inquest includes an interesting line of questioning by jurors Gledhill and Atkinson, regarding the question of possible blame for the ambushed party not being forewarned of danger. Gledhill followed this up, and his summary of the verdict, on behalf of the jury, is also of interest.

## Appendix 7 The ambush at Poutoko, and the story of Hōri Teira

As told by James Cowan

An incident of 1862 (1st September) was the wreck at Te Namu, near Cape Egmont, of the steamer "Lord Worsley," 600 tons, carrying passengers, mails, and gold from Nelson to New Plymouth and Auckland. Wiremu Kingi te Matakaatea and Eruera te Whiti (afterwards the celebrated prophet of Parihaka) befriended the shipwrecked people, numbering sixty, who were permitted to go overland to New Plymouth with their baggage, after this had been examined by the Kingite customs officers; each person had to pay 5s. on passing the Maori toll-gate established as the result of a large Maori conference at Kapoiaia. Mr. Robert Graham, Auckland, who was a passenger, pluckily saved the gold that was on board, and twice traversed the hostile territory, carrying his loads safely into New Plymouth. A young half-caste named Hori Teira (George Taylor), who was one of the keepers of the toll-gate, obtained a horse for Mr. Graham and otherwise assisted him, and this act of friendship brought its unexpected reward in the following year, when Hori lay in prison in Auckland.

Soon after Sir George Grey had succeeded Colonel Gore Browne as Governor of New Zealand, arriving at Auckland on the 26th September, 1862, in H.M.S. "Cossack," from Cape Town, a new native policy was promulgated. A Commission had investigated the proprietary interests in the Waitara lands, and as the outcome of its inquiries the Governor issued, on the 11th May, 1863, a Proclamation announcing the abandonment of the purchase of Teira's block<sup>6</sup> and the renunciation by the Government of all claims to that area of land. This tardy vindication of Wiremu Kingi's cause had unfortunately been preceded by the armed occupation of the Tataraimaka Block, which had temporarily been abandoned in 1860, and which the Maoris now claimed by right of conquest. Three hundred officers and men of the 57th, under Colonel Warre, marched out along the south road, and on the 4th April encamped on Tataraimaka, and built a redoubt on Bayley's Farm, near the Katikara River. The Taranaki Tribe had previously informed the Governor and General Cameron that Tataraimaka would not be given up unless the British first gave up the Waitara. The march upon Tataraimaka was naturally accepted as an act of war, and Taranaki promptly sent out appeals for assistance to Ngati-Ruanui and Nga-Rauru, and to Ngati-Maniapoto and Waikato; a letter was sent to Wiremu Kingi at Kihikihi. Five weeks elapsed before the Government made amends for the error of Gore Browne and his advisers, and in the meantime hostilities had commenced.

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

The Taranaki and Ngati-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. Among the ambush-party was the young half-caste Hori Teira, already mentioned as one of the keepers of the Maori toll-gate. His father was a ship's carpenter, and his birthplace Kororareka, Bay of Islands. Hori was a lad of eighteen. He had been educated at the mission school, and had been brought down to Taranaki by his mother's people just before the war began.

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.

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<sup>6</sup> This is Te Teira Manuka who offered to sell the block of land at Waitara, which triggered the Taranaki War. No relation to Hōri Teira (George Taylor) the subject of this story.



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. Young Hori and his companions lying in ambush let the mounted men pass by, and then fired a volley into the detachment of soldiers at a range of a few yards. Hori, relating the story, said that to his astonishment the British officers, instead of making their escape as they could easily have done, turned their horses and joined the soldiers, and so they, too, were shot down. Nine were killed, and the only man who escaped was Private Florence Kelly. A Maori named Tukino fired at one of the officers, Dr. Hope, and shot him in the face. Tukino immediately raised a yell of "Mate rawa!" ("He is killed!") but the officer rose and confronted his enemies again. Thereupon Hori Teira and some of his comrades fired and shot him dead. The young half-caste rushed out to plunder the dead officer—his first blood, or mataika. It was the first man he had helped to slay. He took a watch and chain and a ring from Dr. Hope's body, and two rifles from the dead soldiers.

It was a war custom among the Taranaki Maoris that any plunder or trophies taken from a foe whom a warrior had killed in his first battle—the "first fish"—should not be retained by the slayer, but should be given away to some other person in order to avert ill luck. It was inviting an aitua (a serious misfortune, even death) to keep the first spoils of war. So, on returning to the Maori headquarters, Hori was advised by the chiefs and elders to give away his war-trophies, and so placate the war-god. Hori insisted on wearing the watch and ring, declaring that they were too valuable and fine to be given away because of an old-fashioned superstition.

The ill-gotten ring brought its aitua. Three weeks after the ambushade at the Wairau a small party of young warriors, of whom Hori Teira was one, laid another ambushade near the Poutoko Redoubt, about eight miles from New Plymouth. They attacked a mounted officer, Lieutenant Waller, of the 57th. His horse was hit, and both fell. Hori, imagining that the officer was mortally wounded, and yelling "Ki au te tupapaku!" ("Mine is the dead man!") rushed out, dropping his rifle, and snatched out his short-handled tomahawk to deliver the finishing blow. But the officer was by no means a dead man. Jumping to his feet, he drew his revolver and fired several shots at Hori. One struck the young half-caste in the side. He was not seriously wounded, but he could not retreat, as his comrades did when a force sallied out from the redoubt. Hori was captured and identified as one of the Maoris who had ambushed Dr. Hope and his party. The fatal ring was on his finger, the watch was in his pocket, and one of the rifles was identified as Dr. Hope's. He was charged with murder—although in Maori eyes this ambush was thoroughly in accordance with the rules of war—was tried and found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged. He was taken to Auckland for execution, but his sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life.

In prison a white man came to see him.

This was Mr. Robert Graham, Superintendent of the Province of Auckland, the "Lord Worsley" passenger whom Hori had befriended on the Taranaki coast the previous year. Hori had cast his bread upon the waters. Mr. Graham rejoiced in the opportunity of repaying the kindness. He persuaded the Governor to reduce the sentence.

Hori was released after serving four years, and he went no more upon the war-path.

*The New Zealand Wars and the Pioneering Period Vol 1 Cowan pp 222 - 224*

Hori's trial raised some interesting questions, quite apart from the question of whether it was fair to try him for murder in a civil court (considering that, arguably, a state of war existed at the time). Hori seems to have concealed the fact that he was fluent in English – and in court he gave a different explanation of how he came to be in possession of the rifle and watch chain which would have condemned him, from the more incriminating version he repeated many times later.

(See report of court proceedings *Taranaki Herald* 11 July 1863 and compare with Hori's own story in *Taranaki Daily News* 26 March 1910.) The reporter in the following article might have been misled.

...ment. He was taken to the Poutoko and the next day brought into town where he was interrogated by the Native Minister Mr BELL, and Mr PARRIS, by the GOVERNOR's direction. The possession of these articles was, so far, the whole of the evidence against him.

It was strong presumptive evidence of his guilt no doubt, but certainly quite insufficient to convict him of a capital crime in a Court of Justice — more especially when it was remembered, as the Jury were very properly told by the Judge, that it was utterly impossible for the prisoner to bring witnesses to show how he came by the things in question. He could merely say that he had received them in

accordance with an old Maori custom, which forbade the man who took spoils in war from those he had slain to keep or wear them until the war was ended.

We wish to call attention, therefore, to the way in which his guilt was established.

The day after his capture he was asked a great many questions by Messrs. Bell and Parris, and gave valuable information as to the positions and number of the enemy and without being warned in any way was interrogated as to his knowledge of the massacre of the 4th May.

He was asked "Did you see the first shot fired?" — to which, according to Mr Parris, he answered "*Kua kite, — otira kua rongo au na, &c.,*" which was translated "I saw it, — or rather I heard it was fired by so and so." Some time after, when the ring and locket were found, Mr Parris said to him "We have found some more things belonging to Dr Hope near where you were hid, and think you must have been concerned in killing him. How could you have helped to kill a man that treated you so kindly?" [Dr Hope had dressed his hand a few days before the murder at the Tataraimaka camp.] He answered "*Ko wai ka mohio — kua repo katoa,*" which was translated to mean "Who could know him when covered with dirt?" In both cases the translation only was given in Court instead of the original Maori words with the context. The translation may, and probably does, fairly represent the prisoner's meaning, but there is at least a possibility that it does not, and this possibility should have been carefully examined.

If the life of a man is to depend on the meaning of an expression made use of in an unguarded moment, it is clear that the expression itself should be cited, and not merely the witness's notion of the meaning of it. However, the possession of the watch and other things and the use of the two expressions we have quoted was held sufficient evidence of his guilt, and Hori was convicted of murder. With regard to the latter class of evidence (what he himself said before his trial without having been warned that it would be used against him) the Chief Justice said more than once that 'he was bound to accept it as evidence, but to get evidence in such a way was quite alien to the spirit of English law'.

We hope the Government will profit by the rebuke and not again in important judicial proceedings set the example of acting in opposition to the spirit of the law. With regard to Mr Parris we are certain that he did not ask the last question of the prisoner with any thought that the latter's answer would be used against him.

We believe there are few or none who doubt Hori's guilt, but there are many we believe who doubt the legal evidence of it. And though he may have been justly condemned, it is hardly according to English practice when the accused cannot call a single witness on his own side — when he does not understand the language, much less the proceedings of the Court he is tried in, and the interpreter fails to make things much clearer to him — when he is practically, though not nominally, undefended, and when the jury is drawn from among those against whom he has been fighting...

... we believe it was pre-determined not to carry out the capital sentence... *Taranaki Herald* 11 July 1863



**Hōri Teira in later years.** Teira told his own story to the *Taranaki Daily News* on two occasions (26 March 1910 and 26 June 1911) and in addition it is most likely that Cowan would have interviewed him when researching the above piece.

After Hōri Teira's release, R. Parris persuaded him to join the Native Police. When land grants were allocated, Teira was allotted 140 acres which he farmed for many years, as recorded by Dr. Erin Griffin, in *Tales of Te Namu and Hori Teira*.

Photo cropped from image by Swainson Studios, collection of Puke Ariki, (SW1944.2116)

## Appendix 8 The Taranaki Report Kaupapa Tuatahi

The ambush at Wairau is portrayed in the photograph on page 57 as a “massacre”, and by *The Taranaki Herald* as a “barbarous” act of rebellion and the cause of a war.

Settler-historian Benjamin Wells also, in his *History of Taranaki* opens his chapter on “The Renewal of Hostilities” with a detailed account of the ambush.

Today the event, and its context, are seen somewhat differently.

Nothing has been left to us of the Māori perspective at the time, but we can be certain that neither *The Taranaki Herald* nor Wells’ *History of Taranaki* is any reflection of it.

Here is an extract from the *Taranaki Report* to the Treaty of Waitangi Tribunal.

It is not a history (rather, it is one side of a legal debate) and it makes only one reference to Waireka and/or surrounding districts.

This reference to Waireka is based entirely on a secondary source:

the somewhat questionable analysis of the Battle of Waireka by James Belich.

Perhaps it was convenient for the authors of the Report to lean on *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*, with its pre-supposed conclusions of British military incompetence. James Belich reduced the Battle of Waireka to a witticism (“...the 70-150 warriors said to be killed numbered in fact about one...” ) which primary sources show to be incorrect on both counts.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately Belich robbed the authors of the Report by consigning to oblivion their ancestors who were lost in the battle. In fact, at least 10 of them were named in the newspaper the next day and another seven a week later (*Taranaki Herald* 7 April 1860).

The best attempts to clinically analyse the losses suggests there were probably more.

After careful consideration archaeologist Nigel Prickett concluded:

“Without more information we can only put the true figure at certainly more than 17. It is possibly as many as 40... Nor should we discount Captain Brown’s “careful” estimate of not less than 30 dead.”

Prickett, N. (2005) *Maori Casualties of the First Taranaki War, 1860–61* Auckland Museum 42:81–124 p.91

That said, and moving on from that one small battle – this Māori perspective on the commencement of hostilities, given below, demands consideration in order to put into perspective the self-serving analyses of the *Taranaki Herald* and the colonial historians and diarists of that time.

(Note: “Pekapeka” refers to the disputed land purchase at Waitara.)

### 4.4 RESUMPTION OF WAR

The events leading to the resumption of warfare in Taranaki need analysis, because it is only on the second war that the land confiscations were based. We summarise the events as follows:

- (a) With the negotiation of a truce in Taranaki, British troops retained Pekapeka and some Waitara Maori land, but as a set-off, and pending an inquiry, southern hapu held Omata and Tataraimaka.
- (b) Before any inquiry as to Pekapeka was made, as had been promised, on 12 March 1863, British troops occupied Omata and on 4 April they moved on to Tataraimaka.

<sup>7</sup> The official estimate from the British Navy of the number Māori lost at Kaipopo when it was over-run, as counted, is 16 (Cracroft to Loring reprinted in London Gazette 3 August 1860 p2857).

A less reliable official estimate of the number lost the same day, near Jury’s farmhouse, is 30 (Capt. Brown i/c Taranaki Militia to Major Herbert 29 March 1860). The only Māori eye-witness estimate which has emerged is, interestingly, from Te Ua Horapapera (later, founder of the Pai Mārire movement.) Te Ua was present at the battle. According Te Ua “... altogether, including those who afterwards died of their wounds, twenty seven were slain...” (*Daily Southern Cross* 16 March 1866). 17 of the dead were named in *Taranaki Herald* 7 April 1860.



There is no evidence of any provocation. It will be observed ... that these two blocks were separate and that it was necessary to cross Maori land to move from one to the other.

- (c) At the same time as the troops were directed to move, Ministers and officials were discussing proposals to confiscate Maori land to pay for the war.
- (d) Two days later, the Governor purported to investigate the Pekapeka purchase and found what he called 'new facts'. Of course they were well known before. It was 'found', however, that Kingi had a pa and cultivations on the block, that Te Teira did not have an undisputed title, and that the purchase, despite an initial payment, had not been completed. It was then agreed that Pekapeka was not Crown land after all.
- (e) Though it was then decided that the land must be returned, the Governor delayed saying so. It was not until 22 April that his decision was conveyed to his Ministers. They in turn delayed a fortnight further before doing anything<sup>8</sup>. It seems no one was prepared to announce this unpalatable fact to the settlers, to admit wrong to Maori, or to do anything that might defer the military resumption of Omata and Tataraimaka.
- (f) At all times, Maori were unaware of anything other than the military activities south of New Plymouth. At Taiporohenui, they debated the Government's breach of the truce by the reoccupation of Omata and Tataraimaka and the trespass of troops on the Maori land between. They appear to have decided to respond. On 4 May, a month after the military had reoccupied Tataraimaka, a military escort was ambushed on Maori land at Oakura, between Omata and Tataraimaka, and nine soldiers were killed. The ambush, it will be noted, was against soldiers on Maori land. It could be said, in Maori terms, that the soldiers were in error, for they were caught where they should not have been, and that their trespass was a provocation. Indeed, it is likely that Maori saw the trespass on Maori land as more significant than the resumption of Omata. Even before the war, Maori had become acutely conscious of the need to maintain boundaries where Europeans were concerned, and to enforce recognition of their ownership, they had imposed a toll on Europeans crossing the area.
- (g) That same night, as soon as they were informed of the ambush, the Ministers agreed to renounce the Waitara purchase. They also decided that the land between Omata and Tataraimaka that belonged to the party who had carried out the ambush should be confiscated by the Crown in retaliation and should become a military settlement. They further advised the Governor to summon a meeting of Te Atiawa at Waitara to issue a declaration of the Government's decision:

That circumstances connected with the purchase of Waitara having come to light which made it, in the opinion of Government, inadvisable to complete the purchase, the government are willing and ready to restore the Waitara to its former owners, and to publish a general amnesty for all former offences; on condition that those engaged in the late insurrection should absolutely separate themselves from the Southern tribes and leave the punishment of the late murders entirely in the hands of the Governor.

If they failed to comply and assisted the southern tribes:

the whole of their own land at Waitara will be declared forfeited in like manner as the territory between Omata and Tataraimaika.

- (h) At the same time, politicians were proposing larger confiscations throughout Taranaki, south Auckland, Hauraki, and Waikato<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Sinclair, pp 260-266; Dalton, pp 165-171 89

<sup>9</sup> See 'Memorandum on the Native Question by the Superintendent of Taranaki and Correspondence', 2 May 1863, AJHR, 1863, E-18, p 1.

By June 1863, there were detailed plans to confiscate the Ōākura land: see 'Papers Relative to Waitara', AJHR, 1863, E-2, pp 20-21. See also Domett to Governor, 24 June 1863, AJHR, E-7, p 9.

- (i) On 11 May, Grey issued a proclamation abandoning the Waitara purchase and all claims on it by the Government<sup>10</sup>.
- (j) A proclamation on 6 July 1863 notified an intention to survey settlements at Oakura and to place military settlers in possession of sections in return for military services<sup>11</sup>. This was the first formal notice of a confiscation intent. At that time, no empowering legislation was in place.
- (k) On 3 December 1863, the General Assembly enacted the legislation for the confiscation of Maori land. The Taranaki confiscations were then proclaimed in 1865.

The retraction in respect of Pekapeka was amazing in light of the tragedy of the previous war and startling for its omissions and timing. The question of whether land could be sold without a general hapu agreement was not considered. Instead, legislation (the Native Land Act 1862) had already been passed to enable land to be sold without tribal consent and control. The retraction blatantly avoided an honest inquiry into who was to blame for the war and gave no thought to compensating Maori. The retraction was also made after the Oakura ambush and the resumption of hostilities. If it were true that Maori had held the southern blocks as a quid pro quo for Pekapeka, pending its return, and if the abandonment of Pekapeka had been announced beforehand, the ambush might not have happened. In a touch of irony, Pekapeka was confiscated two years later on the basis that Kingi was at war, although there is no evidence that he had engaged in hostilities since the resumption of the war.

The retraction, it seems to us, was simply play-acting; the fabrication of a scene to place blame on the former Governor, so that the new Governor might restart the war with a clean slate.

We can thus reach some conclusions on the resumption of the war. The Government contends that the second war dated from the Oakura ambush of 4 May, a view that posits Maori as the aggressors and responsible for the second war. That position has long been regarded as untenable. The second war arose from the Government's breach of the peace, the failure to inquire promptly and honestly into Pekapeka, the military reoccupation of Omata and Tataraimaka, and the military trespass on Maori land. These were hostile acts, in our view, which were undertaken during the truce and which could have implied only that the war had been unilaterally resumed. They were contrary to the honest conduct expected under the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Our conclusion is thus similar to that reached by the Sim commission in 1927, which apportioned no blame to Maori for the outbreak of the second war but saw it as a continuation of the first. That commission went further to observe that 'the armed occupation of Tataraimaika was, in the circumstances, a declaration of war against the Natives, and [it] forced them into the position of rebels<sup>12</sup>'.

The Taranaki Report Kaupapa Tuatahi GP Publications pp 88-91

The full Taranaki Report may be accessed on-line. The URL is:

[https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/WT\\_DOC\\_68453721/Taranaki%201996.compressed.pdf](https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/WT_DOC_68453721/Taranaki%201996.compressed.pdf)

<sup>10</sup> Proclamation, 11 May 1863, published in the New Zealand Gazette, 15 May 1863, AJHR, E-2, p 27

<sup>11</sup> New Zealand Gazette, 1863, no 27, p 265

<sup>12</sup> AJHR, 1928, G-7, p 11

## Appendix 9 Lists of Ōmata, Tapuae and Tātaramaka settlers 1860

Extracted from *Taranaki Herald* 18 February 1860

### **LIST of PERSONS qualified to serve as JURORS for the Province of Taranaki for the year 1860-61.**

Allen Thomas, Omata, farmer  
Armstrong John Henry, Omata, farmer  
Auridge Charles, Omata, farmer  
Auridge John, Omata, farmer

Baldwin William James, Omata, sawyer  
Ball James, Omata, settler  
Bayly James, Tataraimaka, farmer  
Bayly Thomas, junior, Tataraimaka, farmer  
Bayly William junior, Tataraimaka, farmer  
Berridge John, Omata, farmer  
Berridge William, Omata, farmer  
Blake William, Omata, farmer  
Brooking Anthony, Omata, farmer  
Brooking Francis, Omata, farmer  
Bryan William, Omata, laborer

Carrington Coburg, Tapuae, settler  
Carrington Wellington, Tapuae, surveyor  
Coleman William, Omata, farmer  
Colesby Joseph, Omata, farmer  
Collins William, Omata, farmer

Dashwood Thomas Farr, Tataraimaka, farmer  
Densey Daniel, Omata, farmer  
Dixon Manley, Tataraimaka, farmer  
Duncan Joseph Rideal, Tataraimaka, farmer

Elliott James, Tapuae, settler

Foreman William, Omata, farmer  
Fice William Henry, Tataraimaka, farm servant

Gibbons John, Tataraimaka, farmer  
Gibson Jabez Marriage, Omata, settler  
Gilbert Thomas, Omata, farmer  
Gilchrist John, Omata, laborer  
Goodwin John, Omata, laborer  
Greaves Frederick Speal, Omata, farmer  
Greenwood Robert, Tataraimaka, farmer  
Grey William, Omata, farmer  
Grylls Richard, Omata, carpenter

Handy John, Omata, farmer  
Harrison Job, Omata, farmer  
Harrison Thomas, Omata, farmer  
Harrison William, Omata, farmer  
Harrison William jun., Omata, farmer  
Hart Joseph, Tataraimaka, laborer  
Hart Robert, Omata, laborer  
Hay James, Tataraimaka, farmer  
Hurford John, Omata, farmer

Julian Nicholas Henry, Omata, laborer  
Julian Richard, jun., Omata, farmer  
Julian Samuel, Omata, farmer  
Jupp George, Omata, farmer  
Jury John, Omata, farmer  
Jury Richard, Omata, farmer

Kingdon Adolphus, Omata, farmer  
Kingdon Augustus Frederick B., Omata, farmer  
Kingdon Courtenay Melmoth, Omata, farmer  
Law Robert, Omata, farmer

Mace Francis T., Omata, farmer  
Mace Thomas, Omata, farmer  
McDonald John, Tataraimaka, farmer  
McDonald John Kunnear, Tataraimaka, farmer  
McKoy Patrick, Omata, farmer  
McMahan Denis, Omata, farmer  
Messenger William, Omata, farmer  
Messenger William, jun., Omata, farmer  
Messenger John, Omata, farmer  
Moyle Edward, Omata, farmer

Newland John, Omata, farmer  
Newland John jun., Omata, farmer  
Newman John Litchfield, Omata, farmer  
Newsham Tom, Omata, storekeeper

Oliver John, Omata, farmer  
Oxenham Thomas, Tataraimaka, farmer

Parker Joseph, Omata, sawyer  
Passmore Henry, Omata, farmer  
Pearce James, Tataraimaka, farmer  
Phillips John, Omata, settler  
Pope George, Tataraimaka, farmer  
Pope Richard Whiting, Tataraimaka, laborer  
Pote William, Omata, sawyer  
Piske Philip, Omata, farmer  
Putt John, Omata, farmer

Rawson Charles Edward, Tataraimaka, farmer  
Reddy John, Omata, sawyer  
Reed George, Omata, laborer  
Rogers Henry, Omata, laborer  
Rogers John, Omata, farmer

Sedge Samuel, Omata, laborer  
Shaw John, Omata, farmer  
Shaw Ebenezer, Omata, farmer  
Shaw Samuel, Omata, farmer  
Smith Thomas, Omata, farmer  
Steer John, Omata, farmer  
Steer Samuel, Omata, carrier

Touet Edouard, Omata, farmer

Wakefield William King, Omata, farmer  
Ware David, Omata, publican  
White Theophilus, Omata, farmer  
Wilkinson Thomas Anderson, Omata, farmer  
Williams Henry, Omata, laborer  
Wood Henry Henson, Omata, farmer



**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; showing 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.
Allen Thos.....	Omata	1½ do. Omata Stockade, and 1 mile from F. N. pa, Poutoko.
Armstrong J.....	Omata	1½ do. Omata Stockade, and 1 mile from F. N. pa, Poutoko.
Auridge C.....	Omata	2 do. Omata Stockade, and 1 mile from F. N. pa, Poutoko.
Baldwin W.....	"	3½ do. Omata Stockade.
Ball Jas.....	"	2½ do. do.
Bayley Jas.....	Tataraimaka	7 do. any Military Post.
Bayley Thos.....	"	½ do. Camp. Burned while Troops were striking Camp for Town.
Bayly W.....	Blagdon	2 do. Town, and 1½ from Omata Stockade. Extensive Flour Mill. ½ mile from F.N. pa.
" .....	"	2 do. do., and 1½ from Omata Stockade. Residence to mill do., and 1½ do. Farm House and Premises.
" .....	"	1½ do. do., and 1½ from Omata Stockade. House on road to Omata.
Bayly W., Jun...	Tataraimaka	½ do. Tataraimaka Camp. Burned while Troops were striking Camp.
Berridge J.....	Omata	2½ do. Omata Stockade, and 1½ miles from F. N. pa, Poutoko.
Brooking A. ....	Omata	6 do. Omata Stockade.
Brooking F. ....	"	6 do. do.
Brooks R.....	Tataraimaka	7 do. any Military Post.
Bayley Rev.....	Omata	1 do. Omata Stockade.
Burton G.....	Omata	3 do. Omata Stockade.
Burton W.....	"	2½ do. Town, and 2½ miles from Omata Stockade.
Blaschke W.....	"	2 do. Omata Stockade.
Carrington C.....	"	2½ do. Omata Stockade.
Climo J.....	Tataraimaka	7 do. Tataraimaka Camp.
Coleman W.....	Omata	2 do. Omata Stockade, and 1½ from F. N. pa, Poutoko.
Colesby J.....	"	2½ do. Omata Stockade.
Crompton J.....	Omata	Two miles and a-half from Omata Stockade, and ½ mile from Friendly Natives' pa, Poutoko.
Cutfield G.....	Tataraimaka	Do. from any Military Post, 2 miles from Friendly Natives' pa.
Curtis G.....	Omata	Within rifle range of Omata Stockade.
Densley D.....	Omata	3 miles from any Military Post.
Dixon M.....	Tataraimaka	3 miles from any Military Post.
Elliott P.....	Omata	2 do. do. and 1½ miles from Omata Stockade.
Everett C.....	Bell Block	1 do. from Bell Block Stockade.
Free W.....	Tataraimaka	4 do. any Military Post.
Gibson J.....	Omata	One mile and a-half from Omata Stockade.
Goodwin J.....	"	4 miles from any Military Post.
Greaves F.....	"	3 do. Omata Stockade, ½ mile from F. N. pa, Poutoko.
" .....	"	4 do. any Military Post, back in the bush.
Greenwood R....	Tataraimaka	7 do. do. Very extensive Premises.
Ginger G.....	"	7 do. do.
Grey W.....	Omata	2½ do. Omata Stockade.
Harrison J.....	Omata	½ mile from Omata Stockade.
Harrison T.....	"	Two miles and a-half from Omata Stockade.
Harrison W.....	"	2 miles from do., and half-a-mile from F. N. pa, Poutoko.
Hetley Mrs.....	"	2 do. do., and half-a-mile from do.
Hart R.....	"	1½ miles from do., and ½ mile from do.
Hay Jas.....	Tataraimaka	7 do. any Military Post.
Hawke J.....	Grey Block	Three miles and a-half from Town.
Hurford J.....	Omata	Two miles and a-half from any Military Post, ½ mile from Friendly Natives' pa, Poutoko.
Jupp G.....	Omata	2 miles from Omata Stockade, 1 mile from F. N. pa, Poutoko.
Jury J.....	"	One mile and a-half from do., half-a-mile from do.
Jury R.....	"	Do. do. do.
Jury Mrs.....	"	1½ mile from do. do.
Jones W.....	"	2½ miles from do.
King R.....	Omata	5 miles from any Military Post.
Kingdon C.....	Omata	Two miles and a-half from Omata Stockade.
Kingdon Mrs....	"	2½ miles from do.
Langman R.....	"	1 mile from Town.
Law R.....	"	Half-a-mile from Omata Stockade.
Leatham W.....	"	5 miles from any Military Post.
McDonald J.....	Tataraimaka	½ do. Camp. Burned in broad daylight, while Camp was moving.
Messenger W....	Omata	3½ miles from Omata Stockade.
McKellar Mrs...	"	½ do. do. Burned in open daylight.
" .....	"	Half-a-mile from do. Wool warehouse, a distance from house.
Moyle E.....	"	3 miles from any Military Post.
Newland J.....	Omata	5 miles from any Military Post.
Newsham T.....	Omata	½ do. Omata Stockade. European Shop and Bakehouse.
" .....	"	Half-a-mile from Omata Stockade. Farm occupied by Mr Good.
" .....	"	1 mile from do. Farm occupied by Mr Handy.
" .....	"	½ do. do. Cottage in Omata Village.
" .....	"	½ do. do. do.
Oxenham T.....	Tataraimaka	7 do. do.
Parker J.....	Omata	2 do. Omata Stockade.
Passmore H.....	"	½ do. do.
Pearce J.....	Tataraimaka	7 do. any Military Post.
Pope G.....	Tataraimaka	7 do. any Military Post.
Pope R.....	"	7 do. do.
Pote W.....	Omata	1½ do. Omata Stockade.
Priske P.....	"	1 do. do.
Priske P.....	Tataraimaka	7 do. any Military Post.
Putt J.....	Omata	1 mile from do., half-a-mile from do.
Rawson C.....	Tataraimaka	7 miles from any Military Post.
Rogers J.....	Omata	2 do. Omata Stockade.
Smith T.....	Omata	2½ miles from Omata Stockade.
Seccombe W....	"	½ do. Omata Stockade. Public-house.
Steer J.....	Omata	1 do. Omata Stockade.
Touet Edward...	Omata	2 miles from Omata Stockade, half-a-mile from F. N. pa, Poutoko.
Watkins W.....	Omata	5 do. any Military Post.

Extracted from *Taranaki Herald*  
6 April 1861

Settler homes from Ōmata, Tapuae and Tātaramaka have been extracted here, from the newspaper's list of all homesteads burned in Taranaki.

Referring to the list of all homes in New Plymouth, the newspaper noted:

"The Juror's list for the Province of Taranaki does not show more than 212 Country Settlers who have houses in the country; of these 176 have been totally destroyed by the rebels. Those houses that are left standing are so chopped and broken to pieces, doors windows, lining boards, and, in some cases, the upright boarding taken away, that the houses are almost as much injured as if burned".

Some settler names do not appear here. For example: W. I. Grayling living on rented property. Grayling was renting from F. Greaves who has claimed for two properties.

The official list indexed in Grayling's book *The War in Taranaki 1860-61* differs somewhat from this list taken from the newspaper – eg. Grayling's is listed there.

Distances quoted from "nearest military post" seem to be incorrect in some cases, on both lists.

Grayling recorded (in his diary, 18 August 1860) a suspicion that Autridge's house was burned by the military. J. Crompton and F. Greaves also later submitted sworn statements to the Commission that their houses had been destroyed by the military. (National Archives Series 132 Taranaki Relief Funds)

Mrs. Jury's house (although listed as "burned by the rebels") may have been damaged, but was actually used by them as a field hospital. (*The Budget* 10 July 1897). It was probably destroyed by the military.

Rev. Gilbert's house was not burned, but its weatherboarding was taken by Māori for the construction of covered rifle pits at Wilkinson's. (*Taranaki Herald* 18 August 1860). (Not for palisading Kaipopo in March 1860, as some people have imagined.)



Brighton Place, Ōmata, the residence of Thomas Gilbert.

The above is a romanticised illustration of Rev. Thomas Gilbert's house, prior to the war, taken from Gilbert's book *New Zealand Soldiers and Settlers* (1861).

This (and the other illustrations in the book) were attributed by Gilbert "to an English gentleman and to Miss Nicholson". It is thought that Miss Maria Nicholson (governess to the children of Gilbert's neighbour Parson Brown) made the original drawings, which were then "improved" by the publishers in England, to make them look more like English cottages and gardens.



Cropped from a drawing made in 1863 by his son George Channing Gilbert showing the home of Rev. Thomas Gilbert, after it had been stripped of weatherboard in August 1860.

Gilbert, George Channing, 1838–1913.  
[Gilbert, George Channing]  
1838–1913 :[Brighton Place, the home of the Rev Thomas Gilbert, Ōmata, New Plymouth] 1863. Ref: A–263–016. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/23058873

OF LOSSES OR INJURIES SUSTAINED IN THE RECENT NATIVE DISTURBANCES AT TARANAKI

I, Thomas Gilbert do, in the presence of ALMIGHTY God, solemnly, sincerely, and truly affirm and declare that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, the above is a true and faithful statement of my losses occasioned by the late war in Taranaki, and I make this Solemn Declaration, believing the same to be true.

Declared before me, at New Plymouth,  
this 20 day of 1861.

~~Resident Magistrate~~

Gilbert's statement of losses, sworn 30<sup>th</sup> July 1860 in Nelson.

Values (revised) to a total of £548-5-0



## Appendix 10 The Battle of Waireka 28 March 1860

Much nonsense has been written about the Battle of Waireka in recent years, little of it based on first-hand primary source material and a lot of it merely following the pre-supposed conclusion of James Belich in his 1986 landmark work *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation...*

Speaking strictly in regard to the plain narrative of the fight itself, no historian so far has made any useful addition to the information contained in the three official reports which were written at the time by Lieutenant Colonel Murray (British Army), Captain Charles Brown (Taranaki Militia) and Captain Peter Cracroft (Royal Navy).

Within these three reports is found most of the truth of what happened as far as we will probably be able to determine. And these three independent reports not only mesh together quite well, they also agree pretty much with the main body of eye witness accounts at the time.

Hardly surprising since there were many witnesses, the reports were intended to be made public, and the Officers knew they would have been under oath in the event of any investigation.

Together the three official reports spell out the plan.

Objective: to rescue some families who had become isolated behind “enemy” lines.

The Regulars were to secure the South Road and wait, while the Colonials were to take the beach route, fetch the beleaguered families, and return along the South Road, linking up with the Regulars as escort on their return to New Plymouth (which was intended to be before nightfall).

Together the three reports provide a clear enough picture of how the engagement began, how it played out in the gullies and flats around John Jury’s farmhouse, and how the military became engaged on the town side of the gullies.

How the Regulars withdrew, leaving the Colonials to make a retreat, unassisted.

How the Navy arrived on the scene late in the day, took the defenders by surprise, stormed the Maori defensive works and came away with the Māori flags.

The reports enable the conclusion that the Navy had created a diversion, turning what might have been a serious defeat further down in the flats and gullies into a “close call” which, at best, might be construed as a victory, though a lucky one if so.

There were up to 300 British and up to perhaps up to 450 Māori in the field at any one time. There were 2 killed and 14 wounded on the British side.

The official estimates of Māori losses were 30+ killed in the gullies (two confirmed) and 16+ killed at Kaipopo (counted). The total number of wounded has not been estimated.

The Māori at Kaipopo retreated immediately after that action, leaving their casualties behind.

The three British forces also withdrew immediately, taking their casualties with them.

Each of the three reports expressed some satisfaction, but none used the word “victory.”

Not in the three official reports, but recorded within the next few days:

The British failed to follow up immediately.

The Māori were able to return the next day to bury some of their dead, and then to depart with the remainder of their casualties, taking considerable plunder with them.

The names of 24 of the Māori casualties (including 17 fatal) were published the day after the battle.

The Māori fighting force which had come up from the south and threatened the town now retired – at least for the time being.

An exhaustive compilation of the primary source material relating to this event is reproduced, verbatim, in G. Kenyon (2016) *The Battle of Waireka, An Anthology of Eye-Witness Accounts*.

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Jupp's Diary	Archives, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth		
Newland's Diary	Archives, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth		

The news clippings were all accessed from Papers Past,  
National Library <https://natlib.govt.nz/>



John Gully  
View of  
Mt Taranaki/Egmont  
from around the  
outskirts of  
New Plymouth  
(1850-1860)

Puke Ariki, New  
Plymouth  
(A66.429)