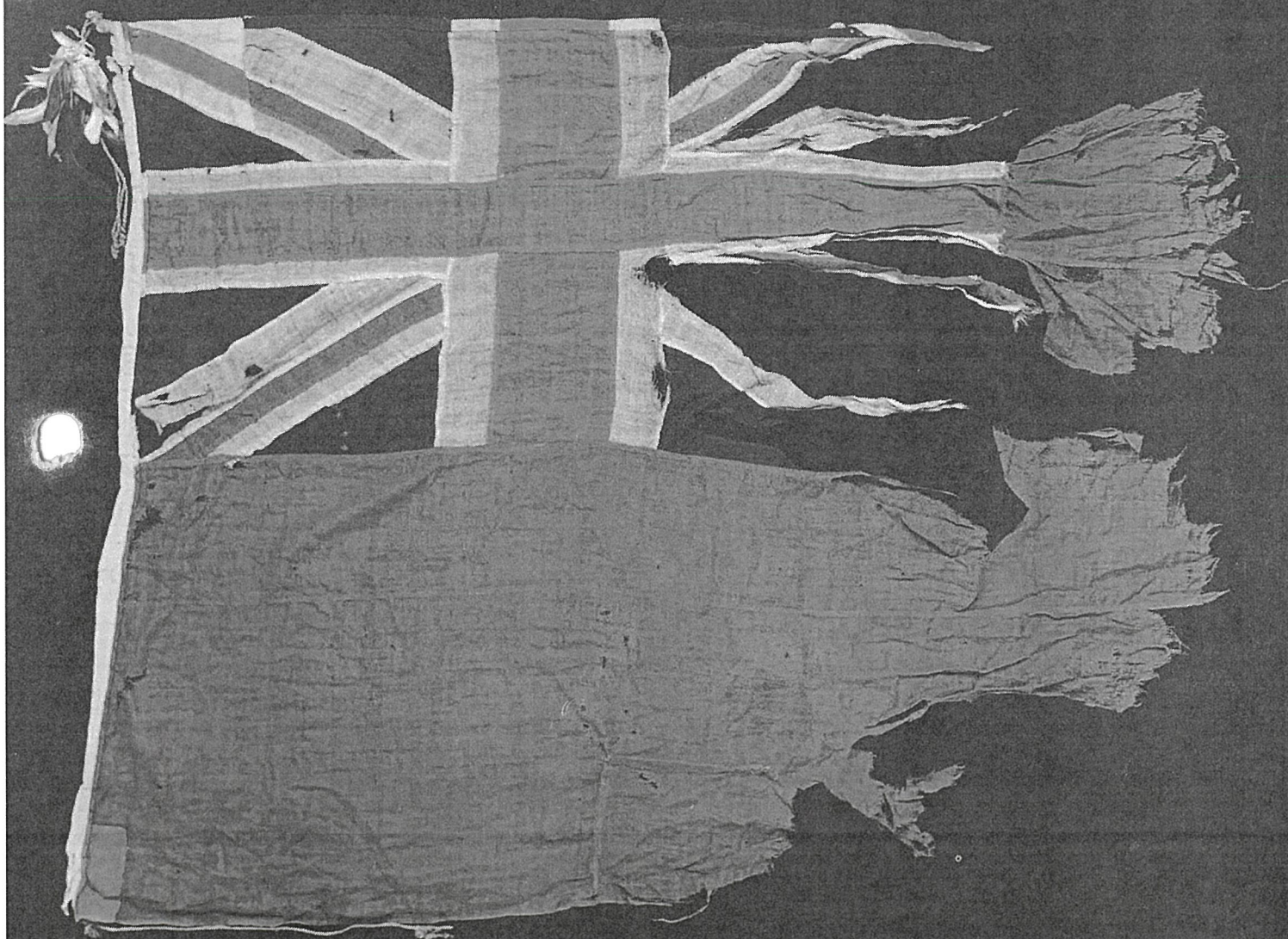


(O'Malley, V., 2019)

THE NEW ZEALAND
WARS NGĀ PAKANGA
O AOTEAROA

VINCENT O'MALLEY



Publishing Information

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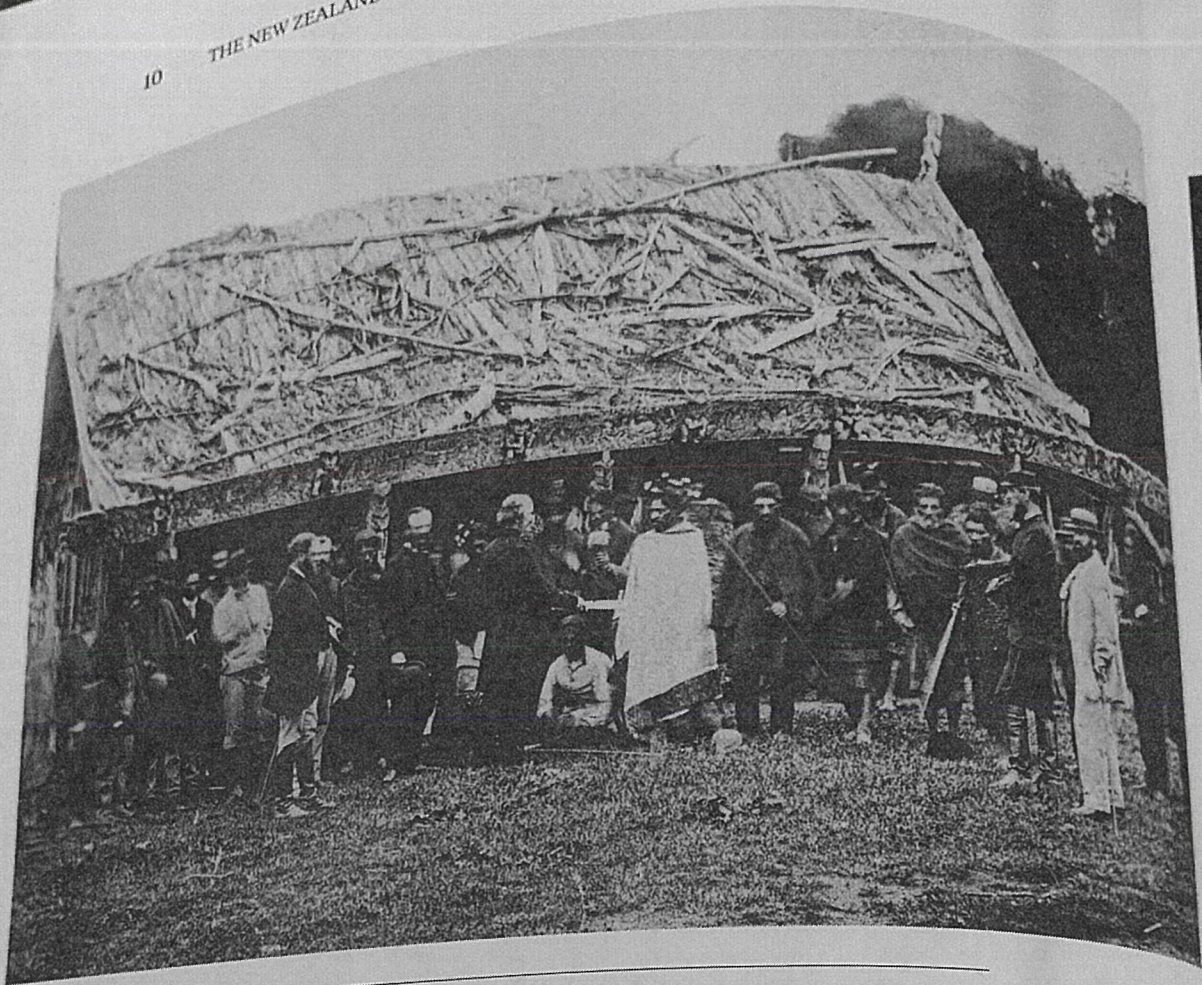
1 Introduction

The New Zealand Wars were a series of conflicts that profoundly shaped the course and direction of our nation's history. Fought between the Crown and various groups of Māori between 1845 and 1872, the wars touched many aspects of life in nineteenth-century New Zealand, even in those regions spared actual fighting. Physical remains or reminders from these conflicts can be found all over the country, in cities such as Auckland, Wellington and Dunedin, and in rural locations such as Te Pōrere and Te Awamutu. Many New Zealanders, Māori and Pākehā, can trace descent from at least one ancestor caught up in these wars. Some people will have forbears who fought on both sides. The wars loom large in the national narrative, but we have not always cared to remember or acknowledge them. For much of the period from 1872, most Pākehā clung to a highly romanticised version of these wars that emphasised mutual chivalry and heroism, avoiding more disturbing truths. When this position was no longer tenable, many simply chose to ignore them altogether. But this is our story, our history. It happened here, in this place, relatively recently, and it had profound consequences for what New Zealand would become. That is why it is so important for us all to understand and acknowledge these conflicts today.

The Crown Combatants

To say that the wars were fought between Māori and the Crown is slightly misleading. For one thing, Māori fought on both sides. Some Māori switched sides, fighting for the Crown and then against it, or vice versa. That was because local and tribal interests were crucial when allegiances were decided, and these could shift quickly depending on the context. Those Māori who fought alongside the Crown, variously branded 'loyalists', 'friendlies', 'Queenites' or kūpapa, did so in pursuit of their own tribal imperatives. Many Māori communities sought

OPPOSITE Map 1: This map shows the broad areas where the New Zealand Wars took place. Numbers refer to more detailed maps in chapters 2–10.



Māori who fought alongside the Crown did so in pursuit of their own tribal imperatives, but the Crown was increasingly reliant on their support as the wars dragged on. Wellington Provincial Superintendent Isaac Featherston (centre) meets with Pūtiki Māori to formally thank them for their actions at the Moutoa battle in May 1864. Leading 'loyalist' rangatira Mete Kingi Te Rangi Paetahi is presented with a copy of a Provincial Assembly resolution praising the bravery of his people. Photograph by William Harding, 1864, Alexander Turnbull Library, 1/1-000039-G

to remain neutral, although that was difficult to do in an area where there was fighting, especially when pressured to align with one side or the other. The Crown view was that Māori were either for it or against it. Neutrality was not considered a valid or acceptable option.

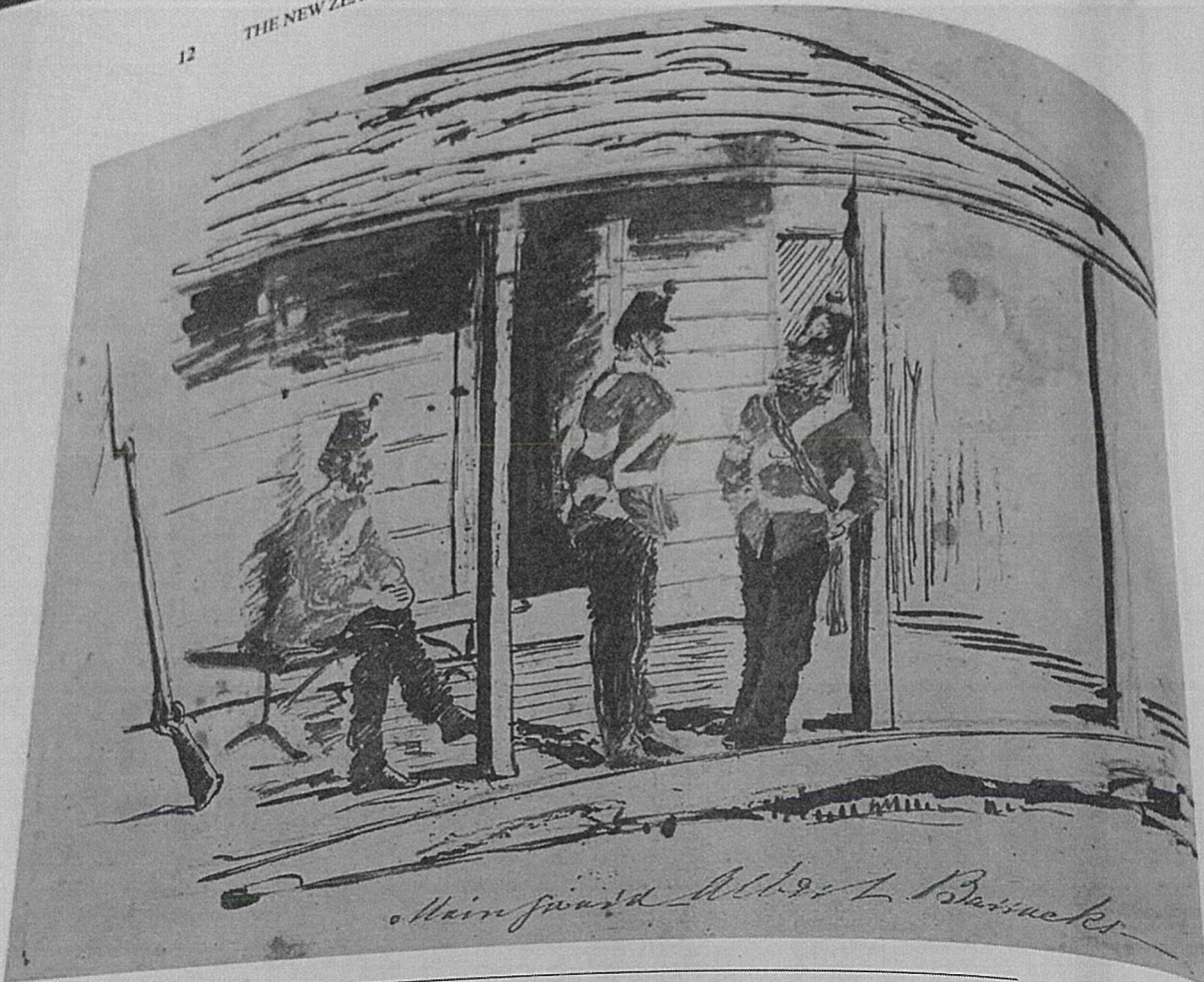
British imperial troops, popularly known as 'the redcoats' after their uniform (although in New Zealand they often fought in a dark blue outfit), did most of the fighting on the Crown side before 1865. In all, fourteen regiments and around 18,000 British soldiers served in New Zealand between 1840 and 1870, the year the final regiment was withdrawn. Along with these infantry regiments, marines



Officers of the Armed Constabulary, photographed at Parihaka in November 1881. Many of the men had previously seen action during the New Zealand Wars. Alexander Turnbull Library, 1/1-017952-G

and sailors, engineers, artillerymen, and staff of the commissariat, military train and hospital corps also served in New Zealand. For the rank-and-file soldier, life in the British Army at this time was tough. The pay was poor, living conditions were often squalid and alcoholism was rife. Discipline was harsh, with brutal public floggings that sometimes left the grown men who witnessed them in tears. Desertion, understandably, was widespread.

Just as 'loyalist' Māori had their own reasons for fighting, so too did many of those who enlisted in the British Army. That was especially so for the large number of Irish Catholic troops who joined. Up to 40 per cent of recruits, and two-thirds of rank-and-file troops who served in the New Zealand Wars, came from Ireland.¹ Many of these men successfully sought their discharge in New Zealand. The army may have left in 1870, but large numbers of former soldiers remained



British troops did the bulk of the fighting on the Crown side before being progressively withdrawn from the colony between 1866 and 1870. Three of their number are shown at Albert Barracks, Auckland, in this watercolour painted by Thomas Matravets in the 1860s. The barracks, built after 1846 to defend Auckland from attack, covered more than 23 acres, including the area now occupied by Albert Park and parts of the University of Auckland's central campus. Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections, 3-137-26a

P behind as settlers, some marrying Māori women from the very tribes they had recently been fighting.

P British imperial troops were progressively withdrawn from the colony between 1866 and 1870 and those who remained during this period took no active role in the fighting, even in moments of great crisis. Settlers' relations with the 'mother country' sank to an all-time low as they were forced to look to their own resources (and to 'loyal' Māori) to continue the fight. New Zealand did not have its own standing army until 1862, when the Colonial Defence Force was established. It was limited by statute to no more than 500 men, who would enrol voluntarily for

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British Infantry Regiments and the Dates They Served in New Zealand

12th East Suffolk Regiment	1860–67
14th Buckinghamshire Regiment	1860–66
18th Royal Irish Regiment	1863–70
40th Somersetshire Regiment	1860–66
43rd Monmouthshire Light Infantry	1863–66
50th Queen's Own Regiment	1863–67
57th West Middlesex Regiment	1861–67
58th Rutlandshire Regiment	1845–58
65th Yorkshire North Riding Regiment	1846–65
68th Durham Light Infantry	1864–66
70th Surrey Regiment	1861–66
80th South Staffordshire Regiment	1840–44
96th Manchester Regiment	1843–46
99th Lanarkshire Volunteers Regiment	1844–47

three-year terms of service. Divisions were stationed at various locations around the North Island and were deployed during the Waikato War of 1863–64.

In 1867 the Colonial Defence Force was replaced by the Armed Constabulary, which combined military and policing roles. The Armed Constabulary, along with Māori allies, did most of the fighting for the Crown during the later phases of the New Zealand Wars. They were also prominent in efforts to suppress the non-violent resistance movement to land confiscations that emerged out of Parihaka, in Taranaki, after 1879. This campaign culminated in the invasion of the settlement by 1,600 members of the constabulary and volunteers on 5 November 1881. Later, in 1886, the Armed Constabulary was split into separate military and police units, the forerunners of the modern-day New Zealand police and army.

Special units were also established at different times, the most well-known being the Forest Rangers, a small elite force established in August 1863 for bush-scouring and other forms of irregular and guerrilla warfare. The Forest Rangers were conspicuous in many campaigns, including in Waikato, Taranaki and the



P In the final phases of the wars, the Crown was heavily reliant on Māori allies. Gilbert Mair poses with members of the Arawa Flying Column (with a captured flag in the right of picture) following the clash with Te Kooti at Rotorua in February 1870.

Photograph by Daniel Louis Mundy, c.1867, Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira, PH-ALB-86-p93-1

Kooti to the Taupō area returned home soon after, probably upon learning that troops under Lieutenant-Colonel Herrick had reached as far as Waikaremoana. But Te Kooti had unfinished business. He had come to challenge paramount Ngāti Tūwharetoa leader Horonuku Te Heuheu and travelled to his settlement at Waihi at the southern end of Lake Taupō. Horonuku and other Ngāti Tūwharetoa were taken into a kind of captivity and when Te Kooti finally received word that King Tawhiao would receive him if he came in peace, they travelled with him.

Te Kooti reached Tokangamutu (Te Kūiti) on 10 July 1869. There he was welcomed by Rewi Maniapoto. But after waiting more than ten days, there was no sign of Tawhiao. Instead, there came a note from the Māori King declaring that Te Kooti should cease bothering them ('Kati te pakiki').⁸ Rewi remained on hand to escort Te Kooti and his followers out of the King Country. He had been shown the door.

Timeline

28 October 1835	Signing of He Whakaputanga/Declaration of Independence
6 February 1840	Signing of Treaty of Waitangi
17 June 1843	Wairau incident
8 July 1844	Hone Heke fells flagstaff for first time at Kororāreka (present-day Russell)
11 March 1845	Sacking of Kororāreka
30 April 1845	Ōtuihu Pā at Bay of Islands attacked
8 May 1845	Battle at Puketutu (Te Mawhe) near Lake Ōmāpere, Bay of Islands
12 June 1845	Hone Heke defeated by Tamati Waka Nene at Te Ahuahu, Bay of Islands
1 July 1845	British defeat at Ōhaeawai, Bay of Islands
11 January 1846	Ruapekapeka Pā, Bay of Islands, stormed
16 May 1846	Battle at Boulcott's Farm, Lower Hutt
23 July 1846	Arrest of Te Rauparaha
6–13 August 1846	Battle Hill (Horokiri) engagement, north of Pāuatahanui
18 April 1847	Attack on Gilfillan farm near Whanganui
19 May 1847	Whanganui plundered by an upriver taua
20 July 1847	Skirmish at St John's Wood, Whanganui
30 June 1852	New Zealand Constitution Act receives royal assent
24 May 1854	General Assembly (Parliament) meets for first time in Auckland
June 1858	Potatau Te Wherowhero raised up as first Māori King
8 March 1859	Governor Thomas Gore Browne agrees to purchase lands at Waitara, Taranaki, from Te Teira
22 February 1860	Martial law proclaimed at Taranaki
17 March 1860	First Taranaki War begins at Te Kōhja, near Waitara
28 March 1860	Battle at Waireka, south-west of New Plymouth
27 June 1860	Māori defeat British troops at Puketākauere, close to Waitara
6 November 1860	Battle at Māhoetahi, south of Waitara

23 January 1861

March 1861

8 April 1861

21 May 1861

26 September 1861

December 1861

7 February 1863

4 April 1863

4 May 1863

4 June 1863

9 July 1863

11 July 1863

12 July 1863

17 July 1863

7 September 1863

14 September 1863

23 October 1863

31 October–
1 November 1863

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3 December 1863

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Independence	March 1861	Truce agreed at Taranaki
	8 April 1861	Te Ātiawa sign peace terms
	21 May 1861	Browne demands 'submission without reserve to the Queen's sovereignty' from the Kingitanga
orāreka	26 September 1861	George Grey arrives to replace Browne as Governor, an imminent invasion of Waikato having been postponed on news of his appointment
	December 1861	Grey orders the construction of the Great South Road from Auckland towards Waikato
āpere, Bay of	7 February 1863	HMS <i>Orpheus</i> wrecked at the entrance to Manukau Harbour with 189 deaths, mainly of British troops
t Te Ahuahu,	4 April 1863	British troops take possession of land at Tātaramaka, south of New Plymouth, held by Māori as an equivalent for the disputed Waitara lands
	4 May 1863	British troops ambushed at Ōakura, south of New Plymouth
	4 June 1863	British troops attack Katikara Pā, south of New Plymouth
	9 July 1863	Māori living between Auckland and Waikato forced to take an oath of allegiance or immediately leave
Pāuatahanui	11 July 1863	Waikato Māori warned that those who resist Crown forces will forfeit their lands (the proclamation is not delivered until 15 July)
	12 July 1863	British troops cross Mangatāwhiri River, initiating the Waikato War
assent	17 July 1863	First engagements of Waikato War at Koheroa and Martin's farm
st time in	7 September 1863	Clash at Camerontown, west of Tūākau
iori King	14 September 1863	Clash at Pukekohe East church
urchase lands at	23 October 1863	Battle at Titi Hill (Mauku)
	31 October– 1 November 1863	British troops capture the deserted pā at Meremere
Wait	20–21 November 1863	Rangiriri taken under a flag of truce
ith	3 December 1863	The New Zealand Settlements Act, providing for land confiscations against tribes deemed to have aided or committed 'rebellion' against the Crown, is passed into law
, close to Waitara	6 December 1863	Kingitanga capital at Ngāruawāhia occupied by British troops

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11 February 1864	Engagement at Waiari, north-west of Te Awamutu	January 1866
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22 February 1864	Kingitanga defenders who had abandoned Pāterangi clash with Crown troops at Hairini, south-east of Te Awamutu	2 August 1866
7–9 March 1864	A taua attempting to travel overland to Waikato clash with Te Arawa at Lake Rotoiti	3 September 1866
31 March–2 April 1864	Battle of Ōrākau ('Rewi's last stand'), south-east of Kihikihi	2 October 1866
6 April 1864	British troops ambushed at Te Ahuahua, near Ōakura	12 October 1866
28 April 1864	Te Arawa clash with a taua heading for Waikato at Te Kaokaoroa, between Maketū and Matatā	January–March 1868
29 April 1864	British defeated at Gate Pā/Pukehinahina, Tauranga	4 July 1868
30 April 1864	Pai Mārire supporters attack Sentry Hill Redoubt, north-east of New Plymouth	12 July 1868
14 May 1864	Battle between Whanganui tribal factions at Moutoa, Whanganui River	20 July 1868
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24–25 January 1865	Engagement at Nukumarū, south Taranaki	7 September 1868
2 March 1865	Missionary Carl Sylvius Völkner killed at Ōpōtiki	7 November 1868
23 March 1865	Clash at Te Ngaio, near Pātea	9–10 November 1868
29 April 1865	Governor Grey issues a proclamation condemning Pai Mārire as a 'fanatical sect'	23 November 1868
10 June 1865	Start of East Coast War at Mangaone, near Pukemaire, East Coast	27 November 1868
21–22 July 1865	Governor Grey personally leads attack on Weraroa Pā, south Taranaki	1–5 January 1869
22 July 1865	Government official James Fulloon (Ngāti Awa, Tūhoe and Pākehā) killed at Whakatāne	2 February 1869
2 August 1865	Pai Mārire supporters defeated at Pākairomiromi, near Rangitukia, East Coast	13 February 1869
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amutu, attacked	17 March 1866	Mokomoko and four others executed at Mt Eden Gaol
	2 August 1866	Thomas McDonnell leads colonial force against the village of Pōkaikai, South Taranaki
Pāterangi clash Te Awamutu	3 September 1866	Attack on Ketemarae settlement, north of Hāwera
kato clash with Te	2 October 1866	Attack on Pungarehu village, south-west of New Plymouth
	12 October 1866	Clashes at Ōmarunui and Pētane, near Napier
-east of Kihikihi	January–March 1867	Tauranga Bush Campaign
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kato at Te	12 July 1868	Titokowaru attacks garrison at Turuturumōkaī, near Hāwera
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ukemaire, East	1–5 January 1869	Attack on Te Kooti's position at Ngātapa, north-west of Tūranganui, and subsequent reprisal executions of up to 128 male prisoners
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	May 1869	Expeditionary forces sent into Te Urewera

7 June 1869	Te Kooti attacks a group of cavalry at Ōpepe on the Kāingaroa Plains
4 October 1869	Te Kooti's forces defeated at Te Pōrere, Taupō
November 1869	Pakakohi prisoners from Taranaki sent to Dunedin
7 February 1870	Gilbert Mair attacks Te Kooti at Rotorua
24 February 1870	The 18th Royal Irish Regiment leaves New Zealand, the final British regiment to depart
5 January 1872	Kereopa Te Rau executed for the murder of Völkner in 1865
14 February 1872	Final shots in the hunt for Te Kooti fired at Mangaone Stream, near Lake Waikaremoana
15 May 1872	Te Kooti takes shelter in the King Country
11 July 1881	King Tawhiao makes peace at Alexandra (Pirongia), Waikato
5 November 1881	Invasion of Parihaka, south-west of New Plymouth
1884	Tawhiao travels to England
28 February 1889	Te Kooti is arrested attempting to return home to Tūranga
2 April 1916	Tūhoe prophet and leader Rua Kenana, seen as continuing resistance to Crown authority, is arrested
1926–27	Royal Commission on Confiscated Lands and Other Native Grievances (Sim Commission)
1944–46	Taranaki and Tainui tribes receive limited compensation through trust boards
1975	Waitangi Tribunal established under the Treaty of Waitangi Act
1985	Waitangi Tribunal empowered to investigate grievances back to 1840
1995	Tainui settlement
1996	Waitangi Tribunal reports on Taranaki raupatu claims
8 December 2015	Ōtorohanga College petition presented to Parliament
19 August 2016	Government agrees to a national day of commemoration for the New Zealand Wars
11 March 2018	First Rā Maumahara (day of remembrance) held in Northland

Weights and

Weights and measure conversions below m

Linear measure

1 yard = 3 feet = 0.914
1 mile = 1,760 yards =

Square measure

1 acre = 4,840 square

Weight

1 pound = 0.4536 kil

Currency

Money is expressed
New Zealand decimal
1 penny = 1 cent
1 shilling = 12 pence
1 pound = 20 shillings

No attempt has been made to express money. As a guide per annum and do

7 June 1869	Te Kooti attacks a group of cavalry at Ōpepe on the Kāingaroa Plains
4 October 1869	Te Kooti's forces defeated at Te Pōrere, Taupō
November 1869	Pakakohi prisoners from Taranaki sent to Dunedin
7 February 1870	Gilbert Mair attacks Te Kooti at Rotorua
24 February 1870	The 18th Royal Irish Regiment leaves New Zealand, the final British regiment to depart
5 January 1872	Kereopa Te Rau executed for the murder of Völkner in 1865
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