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

Nigel Prickett

Volume 1

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Auckland,
New Zealand

1981
"We must make war in the Roman way of roads and posts."

(C.W. Richmond to H.A. Atkinson, 1 Oct 1860:
The Richmond-Atkinson Papers, ed. G.H. Scholefield,
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ABSTRACT

This thesis describes the archaeology of the European military frontier in the province of Taranaki, New Zealand, in the years 1860-1881. In this period a series of four campaigns resulted in the expansion of European settlement at the expense of the indigenous Maori people.

The First Taranaki War (1860-61) did not resolve the fundamental conflict over land and the imposition of British law. The passage of the New Zealand Settlements Act in late 1863 brought European military strategy into line with political reality. Henceforth the land of 'rebel' tribes was to be confiscated, the military frontier providing a bulwark for an expanding European farming frontier. The Second Taranaki War (1863-66), the White Cliffs Scare (1869) and the Parihaka Campaign (1880-81) resulted in successive areas of Maori land in Taranaki being brought under European control.

The present work is divided into two parts. In the first (Volume 1), the geography and archaeology of the European military effort in Taranaki is described; the fortifications and frontier organisation are compared with those of earlier periods of imperial expansion elsewhere in the world, and the techniques employed in New Zealand are shown to be by no means unusual. The second part (Volume 2) reports the results of excavations at two European fortifications of the period. These serve to describe further the archaeology of the Taranaki frontier and also, through the recovered material culture, to demonstrate the dependent relation of the military frontier in New Zealand to the economies of the northern hemisphere.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Archaeology is an historical discipline concerned with the study of the past from material remains. In its early years of development it was very much concerned with elucidation or confirmation of historical or traditional information and with description of historically known ruins and sites. In more recent years it has tended to focus on the prehistoric period for which written records do not exist. This has been the case especially in lands settled by Europeans in comparatively recent times. The historical period has been brief and historically well documented so that it has attracted little interest from archaeologists. The prehistoric period has been sufficiently obscure and exotic, to scholars of European descent at least, so that material remains have always been central to its study.

Along with the rapidly developing archaeology of the prehistoric period in North America and Australasia in recent decades, however, there has been a growing interest in the historical period. This is most strongly developed in North America where a growing literature attests to a wide scholarly and popular interest. In Australia and New Zealand historical archaeology has emerged even more recently. In Australia key contributions to the early development of historical archaeology are the appearance of Allen's Ph.D. dissertation, "Archaeology and the History of Port Essington", in 1969 and the founding of the Australian Society for Historical Archaeology the following year. This thesis presents the results of the first substantial study in historical archaeology to be carried out in New Zealand.
In 1969 Allen was able to write that, "Faced with a complete lack of theoretical writing in the particular field of historical archaeology, the work at Port Essington was begun with a single basic premise, that the final objective of the fieldwork and analysis was to produce history." Since this was written, however, there has been very considerable theoretical discussion on the goals of historical archaeology. A recent contribution by South, for example, goes much further than Allen, and indeed represents what might be regarded as the further end of the particularistic - nomothetic continuum. South writes,

"The method whereby these phenomena of the past are examined pivots on the recognition of pattern in the archaeological record. Once pattern is abstracted and synthesised with other patterns, these demonstrated regularities are often expressed as empirical laws. The explanation of why these lawlike regularities exist is the goal of archaeology."3

There can be no denying the contribution in recent years of the so-called 'new archaeologists' which South represents in the field of historical archaeology: the clarification of research goals and the framing of specific questions and means of resolving them have not always characterised archaeological work. Nor have all the various fields of archaeology always been regarded as contributing to a single body of generalisations about the past. Nonetheless, insistence on a single set of deductive goals for archaeology can serve to unduly restrict both approaches and results. In this respect Allen is again useful. He argues that to insist that archaeology is concerned specifically with 'science' or 'anthropology' or 'history' is
futile, and that "...archaeologists who limit themselves by a rigid point of view on such matters are denying the fundamental scope of the discipline". Scholars such as South appear in danger of diminishing the potential contribution of historical archaeology by transforming the higher levels of abstraction into primary goals.

What all archaeologists will agree upon is that archaeology is concerned with illumination of the past. While some insist that this requires a uniform interest in deriving general laws of culture process it does seem likely a flexible approach is more productive. This is not to deny that the deduction of general laws is a useful ambition, but rather to suggest that the various skills and research interests of archaeologists, along with the state of knowledge in particular research fields, must allow a variety of goals in archaeology's elucidation of the past. Even particularistic aims are not to be scorned; at the very least good work at this level provides the essential building blocks for further interpretation.

In Australia and New Zealand, historical archaeology has begun with the fundamental advantage of a disciplinary base in anthropological archaeology and not in history. This should ensure that it becomes a complementary discipline in its own right and does not merely provide illustrations for historiography. The study of history is based upon historical documents; historical archaeology on the other hand is based upon fieldwork and the study of material remains. The contribution of historical archaeology to the general study of history depends upon maintaining the independence of archaeological data and
conclusions until the final level of historical synthesis. Paradoxically, its particular contribution to the study of anthropology depends upon the powerful control exercised over the archaeological interpretation by historical data.

Of course this means that archaeological work cannot be undertaken without reference to historical documentation. Indeed, to assume a spurious historical naiveté towards the archaeological landscape is to deny the character and contribution of historical archaeology. Fieldwork must be carried out in harness with historical studies, but this having been done the archaeological perspective is crucial in making an original contribution to general historical understanding.

The present study is concerned with an aspect of European imperial expansion in the Pacific region. It does not build on previous work in the area studied since nothing precedes it. For this reason emphasis is on the description of a hitherto unknown archaeological landscape and detailed historical studies of the many sites of interest. The aim has been to provide a basic description, involving both field survey and excavation, of the archaeology of the military frontier in a limited area of New Zealand. This provides the basis for comparative studies and a re-examination of the history of the period which is based on archaeological data.

The study area is Taranaki, a province on the west coast of the North Island, which was, until the late 19th century, among the smallest and most isolated of the European settlements in New Zealand (see Figure 1.1). From 1860 to 1881 successive military campaigns saw the almost complete expansion of European
settlement throughout Taranaki at the expense of the Maori population. In south Taranaki this expansion took place out of Wanganui in what are best described as the 'Patea campaigns'. The campaigns of interest here originated in New Plymouth and were aimed at acquiring adjacent lands for the Taranaki settlement.

THE RESEARCH BACKGROUND

In recent years there have been published a growing number of studies of aspects of the New Zealand Wars of the middle years of last century. The more scholarly of these have tended to focus on political aspects, while the greater part of the popular and ephemeral output has presented more or less accurate accounts of the actual fighting and the personalities involved. A characteristic that both serious and popular writing have in common, however, is that there is seldom any attempt to describe the geography or the archaeology of the various campaigns in other than the most general terms. The chief aim of this thesis is to establish the Taranaki Wars in the Taranaki landscape. Examination of the distribution, form and history of the archaeological sites of successive campaigns in Taranaki provides a starting point for a fresh look at the course and winning of the wars.

While it is true that most studies of the New Zealand War period are based entirely, or almost entirely, upon written material rather than field observations, nonetheless there are exceptions. The most notable of these is Cowan's remarkable history, *The New Zealand Wars*. This work involved Cowan in
extensive fieldwork. It resulted in a thorough presentation of the geography of the various campaigns - essential to their proper understanding - as well as useful descriptions of archaeological sites, many of which are now vanished. Also published in the early 1920s was Elsdon Best's, "Old redoubts, blockhouses, and stockades of the Wellington district". This again is an historical and archaeological study of great value and is a forerunner of what might be achieved in other regions.

Since these two studies, archaeological interest in the New Zealand Wars has resulted in the publication of a number of short notes and articles mostly on a single site or small group of sites. The New Zealand Historic Places Trust has published useful booklets on the Paremata Barracks near Wellington and Te Kooti's fortification at Te Porere, south of Lake Taupo. Specifically archaeological work has been published on Esk Redoubt (Miranda), Thacker's Redoubt, south Taranaki, the Howick Stockade, redoubts of the Te Awamutu district, and the fortifications of Auckland's Great South Road. Archaeological information on other sites is scattered throughout much other literature although it is mostly the result of casual observation and seldom provides a systematic basis for further work.

The present research into the archaeology of the Taranaki campaigns began some time after my arrival in New Plymouth in December 1973 to take up the post of Director of the Taranaki Museum. After a while it became apparent that no one had researched the subject before except on a very casual basis, that there had been no systematic recording of sites of the period,
and that the location of the sites was in almost all cases quite unknown.

About this time I became aware of a collection of manuscript military order, letter, memorandum and other books which was shared by the Taranaki Museum and the New Plymouth Public Library. These provided detailed information on a day to day basis on the establishment and manning of posts throughout north Taranaki, on related military operations, later roles and final abandonment. Also available was a good collection of published material relating to the campaigns, including the superb coverage of the First Taranaki War in the files of the Taranaki Herald.

Locating and recording sites became a matter of reading contemporary accounts of particular military operations and then going into the field to search. In many cases sites were located quite easily, but in some a number of excursions were needed before difficult historical references could be used to identify a particular site from the slightest surface evidence. In other cases what were clearly European fortifications were located archaeologically before obscure historical references could be found to fit. This part of fieldwork involved complementary archaeological and historical research in a manner which is the essence of historical archaeology.

About eighty archaeological sites of the Taranaki war period were located (see Appendix 2). Almost all are European military fortifications, although some Maori fortifications and other sites were recorded as well. The emphasis on European military sites was partly the result of differential survival - more European sites have survived than Maori - and partly as a
result of a deliberate developing interest in this class of site. What began as a general attempt to record the archaeological sites of a crucial period of Taranaki (and New Zealand) history evolved into an examination of European military fortifications in Taranaki, a reconsideration of the course and the winning of the war, and a theoretical examination of the evidence in terms of models of frontier development of wide relevance.

Description of European military sites as a class was subsequently further developed by excavations at two sites, undertaken from the Anthropology Department of the University of Auckland where I enrolled as a Ph.D. student. The Omata Stockade and Warea Redoubt present very different aspects of the European prosecution of war in Taranaki. A discussion of the archaeology of the two sites is given in Chapter 6; it is sufficient here to note that between them they allowed examination of two approaches to problems of defence and accommodation, and that they provided a substantial body of artefactual material for description of the portable material culture associated with European fortifications of the period.

Examination of the mid-nineteenth century material from the sites led to consideration of the period of rapid technological development represented and the nature of the remote colonial economy which it maintained.

Thus what began as an exercise in description where none existed before, evolved into an illustration of historical and theoretical ideas of much wider interest. The end was not in sight when the research began, and indeed it could not have been.
Without any information on the shape of the archaeological landscape, only the most general questions could be asked. The fieldwork and subsequent analysis, however, led to a constant framing and re-framing of questions which has allowed the data to illustrate questions of a far from particularistic nature.

This work is organised into an introduction and a conclusion and five other chapters. Much the longest is chapter two, "The archaeology of the Taranaki military frontier". This presents the results of fieldwork and historical research concerning the many European military archaeological sites of the period. Chapter three is a discussion of this material organised around two themes, fortification design and models of frontier development. Chapters four and five consist of reports on the excavations at Omata and Warea and chapter six presents a comparative discussion of the sites and material recovered from them. The work ends with conclusions contained in chapter seven.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The New Zealand Wars were the result of the fundamental conflict between an indigenous and an intrusive people over who should have the land and who should govern. There was a small European presence in New Zealand from the opening of the 19th century but it was not until 1840 with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi that European people, almost all British, began to flood into the country on a systematic basis. By 1860 the European population in New Zealand exceeded the Maori.16

During the 1840s there were a number of comparatively minor military conflicts which arose from Maori fears over the
expanding European presence. These early campaigns did not result directly in the expansion of European settlement. In the 1860s, however, there was a series of major campaigns as a result of which much of the most coveted land in the North Island was confiscated from the Maori tribes previously in possession and effective Maori opposition to European settlement and law was virtually extinguished. The most important of these campaigns took place in Taranaki, Waikato, the Wanganui-Patea region, the Bay of Plenty and the East Coast (see Figure 1.1).

A characteristic of the most important of these campaigns is that they represent a deliberate expansion by Europeans from districts of earlier settlement to gain possession of land previously denied to them by the Maori. At the time, and indeed subsequently, prosecution of the wars has been described in terms of military movements and engagements, but it was in fact systematic possession of the land which secured victory. Defined military objectives followed passage of the New Zealand Settlements Act of 1863 which allowed confiscation of land from 'rebel' tribes. Thus the campaigns in Taranaki, Waikato and Wanganui-Patea may be seen as bringing about much desired and deliberate expansion of the early settlements of New Plymouth, Auckland and Wanganui. The political objective was more land; the military objective was a tenable frontier.

**European fortifications in New Zealand**

New Zealand was not the only Pacific territory on which Europeans built fortifications. A well known early example
FIGURE 1.1. Map of the North Island, New Zealand, showing location of Taranaki, and of other major military campaigns of the New Zealand Wars.
was Cook’s 'Fort Venus' at Matavai Bay, Tahiti. In the early 19th century the Russian-American Company built a timber blockhouse at Honolulu and an earthwork redoubt on Kauai Island. The first European fortification known to have been built in New Zealand was a 7 foot (2m) high stockade thrown up in 1801 on the banks of the Waihou River to defend a timber cutting gang from the Royal Admiral.

When systematic settlement began in New Zealand in the 1840s, small fortifications were frequently thrown up in times of alarm or military activity. The French at Akaroa built three blockhouses in response to the Wairau affair of 1843 and subsequent ill-humour among southern Maoris. These were completed upon news of the sacking of Kororareka in 1845. Sketches by Mantell and Fox show they were of the typical 'New England' style with two loopholed storeys, the upper overhanging the lower. The blockhouse pictured is surrounded by a low stockade. At Nelson, which was more closely affected by the June 1843 events at Wairau, the settlers' response included construction of a massive earthwork fortification on Church Hill known as 'Fort Arthur'. Within the earthworks a stockade provided a second strong defensive system.

The first major conflict in New Zealand between British troops and the indigenous Maori was the war of 1845 in the Bay of Islands district. The European force made little use of fortifications in this campaign and indeed Colonel Despard who commanded the troops did not believe such defences were necessary. After the July 1845 defeat at Ohaeawai the troops retired to Waimate where Major Bridge remained in command while Despard
went to Auckland. Bridge ordered the construction of an earthwork defence for the dispirited force but Despard on his return ordered it removed. "I could never admit that a European force of between 300 and 400 men well supplied with arms and ammunition and four pieces of cannon, required any rampart to defend them in open country against a barbarian enemy." Despard was the least successful of imperial commanders in New Zealand. Fortifications were later to be widely used in New Zealand by British forces, not just in the defence of comparatively large field forces, but also so that small bodies of men could be distributed economically to control large tracts of country.

More use was made of fortifications in the Wellington region during the campaign of 1846. Upwards of half a dozen small stockades were scattered through the bush serving as refuges for isolated farming districts and as way stations for military movements along the Porirua Road. In Wellington itself two earthwork fortifications were built at Thorndon and Te Aro. The most notable fortification of this campaign, however, was the Paremata Barracks, a two-storeyed stone building 60 x 44 feet (18 x 13m), with flanking towers at two opposite angles. The building was subsequently rendered unsafe by the earthquakes of 1848 and 1855; its ruins may still be seen at the junction of Porirua Harbour and the Pauatahanui Arm north of Wellington.

The third small military campaign of the 1840s took place in 1847 in the Wanganui district where the substantial Rutland Stockade enclosing two blockhouses, and the York Stockade on
an adjacent hill, defended the European settlement and provided accommodation for the troops.\textsuperscript{28}

Perhaps the most remarkable European fortification of this period, and indeed the whole of the New Zealand Wars, was the Albert Barracks in Auckland. A loop-holed stone wall 3-3.5m high enclosed an area of 23 acres (9.3ha).\textsuperscript{29} The fortification was completely flanked and provided accommodation for a large body of men as well as a parade ground, magazine, stores and other buildings. A short length of the wall has survived in the present University of Auckland grounds.

By the time the crucial conflict between Maori and Pakeha took place in the 1860s, European forces had gained considerable experience in the design and construction of field fortifications. These may be grouped as redoubts, stockades and blockhouses. Redoubts are earthwork fortifications defended by a ditch and bank. Stockades are defended by a loopholed wooden palisade, while blockhouses are small rectangular buildings loopholed for defence, often of two storeys, and which themselves provided the defensible position. Full definitions are given in Appendix 1.

Like those of the 1840s, the campaigns of the 1860s were not fluid but were fought by both sides from defended fortifications. The establishment of Maori pa and European forts had symbolic and military purpose. They were symbolic in the sense that the war was fought over land and a fortification implied possession, and they were military in that the imbalance between defence and attack, especially for the Maori who had no artillery, meant that a fortified position put even a small
force at a marked advantage.

The opening campaign of the 1860s was the First Taranaki War of March 1860 - March 1861. This bears some resemblance to the campaigns of the 1840s both in the desire on the part of British commanders for victory in the field, and in the limited strategic objectives. Fortifications were widely used but they were generally confined to the protection of communications and battlefield works. Only a ring of blockhouses around the town of New Plymouth can be seen as having a frontier role. The campaign was fought, initially at least, over disputed land at Waitara. The fundamental questions behind the fighting were left unresolved.

Two years after the ceasefire which ended the Waitara war a more general conflict began. Campaigns were fought over much of the North Island. The use of fortifications for frontier defence in New Zealand developed rapidly in this period. The passage of the New Zealand Settlements Act in November 1863 paved the way for the wholesale confiscation of Maori land and brought military strategy into line with political objectives. To win the war the Maoris were to be systematically dispossessed of their land. The aim of military activity in the Second Taranaki War of 1863-66, the Waikato campaign of 1863-64, and the Patea campaigns which lasted until the end of the decade, was the establishment of a forward fortified frontier behind which European settlement of confiscated land could proceed.

The final phase of the armed struggle took place in the early 1870s in the Urewera country where Te Kooti's guerilla force defied the result of the warfare of the previous decade.
Here, in the mountains, a more fluid campaign developed. Although field fortifications were again used these were generally rear depots and not forward positions.30

Taranaki

Taranaki was the northernmost of the half-dozen systematic Wakefield colonies in New Zealand. Organised settlement began in 1841 with the arrival of the first of six Plymouth Company vessels which brought settlers mostly from the counties of Devon and Cornwall in England. The colony was for a long time the smallest and most isolated of European settlements in New Zealand. It was isolated by virtue of its open roadstead and difficult landing place on a coast exposed to prevailing westerly winds. It remained small for the lack of land.

Very early in the history of the New Plymouth settlement31 the land question became an obsessive interest of European settlers. The New Zealand Company claimed to have purchased 70,000 acres in Taranaki from the Te Atiawa tribe who had fled the area in the early 1830s following raids by Waikato tribes. With the arrival of the European settlers and the purchase of Waikato claims the Te Atiawa began to return to their former homes. In 1844 Commissioner Spain investigated New Zealand Company claims and recommended the settlement be awarded 60,000 acres extending northwards beyond the Waitara River.32 This recommendation was subsequently overturned by Governor FitzRoy who was anxious to avoid conflict with the Te Atiawa. The New Plymouth settlement was left with only 3,500 acres immediately surrounding the straggling town on the banks of the
Huatoki Stream. 33

Over following years a number of blocks of land were purchased from the Te Atiawa and Taranaki tribes. 34 Much of this was heavily forested land inland to the slopes of Mt Egmont, however, and European settlers still cast covetous eyes towards the Waitare with its open country and fertile soils, and its promise of a sheltered harbour in the river mouth. In 1848 an important Te Atiawa chief, Wiremu Kingi te Rangitake, returned with his people from Otaki, north of Wellington. Many of the returning people settled with Kingi on the south bank of the Waitare River, thus emphasising the denial of this land to the European settlers.

The growth of the New Plymouth settlement was severely restricted by the limitations of land. By 1859 the European population had increased to only about 2,700 35 and was falling rapidly behind that of Auckland and the southern provinces. In addition to the land problem, Taranaki shared with Nelson and other smaller settlements in the generally difficult economic times of the 1840s and 1850s. Only the Victorian gold rushes of the early 1850s gave the settlers, and Maoris, a good market for their agricultural produce. By the end of the decade Maori and Pakeha were again thrown back on their own resources. The Europeans, however, fixed upon the lack of land as the fundamental problem behind their settlement's lack of advancement.

In the 1850s a feud arose within the Te Atiawa tribe which spread rapidly to involve Maori tribes over a wide area of the west coast of the North Island. While there were a number of
aspects to this feud, and old scores settled, a major element was undoubtedly the conflict between factions on the question of selling land to the Pakeha. There was at the time a widespread European fear of a 'land league' which supposedly represented a deliberate combination of Maori tribes resolved not to sell more land. Taranaki settlers saw Wiremu Kingi as the key figure behind this resolve.

In 1859 a chief named Teira offered land at the Waitara to Governor Browne who was visiting New Plymouth. Europeans in Taranaki saw this as providing an immediate opportunity to expand their settlement in a long-desired direction, and as offering a long-term opportunity to break up opposition to land sales among the Te Atiawa. Early in 1860 an attempt to survey the Pekapeka Block at Waitara was resisted by the people living there and troops were sent to protect the survey. This resulted in the opening clash of the First Taranaki War at Te Kohia on 17 March 1860. The war spread rapidly to engulf the extended and unprepared European settlement, and troops campaigned extensively north and south of New Plymouth. The First Taranaki War was brought to an end by a ceasefire in March 1861 - neither side had gained a victory and the fundamental conflict was quite unresolved.

In the autumn of 1863 war again broke out in Taranaki. The Second Taranaki War may be regarded as lasting from 1863 to 1866. Other crucial campaigns of the New Zealand Wars were fought at the same time elsewhere in the North Island, most notably in the Waikato, Bay of Plenty and Patea districts. By the close of the Second Taranaki War the most ardent
ambitions of the New Plymouth colonists were realised with European farmers settled on confiscated land from Stoney River to the north of the Waitara, and discontinuously as far north as Pukearuhe.

In the north, however, European settlement was too scattered, and the extended military frontier too exposed, for security to be assured. In March 1869 a successful Maori raid on the frontier post at White Cliffs provoked a period of military activity north of the Waitara. During what may be termed the 'White Cliffs Scare' a number of new military posts were thrown up in the area. This activity was of considerable importance to European expansion in Taranaki as it secured the extensive area north of the Waitara River for settlement.

The final period of military expansion of the Taranaki settlement was the Parihaka Campaign of 1880-81. Armed Constabulary and road builders advanced over the Stoney River frontier to dispossess the Maoris of land which had been confiscated under the act of 1863 but which the Pakeha had until then lacked the resources to effectively occupy.

The First Taranaki War (1860-61), while it saw some severe fighting, satisfied neither the European settler nor the Maori. The New Zealand Settlements Act, however, enabled the Second Taranaki War (1863-66), the White Cliffs Scare (1869) and the Parihaka Campaign (1880-81) to secure successive districts in Taranaki for European settlement. In chapter two the archaeology of the Taranaki campaigns is described, with the emphasis always on European sites and their illustration of the course of the military expansion of the Taranaki settlement.
Chapter One: References and Notes.


2. Ibid, p.4.


16. Statistics of New Zealand for 1858, New Zealand Government, Auckland, gives the European population (from a December 1858 census) as 61,224, and the Maori population ("as far as can be ascertained") as 56,149.


21 Straubel, Plate 14.


24 Barthorp, p.115.

25 Best, p.15.


27 Burnett, p.29.


29 A "Plan of Albert Barracks" superimposed on a modern aerial photograph is published as a supplement to Auckland Regional Committee of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust Newsletter, Vol 8 No 1 (1979).

30 See for example, the picture of the Onepoto (Lake Waikaremoana) Armed Constabulary Redoubt in Cowan, Vol II, p.448.

31 The settlement, and later Province, of New Plymouth, and the town of Taranaki, in 1859 became the Province of Taranaki and the town of New Plymouth. The old usage can be found in manuscript material throughout the 1860s.


33 Fitzroy memo, 2 Dec 1844: AJHR, C-1, pp.174-176.

34 Sinclair, p.278.

35 Statistics of New Zealand for 1859, New Zealand Government, Auckland, Table 1.
CHAPTER II

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE TARANAKI MILITARY FRONTIER

The various campaigns which began with the march on Waitara and ended with the taking of Parihaka saw the establishment of over seventy military fortifications in Taranaki. The objective and history of these works to a large extent reflects the purpose and course of the war. In this chapter these fortifications will be introduced in their historical context, generally in the order of their establishment, and their history and archaeology outlined. While the main objective is to describe the archaeology and give a brief history of each site, nonetheless organisation of this chapter should also allow considerable understanding of the course of the campaigning.

The first European military fortifications in Taranaki were established in New Plymouth on the arrival of a detachment of the 58th Regiment in August 1855. With the outbreak of war over the Waitara in 1860 these defences were greatly strengthened - this in effect forming the initial military 'frontier' along with isolated posts north and south of the town. Sections in this chapter adhere to the sequence of campaigning in Taranaki which has already been outlined: the First and Second Taranaki Wars, the White Cliffs Scare and the Parihaka Campaign. For practical reasons the defensive works of New Plymouth are treated together at the beginning of the first section.
THE FIRST TARANAKI WAR

Events which led to the First Taranaki War have been the subject of considerable attention by historians. FitzRoy's action in overturning the award of Commissioner Spain left the infant settlement only 3,500 acres (1,417.5ha), and although additional areas were purchased in the next few years, the colony felt denied the opportunity to expand. European resentment increased with the apparent hardening of Maori determination not to sell which followed the return of Wiremu Kingi te Rangitake and his people from Otaki in 1848.

During the 1850s a feud of somewhat complicated origins arose among the Puketapu hapu of the Atiawa tribe. A major element in the feud was the difference between those who would and those who would not sell land; certainly this was the most important issue for the European settlers looking on. Because it was felt that the feud might threaten European life and property the decision was made to send a detachment of troops to Taranaki. These troops were not to take sides in the Maori fighting but simply to give protection to the settlers. It was to be fifteen years before the last imperial troops departed the province. The locations of British fortifications, military engagements and major Maori fortifications of the First Taranaki War are shown on Figure 2.1. A list of sites with map references and New Zealand Archaeological Association site record numbers is given in Appendix 2.
Marsland Hill and Mount Elliot

The decision to send troops to New Plymouth was made by Acting-Governor Wynyard who despatched from Auckland 250 men of the 58th Regiment with a proportion of artillery and engineers. The force arrived at New Plymouth on 19 August 1855 in the Duke of Portland. Landing the troops along with 200 tons of military stores, two 24-pounder howitzers and a 'field piece' took place from 19 to 22 August. On the 24th the Duke of Portland sailed for Wellington to bring up a detachment of the 65th Regiment, the major part of which arrived on 6 September. In his journal entry for 20 August 1855 C.W. Richmond wrote that, "the crest of Mt Elliot above Skinner's is now...covered with the round red-topped tents of the soldiery".

Major C.L. Nugent, 58th Regiment, who commanded the detachment, wrote to the Major of Brigade, Auckland, on 31 August,

"The weather for the last six days has been wet, and I have consequently been unable to shift the encampment from its present place, "Mount Elliot," to a more fitting spot which I have selected, adjacent to Marsland Hill.

The cutting down of Marsland Hill is proceeding with rapidity, and it will soon be in readiness for the reception of the iron barracks, if it is intended to place them thereon. I think, however, a more eligible situation might be selected."

The 58th Regiment in New Plymouth on 10 September 1855 included 16 sergeants, four drummers and 273 rank and file. The arrival of the 65th from Wellington increased the New Plymouth garrison to 500 men. On 25 December 1855 most of the 58th returned to Auckland on the brig Ocean, leaving a garrison of 250 65th and 50 58th in New Plymouth. The remaining 58th left on 16 March. Early in 1856 the commanding officer in Taranaki was Brevet Major G.F. Murray, 65th. The 65th under Major (later
FIGURE 2.2. The defences of New Plymouth, First Taranaki War.

PLATE 2.2. New Plymouth foreshore showing Mt Elliot (H.J. Warre, Rex Nan Kivell Collection, National Library of Australia).
Lieutenant-Colonel) Murray remained as sole garrison in New Plymouth until reinforcements arrived at the opening of the Waitara campaign in 1860.

Mt Elliot was a hill overlooking the mouth of the Huatoki Stream and the landing place for the surfboats close to the centre of the township of New Plymouth. The hill stood between lower Brougham Street and the present Queen Street-St Aubyn Street corner. It has since been totally removed to accommodate the New Plymouth railway station and other developments. Before the arrival of the settlers in 1841 a pa named Pukeariki occupied the site. Throughout the 1840s and 50s the hill was occupied by a signalling station for ships using the open roadstead. The signalling station mast, and boatsheds and surfboats, can be seen in the Colonel H.J. Warre watercolour (Pl.2.2). A map, 'Mount Elliot Reserve', in the Taranaki Museum, shows the hill before 1855 with the signal station and various official residences.

The fortification of Mt Elliot involved the throwing up of an earth breastwork around the top of the hill, this enclosing the signal mast and buildings already there. The fortification and buildings provided a useful barracks for many years, as well as being a key strong point when the town was entrenched during the First Taranaki War (see Fig.2.2). For much of the First Taranaki War the Naval Brigade was in residence.

There are a number of pictures which show the fortification on Mount Elliot, including the Warre watercolour given here (Pl.2.2). A plan showing the buildings on Mount Elliot in 1870 is included in a file of correspondence concerning the repair and disposal of military buildings in New Plymouth in the early
FIGURE 2.3. "Sketch Plan of Marsland Hill Reserve, showing the position of the Barracks and Buildings." (Signed, N. Carrington/Surveyor/February 2nd 1870. Encl. in Stepp to Under Secretary, 1 Feb 1870:AD1,70/397).
1870s. No archaeological evidence remains.

Marsland Hill provided the single most important military establishment of the Taranaki Wars. It was first occupied in 1855, and it provided the headquarters for imperial troops and local forces in Taranaki until the Armed Constabulary period of the 1870s and 1880s.

The hill stood immediately behind the town. It was formerly occupied by the pa, Pukaka, which is shown, defended by a double ditch and bank, in an 1844 watercolour of New Plymouth by Edwin Harris which is held in the Taranaki Museum. Also in the Taranaki Museum is a map of the Marsland Hill barracks with an inset giving a plan of Pukaka. The troops removed 40 feet from the top of the pa to give a sufficient platform for the barracks and stockade.

The iron clad barrack buildings which were erected on top of Marsland Hill arrived from Melbourne on the Alexander in June 1855. A plan of the buildings is given in a letter of 1874 from Inspector Tuke, Armed Constabulary, to the A.C. Commissioner in Wellington. The barrack buildings were for almost forty years a notable landmark in New Plymouth. In 1891 they were removed to the slopes of Mt Egmont where they still serve as a mountain hut at North Egmont. A large number of paintings, sketches and photographs show the military establishment on Marsland Hill. Plates 2.1 by Warre and 2.3 by Williams provide examples.

The military establishment on Marsland Hill is shown on a "Sketch Plan of Marsland Hill Reserve shewing the position of the Barracks and Buildings", by Nelson Carrington, dated 2 February 1870 (Fig. 2.3). The map shows the barrack buildings surrounded by stockade on the northern point of the hill, with
PLATE 2.3 'Marsland Mill, N.P. 22 June 1864 Taranaki'. Carrington Road Blockhouse is in the foreground. (E.A. Williams, Hocken Library).

PLATE 2.4. Bell Block blockhouse and stockade (F.H. Arden, TM).
an entrenched area on the ridge to the south enclosing some soldiers' huts and a parade ground. On the flanks of the hill are more huts (the married quarters) and, on the site of the present New Plymouth prison, the hospital. On the northern slope of the hill are the officers' quarters, theatre, engineer's department, carpenters' and blacksmiths' shops and stores buildings.

A useful description of the stockade is given by Sergeant Thomas Oldfield, A.C., writing in 1872:

"The Stockade itself, although looking very formidable at a distance; is in reality a very slight affair, which would be of little or no use in the event of an enemy attempting to attack it; the palisading being formed of slabs from 2½ to 3 inches through, nailed at the top and bottom to two rails, which are morticed into posts set in the ground." ¹⁹

Marsland Hill was at the centre of an extensive signalling system through the First Taranaki War and for part of the second war. Three or four canvas cover wicker balls were raised or lowered on the yards of a signalling mast. The mast stood within an earth breastwork extending south of the stockade on top of the hill (see Pl.2.1). At its greatest extent the signalling system reached the Waitara River to the north and St George's Redoubt in the Tataraimaka Block to the south. Permission to discontinue the signal station on Marsland Hill, along with other remaining stations, was sought by Colonel Warre in July 1865.²⁰

The last imperial troops in New Plymouth, a detachment of the 18th Regiment, left Taranaki on 17 January 1870 and an Armed Constabulary guard of one sergeant and 11 men was put in charge of Marsland Hill.²¹ Most of the military buildings on and around Marsland Hill were by this time in a dilapidated state, the stockade itself being repaired later that year.²² The Armed Constabulary continued to use Marsland Hill throughout the 1870s although in 1874 much of the barracks were taken over to house
immigrants. Marsland Hill now lies within a New Plymouth City Council Reserve. Although little surface evidence remains of the military establishment, extensive archaeological deposits may be intact on top of the hill, on the 'plateau' area to the south and on the hillsides below. Some large finds of dumped rubbish have come to light during construction of the present system of paths encircling the hill. Excavation is likely to prove Marsland Hill the most important remaining site of the war period in Taranaki.

The entrenchment of New Plymouth

During the winter of 1860 following the humiliation and defeat of the troops at Te Kohia and Puketakauere the Maoris effectively controlled the countryside except for outlying posts at Omata, Bell Block and Waitara. The arrival of a large number of southern Maoris in the Omata district in late July was countered by the establishment of a redoubt on Waireka Hill. Large parties of Maoris, however, began to appear close to New Plymouth, burning and plundering outlying houses and killing stragglers and apparently threatening the town. When General Pratt arrived from Australia in August he immediately decided to entrench the town. The Taranaki Herald 'Journal of Events' for 6 August reported:

"There is a general impression that an attack on the town may be attempted by the natives, and every precaution is made to meet it. The Light Company of the 65th were brought this evening from the Henui, and camped in Liardet-street, near the Wesleyan Chapel. The head-quarters of the 40th were moved from Fort Murray and camped on the Market-Place, Devon-street. 40 men were left in the Fort. The different
companies of Militia and Volunteers had their stations marked out, and all families living outside the lines were ordered to remove into town. The trenches are being vigorously proceeded with, and palisading put up in various parts of the town; gates are erected across the streets. The outlying piquet is brought in from the race-course and stationed in the trenches."25

Pasley gives a full discussion of military and political considerations which led to fortification of New Plymouth.26

The trenches extended from Mt Elliot along Queen and Robe Streets to Marsland Hill and from there to the Liardet-Courtenay Street corner and down Liardet Street to the beach (Fig. 2.2). A southerly extension from Marsland Hill enclosed the soldiers' huts and parade ground on the 'plateau'. Two 32-pounder guns were mounted behind a breastwork at the south end of the spur.27

Colonel Thomas R. Mould, R.E., supervised construction of the defences.28

Use was made of a short stretch of the Huatoki Stream for defence, but apart from that the centre of New Plymouth was entirely enclosed by a trench and earth breastwork or palisade. There were six gates through the defences: Mill Gate in Queen Street, South Devon Gate on Devon Street at the Queen Street Corner, Theatre Gate on Robe Street at the Fulford Street corner, Carrington Gate on Powderham Street immediately outside the present Taranaki Newspaper building, Wasley Gate on Liardet Street at the Courteney Street corner and North Devon Gate at the Liardet-Devon Street corner. Outside the trenches, but within the outer line of blockhouses, there were a number of buildings and positions which were held by pickets. These included a ball-proof picket house located on the present Robe Street reserve, and a number of houses of commanding situation.

Outlying settlers who were not manning the posts at Omata and Bell Block all moved into town. An attempt was made to remove
women and children to Nelson and elsewhere although this was strongly resisted by the settlers. Considerable privation was suffered by settlers remaining in the crowded town; a gravestone in St Mary's churchyard, for example, lists three children of one family and their mother, who died of diphtheria between 16 May and 1 July 1860.²⁹

New Plymouth was in a constant state of excitement as alarm and rumour swept the town. When an attack seemed imminent women and children would gather behind the defences on Marsland Hill and troops and militia would man the trenches. A report from the Taranaki Herald 'Journal of Events' for 4 August gives an example.

"At 10 o'clock this morning the alarm guns from Marsland Hill and Mount Eliot were fired, and the bugles called together the troops and militia, a messenger having arrived in town reporting that the natives were in force in rear of the Colonial Hospital in the Town belt, and that a combined movement was to be made on the town. Intelligence also in town that the troops were engaged on the Bell Block. The troops and militia under arms in readiness to move to any point. The women and children flocked to the barracks from all points."³⁰

The trenches around New Plymouth were maintained until the end of the First Taranaki War. In the uncertain peace which followed they fell into disuse. The town was never directly threatened in the Second Taranaki War so the need for such defensive measures did not arise again.

The New Plymouth blockhouses

The location of the various blockhouses around the town of New Plymouth can be seen in Figure 2.2.³¹ All these posts were established in 1860 when the town was hard-pressed by Maoris. Most blockhouses continued in use through the peace of 1861–63.
and were again held by strong guards in the early part of the second war. When it was clear the war would not return to New Plymouth some posts were abandoned, while others were used as barrack buildings for troops and militia stationed in the town.

New Plymouth Garrison Orders for 11 July 1863 will serve to indicate the size and distribution of the various pickets posted at the blockhouses and about the town at the opening of the Second Taranaki War.

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The New Plymouth blockhouses provided the first military frontier in Taranaki. Except for outlying posts at Omata, Bell Block and Waitara only the small area within the line of blockhouses was secure, the Maoris completely dominating the countryside around. Brief notes are given here of each site. The detailed history of each blockhouse is not important in terms of the subsequent military expansion of the New Plymouth settlement or for understanding the campaigning of the 1860s. Nor, in most
cases, is there surface archaeological evidence to repay detailed archaeological description.

Fort Stapp was situated on top of the low sea cliff in the present Mount Bryan Domain. It commanded the beach to the north and the south. From manuscript garrison order books it can be established that the post was no longer used in the Second Taranaki War, defence in this section of the perimeter being now concentrated at the Henui Blockhouse. Fort Stapp was named after Captain Charles Stapp who was adjutant to the militia and volunteer forces in the early 1860s and later commanding officer of various corps in the Taranaki military district into the 1880s. No surface archaeological evidence remains of the site although a scatter of earthenware fragments close to Octavius Place (but some distance from the cliff and from the blockhouse site as given in historical records) may belong.

Henui Blockhouse was situated on high ground at the corner of Gill and Hobson Streets and overlooked the lower Henui Stream valley. The site is now covered by houses and no archaeological evidence survives. At 4 Brown Street, below the blockhouse site, a surviving military cottage provides a rare and extremely important example of housing for the troops in the early 1860s.

Fort Niger was situated on the present Fort Niger Reserve between the end of Pendarves Street and Hobson Street. The hill was formerly the site of a Maori pa named Wharepapa. Fort Niger was established by the Naval Brigade off HMS Niger early in 1860. The post was a key one lying at the corner of the area defended by the six blockhouses north of the town.

On occasions the Fort Niger garrison was given some excitement by Maoris who were operating at will in the area behind the
town.

"Between 3 and 4 this morning 18 August 1860, a blue light was hoisted on Fort Niger and the alarm bugles were sounded. The sentry at Fort Niger was fired upon by several natives at the distance of a few feet but who missed him. The guard, under Lieutenant Bent, R.M., turned out and gave them a volley when they made a precipitate retreat." 33

Fort Niger was held by the Naval Brigade for much of the First Taranaki War. Like other blockhouses in the New Plymouth area, it was later occupied by a variety of local and regular forces. A pencil sketch in the Warre sketchbook, Hocken Library, 34 shows Fort Niger to have included a T-shaped building within earth walls. Present archaeological evidence includes some fragmentary glass and earthenware falling out of the steep banks of the low hill once accommodating the post. On the top platform no surface indications survive of the blockhouse or surrounding earth wall, all having apparently been demolished during or before preparation of the present reserve.

Fort Cameron, Fort Herbert and Carrington Road Blockhouse were all situated on the edge of the high ground behind the town. They dominated the secure area within the line of blockhouses, as well as commanding the extensive terrace area to the southward.

Fort Cameron was named some time following its initial establishment after the commanding officer in New Zealand from 31 March 1861, Lieutenant-General Duncan Cameron. It appears to have been situated on the present Ridge Lane close to the Rogan Street corner. No surface archaeological evidence remains.

Fort Herbert was named after Major Charles Herbert, commanding officer of the Taranaki Militia and Volunteers until February 1862. The blockhouse was no sooner completed than it was burned to the ground, at 3 a.m., 14 July 1860. 35 It was rebuilt soon
after and when the garrison was withdrawn to man the town
trenches in early August it was occupied by 'friendly natives' for
the remainder of the war.  

Fort Herbert was situated on the point of high ground
immediately to the east of the present Pukekura Park playing
ground. Some fragments of bottle glass eroding down the rear of
the hill are clearly 19th century in origin. A low earthwork,
now almost hidden in second growth bush may provide unique surface
evidence of the blockhouse site, although it is also associated
with some more recent material including modern, light-weight
corrugated iron.

Carrington Road Blockhouse (sometimes 'Fort Carrington') was
situated on what was then Carrington Road (now Victoria Street),
named after Frederick Carrington, the pioneer surveyor who decided
on the site of the New Plymouth settlement in 1840. A sketch by
Williams (Pl.2.3) shows an L-shaped loop-holed blockhouse on a
broad platform surrounded by a low earth embankment. A "Return
of Blockhouses, Redoubts and Stockades in the North Island",  
1869, describes it as a 'blockhouse and redoubt' with
accommodation for 50 men. Present archaeological evidence con-
sists of a scatter of fragmentary earthenware and bottle glass
beneath regenerating bush just within Pukekura Park, next to the
garden staff house at the top of the Victoria Street hill.

The three remaining outer blockhouses were all south of the
entrenched town centre. Numbers 2 and 3 Blockhouses were situated
on the edge of the scarp behind the town and dominated the low
ground to the north as well as the Huatoki Stream valley and
the high terrace ground to the south. Fort Murray was sited
between the Mangaotukuku Stream and the sea.
No. 3 Blockhouse was situated on the edge of the high ground overlooking the Huatoki Stream valley and the Marsland Hill 'plateau' area. The site is now occupied by Wallace Place and houses. During landscaping for a garden some years ago Mr and Mrs Kibby of 3 Wallace Place recovered a small collection of artefactual material including .577 Enfield bullets, clay pipe pieces (including a 'TD' bowl), buttons of the 40th (2), 57th (4), and 65th (1) Regiments, some bottle glass (including an intact French wine bottle, cf. Fig. 4.17B), a copper barrel tap (W.RIGG/PATENT) and some earthenware pieces.

No. 2 Blockhouse was apparently situated on the terrace edge in front of (or beneath) the present Barrett Street hospital building. The 1869 report states that it had accommodation for 20 men. No surface evidence remains.

Fort Murray was named after Lieutenant-Colonel George F. Murray, 65th, who was in command at New Plymouth from 1856 until the arrival of Colonel Gold with reinforcements on 1 March 1860. It was sited on a former pa, Rungapiko, on what is now the Mt Edgecumbe Street extension just off Young Street, overlooking the Mangatuktu Stream. Fort Murray is now completely demolished and the site is now occupied by a block of flats.

Fort Murray was a large blockhouse with accommodation for 50 men. Like other blockhouses around the town it was occupied for many years by a variety of local and regular corps. In late 1866 we find it in use by the Military Train as, "...there are no other available stables in New Plymouth for the horses of the detachment". Sale of the Fort Murray buildings to the landowner, Mr Knight, for £42 was authorised in October 1867.

A "Return shewing the number of Blockhouses in the Province
of Taranaki", dated 2 June 1866, lists surviving blockhouses in New Plymouth at that date as Fort Murray, No. 2, Carrington Road, Cameron, Niger and Henui. A similar list dated 11 December 1867 gives only Fort Murray, and that now in possession of the owner of the land. However, in the "Return of Blockhouses, Redoubts and Stockades in the North Island", dated 1869, surviving New Plymouth blockhouses are given as Carrington Road ("Recently repaired. Provincial Govt property, at present used for Militia purposes"), No. 2 ("In a dilapidated state; belongs to Provincial Govt") and Fort Murray ("In good order").

The background to open warfare in 1860 has already been briefly reviewed. Events immediately preceding the conflict are also too well known to require elaboration here. The decision to proceed with the purchase of land offered by Teira at Waitara, in the face of majority Maori opinion, put Maori and European on a collision course. In late February 1860 a party of surveyors went to the Waitara to survey the Pekapeka Block (see Fig. 2.1). They were resisted by the Maoris living there and on 22 February Colonel Murray declared martial law in Taranaki. Work on settlers' fortifications at Omata and Bell Block was then rapidly pushed ahead.

The Bell Block and Omata fortifications are historically unique and important. They were designed by local settlers without help from the army to protect homes and farms and act as refuges. In the event the Maoris so controlled the countryside that these intentions were not realised: almost all homesteads outside New Plymouth were burnt down, stock was driven off and families forced to take refuge in town.
However, the two posts did serve military objectives for many years, keeping a watch on Maori incursions in the New Plymouth area and acting as way stations for military operations to the north and south.

Bell Block Stockade

The Bell Block Stockade (sometimes 'Bell Blockhouse' or 'Hua Blockhouse') was built early in 1860.

"A very general desire was manifested to erect rude but effective fortifications in several districts as rallying points; but the uncertainty that still exists whether the Militia (who are directed to be called out forthwith) will be permitted to resist aggression in their own homes, or be required to serve elsewhere, has delayed if not defeated the excellent proposal. The Bell and Hua settlers are unremitting in collecting the materials for a blockhouse which in addition to completely accomplishing the purpose for which it is designed, will serve as a signal station between the Town of New Plymouth and the Waitara."[48]

The blockhouse building was designed by local settlers and completed under the direction of W.B. Messenger of the Taranaki Militia, a member of a pioneering Omata family.[49] The cost of materials was met by the government.[50]

The best description of the post is given by Grayling:

"It occupies a commanding position, and presents an impregnable fort to any enemy devoid of artillery. Its length is 62 feet; width, 22 feet; height, 11 feet. A ditch surrounds the fort, enfiladed by two towers, 22 feet high, at its opposite angles. These towers are 11 feet square, and, similarly to the body of the building, judiciously loopholed, and rendered musket and ball proof...

The first expedition had started for the Waitara, the disputed land occupied by the Queen's troops, and the L pa shelled, before the blockhouse was completed. It was garrisoned by 50 Militia and Volunteers, and, for many months, no addition was made to the force. Eventually, 150 of Her Majesty's troops were sent down, who constructed an entrenched camp immediately adjoining; two 9-pounder field-pieces being placed in position. The force was not materially lessened during the war.

By degrees mess rooms and cook-houses were added, as
well as a commodious guard-room, which was built at the Government's expense, and the roof of the blockhouse boarded and shingled; whilst the interior of the building was made comfortable by the addition of a floor, and bunks for the men to sleep in.

Grayling makes it clear the post was initially only a blockhouse, with the stockade added on the arrival of the troops.

Apart from the period during and after the First Taranaki War when a detachment of imperial troops was stationed at the stockade, the garrison was made up only of local forces - Militia and Volunteers and, later, Taranaki Military Settlers. During the First Taranaki War local forces at the post were commanded by Captain Morrison. On the arrival of General Pratt in Taranaki at the beginning of August 1860 the garrison comprised 135 12th Regiment (119 rank and file), 46 Taranaki Militia and three Royal Engineers. On 19 November, shortly after the engagement at Mahoetahi, the garrison was down to 56 65th Regiment (50 rank and file), 45 Militia and three Royal Engineers.

During the Waitara War a number of skirmishes took place in the Bell Block area between the stockade garrison and parties of Maoris. Each side engaged in burning the dwellings, destroying farm produce and driving off stock belonging to the enemy. Excellent accounts of military movements and skirmishes in the Bell Block area are recorded by the Taranaki Herald's 'own correspondent' at the post.

Following the ceasefire of March 1861 imperial regiments other than the 57th left Taranaki. In December the following year there were 23 of the 57th at Bell Block along with local men. After the withdrawal from Waitara and Mahoetahi in May 1863, Bell Block Stockade was the only position held north of New Plymouth until February 1864 when Mahoetahi was re-occupied.
and a new redoubt established on Sentry Hill.

In January 1865 there was a detachment of 30 men of the Taranaki Military Settlers at Bell Block. Two months later the Taranaki Herald reported that, "Bell Block is in the keeping of twenty-five volunteers from the old Militia under the command of Captain Black, T.V.R.". On 31 May the garrison was down to one man, T.M.S., and one sergeant and nine rank and file, Taranaki Militia. On 30 June the 'old Militia' at Bell Block was struck off pay and replaced by three Military Settlers. It is not known when Bell Block was closed up for the last time.

The shape of Bell Block Stockade is indicated in a number of contemporary paintings and sketches. Cowan provides two illustrations from two 'drawings' by Arden dated 1863, which are very similar, though not quite identical, to original pencil and wash sketches held in the Taranaki Museum. The more informative original is given here (Pl.2.4).

The Bell Block Stockade was located where the present hotel stands on the hill top at Bell Block. An aerial photograph taken in August 1950 (1784/5) shows a large and complex earthwork apparently with three adjacent entrenched areas. The site survived archaeologically until 1970. It was completely destroyed in a few days when construction began on the present hotel buildings. Next to Marsland Hill, Bell Block Stockade was the most important and best known archaeological site of the Taranaki Wars and its destruction is a major loss of recent years.

Omata Stockade

The second of the two settler fortifications erected north and south of New Plymouth early in 1860 was the Omata Stockade.
A report on excavations carried out at the site in January and February 1977 is given in Chapter 4. The history of the post is not repeated here.

Work was rapidly proceeding on the Bell Block and Omata fortifications when the troops marched out to Waitara to protect the survey of the disputed land. On 1 March Governor Browne, Colonel C.E. Gold, commanding the troops in New Zealand, and reinforcements of the 65th arrived in New Plymouth on board the Niger and Airedale from Auckland. This brought troop numbers in New Plymouth to 448 in addition to Militia and Volunteer units who were rapidly being mobilised. Outlying settlers moved into town abandoning their farms. On 5 March the greater part of the troops in New Plymouth marched out to Waitara.

Waitara Camp and Blockhouse

In a despatch to the Duke of Newcastle, Colonial Secretary, dated 12 March 1860, Governor Browne briefly describes initial military moves which were to have such incalculable consequences for Taranaki and New Zealand.

"My Lord Duke,

In continuation of my Despatch "separate" of the 2nd March, I have now the honor to inform your Grace that Colonel Gold marched to the Waitara with the troops as below on the morning of the 5th March and reached the encamping ground about 11 a.m.

I reached that place in H.M.S.S. "Niger" about four hours earlier. Some boats from the ship landed at once, and my Private Secretary, Captain Steward, Lieutenant Blake, R.N., and Mr Rogan, Native Agent, seeing no one, advanced to meet the troops. They soon, however, discovered a number of natives lying in ambush, well concealed. After some talk with the Native Agent, who told them they were between the troops and the sailors, they retired, saying they would return."
Browne lists the troops who marched from New Plymouth to Waitara:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Corps</th>
<th>Officers</th>
<th>Sergeants</th>
<th>Drummers</th>
<th>Rank &amp; File</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Staff</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Artillery</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Engineers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>65th Regiment</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>313</td>
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<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The troops established two positions at Waitara: a large redoubt a little inland (Pls 2.5 and 2.6) and a blockhouse at the mouth of the river. The redoubt was at first named, "...in honour of His Excellency, who was present at the time, 'Gore Browne Redoubt,' the name was, however, changed on the 19th of the same month to 'Camp Waitara'".64 The blockhouse was always 'Waitara Blockhouse'. Camp Waitara was established on the site of an old pa, Pukekohe, while the blockhouse was built on the site of a small riverside kainga called Kuikui.65

Waitara Camp was built in two stages (see Pl. 2.6). The engineer in charge of the first stage was Lieutenant Frederick Mould, R.E.66 The addition was constructed in the winter of 1860 under the supervision of Lieutenant A.H.W. Battscombe, Naval Brigade.67 Materials for the blockhouse arrived from Auckland on the Pegasus on 9 April 1860.68 Construction of the building was supervised by Lieutenant Mould.69 On 28 July 1860 the Taranaki Herald reported, "The Block-house on the Waitara Point is all but finished, and is guarded by Captain M'Carthy's company of the 40th, and Lieut. Kelly's company of the Naval Brigade, with a six-pounder."70

During the night of 5 March Wiremu Kingi's people built a small pa on the disputed land to command the road to the soldiers' camp. An attempt was made from this fortification to
stop troops travelling to and from Waitara Camp, whereupon Browne despatched a note "To the Chief who obstructs the Queen's road" threatening attack in twenty minutes if the fortification was not abandoned. "This had the desired effect, and the pah (which was found to have traverses, and to be extraordinarily well designed) was burnt by the troops." 71

"On the night of the 15th March another pa was built by some of the rebel natives within the purchased land, about a mile from the camp, and the war dance was performed by the same party." 72 This pa was Te Kohia, or 'L-pa' from its plan (see Fig. 2.4). On 17 March the occupants were asked to surrender and, on their refusal, the pa was attacked. This was the first engagement of the war. An account of the attack, along with the excellent plan, perspective sketch and section drawings given in Fig. 2.4, is given in Colonel Gold's despatch. 73 Rocket tubes and 24-pounder howitzers opened fire from 750 yards to the south-west, later closing to 200 yards. On the morning of the 18th the pa was entered and found to have been abandoned in the night.

Memories of the humiliation suffered by the troops in the 1847 war in the Bay of Islands quickly returned. Browne wrote to London:

"A pah which they erected in one night, and which was garrisoned only by about seventy (70) Maoris, occupied our troops two days to capture and destroy. A storm of shot and shell did scarcely any execution, and finally it was evacuated with trifling loss...

Indeed it is not generally known that during the war in the north of New Zealand, the Maoris were always far inferior in numbers to Her Majesty's troops; but their deficiency in this respect was made up for by the strength of the country in which they fought. Their skill in forming traverses and covered earthworks in their pahs is also surprising, and most admirable; in fact, I am inclined to believe that shot and shell are thrown away on these defences, and that nothing but an approach by earthwork will be found
Experience at Te Kohia was crucial in encouraging the cautious approach to attacking Maori fortifications adopted by Gold and General Pratt throughout the First Taranaki War. Admiration for Maori fortifications and the need for their careful study resulted in excellent plans and section drawings by Royal Engineers of a number of pa taken in the early months of the war, some of which are given here (Figs. 2.4, 2.5, 2.6 and 2.9).

The approximate location of Te Kohia is given by Cowan in a "Plan of the Pekapeka Block, Waitara". A plan dated 1930 shows the location in relation to modern roads and land boundaries. The pa was behind the present Brixton Hall in lower Waitara Road between Devon Road and Raleigh Street. It was situated on flat ground evidently much cultivated over the years. No surface evidence has been found.

Across Devon Road in front of the house known as 'Mount Pleasant' are two distinct artificial platform terraces said to be the gun platforms for the initial bombardment of Te Kohia on 17 March.

Colonel Gold returned to New Plymouth on 24 March at the urgent request of the Governor who feared threatening movements by Taranaki and Ngati Ruanui from the south. Lieutenant Colonel Sillery took command at Waitara. On 6 April the post came under the command of Captain James Barton, 65th, who remained in command until the arrival of detachments of the 40th Regiment — 109 men on 6 May, and 33 men, two sergeants and two officers including Major Thomas Nelson who took command, on 28 May.
On 27 June Major Nelson led the 40th Regiment from the camp to its defeat at the twin pa of Puketakauere and Onukukaitara just outside the disputed land. A stockade was later erected on the site of Onukukaitara so the brief account of this engagement along with archaeological description of the sites is reserved for the section on that fortification.

Following the defeat Nelson and the Waitara garrison did a great deal of work destroying Maori villages on both sides of the river.83 When General Pratt arrived in New Plymouth on 3 August, Camp Waitara had a garrison of just over 500 men, mostly 40th and Naval Brigade.84 Early in October, with Pratt's column operating south of New Plymouth, the garrison was down to 250 rank and file.85 On 22 October Colonel Thomas R. Mould, R.E., took command at the post.86

On 6 November Mould took a column from Waitara to attack the Waikato at Mahoetahi in the rear.87 Following this engagement, the first major European success of the war, a stockade was built on the summit of an old pa, Ngapuketurua, close to Mahoetahi (see below).

On 19 November the Waitara garrison was close to 500 men, still mostly 40th and Naval Brigade, but including some Royal Engineers, Royal Artillery and Militia.88

"On 10th December the head-quarters of the 40th were moved to Waitara camp, and Lieutenant-Colonel Leslie took command. Shortly afterwards, on the 28th, General Pratt himself arrived from New Plymouth, and prepared to commence operations on a more extended scale."89

By the end of December General Pratt had assembled at Waitara a field force of almost 1400 men, including Royal Engineers and Artillery, 12th, 40th and 65th Regiments and Naval Brigade.90
PLATE 2.5. 'Camp "Waitara"' (J.E.O. McCarthy, ATL).

Throughout the long advance on Huirangi and Te Arei in the summer of 1860-61 Camp Waitara was the headquarters of the army in New Zealand. On 23 January 1861 the garrison was 390 men, and on 10 February, 585 including casualties.

Within a few days of the 19 March ceasefire a correspondent of the New Zealander visited the redoubt.

"It is pitched on the Southern bank, on rising ground, at a short distance from the river; the approach being up a gently rising mound, terminating to the Eastward with an abrupt descent, at the foot of which there are a chain of marshes that, at one time, appear to have formed the bed of the river. The position is well watered, strong, and judiciously chosen; it is entrenched on all sides, has latterly been greatly enlarged, and, at the time of my visit, was occupied by detachments of the 12th and 14th Regiments, Naval Brigade, and a portion of the Royal Artillery and Engineers."

With the exception of the 57th Regiment, which arrived from India in January 1861, the regiments which took part in the First Taranaki War left the province after the ceasefire. In the following two years Waitara was held by the 57th along with some Militia and Volunteers. For most of this time it was the rivermouth Blockhouse which was occupied, Camp Waitara being abandoned some time after April 1861. When General Cameron inspected the 57th in Taranaki on 22 December 1862 the detachment at Waitara was made up of 41 non-commissioned officers and men under Captain E. Gorton. At the opening of the Second Taranaki War in March 1863 the 57th in Taranaki was initially reinforced by 100 of the Royal Artillery under Captain Mercer, converted into cavalry, 84 of the 65th and over 300 of the 70th. The 70th briefly took over garrison duty at Waitara.

The Waitara was abandoned on 13 May 1863. Grey, who replaced Browne as Governor in late 1861, resolved to quit the
Pekapeka Block to allow military resolution of government objectives elsewhere free from its embarrassing encumbrance.

He wrote to Newcastle in a marvellously mixed argument,

"The Lieutenant-General [Cameron] has this morning proceeded to the Waitara, to withdraw the detachments quartered there, the Local Government having determined that it ought not any longer to hold the land it claimed there. This movement will much consolidate our force, and shorten the line it will be necessary to defend, if hostilities on any large scale break out." 95

Colonel Gamble gives the details of the withdrawal.

"In pursuance of the intention of abandoning the Waitara land, the force in the margin moved this morning from New Plymouth at 7.30, to escort back the detachments occupying the Waitara blockhouse (one captain and fifty men of the 70th Regiment) and Mahoeatahi blockhouse (one officer and twenty-five of the same corps). Her Majesty's ship "Eclipse" towed down three surf boats for the removal of the baggage, barrack furniture, &c. The troops returned to town at 3 P.M., thus leaving the question of the occupation of the Waitara to the natives to settle among themselves." 96

There are several sketches of Camp Waitara including the watercolour given here in Plate 2.5, the work of Captain J.E.D. McCarthy, 40th Regiment. Plate 2.6 gives a plan of the fortification from fieldbook 'H&W6', held in the Lands and Survey Department, New Plymouth. The Fieldbook Register shows 'H&W6' to have been issued to S. Percy Smith. Camp Waitara can be seen to have been defended by a ditch and earth bank - in effect a large redoubt. On the plan can be seen the original work (left) and the enlargement. Every face is covered by flanking defence. The orientation and precise location of the work is given on a "Plan prepared for military purpose to obtain range of positions in terms with Headquarters camp at Waitara", dated 5 November 1860. 97
The Waitara Camp was situated at the south end of the present 'Camp Reserve' in Waitara, on the site now occupied by the tennis courts and bowling green. The earthworks are completely destroyed. The only sign of the site is some cultural material, including pieces of glass, clay pipe stems and charcoal, eroding from a bulldozed section at the west end of the bowling green.

The Waitara Blockhouse was sited to secure the landing place at the mouth of the river. It was garrisoned from the Camp. On 23 January 1861 it was held by 50 men and on 10 February by 30. After the ceasefire of March 1861 the blockhouse continued in occupation until May 1863.

When the troops abandoned Waitara the future of the blockhouse was set out in a "Memorandum addressed to His Excellency by the Native Minister as to Teira's taking charge of the Blockhouse at Waitara", dated 11 May 1863.

"...arrangements have been made under which the Blockhouse at the Waitara will be taken charge of by Teira and Ihia's people, upon the withdrawal of the detachment, provided that a reasonable supply of ammunition is supplied to them."101

Following the re-occupation of the Waitara in 1865 the old blockhouse was again used by the military. For some years a small detachment was based there to operate a ferry across the river. It is not known when the post was finally abandoned. In 1869 it was reported that the blockhouse, with accommodation for 60 men, was 'in very bad order'.102

The 'Waitara Blockhouse' appears to have consisted of a blockhouse proper surrounded by an irregular earthwork defence, or redoubt. Two rough manuscript plans exist of the fortification. In the Camp Waitara Garrison Order Book 25 March – 28 May
PLATE 2.7. "Blockhouse and Commissariat Stores at the mouth of the River Waitara" (Thomas Humphries Fieldbook, Lands & Survey Dept, New Plymouth).

1860 there is a "Rough Hand Sketch of proposed Block House and defensible Enclosure. Mouth of Waitara". This locates a cross-shaped blockhouse, gun platforms and other buildings within an irregular bastioned earthwork. The other plan, in fieldbook 'H&W6', Lands and Survey Department, New Plymouth, shows a T-shaped blockhouse and out-buildings and gives measurements of the surrounding earthworks. Also included are two sections through the earthworks showing the typical arrangement of inner drainage ditch, banquette, wall and outer defensive ditch; this is probably the basis of the only published plan. The Thomas Humphries sketch reproduced here (Pl.2.7) shows the blockhouse and commissariat store building with tents inside the surrounding earthwork.

Fort Turner and Fort Strange

Following the establishment of the troops at Waitara, military attention was directed south of New Plymouth in response to an advance by southern tribes. The first engagement which resulted was the Battle of Waireka on 28 March 1860. On 20 April a combined military and naval force under Colonel Gold marched to the outlying Tataraimaka Block (see Fig.2.1) with the intention of reconnoitring southward and of giving settlers an opportunity to harvest their crops. The force travelled as far south as Warea destroying Maori property and subsistence. When the main party returned to New Plymouth on 29 April 200 men were left to hold two positions at Tataraimaka.

In Colonel Gold's report of the expedition he gives his reasons for leaving troops on the southern block:
"It is now my intention to establish two permanent posts, of 100 men each, in excellent positions, which are capable of being maintained by settlers when the services of the troops are required elsewhere. By doing so I hope to restore confidence where it is much wanted, and protect much valuable property from being burnt or removed by the enemy."  

Alexander says the force was made up of, "...three companies of the 65th...with two guns"; and Broughton tells us the detachments were under the command of Captains Turner and Strange. The posts were named after their respective commanders: Fort Turner and Fort Strange.

The positions were held for about two months. For some of this time they were supplied by the Tasmanian Maid. On 29 June, in response to the alarming defeat at Puketakauere two days previously, the Tataraimaka garrisons were withdrawn and the positions abandoned. By the end of July the southern Maoris were apparently in possession of both fortifications.

The location of both posts is given on a map, "New Zealand, Province of Taranaki, From Waitara to Oeo", by Octavius Carrington, dated 10 June 1862. On the map they are designated 'blockhouses' which is most unlikely. The map key allows them only to be 'military positions'; they were probably redoubts with tents inside.

In the Taranaki Herald account of General Pratt's Kaihiki River expedition (see below) it is stated that the force camped at "...Bayly's farm, or what was formerly known as Fort Strange". Thomas Bayly owned 364 acres on both sides of Lower Pitone Road between Katikara River and Pitone Stream. It is therefore possible to put a name to the sites shown on Carrington's map, and to surviving archaeological evidence.

Since Fort Strange is on Pitone Road, the site shown on
Lower Timaru Road on Carrington's map must be Fort Turner. Archaeological evidence which fits the map location can be seen to the east of the road about halfway between the Greenwood Road corner and the sea. Damaged and eroded trenches encircle a prominent knoll. Part of the hill has been removed in recent years to provide room for a farmhouse, of which only the chimney now stands. A trench with unmistakable signs of having been angled for gun defence, encircles the rest of the mound, dipping low on the northern side where terraces may indicate living quarters. Despite its apparently poor condition the site has probably not been cultivated and important sub-surface deposits may be intact.

Carrington's map shows Fort Strange to be close to Lower Pitone Road, about 200m from the beach, on the east side of the road. No surface archaeological evidence remains.

Puketakauere Stockade

The two pa Puketakauere and Onukukaitara, were built by the Waikato and Te Atiawa tribes just outside the disputed Pekapeka Block at Waitara in June 1860. Construction began on 8 June with forty or fifty men engaged. By 19 June there were 200 Maoris at the site. On the 24th a message arrived from Hapurona, the Te Atiawa fighting chief, to say that he was not quite ready to fight. The messenger was the Methodist missionary John Whiteley who suggested that Maori preparations would take another two or three days. An attack on the pa on 27th June by a combined force of 40th Regiment and Naval Brigade was beaten off with heavy losses. It was the major
military defeat of European forces in the First Taranaki War.

Contemporary plans and sections are available of both pa, drawn up by Lieutenant Frederick Warburton, R.E., and published in *Selections from Despatches and Letters relative to the Conduct of Military Operations in New Zealand 1860-5*. The plan of Puketakauere (Fig.2.5) shows a stockaded platform a little over thirty yards square surrounded by a double ditch and bank. The plan and section of Onukukaitara (Fig.2.6) shows a platform without stockade surrounded by rifle pits and stockades set out on lower ground. Huts occupy sheltered positions in broad trenches. The Maoris abandoned both positions two months after the assault which had failed to dislodge them. "On the 29th [August] information was received from the Waitara that the enemy had abandoned the Puketakauere Pah, which our troops then destroyed." 123

In October it was decided to build a stockade on the site of Onukukaitara to house a signal station. This station would enable communication between Waitara and New Plymouth via Bell Block. Colonel Mould gives a full account of work on the position.

"23rd October.- On the morning of the 23rd October, marched with a party of 110 men from the Waitara camp with a quantity of rough timbers in carts, which had been previously prepared, to the ridge on which the abandoned pahs of Onuku-Kaitera and Puke-Takanere [sic] had been situated, and set out a stockade on the centre of the site of the former pah to accommodate 50 men, employing 60 men as a working party, with the remainder thrown out to cover the operation; one-half of the circuit of the stockade was completed during the day. The rough split timbers of the stockade averaged about 8 inches in diameter, were 14 feet long, and were let into the ground about 4 feet, touching each other. The whole of the men bivouacked on the ground during the night, one-half being on the site of each pah, protected by the old banks thereof, raised where necessary to give more cover."
24th October.— Proceeded with the stockade as rapidly as the very unfavourable weather and the supply of timber, which had to be brought from the low grounds over bad roads, would admit. Parties of equal number as yesterday were employed, who bivouacked on the ground during the night.

25th October.— Proceeded with the stockade which was closed in at noon. A flag-staff was erected, and an ensign hoisted at 5 p.m.; 50 men were left within the stockade as a guard. In the afternoon the whole of the banks of the Puke-Takanere pah were levelled, and the ditches filled in.

26th October.— Commenced the erection of the requisite cover for the men and stores within the stockade, filling in the interstices between the main timbers of the stockade, and also digging a ditch round. One-third of the guard were employed on the unskilled labor; artificers of the Royal Engineers and Militia on the other works. The guard was relieved at sunset.

27th October.— The Onuku-Kaitera stockade, with its buildings and the surrounding ditch, were continued day by day; the detail of one-third of the guard and artificers, as mentioned yesterday, being employed until its completion. 124

Lieutenant Warburton, R.E., was initially in charge of construction, responsibility later being taken over by Lieutenant Battiscombe who finished work on the post on 21 November. 125

The stockade at Onukukaitara was occupied throughout the advance on Te Arei in the summer of 1860-61. Carey gives garrisons of 30 and 19 men in early 1861. 126 In late March it was occupied by, "...an officer and 50 men". 127 The position was probably abandoned shortly afterwards. The stockade was destroyed following the abandonment of Waitara at the opening of the Second Taranaki War; A.S. Atkinson's journal entry of 24 July 1863 reports that, "about 12 news came in that Hapurona had burnt the Puketakauere blockhouse & was going to burn that at Mahoetahi". 128

A number of contemporary sources give the locations of Puketakauere and Onukukaitara. A sketch by the surveyor Thomas Humphries shows the stockade from Waitara Camp 130 (Pl.2.9). Historical evidence for the location of Onukukaitara and Puke-
Figure 2.6 Plan and section of Onuksukatta. From Report to Secretary, 8 Sep 1960:

In New Zealand 1860-2, War Office, 02/02/11
Selection from Despatches and Letters relating to the conduct of Military operations.
takauere is important because some confusion has arisen over which is which. The stockade at Onukukaitara became known as 'Puketakauere'. The latter was the general name for both pa and the more familiar name was attached to the occupied position. With 'Puketakauere Stockade' located on Onukukaitara, the latter name is sometimes quite incorrectly transferred to the original Puketakauere.

The two pa can still be seen as low mounds on an inconspicuous spur which runs down towards the Waitara River between Devon and Pennington Roads (see Pl.2.10). Onukukaitara consists of a trench up to 10m across surrounding the remains of what was once a platform about 13 by 19 metres. Most of the platform has now been removed by bulldozer and some damage has also been done to the trench on the southern side. There has also been some recent fossicking. While the site does not appear at all conspicuous, it is clear standing on it that in fact it holds a commanding position, covering a wide area inland and west, and east to the Waitara River.

Puketakauere is in better condition than Onukukaitara. The site was occupied by troops engaged in constructing the stockade on the other pa from 23 to 25 October (see above). On the afternoon of the 25th the defences were thrown down by the troops; the site has probably not suffered a great deal since.

Waireka Camp

The period following the defeat of the troops at Puketakauere was one of great uncertainty for civilians and soldiers
PLATE 2.9. 'Puketakauere from the Camp'. (Thomas Humphries Fieldbook, Lands & Survey Dept, New Plymouth).

PLATE 2.10. Omukuksitara (left) and Puketakauere from the south, 1975.
crowded into New Plymouth. News of the engagement reached Major-General Pratt in Melbourne on 12 July and it was at once decided to strongly reinforce the troops in Taranaki, the General himself arriving to take command on 3 August. 133
In the meantime New Plymouth was faced with an apparent threat from the south.

"Friday 27 July. A large force of artillery, 12th and 40th, in command of Major Hutchins, started early this morning to take up a position at Omata, to check the onward movement of the rebels. They were seen last night at Wairau, on the beach this side of Tataraimaka, and are believed to be above 1000 strong - including women and children, who have accompanied this expedition to attack New Plymouth..."

4 p.m.- The troops are encamped on Jury's hill, on the site of the rebel stockade taken by Captain Cracroft, R.N., and his men, on the 26th March." 134

The new redoubt was actually about 100m from the old Maori position.

The force under Major W.J. Hutchins, 12th Regiment, rapidly completed a large redoubt on the hill. It appears to have been thrown up in one day as all the tents were pitched within the defences on the night of the 27th. 135 The work became known as Waireka Camp, or the 'soldiers' camp' to distinguish it from the settlers' position at Omata.

The Maori force dug rifle pits on the high ground now traversed by the main road. 136 Skirmishing took place daily.

"The redoubt was partially invested from the 11th to the 23rd of the following month, during which no duties about the camp could be performed without interruption from the enemy's fire, every wood and water fatigue involving a skirmish." 137

Troop numbers at Waireka at the time of General Pratt's arrival in Taranaki were as follows:
Not all military opinion was convinced of the value of the position. Lieutenant Battiscombe, a naval officer stationed at Waitara, wrote in his diary on 26 August:

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

General Pratt shared this opinion\(^{140}\) and when the Maoris withdrew southward at the end of August their fortifications were destroyed and the opportunity was taken to abandon the redoubt. Pratt wrote to the Governor, "I withdrew the detachment stationed at the Waireka on the 7th inst., with a view of concentrating the Forces preparatory to further operations."\(^{141}\)

The troops destroyed the redoubt on leaving.\(^{142}\) The 'further operations' referred to by Pratt were directed towards Waitara where, on 11 September, a combined force of 1400 men destroyed Maori positions at Kairau and Huirangi and a sharp exchange of fire took place at the bush edge.

The old redoubt at Waireka was re-used when troops marched south in March 1863 to reoccupy the Omata and Tataraimaka Blocks at the opening of the Second Taranaki War. At first it was used only by a day piquet from St Patrick's Redoubt. In April 1864 a signal mast was erected at Waireka,\(^{143}\) and the piquet increased to one sergeant, one corporal and 15
FIGURE 2.7. Waireka Camp plan.
privates. The signal station was discontinued in March 1865.

Although Waireka Camp was occupied for only six weeks a massive redoubt with strong flanking defence was built. The site is still quite distinct, despite having been ploughed many times (Pl.2.8). It is situated at the corner of Waireka and Sutton Roads, just over the fence from the New Zealand Historic Places Trust memorial to the Battle of Waireka. The redoubt is a little over 50 metres square, with flanking defence, itself almost 15 metres square, at two opposite corners covering all four sides (Fig.2.7). It is the best remaining example of this classic form of military redoubt in north Taranaki. A ditch up to 8m wide surrounds the work. Access was probably through the eastern or southern sides as these were rear faces; apparent access now visible across the ditch on the western side (see Pl.2.8) is likely to be a recent farming modification since this was the front face and covered from nearby Maori positions. The site has been cultivated many times doubtless severely damaging archaeological deposits. The ditch has been maintained in recent years by judicious use of a plough.

Camp Parawha and the Orongomaihangi Sap

On 19 September 1860 a combined force of 12th and 65th Regiments, Militia, artillery and engineers, under Major Hutchins, amounting to over 500 men, marched out of New Plymouth to reconnoitre the Tataraimaka Block and southward. They camped the first night on what was to be the site of St Andrew's
FIGURE 2.8. Attack on the Kaihii River pa, showing entrenchments of Camp Parawha, sap, and Orongomaihangi, Pukekakariki and Mataiaio pa. (From T.R. Mould, On the Engineer Operations carried on in New Zealand during the war in 1860–61, Professional Papers of the Royal Engineers (new series), Vol. 11, pp. 95–110).
Redoubt, at the mouth of the Oakura River. The following day they moved on and camped "...about a mile beyond..." the Katikara River on 'Johnny's Flat'. This force was under orders to avoid engagement with the enemy and returned to New Plymouth on 24 September.

The report by Major Hutchins resulted in the despatch of a much stronger force on 9 October, to attack positions held by Maoris on the Kaihihi River. The combined force of 12th, 40th and 65th Regiments, Naval Brigade, Militia and Royal Artillery and Engineers numbered almost 1000 men and was under command of General Pratt. The troops camped the first night at Fort Strange, the following morning moving on the site of the old Parawha pa - still a notable archaeological monument on the coast north of Kaihihi Stream. A camp was established and three lengths of defensive earthwork were thrown up around a wide area separated by deep gullies (Fig.2.8). General Pratt, writing to the Military Secretary, Auckland, on 12 October gave his address as 'Camp Parawha, Kaihihi River'.

On 11 October General Pratt ordered a sap dug towards Orongomaihangi, a pa situated within a bend on the right bank of the Kaihihi River, and the strongest and central of three Maori positions. The line of the sap and positions of the three pa can be seen in Figure 2.8. Figure 2.9 gives detailed plans and sections of Orongomaihangi and Pukekakariki. Figure 2.10 depicts rifle pits which were here, as elsewhere in the Taranaki Wars, key features of Maori defensive systems. On the morning of the 12th the pa were found to have been abandoned and were destroyed. The force returned to New
FIGURE 2.9. Plan and section of Orongomati and Puhekerekere. (From C. Peake.)
Plymouth the next day. The Kaihíhi River expedition proved the last military foray south of New Plymouth in the First Taranaki War. It was important in providing a precursor of the great sap dug by Pratt to Huirangi and Te Arei in January, February and March 1861. During the Second Taranaki War Orongomaihangi was briefly occupied by No.2 Company Taranaki Military Settlers under Captain Corbett. The Military Settlers moved forward to the old pa when the 43rd Light Infantry established the new position at Stoney River in late January 1865. Captain Corbett and his company abandoned the position and marched north to No.6 Redoubt (Huirangi) on 23 February.

No surface evidence remains of the Orongomaihangi Sap, with the possible exception of some difficult indications of part of the parallel on high ground next to the river about 200m in front of the pa. The three pa have all suffered considerable damage. Mataiaio has been destroyed by ploughing, though a cropmark is still visible showing its very square plan. Part of Pukekakariki has been destroyed by construction of a house and farm buildings on the northern slope of the hill; remaining evidence may include rifle pits. Orongomaihangi has been greatly damaged by pine trees and cultivation. Of the Camp Parawha breastwork only the long central section can still be seen, despite much cultivation, as it crosses the broad terrace at the end of Hampton Road.
Mahoetahi Stockade

The last six months of the First Taranaki War were fought north of New Plymouth. Following the construction of the Stockade at Onukukaitara in late October, it was decided to secure the Devon Road from New Plymouth to Waitara by the establishment of a position at Mahoetahi between the Waiongana and Mangaoraka streams. The troops had already camped at Mahoetahi once, on the night of 10 September prior to raids on Huirangi and Kairau.\textsuperscript{155} On 27 October Colonel Mould, in command of troops at Waitara, "Took out a party of 200 men to cover a reconnaissance of Mahortahi \textit{sic\textsuperscript{7}} pah, on or near which it was proposed to construct another \textit{stockade}.\textsuperscript{156}

Early in November Colonel Mould took a force from Waitara to make a bridge over a difficult swamp on Devon Road near the Waiongana River, and close to the proposed stockade site. His men came under increasing fire, however, and when a day was fixed for beginning work on the stockade, it was found an enemy force already occupied the site. On 6 November a brief but bloody engagement was fought and the Maoris dislodged from their hastily prepared positions by a combined force of 900 men. This was an important engagement in which the Maoris, mostly Waikato who had only crossed the Waitara the previous day, were severely defeated.\textsuperscript{157}

After the 'Battle of Mahoetahi' the stockade site was changed from Mahoetahi itself to the nearby twin knolls of Ngapuketurua, the site of an old pa.

"The Commanding Royal Engineer \textit{Mould}\textsuperscript{7} was left with 300 men at the pah \textit{Mahoetahi\textsuperscript{7}}, which was entrenched and strengthened, and preparations were immediately made for
the construction of a stockade on the Nga-puke-turna /sic/ knoll..."158

Construction proceeded rapidly:

"7th November to 12th November.-- From this date to the 12th, a party of 40 men were employed in felling and preparing timber for the stockade, clearing the bush from the intended site, and improving the defences of the pah /Mahoetahi/, the working party for the stockade being covered by an advanced line of skirmishers. On the 10th, 50 men of the garrison were ordered to New Plymouth.

13th November to 16th November.-- Commenced the construction of the stockade on Nga-puke-turna, which was closed in on the morning of the 16th, and on that night was occupied by a guard of 30 men. During the same period working parties were employed in clearing the great mass of timber and bush that covered the knoll, and levelling the old Maori banks that surrounded it.

17th November to 27th November.-- Constructing barracks, stores, &c., within the stockade, and clearing bush round the knoll and on the banks of the Waiongona River; working parties 40 men daily, with 8 Royal Engineers, and Military Artificers...

28th November.-- The garrison of Mahortaki was broken up, the troops returning to New Plymouth, and the Commanding Royal Engineer to the Waitara. Previous to evacuating the pah, the whole of the entrenchments were levelled. The Maori "whares," which served as shelter for a portion of the troops, were left standing. One officer and 40 men were left to garrison the stockade."159

A list of troops engaged at Mahoetahi on 19 November gives a total of 289 men, most of them regulars of the 12th, 40th and 65th Regiments.160

The position of Ngapuketurua became known as the 'Mahoetahi Stockade' — a source of some subsequent confusion. Carey gives the garrison on 20 January 1861 as 32 and on 11 February as 31 men.161 After the March 1861 ceasefire the stockade was maintained to keep open communication with Waitara. At the end of December 1862 the garrison was made up of 25 of the 57th under Ensign A.B. Duncan,162 and possibly some local men as well. The post was abandoned on 13 May 1863 in accordance with the decision to withdraw from the Waitara; the garrison of
one officer and 25 rank and file of the 70th returned to New Plymouth. The position was then occupied by 'friendly Maoris' under Mahau until February 1864.

On 15 February 1864 the Mahoetahi Stockade was re-occupied by troops and local forces following the decision to build a redoubt at Sentry Hill. A signal station was established at the post on the same day. On the completion of the defences at Sentry Hill the garrison at Mahoetahi was reduced to 20 men under Lieutenant E. Mills, 57th. By October the post was occupied by a detachment of 26 Military Settlers together with 27 of the 70th Regiment. The regular troops withdrew in November and were sent to join the garrison at Te Arei Redoubt, but were apparently back at Mahoetahi by May 1865. On 1 July 1865 Mahoetahi Stockade was held by 34 regular troops, including 5 Royal Artillery, and 16 local men. It is likely the post was abandoned shortly after.

What is apparently the earliest sketch of the Mahoetahi Stockade is by the surveyor Thomas Humphries. This shows a small stockade with signal mast on top of the southerly of the two knolls that make up Ngapuketurua. The other hill is unused. Following the re-occupation of the stockade early in 1864 the post was greatly enlarged by an earth breastwork thrown up around the summit of the second knoll. The twin fortification, along with a large encampment on lower ground is shown in Colonel Warre's sketch "Mahoitahi [sic] Oct 10th 1864" given here in Plate 2.11. The date of the sketch shows the activity represented to be connected with the advance on Manutahi and Mataitawa at that time.
PLATE 2.11. 'Mahoritzhi' (sic) Oct 10th 1864' (H.J. Warre sketchbook, ATL).

The twin knolls of Ngapuketurua are located just south of Devon Road between State Highway 3A and the Waiongana River. The stockaded (southerly) hill is topped by a platform about 12m in diameter, below which, on the north slope, are some difficult terraces. The south side of the hill has been quarried away. The platform on the lower hill is about 24 x 17m. The rocky nature of the ground, while it has attracted some quarrying, has probably precluded cultivation and the site as a whole may provide unusually intact archaeological deposits.

Mahoetahi pa was situated immediately north of Devon Road at the junction with State Highway 3A. Much of the hill is now public reserve and there is a New Zealand Historic Places Trust plaque at the roadside. An important plan of the hill showing the location of Maori whares and defensive trenches of 6 November 1860 is given in the Thomas Humphries fieldbook.173 Although the troops destroyed the defences on leaving the hill there are nonetheless some remaining terraces, especially on the eastern side.

General Pratt’s Sap

The month of December 1860 was mostly quiet. The troops at Waitara were engaged in the preparation of gabions, sap rollers and fascines.174 At the very end of December an operation was begun aimed at reducing the Maori strongholds along the Waitara River. General Pratt assembled a large force of Royal Artillery and Engineers, 12th, 40th and 65th Regiments and Naval Brigade and early on the morning of the 29th marched out to Kairau.175 Here the first of a series of eight redoubts
was built under heavy fire. It was not until 19 March 1861 that the advance on Huirangi and Te Arei concluded with the ceasefire agreement which ended the First Taranaki War.

Two saps were dug by the troops: the first to turn the Maoris from their rifle pits at the Huirangi bush edge (about the line of Bertrand Road) and the second to carry the advance on to Te Arei, high on the northern slopes of the historic pa, Pukerangiora. The two lengths of sap totalled 1626 yards (see Pl.2.13).

The first sap extended from No.3 Redoubt to 90 yards in advance of No.6 (Huirangi) Redoubt. No.6 Redoubt was situated on the line of the Huirangi rifle pits. Colonel Mould who was in charge of engineering works throughout the advance, gives the length of this sap as 768 yards of double sap to No.6 Redoubt, plus 90 yards of single sap beyond.¹⁷⁶

It is not difficult to follow the line of the sap from the site of No.3 Redoubt to No.6 Redoubt on the corner of Te Arei and Bertrand Roads. The sap shows up clearly from the air (Pl.2.13) and on the ground (Pl.2.16), despite a great deal of ploughing over the years.

The second sap extended from No.7 Redoubt to within a few yards of the Maori position at Te Arei. From No.7 to No.8 Redoubt was a single sap of 452 yards, and beyond No.8 Redoubt, a double sap of 316 yards. Most of this part of the sap is no longer visible. A short section of it, however, lies within the boundary of the Pukerangiora Historical Reserve and is still in good order. This surviving length of sap has recently been cleared of vegetation (Pl.2.15). Unfortunately, however, a
demi-parallel designed to turn the defenders from their rifle pits on the edge of the cliff to the attackers' left is badly damaged by pine trees. The end of the demi-parallel can be seen about 70m from the south end of the cleared sap.

A number of contemporary maps give the line of both sections of the sap. Colonel Mould gives a plan of a short section of sap and two parallels at Te Arei (Fig. 2.11), along with section drawings of parallel (Fig. 8) and sap with (Fig. 10) and without (Fig. 9) traverses. A watercolour by Arden depicts the sap at Te Arei immediately after the March ceasefire (Pl. 2.14). Maori palisades can be seen against the bush in the background, while parallels extend out of the picture to the left. The well preserved section of the sap within the historical reserve can be seen in Plate 2.15. The photograph is taken from the far end of the sap shown by Arden.

No. 1 (Kairau) Redoubt

"29th December.— A column of 900 men of all arms with four guns and howitzers, marched at 3 3/4 A.M., and having arrived at the site of the old Kairau pah (destroyed on the 11th September) about 1100 yards distant from Matarikoriko, a redoubt, for the accommodation of about 500 men was commenced for the purpose of serving as a depot for the attack of the pah, and subsequently for that of the position of Huirangi. Working parties of 150 men were employed. About 9 A.M. a volley of musquetry was fired from concealed rifle pits on the brink of a deep wooded gully, about 150 yds. from the redoubt, which for a moment interrupted its progress, but it was immediately resumed and carried on under a brisk fire from the enemy until 6 P.M., when it was completely closed in. 480 men were left as its garrison, who were on the alert the whole night, the enemy keeping up an almost intermittent fire until four o'clock the following morning.

30th December (Sunday).— The parapets of the redoubt were this day raised and improved, banquettes formed, barbettes for guns raised, platforms for two 8-inch guns laid, and the guns mounted on the left face of the redoubt, pointing
FIGURE 2.11. Plan and sections of General Pratt's sap. (From T.R. Mould, On the Engineer Operations carried on in New Zealand during the war in 1860-61, Professional Papers of the Royal Engineers (new series), Vol. 11, pp. 95-110).
PLATE 2.14. The head of General Pratt's sap just after the ceasefire of March 1861, showing demi-parallels to the left and the palisaded Te Arei pa behind (F.H. Arden, TM).

PLATE 2.15. General Pratt's sap, 1975.
towards Matarikoriki \textit{sic}\.\textsuperscript{179}

Alexander adds details on the construction of the work:

"No. 1 Redoubt was planned by Colonel Mould, and executed by Captain Mould with Royal Engineers and working parties, raising the parapets with earth and cut fern in layers, which last binds the loose earth in a wonderful manner, as we afterwards observed, and allowing of perpendicular parapets difficult to scale, and not the usual sloping parapets."\textsuperscript{180}

On the night of 29 December the redoubt "...was garrisoned by the 40th Regiment, a company of the 12th, a small detachment of Royal Artillery, and Royal Engineers, and Naval Brigade, in all about 450 men"\textsuperscript{181} under Colonel A. Leslie, 40th Regiment.\textsuperscript{182}

On the evening of 30 December the 65th Regiment together with a detachment of the 12th, Lt Colonel A. F. W. Wyatt, 65th, in command, relieved the 40th as garrison.\textsuperscript{183} On the eve of the attack on No. 3 Redoubt (23 January) the garrison at Kairau was 450 men.\textsuperscript{184} On 2 February Colonel Wyatt gave up command of Kairau, moving forward with the 65th to take command of No. 6 Redoubt. Carey gives the garrison at No. 1 Redoubt on 11 February as 371 men.\textsuperscript{185}

Kairau was occupied for a short time after the ceasefire of 19 March, the garrison at the end of March being provided by the 57th Regiment under Major Logan.\textsuperscript{186} The position was abandoned on 11 April, along with Nos 6 and 7 Redoubts.\textsuperscript{187}

A plan of No. 1 Redoubt by Colonel Mould is included in Figure 2.12. The redoubt is a large, basically square work in which the unusual shape does not obscure a traditional approach to the problem of providing flanking defence. Carey says the work, "...was of an irregular half bastion trace, and had an area of about 2,560 yards."\textsuperscript{188}
FIGURE 2.12. Numbers 1, 3, 6, and 7 Redoubts, and section through defences. (From T.R. Mould, On the Engineer Operations carried on in New Zealand during the war in 1860-61, Professional Papers of the Royal Engineers (new series), Vol. 11, pp. 95-110).
The remains of Kairau Redoubt can be seen on both sides of the Waitara Road half way between Matarikoriko and Te Arei Roads. The road cuts through the centre of the work. One section of the earthworks can clearly be seen in an aerial photograph taken in November 1970. In contrast, the work is not at all clear in an earlier aerial photograph taken in August 1950. This kind of site, much damaged by ploughing and natural erosion, depends for its visibility very much on light conditions and the length of grass and other vegetation.

**Matarikoriko Stockade**

Matarikoriko was first occupied by a Maori force on 25 November 1860. During the next month the Maoris constructed a strong pa, dug many rifle pits in front, and erected a signal pole on which they raised and lowered signals in mocking imitation of the troops at Onukukaitara Stockade.

Matarikoriko was General Pratt's first objective when he marched out of Waitara on 29 December. Early on the morning of the 30th a truce flag was raised at the pa which the following day was found to have been abandoned. Mould writes,

"It was immediately taken possession of, and preparations were commenced for constructing a stockade on the site. 100 men with a howitzer were posted as garrison within the pa.

1st January to 9th January, 1861.— Working parties, about 60 in number, were engaged in the construction of a stockade on Matarikoriki [sic], and in the destruction of the enemy's rifle pits, and in clearing the vicinity of the post from scrub and high fern...

11th January to 13th January.— The stockade on Matarikoriko was proceeded with on this and the three following days. The garrison was fixed at 60 men. The stockade was similar in construction and arrangement to that on Onukukaitera, but a little larger to accommodate more men."
The stockade was erected under the direction of Captain Mould and Lieutenant Warburton of the Royal Engineers.194 "The fine tree ferns which abounded at Matarikoriko gave excellent timber for its construction, and was easily worked."195

Matarikoriko Stockade was occupied initially by a party of the 65th Regiment under Captain Strange.196 On the eve of the attack on No.3 Redoubt it was occupied by 114 men,197 and on the establishment of No.7 Redoubt on 10 February, by 60 men.198 The stockade was occupied throughout by the 65th with small detachments from other corps. It seems likely it was evacuated on 10 April, one month after the ceasefire arranged at Te Arei.199

At the end of May Matarikoriko Stockade was given over to Hapurona, prominent among the supporters of Wiremu Kingi. Hapurona, "...was promised a salary of £100 a year for taking charge of it, really a bonus to keep him detached from the war party."200 When the Second Taranaki War began Hapurona was still in possession of the post and was said to be threatening to destroy the stockade to obtain timber to construct whare and defences at Te Arei.201

A useful sketch of the stockade by Lieutenant H.S. Bates is given in Plate 2.12. The stockade is shown to have been rectangular with blockhouses at two angles flanking all four sides. At the two remaining angles small sentry boxes or lookout posts are elevated above the stockade wall. Rifle slits can be seen in the walls. Inside is a flag pole with signal arm.

Matarikoriko Stockade is situated on high ground at the east end of the present Matarikoriko Road. The site can be seen as
a platform about $25 \text{m}^2$, adjacent to the road on the north side. In an aerial photograph taken 17 September 1958 the site shows up as a dense patch of gorse. It is now clear of gorse but has suffered greatly through clearing operations being undertaken in the early 1960s by bulldozer; until this time the site, though eroded, was still largely intact.

No. 2 Redoubt

"At three A.M. on the 14th January, a force six hundred strong, composed of men of the 12th, 14th and 40th regiments and Naval brigade, under the command of General Pratt, left the Waitara camp, and being joined by Colonel Wyatt and a party of the 65th regiment from Kairau, advanced in the direction of Huirangi, where and across the road the enemy had their rifle pits, extending a mile and a half in length. On the approach of the troops, partly in skirmishing order, the Maories were observed hurrying from their wharres in the rear to line their entrenchments, and immediately commenced a heavy fusillade on the troops, which was replied to by great guns from the redoubt and the rifles of the skirmishers. Colonel Mould, in the meantime, traced out and commenced six hundred yards in advance of Kairau, No 2 redoubt, twenty-six yards square, and built of earth and fern leaves mixed and rammed, it was completed before dark, and Captain Bowdler, 40th, and a party of one hundred and twenty men left to garrison it, with a 24-lb. howitzer "en barbette."

Colonel Mould adds:

"14th January.-- Commenced the construction of a redoubt about 500 yards on the right front of No. 1 or the Kairau redoubt, 26 yards square interiorly, which was completed in about 11 hours. The parapet was about 7 feet high, and averaged 6 feet thick. Banquettes were formed and a barbette raised for a howitzer on the right front salient angle. Working party, 60 men, with a detail of the Royal Engineers. The redoubt was garrisoned with 128 men, including artillery."

Captain Bowdler, 40th, was in command of "...110 of the 40th, 8 artillerymen with a 9-pounder gun, and 26 of the 65th". The redoubt was closed up and abandoned on 30 January. It was thrown down, along with Nos 3, 4 and 5 Redoubts on 11
February. 208

No. 2 Redoubt is shown on the old Survey District Series cadastral map. 209 It is situated about 100m east of Te Arei Road, about 100m south of the junction with Waitara Road (see Pl. 2.13). A hawthorn hedge at right angles to the road dips into a slight depression to mark the location. Before being put into permanent pasture for dairying at the beginning of this century Huirangi was a wheat growing district: No. 2 Redoubt, along with other works in the area, is likely to have been ploughed many times.

No. 3 Redoubt

"A force of upwards of 1000 men of the Naval Brigade, under Commodore Seymour, of the 12th, under Capt. Miller, 14th, under Major Douglass, 40th, under Colonel Leslie, and 65th, under Colonel Wyatt, commanded by the General in person, proceeded at 4 a.m. to-day to throw forward another redoubt.... A smart fire of rifles was maintained, with a tremendous cannonade from 2 8-inch guns (one in the Kairau redoubt, and another planted in the road between No 2 redoubt and the enemy's position), 3 24-pounder howitzers, 1 12-pounder howitzer (Naval Brigade), 1 9-pounder gun, a rocket tube (24-pounder), and a cohorn mortar. Under this fire, for whenever a puff of smoke was seen from the rifle pits, a shell was immediately thrown over it, Colonel Mould, R.E., selected a site for another redoubt, to the left of the road, about 1000 yards from Kairau redoubt, 550 from No. 2 redoubt, and about 700 from the enemy's rifle-pits and position." 210

Once again Colonel Mould is in charge of construction.

"18th January. - A redoubt 30 yards square interiorly was commenced about 400 yards to the left front of No. 2, and completed in 11½ hours and was occupied at night by a garrison of 100 men, one howitzer was mounted "en barbette" at one angle of the work, and a second placed in an embrasure....

19th January. - A right wing to Redoubt No. 3 was commenced and nearly completed during the day, a working party of 60 men being employed. A platform for an 8-inch gun was laid on the right front face of the wing, and the gun mounted. Occasional firing from the enemy."
20th January.— The right wing of the redoubt commenced yesterday, was completed this day, and a communication made between it and the centre. A left wing was also commenced and the front face completed and part of the left face. There was not any interruption from the enemy.

21st January.— The left wing of the redoubt was carried on this day nearly to completion by working parties of the same strength as on previous days. The garrison was strengthened by 100 men, who were posted in the right wing of the redoubt. The enemy occasionally fired briskly but caused only one slight casualty.

22nd January.— The left wing of the redoubt was completed this day and an additional garrison placed in it, including the head-quarters of the 40th Regiment.\(^{211}\)

The finished redoubt consisted of three squares en echelon, left forward (see Colonel Mould's plan, Fig.2.12). In his discussion of No.3 Redoubt, Carey gives an excellent account of the method of constructing the walls of these works.

"The ground in which the men worked was very favourable, but the soil alone would never have stood at the required slope had we not been able to strengthen it with fern. This pulled up by the roots, or cut down close to the ground, and when laid down on the space marked out for the parapets, and at right angles to its length, each bundle overlapped the other. Alternate layers of earth and fern completed the work, and thus a strong and nearly perpendicular and endurable parapet was rapidly raised."\(^{212}\)

The initial garrison of 100 men and a howitzer was under command of Captain Richards, 40th Regiment.\(^{213}\) Additions to the garrison on completion of the right and left wings are outlined by Mould (above). On the morning of 23 January the redoubt was attacked by a large force of Maoris, the garrison at this time made up of 341 of the 40th (officers and men), 22 Royal Artillery, 22 Royal Engineers and 11 Naval Brigade,\(^{214}\) and included the head-quarters of the 40th Regiment under Colonel Leslie.\(^{215}\) During the action the garrison was reinforced by a company of the 12th under Captain Miller and two companies of the 65th under Captain MacGregor from the Kairau Redoubt.\(^{216}\)
The attack was beaten off after bloody work in the surrounding ditch. 217

It was from No.3 Redoubt that on 22 January the sap was begun for centre of the Huirangi rifle pits. The redoubt was abandoned at 8 a.m. on 11 February when Colonel Leslie and the head-quarters of the 40th marched forward to No.7 Redoubt. 218

It was thrown down the same day. 219

The location of the redoubt is given on the old Survey District Series cadastral map. 220 Only three or four small portions of badly damaged and eroded wall can now be seen. These lie within and, in one case, just outside the present homestead garden on the site. A very distinct ditch across the first paddock south of the redoubt gives the line of the sap.

No.4 Redoubt

"27th January.—Sap continued as yesterday with a detail of 4 Engineers and 30 Line, working from 5 A.M. till 7 P.M., 49 yards being executed. A square redoubt, 13½ yards a side interiorly, was commenced at 5 A.M. on the right side of the sap, and carried on until 7 P.M., when it was nearly completed; 100 men were employed on this work from 5 A.M. until noon, and 70 men from noon until 7 P.M. The front of the redoubt, which was numbered 4, was 310 yards from the commencement of the sap. It was garrisoned by 50 men; Lieutenant Warburton, R.E., on duty.

28th January.—60 yards of the sap executed this day, between 5 A.M. and 7 P.M., with a party of 3 Engineers and 5 men of the Line; 2 Engineers and 25 men employed in taking down gabions, and reforming the parapets of the sap with fern, and 20 men in completing the banquette of No.4 Redoubt, clearing out the ditch, the earth being thrown up to form a slight glacis, and planting palisades in the ditch." 221

The garrison of 50 men was under the command of Captain Robert Hare, 40th Regiment. 222 No.4 Redoubt was abandoned on the advance to No.7 Redoubt on 10 February 223 and was thrown down the following
day.224

No. 4 Redoubt is located on the old Survey District Series cadastral map.225 Of the eight redoubts put up during the advance on Huirangi and Te Arei, it is the only one of which no surface indication remains. It is, however, easy to follow the line of the sap and quite possible to accurately locate the vanished work (see Pl.2.13).

No. 5 Redoubt

"30th January.— 5 Engineers and 40 men employed on the sap from 5 A.M. until 7 P.M.; 71 yards executed, 2 Engineers and 30 men reforming sap with fern. At 3 P.M., a redoubt (No.5), to be 24 yards square interiorly, was commenced on the left side of the sap, about 530 yards from the commencement of the sap, and 260 yards from the nearest of the enemy's rifle pits. A screen, consisting of a double row of filled gabions with an empty row on the top, was previously placed in front of the front face of the redoubt. 3 Engineers and 30 men employed on this work.

31st January.— Sap continued as before; working party, who were employed from 5 A.M. until 8 P.M., 3 Engineers and 30 of the Line. Redoubt No. 5 was completed by 8 P.M., with banquettes complete, and a "barbette" for a 24-pounder howitzer on the left front angle, an average party of 8 Engineers and 100 men being employed. The enemy fired a little at different periods of the day."226

The redoubt was built to hold 100 men.227 It was abandoned on 10 February228 and thrown down the following day.229

No. 5 Redoubt is marked on the old Survey District Series cadastral map.230 A single faint depression running off at right angles to the sap marks the site of the work. The location of the site can be seen in the 1950 aerial photograph231 (Pl.2.13). A slight bend in the sap can be seen as it enters the paddock at the junction of Bertrand and Te Arei Roads — No. 5 Redoubt is situated at this point.
No. 6 (Huiringi) Redoubt

"On the 2nd February the first line of rifle pits was reached and a redoubt for 450 men, two 24-pounders, and one 8-inch gun was commenced. It was completed next day, and garrisoned by the 65th Regiment, a portion of the Naval Brigade, Royal Artillery, and Royal Engineers." 232

Colonel Mould again gives details:

"2nd February.— ...At 3 P.M. a redoubt was commenced, its front slightly in advance of the enemy's rifle pits, in the midst of a field of high Scotch thistle, and to the left of the Huiringi road its left front angle resting on a patch of close bush, extending away to the left and front.

3rd February.— ...The redoubt commenced yesterday was carried on throughout the day, from 5 A.M. till 7 P.M., 120 men in all being employed in the work.

4th February.— 11 Engineers and 120 men employed in completing No.6 Redoubt, which was garrisoned by the 65th Regiment, including its head quarters. 25 axe-men employed as yesterday in cutting down the bush. A platform for an 8-inch gun was laid in the right half bastion of the redoubt.

5th February.— A party of 80 men employed in forming banquettes in the redoubt, widening, deepening, and clearing the ditch, and partly raising the parapets, 25 axe-men employed as before; 12 Engineers superintending the several works." 233

No. 6, or Huiringi, Redoubt was occupied in the closing stages of the First Taranaki War by a detachment of the 65th, including the head-quarters of the regiment, plus some other troops. Colonel Wyatt moved forward from No.1 Redoubt to take command on 2 February. On the advance to No.7 Redoubt on 10 February, No.6 had a garrison of 432 men. 234 At this time Nos 1, 6 and 7 Redoubts were the only fortifications occupied and all had strong garrisons.

Colonel Wyatt was in command at No.7 Redoubt on the night of 10 February, 235 but the following day Colonel Leslie and the head-quarters of the 40th moved to the forward redoubt and it is likely Colonel Wyatt then rejoined the head-quarters of
his own regiment at Huirangi. In any event, he is certainly in command at No.6 on 21 March, two days after the ceasefire. The 65th marched out from Huirangi on 11 April when the whole area was abandoned by the troops.

No.6 Redoubt was the only one of the eight built during General Pratt's advance on Huirangi and Te Arei to be re-occupied as a later stage of the Taranaki Wars. Captain Page's company of Taranaki Military Settlers took over the old post on 11 October 1864 to keep open communication with the 70th under Major Rutherford at Te Arei. Shortly afterwards the Military Settlers were replaced at No.6 Redoubt by regular troops of the 70th Regiment — the Taranaki Herald reporting that on 6 February 1865, 30 of the 70th were withdrawn from the post to town quarters, the redoubt now being held by a day piquet from Te Arei. At the end of the month Captain Corbett's company, T.M.S., arrived from Orongomaihangi to re-occupy the post. However, only a month later it was reported that, "No.6 as a permanent garrison has been given up, Captain Corbett's company returning to Manutahi".

Later in 1865 the redoubt was again re-occupied, from this time on being called Huirangi (initially 'Hurangi' or 'Huarangi') rather than No.6 Redoubt. In November Corporal Smith was in charge of four men of No.2 Company, T.M.S., at the post and preparations were in hand for the construction of a blockhouse. On 1 April 1866 the detachment at 'Hurangi Blockhouse' was reduced to one N.C.O. and three privates. On 25 September that year the small remaining garrison was ordered to lock up the blockhouse and report to New Plymouth en route for Patea.

Huirangi Blockhouse was probably re-occupied briefly in late
1866, but then used only by local militia for muster parades, until the crisis of February 1869. On 4 March 1869 Captain Messenger was in occupation at the post, but within a few weeks Huirangi was abandoned for the last time. An 1869 report describes the blockhouse, with one officers' room and accommodation for 25 men, as being in 'good order'.

No. 6 Redoubt is situated at the corner of Bertrand and Te Arei Roads (see Pls 2.13 and 2.17). Remaining earthworks can be seen in the paddocks on both sides of Bertrand Road. It was a large redoubt with flanking defence at three angles covering all four sides (see Fig. 2.12). The extent to which the second period of occupation saw the original earthworks altered is not clear. A rough plan of the work by S.P. Smith, dated 3 April 1865, shows a change to the flanking defence on the forward (southern) face. Unfortunately, since most of the earthworks have been destroyed by roading, archaeological confirmation of Smith's (or, indeed, Mould's) plan is very difficult. Nor is the location of the Huirangi Blockhouse clear: it was probably close to the redoubt, possibly within the old walls.

No. 7 Redoubt

"On the 10th February all the disposable force, 932 rank and file, paraded at No. 6 Redoubt. The 40th took the left, the 65th, 12th, and 14th the right; the guns, ammunition, &c., the centre. The whole then moved to take up a position as near as could be done with regard to our communications with the redoubts... an advance was made to within about eight hundred yards of the enemy's position. Here, from the rifle-pits, no enemy being visible, a heavy fire was opened on the force. The skirmishers were thrown a little more forward and No. 7 Redoubt was commenced, where the head of the column then rested."
PLATE 2.16. General Pratt's sap showing up under new grass. Photograph looking towards No 6 Redoubt, 1975.

No.7 Redoubt was built under the superintendence of Colonel Mould and Captain Mould.

"10th February.-- Commenced the construction of a redoubt about 1,300 yards from No.6, and about 800 yards from Te-ari [sic] Pah (Puke-rangiora), about 8 A.M., employing 24 Engineers and 130 men of the Line, under cover of a line of skirmishers, supported by 4 guns and howitzers. The enemy opened fire from a line of rifle pits, in commanding positions, and from the pa, about 7 A.M., and fired briskly throughout the day, under which the work of the redoubt was carried on, and so far completed as to be occupied by a garrison at night. The garrison was 400 men, including the head quarters of the 40th Regiment...

11th February.-- The works at the redoubt were continued; the parapets being raised, and ditches deepened, and the front face, and part of the left face, surmounted with filled gabions, with sandbag loop-holes at intervals, to protect the interior from the plunging fire of the enemy, which was sharply kept up, killing one man, and wounding an officer and one man within the redoubt; 9 Engineers employed superintending the working parties.

12th February.-- The works of the redoubt were completed this day, 9 Engineers were employed in superintending and assisting the garrison..."249

No.7 Redoubt was on lower ground than the Maori positions on Te Arei and because of this considerable effort was put into raising the parapets on the forward faces. The original work was of a typical plan with two large flanking projections covering all four faces, but this was soon enlarged:

"14th February.-- ...9 Engineers and 80 men of the Line employed in making an addition to the left of No.7 Redoubt, to give more accommodation.

15th February.-- 9 Engineers and 80 men employed in completing the addition to No.7 Redoubt, in draining the redoubt and opening a communication between the original and added portion."250

From 18 to 25 February troops were engaged in raising the parapets of the work and deepening the ditches. On 15 March a further addition was made.

"15th March.-- ...An addition to No.7 Redoubt, to contain the artillery, was commenced on the left by a party of 16 Engineers and 80 men of the Line..."
16th March.— ... The addition to the redoubt, which was
30 yards by 25 yards interiorly, was carried on and com-
pleted, with the exception of portions of the banquets,
and a "barbette", 21 feet by 24 feet, was constructed for two
Armstrong guns...

17th March.— ... A party of 36 men was employed in completing
the banquets, &c., of the new portion of No. 7 Redoubt.

18th March.— ... The parapet between the old and added
portions of No. 7 Redoubt was broken down, the ditch filled
in, and the "barbette" made up to 36 feet in width.¹²⁵¹

The successive additions to the work can be seen clearly in
Colonel Mould's plan (Fig. 2.12) and on the ground today.

On the night of 10 February No. 7 Redoubt was occupied by a
force of 400 men (12th, 40th and 65th Regiments) drawn from the
redoubts to the rear, and under the command of Colonel Wyatt.²⁵²
The following day No. 3 Redoubt was abandoned, Colonel Leslie and
the 40th moving to No. 7,²⁵³ then occupied by 435 men.²⁵⁴ The
sap for Te Arei started from the redoubt on 16 February.²⁵⁵

After the ceasefire it was occupied by the 40th with a detachment
of Royal Artillery.²⁵⁶ The redoubt was abandoned on 11 April.²⁵⁷

No. 7 Redoubt is situated close to the junction of Te Arei and
Tikorangi Roads, in the paddock north of the corner (Pls 2.13 and
2.19). The earthworks were substantially intact until destroyed
by farm development in the 1920s. Nonetheless the damaged walls
can still be seen quite clearly and the accuracy of Colonel
Mould's plan is confirmed.

No. 8 Redoubt

During the night of 26 February the Maoris destroyed much
of the forward part of the sap. It was decided therefore to
build a small guard redoubt 452 yards in advance of No. 7 to
PLATE 2.18. 'No 7 Redoubt' (Thomas Humphries Fieldbook, Lands & Survey Dept, New Plymouth).

protect the works.

"28th February. - To protect the further progress of the sap, a redoubt (square) to be of 16 yards interior side was commenced at 5 A.M., the front face thereof being 34 yards from the end of the single sap. A screen of gabions filled with earth was thrown up to cover the workmen, who were in number 7 Engineers and 80 of the Line. The Redoubt (No.8) was completed by 7 P.M., and occupied by a guard of 50 men. The upper row of gabions of the screen was taken down and the lower double row backed up with earth to form a glacis."258

At the end of March No.8 Redoubt was garrisoned by a small detachment supplied in rotation by the regiments stationed at Nos 1, 6 and 7 Redoubts.259 It is not known precisely when No. 8 was abandoned, although it must have been between the end of March when the New Zealander correspondent visited the work260 and 11 April when the troops withdrew from the entire area.

The location of No.8 Redoubt is accurately given on the relevant survey blocksheet.261 It was situated on high ground east of the present Te Arei Road, adjacent to the road fence. Its location can be seen clearly enough although cultivation has destroyed all sign of the actual earthworks. The line of the sap entering and leaving the redoubt, though, curiously, not the redoubt itself, can be seen on the 1950 aerial photograph262 (Pl.2.13).

The only located picture showing No.8 Redoubt is a watercolour by Colonel Warre dating from 11 October 1864.263 This shows soldiers taking cover behind gabions in the old redoubt during the second attack on Te Arei which took place as part of Colonel Warre's general advance in the Manutahi-Mataitawa area at that time. Troops are using the old sap to advance on the pa.

In March 1861 the Waikato leader Wiremu Tamihan (Tarapipipi)
arrived at Pukerangiora to assist in bringing about a peace settlement. Considerable negotiation took place over the lines ending on the morning of 19 March when a white flag was raised at Te Arei to signal the ceasefire. On 20 March the Waikato were observed from No. 8 Redoubt crossing the Waitara River on their way home and the next day the Ngati Ruanui and Taranaki people, who had returned to Waireka Hill in the new year, returned south. 265

Some negotiation then occurred between Browne and his advisers and Wiremu Kingi, Hapuroma and other Atiawa chiefs. A peace agreement was signed for the Atiawa by Hapuroma on 8 April and by Wiremu Ngawaka Patukarakiri a week later. Among other things the chiefs agreed to further investigation of the Waitara title, to give up plunder and to submit to British law. 266 Wiremu Kingi retired to Kihikihi with the Ngati Maniapoto and did not sign. 267 No settlement was made with the southern tribes.

THE SECOND Taranaki War

The Second Taranaki War has its parallel in the Waikato War of 1863-64. Both campaigns were initiated by Grey who was seeking a military solution to the problems inherent in European settlement and government of New Zealand. Whereas the Waitara campaign, ostensibly at least, arose out of quite limited European ambitions, the Second Taranaki War, along with the Waikato War, was to become the instrument of a deliberate policy of expansion of European settlement made legal by the New Zealand Settlements Act of November 1863. This act allowed
the confiscation of the whole of any district where a 'considerable number' of Maoris were in rebellion. From early in 1864, therefore, the war in Taranaki was fought not only to bring about the military defeat of the Maori but to secure land for European settlement.

The war was re-opened by Grey's action in re-occupying the Omata and Tataraimaka Blocks before giving up the Waitara. The first movement of what was to be a protracted conflict was the establishment of a large redoubt on the southern margin of the Omata Block. While the Waireka Camp of the earlier campaign was situated on the northern flank of the high ground extending here to the coast, and so overlooked country north towards to New Plymouth, the new work was high on the south side of the ridge and overlooked a wide area south and west. With the exception of the outlying Tataraimaka Block this country was in Maori hands at the beginning of the decade. The new redoubt nicely symbolises the outward thrust of the Second Taranaki War. Sites of the Second Taranaki War are shown on Figure 2.13.

St Patrick's (Poutoko) Redoubt

"On Thursday morning /March 12/ 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 Mt Elliot 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."268
The redoubt was completed and occupied on March 20. 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. 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. 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.

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. 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. 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. When St Andrew's was reoccupied
FIGURE 2.14. Redoubt plans: A. St Patrick's Redoubt, Poutoko; B. St George's Redoubt, Tataraimaka.
early in March the imperial troops abandoned St Patrick's to 100 Militia under Captain Carthew. On 1 August 1864 the redoubt was still held by local forces totalling 250 men.

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."

The Poutoko Blockhouse was occupied by men of Captain Percival's No.7 Company, T.H.S., in April 1865 - on May 31, by one sergeant and 19 rank and file. It was still occupied as late as March 1866. It is not clear when it was finally abandoned.

A Colonial Defence Office report of 1869 reported on the condition of the Poutoko Blockhouse: "large hole burnt in floor, stockade out of repair, 13 panes of glass broken". In the report it is described as a 'Blockhouse and Redoubt' with accommodation for 35 men, and one officers' and one store room. However, it is unlikely the post had any earthwork defence; it was probably simply a stockaded blockhouse similar to that at
Mataitawa (see Plate 2.44).

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.283

St George's (Tataraimaka) Redoubt

After establishing themselves at St Patrick’s Redoubt the troops pushed on to re-occupy the Tataraimaka Block on 4 April 1863.

"The force consisted of 200 men of the 57th, under Colonel Warre, C.B., Capt. Woodall, Lieuts. Brutton, Thompson, Tragett, Cox, Waller, Lieut. and Adjt. Clarke, and Asst.-Surgeon Hope; also 100 Royal Artillery as a mounted corps, with two guns, under Capt. Mercer, R.A., and Lieuts. Rait and Pickard, R.A., together with 6 of the Royal Engineers, under Major Mould, R.E. His Excellency the Governor, Lieut.-General Cameron, C.B., and Staff, the hon. Mr. Domett, Colonial Secretary, the hon. Mr. Bell, Native Minister, and Mr. Parris, Asst. Native Secretary, and suite, arrived from town at the redoubt [St Patrick’s] at 9.30, and soon after their arrival the force moved southwards; the detachment of the 70th, under Major Mulock, from Mace’s farm occupying the redoubt vacated by the 57th."284

That night the force camped on MacDonald’s farm, Tataraimaka.285
Key to Plate 2.20.
The following day,

"It was decided...to build a redoubt on Bayly's farm, near the edge of the cliff over-hanging the road near the Katikara river and commanding the surrounding country. The troops have been employed, as the weather permitted during the week, on this defence, which we hear is rapidly nearing completion."\textsuperscript{286}

Two hundred men completed the parapet of 268 yards in four days and the redoubt was completed and occupied on the morning of the 13th.\textsuperscript{287}

"At Tataraimaka, the 57th have completed the redoubt on Bayly's farm, (named St. George's Redoubt) and have constructed another on the site of an old Maori pa, which is called Mount Tataraimaka,—a strong natural position on a small promontory which commands the first named redoubt. The utmost vigilance is maintained at these redoubts, now under the command of Major Logan, 57th Regiment, recently from Wanganui."\textsuperscript{288}

At this stage all other troops had returned to town and only the 57th remained at Tataraimaka.

On 4 May 1863 a small party of soldiers travelling from St George's Redoubt to town was successfully ambushed at the mouth of the Wairau Stream on the Oakura Beach.\textsuperscript{289} Only one man escaped the ambush which contemporary reports refer to as the 'Hope-Tragett Ambush' (after the two officers killed) or, curiously enough, the 'Wairau Massacre'.\textsuperscript{290} Grey's tardiness in giving up the Waitara was reaping its reward. To secure the route between Omata and Tataraimaka, St Andrew's Redoubt was established the day after the ambush overlooking the beach from the north side of the Oakura River (see below).

On 4 June the 57th at St George's Redoubt was joined by troops of the 65th and 70th Regiments and Royal Artillery for an attack on Maori positions on the Katikara River. General Cameron was in command, and Grey watched from the Eclipse
anchored offshore. This was an important engagement in which the Taranaki and Ngati Ruanui were driven from a well-prepared pa losing 28 dead. Plate 2.22 depicting this engagement.

Following the late winter transfer of troops to Auckland for the Waikato campaign, Taranaki was held only by the 57th and one company of the 70th, in addition to local forces. Retrenchment was therefore necessary and St George's Redoubt was given up.

"Tuesday, June 30.—The evacuation of Tataraimaka for a second time took place to-day, and was effected skillfully and rapidly under the superintendence of Lt.-Col. Logan, 57th Regt. Everything of value was brought away or burnt, and the redoubt left standing." It was eighteen months before the post was permanently re-occupied.

On 22 March 1864 Colonel Warre visited the abandoned redoubt in the course of operations against Maori positions on the flanks of the Kaitake Ranges.

"On Tuesday the 22nd after having destroyed the Tutu pah I visited St Georges Redoubt which remains in nearly the same state as when evacuated by the troops in July last. The Maoris not having taken the Trouble to destroy the Parapets or even the Stockade facing the sea." On 18 April 1864 one hundred and fifty of the 57th, together with a mounted force and 300 Bushrangers, Volunteers and Military Settlers, 500 men in all, under command of Major Butler, 57th, marched out to Tataraimaka and southward. On the 19th the force reached St George's Redoubt: "On reaching Tataraimaka, the redoubt was taken possession of and occupied by Captain Schomberg with some of the 57th, and Captain Brassey with the main part of No.11 military settlers." Captain Schomberg's garrison totalled 100 men.
evening of the 20th the main force returned after destroying Maori property south of Stoney River, and all encamped at St George's Redoubt. The following day the post was again abandoned, the entire force returning to town.

The redoubt was re-occupied for the last time at the end of 1864. On 28 November Colonel Warre wrote to the Deputy Quarter Master General, Auckland,

"I have the honor to report for the information of the Lieut General Comg that Tataraimaka was reoccupied by a detacht 43rd L. Inf by under Major Colvile 43 L.I. on the 24th inst. The Redoubt was partially destroyed, but a few days work will restore it to its former state."297

The force of 43rd Light Infantry was 285 strong, including 250 rank and file.

St George's Redoubt in its turn became superfluous as the war advanced south. Much of the garrison joined the force which marched forward to the Stoney River frontier in January 1865.298 A month later the Tataraimaka garrison was down to 114 of the 43rd.299 On 31 May 1865 the garrison was made up of 52 of the 43rd, 19 Taranaki Military Settlers and 15 Taranaki Militia.300 In October the detachment of the 43rd at Tataraimaka was reduced to one sergeant, one bugler and 17 rank and file.301 The post was abandoned on 18 April 1866.302

St George's Redoubt was situated on the south side of the seaward end of Lower Pitone Road (see Pl.2.21). The signal station occupied the summit of the old pa, Tataraimaka, and is still known by the soldiers' name, the 'Crows Nest'. The site is marked by a notice drawing attention to the redoubt ('Fort St George') and the common grave of the Maoris killed on 4 June 1863.

A watercolour by G.W. Norbury, 70th Regiment, shows the
attack of June 1863 from the 'Crows Nest' with the redoubt in
the foreground (Pl.2.22). The redoubt can be seen to be of
typical rectangular form with flanking defence at each corner
to cover all sides. The redoubt is also pictured in a water-
colour by Robert Greenwood, held in the Taranaki Museum.
Neither picture verifies Colonel Warre's comment concerning a
'stockade facing the sea'. There is a small length of palisading
visible in the Greenwood sketch, but this is hardly a 'stockade'.
However, the redoubt may have been for some time stockaded on its
sea face subsequent to the two sketches being made.

The fenced-off grave and Tataraimaka pa make up an historical
reserve. The redoubt lies immediately over the present boxthorn
hedge from the grave (see Pl.2.23). Although virtually destroyed
by cultivation over the years, historical and archaeological
information combine to give the shape and size of the work.
Colonel Gamble says the parapet had a length of 268 yards (see
above). Archaeological evidence indicates a redoubt about 60m
square with signs of flanking defence on the inland angles, and
at the south-west angle covering the seaward face. The latter
angle, being close to the sea cliff, has been built up by
rounded andesite boulders brought up from the beach below. The
fourth angle lies underneath the hedge and cannot now be seen.
Figure 2.14B gives the plan of the redoubt thus established.

Historical evidence indicates there were some changes in
the defences of St George's Redoubt throughout its life. The
stockade mentioned by Warre has already been discussed. There
is also a suggestion that the seaward face was originally
unflanked. Colonel Gamble writes,
PLATE 2.22. 'The Fight at Kaiteke, one Mile South of Tataraimaka, 4th June 1863'. St George's Redoubt with tents inside is right centre. The sketch is taken from the signal station on the 'Crows Nest'. (G.W.Norbury, APL).

"A small work for thirty men was also thrown up on a cliff overhanging the sea, and partly commanding the redoubt, of which it partly enfilades the sea face, the only one left unflanked in the construction of the work." 303

The Greenwood sketch offers difficult confirmation of this point. The Norbury picture, however, shows that only one month after its establishment the redoubt is fully flanked. Only excavation might throw light on these alterations.

The earth breastwork which surrounded the signal station is no longer apparent, the platform on top of the old pa offers no surface indication of its military use.

St Andrew’s (Oakura) Redoubt

Work on St Andrew’s Redoubt began on 5 May 1863, the day after the ‘Hope-Tragett ambush’. The new work was located on the high terrace of the north side of the Oakura River mouth, overlooking the scene of the ambush. Detachments of the 57th and 70th were employed, under the command of Major Logan, 57th. The redoubt was completed in about a week. 304

St Andrew’s Redoubt was occupied throughout the winter of 1863 by detachments of the 57th. At the end of May it was held by 150 of that regiment, 305 to be reinforced by fifty of the 70th on 1 June 306 and a further fifty of the same regiment on 9 June. 307 The garrison withdrew from St Andrew’s when most of the 70th were transferred to the Waikato in August. "On the 11th August the Troops were withdrawn from the Oakura Redoubt at noon, the whole of the stores, Camp Equipage, Ammunition, Signal mast, and Howitzer being removed to Poutoko by the carts in Two trips." 308
On 15 September 1863 the abandoned redoubt was used in carrying out a successful ambush nearby. Captain Russell detached a small part of his force of 75 men to hold the redoubt and so secure his return to Poutoko. In October it was reported that about sixty Maoris could be seen pulling down the unoccupied redoubt.

St Andrew's Redoubt was re-occupied on 1 March 1864. The move followed the death of a settler at the hands of Maoris from Kaitake two days before. However, while this triggered the re-occupation, the move must be seen in the light of the move north to Mahoetahi and Sentry Hill shortly before, and the important attack on the pa in the Kaitake Ranges in following weeks. The passage of the 'confiscation act' the previous November and the arrival in the new year of numbers of Taranaki Military Settlers recruited on the gold fields of Victoria and Otago combined to allow a rapid advance of the military frontier.

A letter from Colonel Warre to the Deputy Quarter Master General, Auckland, has much information on the disposition of troops in Taranaki at this time.

"In reference to my letter of the 29th Ultimo [February] I have the honor to report for the information of the Lieut General Commg. that in Consequence of the murder of Mr Pattison I have re-occupied the old position at Oakura - & the Troops and Militia are now employed in rebuilding the Redoubt which had been partially destroyed by the Rebel Maoris, who made no attempt at opposing the advance of the Troops

Oakura  \{ About 100 of the 57th under Capt Lloyd.
          About 150 Mily Settlers under Capt Page.

Fort Robert and Parhetiri [sic] on the Tapuaue River  120 Militia under Capt. Corbett

Poutoko-  100 Militia under Capt Carthew

Omata-  80 Militia under Capt McKellar
The remainder of the Militia and Military Settlers occupy the Blockhouses surrounding the Town - the Town itself - and about 60 at Bell Block Stockade.

Captain Shortt's Company 57th Regiment occupies Sentry Hill with about the same number of men (60) under Lieut. Mills at Mahoitahi /sic/ under Canvas and in the Blockhouse."311

St Andrew's Redoubt became the central forward post for the southern front until the further advance of the next summer. Colonel Warre, in a letter to the Defence Minister, Auckland, dated 27 April 1864, writes,

"It is proposed to establish a Central Depot at Oakura (St Andrew's Redoubt) where (100) one hundred regular Infantry are stationed for the supply of all posts south of the Tapuaue River - and at the St. Andrews Redoubt should be established a Militia Field Hospital, Field Magazine and Stores for the supply of such articles as must be required and which it is difficult to convey during the Winter Mos."312

In May work was begun on barrack buildings313 which were probably completed about the end of July.314 A signal station was established at the redoubt after the taking of the Kaitake pa on 26 March 1864.315

On 31 May 1865 the garrison at St Andrew's Redoubt was made up of three Royal Artillery, one captain, one subaltern, two sergeants and 27 rank and file, 43rd Light Infantry, 15 rank and file, Commissariat and Transport Corps and one man each from the 57th and 70th Regiments, a total garrison of 67.316 By October only one sergeant, one bugler and 17 rank and file, 43rd, remained.317 The position was finally abandoned by the small remaining detachment, now of the 50th Regiment, on 6 December 1866 - the detachment marching forward to Stoney River.318

There are two remarkable and informative photographs of St Andrew's in occupation by the 43rd in Volume 2 of the Nicholl Albums of photographs of early New Zealand, held in the Alexander Turnbull Library319 (Pls. 2.24 and 2.25). Plate 2.24
PLATE 2.24. St Andrew's Redoubt, Oakura (Nicholl Album, ATL).

PLATE 2.25. St Andrew's Redoubt, Oakura (Nicholl Album, ATL).
is a general view of the undefended area, looking south towards the redoubt which is obscured by the blockhouses and raupo whare on the left of the picture. A parapet can be seen beyond the tents, this runs along the rim of the scarp above the Oakura River. In Plate 2.25 the camera appears to have been set up beyond the small shed in the left foreground of Plate 2.24. This shows the actual redoubt with tents, signal mast and large raupo-roofed huts within. A short causeway with handrail can be seen leading into the gateway. To the right the corner of a blockhouse just fits into the picture. In the foreground cooking is going on over an open fire. The pictures were taken in late 1864 or early 1865, after the blockhouses were completed at the redoubt.\textsuperscript{320}

There is also an excellent lithograph of St Andrew's Redoubt in Alexander's \textit{Bush Fighting}, apparently from a watercolour by Colonel Warre.\textsuperscript{321} The original sketch can be dated prior to March 1864 since it is clear that Kaitake has not yet been taken.

St Andrew's Redoubt is situated on top of the terrace above Corbett Park on the north bank of the Oakura River (Pl.2.26). It is a large off-square work of irregular sides (maximum length 45m, minimum, 29m), with flanking defence at all four corners\textsuperscript{322} (Fig.2.15A). The redoubt is on a slight eminence above the general level of the terrace; the trig 'Oakura', on the redoubt wall at the north west corner, is 43.6m (143 ft) above sea level. There are three different levels inside the redoubt distinctly separated by slight steps. The ditch around the work averages 8m from the top of the wall to the outer edge. A causeway crosses the ditch to an entranceway in the north east wall. A
number of archaeological features can be seen outside the redoubt in P1.2.27. A parapet almost 50m long runs along the terrace rim east of the redoubt. Cart ruts can be seen running across the terrace to the seaward end of the wall where the old road descended to the beach down the narrow spur on the seaward side of Corbett Park (it left the beach again on the south side of Timaru River). Also outside the redoubt are a number of depressions some of which probably mark the sites of sunken whare depicted in the Nicholl photographs. The large irregular trench parallel to the cart ruts may, like the ruts, be the result of traffic to the start of the road down to the beach.

The whole site is in exceptional condition. The walls of the redoubt are protected by gorse growing on top, it being noticeable that where the gorse has gone the walls have suffered from erosion and the rubbing of cattle. The area inside the redoubt has apparently been used in the past for a vegetable garden, but it is likely some of the area remains archaeologically intact. The clarity of the cart ruts suggests the paddock outside has never been ploughed. A long term threat is posed by erosion which has occurred to the sea cliff, possibly encouraged by the recent removal of boulders from the beach below for construction purposes.

Fort Robert

Mention has already been made of Fort Robert; it was established after the engagement of 2 October 1863 when southern Maoris threatened St Patrick's Redoubt. The new redoubt was
FIGURE 2.15. Redoubt plans: A. St Andrew's Redoubt, Oakura; B. Fort Robert.
PLATE 2.27. 'St Andrew's Redoubt, Oakura 1975.'
thrown up on high ground seaward of the present junction of Plymouth and South Roads. A pa or kainga named Rangiuru once occupied the hilltop site. In addition to forestalling any repetition of the events of 2 October, the new post was established "with a view to...further advance as soon as circumstances admit". Fort Robert was named after Ropata Ngarongomate of Poutoko, a leading Maori ally.

The new post was occupied only by local forces, Colonel Gamble reporting that one of the reasons for its establishment was so that the newly arrived Otago contingent of Taranaki Military Settlers might "cultivate with safety".

"On Wednesday 27 October 50 men of the Volunteer Militia, under Capt. J.G. Corbett and Ensign J. Kelly, marched to the front, and now garrison Fort Robert, a redoubt to seaward of the abandoned native village at Poutoko, and which overlooks the Tapuae and Oakura blocks."

The initial garrison was reinforced on 13 October by one officer and 24 men of the Taranaki Military Settlers. In March 1864 Captain Corbett's company was divided between Fort Robert and the new redoubt at Fahitere (see below). It is likely the July withdrawal of men to St Patrick's Redoubt and the new blockhouse at Allen's Hill marks the abandonment of Fort Robert.

A watercolour by Lieutenant-Colonel E.A. Williams dated 28 June 1864 shows a corner of the defences of Fort Robert with the great sweep of country between the Kaitake Ranges and the sea in the background (Pl.2.28). Soldiers' washing, a dovecote and a flagpole can be seen. The defences appear to consist of an earth flanking angle and a palisaded side wall. A second sketch of the same view by Williams shows a small hut set into the hillside below the two figures. The sites of a number of
PLATE 2.28. 'Fort Robert, Taranski 28 June 1864.' (E.A. Williams Sketchbook, Hocken Library).

these huts can be seen in the 1950 aerial photograph (Pl.2.20) but are extremely indistinct today.

The redoubt is situated on top of the hill with the trig 'Poutoko A', 97.54m (320 ft) above sea level, at one angle. The site has been virtually destroyed by cultivation although it can still be seen on the ground and from the air (Pl.2.29). It measures about 25 x 35 metres and appears from the 1950 aerial photograph to have had flanking defence at two angles to cover the two long sides, although because of erosion only one of these angles is now apparent (Fig.2.15B). It is clear from the aerial photograph that most damage to the site has occurred since 1950 - the present barely discernible earthworks bear no comparison to the distinctive archaeological monument of the earlier picture.

Sentry Hill Redoubt

Sentry Hill was named for the Maori lookouts who maintained a watch from the commanding position during the First Taranaki War. The Maoris themselves called the hill 'Te Morere'. A plan to establish a military outpost on the hill early in 1860 was not put into effect.

In January 1864 Colonel Warre decided to establish a redoubt on Sentry Hill. The new position was to prevent Maoris from approaching Bell Block, to halt communication between Maoris living in areas under European control and those still fighting and to prepare for an eventual advance on Manutahi and Mataitawa at the end of the inland track from the south. This was the first fortification to be thrown up north of New
Plymouth in the Second Taranaki War and was a precursur of considerable military activity in the area during the following spring and summer.

"On Monday last [February 15 1864], at 5 a.m., a force of 250 men - 100 of the 57th under Capt. Shortt, a few of the Royal Artillery under Lieut. Larcom, the two companies of Bushrangers and some of No. 1 Militia, under Captains Atkinson and Webster, the whole commanded by Major Butler, 57th Regt. - left town to take possession of Sentry Hill. Col. Warre, C.B., accompanied the force to direct the first day's operations." 334

A halt was made at Mahoetahi where a camp was pitched and the blockhouse, abandoned in May 1863, re-occupied. The greater part of the force then went on to Sentry Hill where Lieutenant Ferguson laid out the redoubt and superintended construction. 335

The force at Sentry Hill was joined on 16 February by 150 Military Settlers from Melbourne, who had arrived in New Plymouth on the Gresham two days previously. 336

"The work was found to be much more tedious than was expected, from the fact of there being a great deal of stone just under the surface; the soil was also so light that it was feared the embankment would not stand...but the plentiful use of fern was found to overcome the difficulty, and the banks seem likely to stand well. When finished they will be 14 or 15 feet high from the bottom of the ditch and nearly perpendicular. The redoubt itself is a simple square - flanking corners being unnecessary from the height of its sides and its commanding position, and it is meant to hold 75 men." 337

Colonel Warre visited the new position on 19 February and wrote in his diary,

"The Redoubt is built much too hastily the parapets too (steep?) and too much fern has been used so that in a few weeks it will subside & very likely slip altogether the earth is not good for building parapets, but I told Mr. Ferguson what to expect before hand..." 338

Colonel Warre reported on 22 February that the redoubt was completed and "...occupied on the 20th Inst. by one Comp'y 57th Regiment under Captain Shortt". 339 He goes on to say that,
"owing to the rocky and loose nature of the soil and confined space on Sentry Hill, I was obliged to direct a small Stockade to be placed, as a flank defence on an adjoining knoll." The stockade was on a knoll about 200m north east of Sentry Hill; 22 of the Melbourne men remained for a time with Captain Shortt's company to help in its construction. A blockhouse was built in the redoubt in March.

The unfortunate Lieutenant Ferguson received another blast from his commanding officer over the construction of the stockade. In a letter dated 6 March 1864 the Garrison Adjutant, Lieutenant Brutton, writes,

"Sir.

I am directed to inform you that on visiting Sentry Hill yesterday Col Warre was much disappointed to find the flank defence so very incomplete, and also, that you have apparently, misunderstood the Colonels object, and have expended much unnecessary time and labor in the construction of a work there are not men enough properly to defend.

I am to observe that by placing the flank Bastion on the wrong angle of the Stockade, one face has been left entirely undefended, and the door being placed on the front face, there is no possibility of reinforcing the men within, should an attack be made suddenly, and the enemy obtain possession of the Gully the stockade is intended to Command.

Col Warre desires me to add that he considers this work should not have been left to a sapper, but that a N.C. Officer should have been sent from Town to have superintended, when you were precluded doing so yourself.

I am further to remark that Col Warre considers a great want of Judgement has been shewn in commencing a building, which is liable to be attacked, at any moment, on the rear insted of the Front face, and to request that the door may be placed on the West face of the stockade, and by erecting a light palisading, enable men to go in and out without being seen."

An attack on Sentry Hill Redoubt on the morning of 30 April was beaten off with heavy casualties among the attackers. Cowan has a remarkable account of the one-sided fight by one of the attacking party. At this time the redoubt was still under
the command of Captain Shortt, with a garrison of 75 men. The attack on Sentry Hill was one of only two determined assaults on military redoubts during the whole of the Taranaki wars. The attack on No. 3 Redoubt in January 1861 was equally unsuccessful.

In May troops north of New Plymouth were re-organised for the winter.

"The Company of Militia now at Mahoetahi will move into and occupy the Redoubt at Sentry Hill, and the Stockade near to it tomorrow morning.

The whole of the 57th Regiment now at Sentry Hill will Return to New Plymouth on being relieved by the Militia.

Mr Parris will be good enough to make arrangements with the friendly natives to occupy and hold the Blockhouse at Mahoetahi until further orders."  

The establishment of a number of redoubts inland of Sentry Hill in October 1864 (see below) led to reductions in the Sentry Hill garrison. On 20 October Military Settlers at the post included two officers, three sergeants and 57 rank and file. Early in 1865 the garrison was reduced to 30 rank and file. Nonetheless Sentry Hill retained some importance to the end of the decade because of its commanding central position. In 1868 it was used for a time as the base for the newly formed Armed Constabulary in Taranaki before the A.C. moved into permanent quarters in New Plymouth. Immediately after the attack on White Cliffs in February 1869 it was occupied by Bushrangers under Captain Kelly. The last garrison at Sentry Hill was struck off pay on 24 November that year. The 1869 Defence Office Report states that the three room blockhouse was in good order, but that the redoubt was in bad order.

Sentry Hill Redoubt is pictured in a pencil sketch by Percy Smith (Pl.2.30). The sketch shows the high walled redoubt with
PLATE 2.30. Sentry Hill Redoubt (S. Percy Smith, Fieldbook W.1, L & S Dept, New Plymouth).

PLATE 2.31. 'Morere or Sentry Hill Redoubt 1865' (H. J. Warre, Rex Nan Kivell Collection, National Library of Australia).
a bridge over the ditch to a gate on the north side. Adjacent barrack buildings of the usual form stand inside and a hut stands outside. A watercolour by Colonel Warre shows the redoubt and adjacent stockade from Mahoetahi\textsuperscript{353} (Pl.2.31).

A surveyor's fieldbook issued to Frederick Carrington includes within it a rough ground plan of the redoubt and stockade, dated 15 March 1867.\textsuperscript{354} The barrack buildings can be seen to be on the west side of the redoubt with an open area immediately within the gateway. The stockade is marked '33 links square', at 19cm per link, this makes it about 6.3 x 6.3m.

Sentry Hill is just off the Waitara-Inglewood road (Highway 3A), about 2km from the junction with Devon Road. The hill has been entirely gutted by quarrying and no archaeological evidence of the redoubt survives. Immediately over the road is a low knoll which was the site of the stockade; no surface evidence can be seen.

**Pahitere Redoubt**

Pahitere Redoubt was first occupied on 1 March 1864 by part of Captain Corbett's company of Taranaki Military Settlers. The movement took place along with the re-occupation of St Andrew's Redoubt nearby to prepare for the crucial expulsion of southern Maoris from their pa in the Kaitake Ranges. The disposition of troops and militia in Taranaki at this time is given in the section on St Andrew's Redoubt (above).

A blockhouse was built within Pahitere Redoubt in June and July 1864.\textsuperscript{355} This was a comparatively large building with accommodation for 40 men in addition to a store room and officers'
quarters. 356

Pahitere Redoubt was always held by local forces, in conjunction with the regular troops at St Andrew's. On 31 May 1865 it was held by two subalterns, three sergeants, one drummer and 39 men, T.M.S., along with a single 43rd Regiment drummer. 357 The position declined in importance in late 1865 and 1866 as the frontier was pushed south, so that by July 1866 it was occupied by only one man from No.2 Company, T.M.S. 358 It was handed over to Ropata Ngarongomate, a local 'friendly' Maori, in November 1866. 359

Pahitere Redoubt is situated at the corner of South and Koru Roads, near Oakura, about 200m inland of the main road (see Pl.2.26). The work is of unusual interest in that use was made of a former pa (Pahitere) on the prominent knoll. As a result the redoubt has a double ditch and bank almost entirely encircling the central platform. This confuses Best who describes the fortification as a pa with no notion of its later use and modification. 360 The platform is rectangular, about 25 x 11 metres, and lacks flanking defences. The earth breastwork, which was about '3 ft. high in some parts' when seen by Best, 361 is now no more than 15-20cm in height. A close examination of Plate 2.26 shows that the redoubt with inner ditch and bank does not sit squarely within the outer ditch and bank. Clearly the inner defences were substantially re-formed by the Military Settlers.

A photograph of Pahitere Redoubt in occupation by the Military Settlers comes from Volume Two of the Nicholl Albums (Pl.2.33). This depicts the post in the summer of 1864-65.
PLATE 2.32. Pahiterere Redoubt 1975.

PLATE 2.33. Pahiterere Redoubt 1864-65 (Nicholl Album ATL).
In the picture the nature of the semi-subterranean soldiers’ huts can be seen very well. Also to be seen is a well, a dovecote and two chimneys made of barrels. The photograph can be used in the interpretation of archaeological evidence.

The outer ditch is crossed by a causeway leading to a bridge across the inner ditch and to the gateway at the left of Plate 2.33. A second narrow entrance can be seen rising from the inner ditch to a gap in the earth breastwork about 5m from the south-east corner of the redoubt. Access to the inner ditch from the external living area is provided by a gap in the outer bank which can be seen in Plate 2.33 just to the right of the dovecote. Archaeological evidence for this entrance to the redoubt remains clear at both outer bank and platform scarp. This access would allow a protected route into the redoubt from the living quarters should the post be under attack, the main gateway being extremely exposed. On the eastern slope of the hill a number of depressions marking hut sites can still be seen (see Pl.2.32).

Pahitere is unique in Taranaki in that the blockhouse pictured in Plate 2.33 has survived. It has been shifted out of the redoubt and over a gully to serve for many years as a farm cottage. A verandah has been added and an addition to the rear has necessitated an alteration to the roof line. Blockhouses of this kind were prefabricated in kauri in Auckland and were shipped to various war theatres in New Zealand. The massive kauri roof beams and kauri cladding is still substantially intact.

Pahitere Redoubt is in excellent order, only the outlying hut sites and other features possibly having suffered damage from cultivation over the years. Gorse and blackberry over the steeper
scarps protect the earthworks from stock damage and erosion.

Kaitake Redoubt

Following the re-occupation of St Andrew's Redoubt in March 1864 Colonel Warre was able to turn his attention to the Maori strongholds on the northern flanks of the Kaitake Ranges. These strongholds for some time had provided a base from which Maori raiding parties controlled the broken bush country inland of New Plymouth. More importantly the pa controlled a vital access route for Ngati Ruanui, Taranaki and Whanganui Maoris into the war theatre of north Taranaki. Alternative access from the south was provided by the track inland of Mount Egmont and northern access for the Waikato and Ngati Maniapoto lay down the coast from Mokau, beneath the sea cliff of Paraninihi. The denial of Maori access into north Taranaki by these routes was crucial for European success in the war.

The movements which led to the blocking of Maori access into north Taranaki all involved the establishment of military fortifications. In March 1864 the Kaitake Ranges route was closed up by an advance which expelled the southern Maoris from their various pa in the area. The Kaitake Redoubt and Lower Kaitake Blockhouse were then established to control the new frontier. In October 1864 Maori settlements in the numerous forest clearings at the northern end of the inland Whakaahurangi track from the south were taken and a number of redoubts and other posts subsequently established to control the area. In April 1865 a sea-borne expedition to Paraninihi resulted in the
establishment of Pukearuhe to close the route from the north. Colonel Warre reconnoitred and shelled the Kaitake positions on 23 December 1863. On 11 March 1864, after the re-occupation of St Andrew's Redoubt, Major Butler led a small force to Kaitake but withdrew under heavy fire. On 25 March, at the end of a four day operation aimed at turning the Maoris out of all their strongholds in the ranges, the two main pa, upper and lower Kaitake, were taken. Colonel Warre was in command of a force mostly of Militia and 57th Regiment with some Royal Artillery and a small detachment of the 70th.

The first of the pa to be taken was Te Tutu, on 22 March. It was "...situated on the Katikara River, four miles above the rebel position, so successfully taken by the Lieutenant-General on the 4th June, 1863". The trig 'Tutu A' (496 feet, 151.18m, above sea level) closely fits the given location although no archaeological remains have been found. Ahu Ahu pa was taken on 24 March. It was situated on a steep spur of the Kaitake Ranges rising from the present main road close to the Ahu Ahu Road corner. The upper and lower Kaitake pa were close together on the ridge east of the present end of Wairau Road. Rifle pits were located below them on the spur and a Maori stockade extended across the valley of the Wairau Stream close to the position of the later Lower Kaitake Blockhouse. The upper pa was replaced by the subsequent redoubt. There is no sign of the lower fortification.

"The three days following the capture of Kaitake the troops were busily employed in turning the upper pa into a first-rate redoubt, and great credit is due to the regulars and militia for the energetic way they worked, but under the superintendence of such an indefatigable
officer as Lieut. Ferguson R.E., this perhaps is only what might have been expected."369

Despite this, however, Colonel Warre was displeased with work on the new redoubt and Lieutenant Ferguson received a letter from the Garrison Office:

"Sir

I am directed to inform you that the Col Comm'g considers the Redoubt at Kaitake requires your immediate attention, and he requests you will proceed tomorrow morning and remain at Oakura or Kaitake, as may be most convenient until the Redoubt is placed in a perfectly defensible state, which the Colonel cannot consider it at present.

If wet weather, owing to the banquette being constructed on a slope, in some places, it is impossible to walk upon it - the parapets in places, and particularly on the S.W. side near the upper angle - have sunk so much as to afford no cover to the defenders, and owing to the parapet on that side having been constructed on the inside instead of the outside of the old Stockade - the stockade obstructs the fire of the defenders, and must be removed.

It will also be necessary to clear off the whole of the Palisading in front, Viz:- the old Pa & wharres [sic], leaving nothing to interrupt the fire from the Redoubt, the garrison of which, as soon as you report these arrangements complete, will be reduced, so as to allow every tent, and every man at night - to remain within the parapets."370

The garrison at Kaitake Redoubt was initially made up of a company of the 57th under Captain Russell and Captain Carthew's company of Military Settlers.371

At the beginning of April Colonel Warre reported to the Deputy Quarter Master General, Auckland, on the construction of the redoubt, "...which the Troops have done me the honour, with the sanction of the Lieut General Commanding to Christen 'Fort Warre'". Sanction was presumably forthcoming for the post is occasionally called 'Fort Warre' in the months following, although it is usually 'Kaitake Redoubt'.

On 6 April Captain Thomas Lloyd led a small force of 57th
Regiment and Military Settlers from the redoubt along the flanks of the ranges to destroy enemy crops. The force was successfully ambushed at Ahu Ahu, and Lloyd, two of the 57th and four Military Settlers were killed.\textsuperscript{374}

The Kaitake Redoubt was garrisoned by troops of the 57th and 70th Regiments and local forces throughout the winter of 1864. It was later occupied by local forces only. Duty at the post was considered 'irksome' and the garrison for some time changed every month.\textsuperscript{375} A blockhouse was completed in the redoubt at the end of August 1864 and was initially occupied by Captain Stewart of the 57th.\textsuperscript{376} Early the following month the blockhouse was taken over by Military Settlers, this probably marking the final withdrawal of imperial troops from the post.\textsuperscript{377} In October Colonel Warre gave orders that the company of Military Settlers at the post was not to be reduced below 60 men.\textsuperscript{378}

Throughout 1865 and 1866 the garrison at Kaitake was subject to the same reduction as other positions left in the rear of the advancing European frontier. On 31 May 1865 the garrison was down to 29 T.M.S.\textsuperscript{379} The post was locked up for a time following the transfer of local forces to the Patea district in September 1866.

"The Non Comd Officer in charge of Kaitake Blockhouse is ordered immediately on recpt of this Memo. to collect all Government property in his charge, to leave it in one of the small rooms in the BK. house, lock the door & bring key to town labelled with the name of Blockhouse, he will then proceed immediately to town en route for Patea with the men of his Detachment & report himself on arrival this evening at Fort Carrington."\textsuperscript{380}

Along with other posts in north Taranaki, Kaitake was maintained for emergencies and was occupied for the last time during the White Cliffs scare of 1869.\textsuperscript{381}
There are two important photographs of Kaitake Redoubt in occupation in Volume 2 of the Nicholl Albums, Alexander Turnbull Library. Plate 2.34 shows the redoubt with tents, huts and signal mast outside and blockhouse within. Information on a copy of the photograph held in the Taranaki Museum indicates that the men depicted belong to Captain Hussey's company of Military Settlers who occupied the post in late 1864 and early 1865 and that Captain Messenger is in the photograph. Messenger visited the post over Christmas 1864, and it is likely therefore that the photograph dates from this time. Such a date, it may be noted, is entirely consistent with internal evidence from the Nicholl photographs of St Andrew's and Pahitere Redoubts and serves usefully to date the entire series.

Kaitake Redoubt is located on a slight rise in the major spur of the Kaitake Ranges which leads down to the north between Wairau and Surrey Hill Roads. The trig '10863' (210m above sea level) is situated at the northern angle. Plate 2.35 shows the redoubt at the edge of the steep drop down to Wairau Stream. On the near slope tell-tale depressions mark the sites of soldiers' huts and other buildings.

The shape of the redoubt is not entirely clear from archaeological evidence. It appears to have been about 40 x 17.5-13m (Figure 2.16). The south and west ditches are still distinct and the entrance over the northern ditch can still be seen. The eastern side has been damaged by a bulldozed farm road - however, the plan given in Figure 2.16 is confirmed by aerial photograph 1789/9 taken in 1950. Flanking defence appears to have been directed solely at the southern part of the two long sides.
PLATE 2.34. Kaitake Redoubt (Micholl Album ATL).

FIGURE 2.16. Plan of Kaitake Redoubt.
Lower Kaitake Blockhouse

Towards the end of winter 1864 work was begun on a blockhouse in the Wairau Stream valley below the Kaitake Redoubt. The new post was intended to complement the more important position on the hill above.

The blockhouse was initially occupied by a detachment of one lieutenant, one sergeant and 20 rank and file, probably of the 57th Regiment, which was posted from Kaitake Redoubt on 16 October. Colonel Warre decided on 18 October, however, not to garrison the new position at the expense of Kaitake Redoubt and returned the initial blockhouse garrison to the redoubt, drawing a detachment of one officer and 25 other ranks from the Military Settlers at Oakura. This detachment appears to have come from Captain McKellar's company because when that company moved forward in November to establish Timaru Redoubt, the men at Lower Kaitake were ordered to rejoin. Lower Kaitake Blockhouse was then occupied by one officer and 'not less than' 15 rank and file from Captain Mace's company, T.M.S., from Kaitake Redoubt.

On 20 December 1864 Colonel Warre gave permission to shut up the Lower Kaitake Blockhouse during the day. In February 1865 the night guard too was withdrawn and in spring that year the building itself was removed.

The Lower Kaitake Blockhouse is accurately located on the Wairau II block sheet. The original record can be found in the relevant field book. Interestingly the surveyor indicates part of a redoubt or stockade defence. The reference to the removal of the blockhouse (see above) mentions 'palisading'
and it is likely therefore, as was commonly the case, that the blockhouse was surrounded by a stockade. The blockhouse was situated just off the original line of the Wairau Road on the rise about 200m beyond the present road end. No surface evidence remains of the site.

**Dingle's Blockhouse**

While the most important military activity following the re-occupation of St Andrew's was the movement into the Kaitake Ranges, at the same time moves were made as a result of the death of Mr Pattison to secure the area behind New Plymouth so that farmers might return to their land. Following a settlers' petition Colonel Warre decided to build three blockhouses to secure the area. These posts were sited to overlook the Waiwakaiho (Puketotara Blockhouse), Henui (Ratanui) and Huatoki (Dingle's) stream valleys, at the same time commanding the important Mangorei, Carrington and Frankley Roads to inland farms. A decision was subsequently made to erect a fourth blockhouse at Allen's Hill on Hurford Road.

Colonel Warre initially made the proposal to build, "2 or 3 Blockhouses behind the town - one where Mr Pattison was shot", in a letter to the Deputy Quarter Master General dated 15 March 1864. At the end of March an offer was made by Mr Burton and other settlers to build the first of these at Dingle's farm. In a letter dated 13 May it is reported that the tender of Messrs Burton and Kelly for the erection of three blockhouses has been successful and that Dingle's is in the course of construction, to be completed about 20 May.
PLATE 2.36. 'Dingles Blockhouse Taranaki' (H.J. Warre, Rex Nan Kivell Collection, National Library of Australia).

PLATE 2.37. 'Ratanui Blockhouse Nov 9' (H.J. Warre Sketchbook, ATL).
On 2 June Colonel Warre wrote in his diary,

"After disposing of the office business I rode out with Capt Mace to Dingles to see the new Blockhouse which is nearly completed & looks well altho it is not bullet proof & it is very difficult to make it so. - being already overweighted with 4 inch lining through which the ball penetrates with difficulty." 396

It is reported that a ditch was dug around the blockhouse, "in the same manner as that at the Omata Stockade". 397

Dingle's Blockhouse was occupied by local forces for about 18 months. On 31 May 1865 it was held by eight men of the Taranaki Militia. 398 It was abandoned early in January 1866 and handed over to Mr Dingle, the land-owner. 399 Three years later the building had fallen into disrepair. 400

A sketch by Colonel Warre shows Dingle's Blockhouse to have been a two storeyed building with upper floor overhanging the lower (Pl.2.36). The picture is unclear on loopholing except on one side, but the post was probably loopholed all around on both floors like the Puketotara and Ratanui blockhouses. A bridge can be seen spanning a ditch to the door. With the Warre sketch is a brief description including the remark that the "...upper story projects over the lower to enable the defenders by opening small trap doors to fire into the ditch."

The site of Dingle's Blockhouse is on a knoll now cut by Frankley Road about 100m south of the corner with Pattison Road. A cairn at the corner marks the place where Pattison was killed. Apart from the road shaving off the west side of the knoll the site is in good condition. It consists of a platform about 14 x 10 metres surrounded by a ditch, now extremely slight, which measures about 20 x 17 metres (Fig.2.17A). Excavation
FIGURE 2.17. Plans of archaeological remains at blockhouse sites:
A. Dingle's Blockhouse; B. Ratamui Blockhouse.
would need to be undertaken to determine the reason for the apparent discrepancy between the size of the building as pictured by Warre and the rather larger structure indicated by the archaeological evidence.

Ratanui Blockhouse

On 18 July 1864 Lieutenant Clarke, Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General, New Plymouth, wrote to the contractors, Messrs Burton and Kelly, on behalf of Colonel Warre urging them to hurry and complete the Ratanui Blockhouse. Approval for payment of the contractors' account was given on 12 September. Ratanui Blockhouse is sometimes called 'French's Redoubt' after the owner of the land at the time.

Ratanui Blockhouse was occupied only by local forces; in April 1865 these were men of Captain Messenger's Number 6 Company, T.M.S. By 31 May the Military Settlers were replaced by five men of the old Taranaki Militia. The post was probably given up with the increased security of the district about the time Dingle's Blockhouse was abandoned. In 1869 the blockhouse was reported 'out of order'.

Plate 2.37 is a pencil sketch of Ratanui Blockhouse by Colonel Warre. The picture shows a two-storeyed loopholed blockhouse, similar to Dingle's, closely surrounded by an earth breastwork. A shed can be seen outside the fortification.

The location of the Ratanui Blockhouse is only possible with the help of the Warre sketch. The view is from the rise on which the present Ratanui homestead stands off Carrington Road.
Carrington Road itself can be seen running across the picture. The blockhouse was located to command a wide view of the Henui River valley.

The site is behind a farmhouse, about 50m east of Carrington Road, 200m on the town side of the Atkinson Road corner. Present surface evidence may have undergone some modification from farm buildings on the site. A platform about 20 x 20 metres is slightly above the gentle natural slope (Fig.2.17B). A well, said to be 120 feet deep, is covered by the concrete base of a water trough just inside the northern edge of the platform.

**Puketotara Blockhouse**

Puketotara was the third blockhouse built in 1864 to secure rural districts inland of New Plymouth. Like the other two it would have been garrisoned only by local forces - if indeed it was occupied by European forces at all; in December 1864 it was held by 'friendly natives'.\(^{409}\) It is not shown as being garrisoned in May 1865.\(^{410}\) In 1869 the blockhouse was reported in 'very bad order'.\(^{411}\) A sketch by Warre shows Puketotara Blockhouse to be the same design as Dingle's and Ratanui, apparently without additional earthwork defence\(^{412}\) (Pl.2.38).

Puketotara Blockhouse was built on the site of the former Puketotara pa, destroyed by troops on 1 September 1860.\(^{413}\) The site is on the terrace edge overlooking the Waiwakaiho River immediately over Mangorei Road from the junction with Karina Road. A house has been built on the site in recent years and no surface indication remains. Earthworks which may relate to the blockhouse, or even the earlier pa, can just be made out on
PLATE 2.58. 'Puketotara Nov 18' (H.J. Warre Sketchbook, ATL).
aerial photograph 1786/10, taken in August 1950.

**Allen's Hill Blockhouse**

Allen's Hill Blockhouse was erected in accordance with Colonel Warre's decision to secure farming areas behind New Plymouth. Initially only three posts were planned but a fourth blockhouse was placed on Allen's Hill to command the Hurford Road area and the new main South Road which now skirted the head of Waireka Stream. Figure 2.13 shows the distribution of the four posts situated to allow control over movement in the farming districts close to town.

In July 1864 one officer and 25 men of the Military Settlers occupying Fort Robert were posted to the new blockhouse on Allen's Hill. The post was occupied on 31 May 1865 by ten T.M.S. It is not known when it was abandoned. In 1869 it was reported that the building, with accommodation for 25 men, was still standing.

Allen's Hill is situated at the junction of Hurford and South Roads - the hill now deeply cut by the main road. The blockhouse appears to have been on top of the hill. In the Colonial Defence Office report of 1869 Allen's Hill Blockhouse and the blockhouses at Ratanui and Puketotara are described in
the same terms.\textsuperscript{419} Allen's Hill Blockhouse is therefore likely to have been a two-storied building, with rifle slits all round, the upper level overhanging the lower. In a Colonel Warre water-colour of the Omata Stockade\textsuperscript{420} the post on Allen's hill can just be seen in the distance. No surface archaeological evidence remains.

\textbf{Mataitawa Redoubt}

After the winter of 1864 European military authorities moved to expel Maoris from a number of settlements scattered throughout the forest edge at the northern end of the Whakaahurangi track. This area had been a refuge for Wiremu Kingi's people who had fled Waitara at the opening of the First Taranaki War. Except for Te Arei their small settlements were only minimally protected by light palisading and cannot be regarded as fortifications. Te Arei pa, overlooking the Waitara River valley, had been re-occupied and strengthened.\textsuperscript{421}

There were considerable gardens of maize, potatoes, \textit{kumara} and other vegetables scattered throughout the forest clearings. The area lies on the edge of the high scarp which rises from the low-lying plain to the deeply dissected high terrace country behind. The track from the south ended at Mataitawa, a settlement on the edge of the high ground which overlooked a wide area to the north.

Early in October Colonel Warre led his troops into the area and captured the hurriedly abandoned Maori settlements. Redoubts or other fortifications were then established at Mataitawa, Manutahi, Matakara and Te Arei, and the old No.6 Redoubt at
Key to Plate 2.39.
Huirangi was re-occupied. This effectively blocked Maori use of the inland track and provided sufficient security for the establishment of military settlements in the area. The military control allowed a general expansion of the farming frontier to the banks of the Waitara River. Military settlements were laid out at Mataitawa, Manutahi (Lepperton), Huirangi and Manganui.

Colonel Warre advanced from Mahoetahi on 8 October (see P1.2.11). The Taranaki Herald gives military details of the opening of the operation:

"...early on Saturday morning, 8th inst., a force consisting of 200 of the 70th under Major Ryan, two field guns in charge of Capt. Martin, R.A., Capt. Good's, and Capt. Jonas' companies of Bushrangers 100 in all under Major Atkinson, and Captain Maces' mounted men, started northward... at Mahoetahi they were joined by 150 more of the 70th under Major Saltmarsh - the whole under command of Col. Warre, C.B., who was attended by his staff and also by Col. Lepper and Mr. Parris."\(^{422}\)

The Maori positions turned out to be lightly fortified and the defenders withdrew into the bush to the south.\(^{423}\) By the end of the day the European force was in control of the entire Mataitawa-Manutahi area. On 11 October Warre turned his attention to Te Arei which became the site of a strong redoubt (see below).

On 17 October the troops returned to Mataitawa to effect a permanent occupation.

"On Monday last a redoubt was begun at Mataitawa, which is now occupied by 200 of the 70th, under Major Ryan. Captain Morrison's and Captain Messenger's companies hold Manutahi, and the Bushrangers are encamped at Matakaraha, on the other side of the bush behind Manutahi, where they have begun cutting the under bush preparatory to felling."\(^{424}\)

In some anticipation of discussion of other posts in this area a letter from Colonel Warre to the Deputy Quarter Master General, Auckland, dated 20 October 1864, deserves space here as it gives
details of all posts north of New Plymouth at this time.

"The following will be the distribution of the Regular and Militia Forces on the Northern Boundary..."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>F.O.</th>
<th>Officers</th>
<th>Sergt</th>
<th>R &amp; F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Te Arei</td>
<td>70th Regt</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No 6 Redoubt My Settlers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahoeahi</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do</td>
<td>70th Regt</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sentry Hill</td>
<td>Mily Settlers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manutahi</td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangakara</td>
<td>Bushrangers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mataitawa</td>
<td>70th Regt</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the end of November troop numbers at Mataitawa Redoubt were down to 150, still under command of Major Ryan. Early in 1865 the troops were withdrawn and replaced by about 150 Military Settlers under the command of Major Baddeley. In February Military Settlers at the post were reduced to 100 rank and file. On 31 May the garrison was made up of five men of the Royal Artillery, one Royal Engineer, two subalterns, three sergeants and 78 rank and file, T.M.S., and three militiamen.

On 5 January 1866 Lieut. Colonel Morant, 68th, was ordered to Mataitawa with a detachment of that regiment 'as strong as possible'. This movement was designed to support General Chute who arrived at Mataitawa via the Whakaahurangi track on 25 January. The 68th marched from Mataitawa to New Plymouth on 13 February embarking for Auckland the same day. Local forces then returned to garrison the redoubt. When Ensign Morrison and his detachment were ordered to town en route for Patea on 26 September 1866 it is likely the post was permanently abandoned.

A confusing situation arises with Mataitawa Redoubt since
PLATE 2.40. 'Matsitawa Redoubt, Taranski, Jan 24 1866' (ATL).

another post, also called Mataitawa (albeit 'Blockhouse'), was established close by in late 1864 or early 1865. The sketch in Cowan's "Mataitawa Stockade and Barracks, North Taranaki", is misused in illustration of the October 1864 advance in the area. The sketch actually shows the later Mataitawa Blockhouse, at Waruanga, a point that can easily be determined from Percy Smith's original.

Plate 2.40 gives the only contemporary picture of Mataitawa Redoubt thus far located. The anonymous pencil drawing is dated 24 January 1866, that is, one day before General Chute and his force emerged from the bush. The post is pictured from the north on top of the escarpment with tents, huts and some men and horses just visible. The road up the hill, which follows the spur rather than the present line of Elsham Road, can be seen on the left.

Mataitawa Redoubt is situated over the present boxthorn hedge immediately east of Elsham Road at the top of the hill which rises from Richmond Road (Pls 2.39 and 41). The work is about 43m square with flanking defence on all four corners (Fig. 2.18A). In both Plates 2.40 and 2.41 the original access road can just be seen running up the spur to the north-east angle. Other lines visible in Plate 2.41 are the result of cultivation and post-date the redoubt. Mataitawa Redoubt has suffered considerably from cultivation and the ditches are extremely shallow as a result. Shallow deposits in the interior of the work are likely to have been badly damaged.
FIGURE 2.18. Redoubt plans: A. Mataitawa; B. Matakara.
Matakan Redoubt

Matakan Redoubt was established on 17 October 1864 along with the nearby fortifications at Mataitawa and Manutahi. Alternative spellings in contemporary accounts are Mangakara, Matakaraha, Mataikara and even Mataraka.

Matakan was established "...on the other side of the bush behind Manutahi",\(^{437}\) to maintain communication between Manutahi and the forward post at Mataitawa and to act as a base for working parties cutting down the bush between those two posts. It was initially held by Bushrangers under the command of Major Atkinson, the garrison at the redoubt on 20 October being one field officer, 6 officers, 8 sergeants and 105 rank and file.\(^{438}\)

On 8 December 1864 orders were given for the construction of a stockade: "The Stockade at Matakan will be only required to accommodate an officer and 30 Rank and File with a Store Room and magazine."\(^{439}\)

By early January 1865 the Bushrangers were replaced by one company of Military Settlers\(^ {440}\) under Captain Carthew.\(^ {441}\) By the end of February the garrison was down to 50 rank and file, T.M.S.\(^ {442}\) The redoubt appears to have been abandoned not long after.

Matakan Redoubt is situated on a low rise between the high ground (and Mataitawa Redoubt) to the south, and the lower valley of the Waiongana Stream (and Manutahi) to the north (Pls. 2.39 and 42). It is about 50m west of Richmond Road. The work has an unusual plan (see Fig. 2.18B). At two angles there is what appears to be minimal flanking defence to cover four sides of a

PLATE 243. 'The Redoubt of Te Arei, Taranaki, Capt'n Jonas' Station beyond' (ATL).
five-sided work. Outside the redoubt, immediately below the entrance gateway, are the typical archaeological remains of a small group of semi-subterranean soldiers' huts (see Pl. 2.42). The site has suffered from cultivation over the years.

Manutahi Redoubt and Blockhouse

Manutahi Redoubt was established along with the posts at Mataitawa and Matakara on 17 October 1864. It was initially garrisoned by two companies of Taranaki Military Settlers under Captains Morrison and Messenger. Colonel Warre gives the force at Manutahi on 20 October as including five officers, eight sergeants and 150 rank and file.

Early in 1865 the garrison was down to 75 men and on 19 February it was down to 'not less than' 50 rank and file. On 31 May Manutahi was held by two subalterns, three sergeants, one drummer and 54 men, T.M.S.

It appears a stockade was added to the fortification early in 1865. A letter from Lieutenant Clarke, Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General in New Plymouth, to Lieutenant Ferguson, R.E., gives details also of an earthwork addition to the redoubt.

"The Redoubt at Manutahi being too small for the number of men intended to occupy that Post I am directed to request you will increase it by adding to the present redoubt a large square flank, so as to admit of the whole of the Tents being within the Parapet."

A post was held at Manutahi by detachments of varying strength until the end of the decade. Early in 1865 a blockhouse was built close by the redoubt and it is likely many of the later references to 'Manutahi' refer to this. By 1 April 1866 the garrison was down to one N.C.O. and three men.
Like other posts throughout north Taranaki Manutahi was re-occupied for the last time during the White Cliffs scare of February 1869. At this late stage it was certainly the blockhouse and not the redoubt that was in use. Corporal Turner was in charge of eight men at Manutahi on 24 February. The post was finally abandoned on 24 November 1869 when the last garrison was struck off pay.

The locations of the 'Redoubt' and 'Blockhouse on Old Pa' are given on the relevant survey block sheet. Both are just off Richmond Road in Lepperton (see Pl.2.39). The redoubt was situated about 100m north-west of the present Lepperton store. The blockhouse was situated about 150-200m south of the redoubt just behind the present Lepperton School. No archaeological evidence has been found of either site. The present township of Lepperton is interesting in itself being one of the two surviving townships laid out as part of the military settlements of the 1860s; Okato is the other.

**Te Arei Redoubt**

Although Te Arei was taken on 11 October 1864, three days after the Te Atiawa were driven from their villages around Mataitawa, the redoubt there was the first established in the area.

"On Tuesday morning, at daybreak, another expedition started from Mahoeatahi, where it had camped the night before, to take Te Arei, Hapurona's stronghold. It consisted of 350 men of the 70th, under Majors Rutherford and Saltmarch and Captains Backhouse and Ralston, a detachment of Artillery under Captain Martin, Captain Mace's mounted men, and about 100 friendly natives - the whole under the command of Colonel Warre."
Te Arei pa was taken without a shot being fired, the occupants retiring into the bush. Part of the force then went on to destroy two small villages, Te Peketu and Pukemahoe, deeper in the bush to the south.

"After burning the whares and picking up the few unconsidered trifles that were to be found the force returned to Te Arei where a large redoubt was already in course of construction. This is now occupied we believe by 150 of the 70th under Major Rutherford; and to keep open the communication, No. 6 Redoubt has been occupied by Captain Page's company of Military Settlers." 457

Construction of Te Arei Redoubt was superintended by Lieutenant Ferguson. 458 On 20 October Colonel Warre reported to the Deputy Quarter Master General, Auckland, that, "the Redoubt at Te Arei is nearly completed, and I believe 100 men would hold it against any number of Natives". 459 In the same letter the garrison at Te Arei is given as six officers, ten sergeants and 164 men, 70th Regiment.

At the end of November the redoubt was occupied by 150 men under Captain Ralston 460 and at the end of February 1865 it was still occupied by 170 men, now under the command of Major Saltmarshe. 461 On 1 July that year the garrison was down to 113. 462 Following the withdrawal of the 70th from Taranaki the 43rd Light Infantry occupied Te Arei, they in their turn being relieved, on 21 December 1865, by a detachment of the 68th. 463 On 13 February 1866 the 68th were relieved by Military Settlers. 464 On 23 February one corporal and four privates from No.5 Company, T.K.S., took over from the initial detachment under Captain Jonas. 465 As late as February 1867 Military Settlers under Major Baddeley were stationed at Te Arei. 466

Exactly when Te Arei was abandoned is not known. In 1869
a blockhouse was built a few metres west of the old redoubt, this becoming the occupied post in the area (see below); the redoubt had probably already been abandoned for some time.

Colonel Warre has given us two sketches of Te Arei pa. In one troops are shown making use of the surviving sap and No. 8 Redoubt of General Pratt's 1861 advance to again advance on the pa. The other depicts the outworks of the pa. A pencil sketch of the later redoubt is given in Plate 243. The redoubt can be seen with a main gate on the northern (rear) face, close to the north-west angle. Numerous huts, tents, men and animals can be seen. In the background, across the Waitara River, is the later fortification of Tikorangi (see below), giving a post-November 1865 date to the sketch. It probably dates to late January 1866 like the sketch of Mataitawa (Pl. 240) by the same unknown artist.

Te Arei Redoubt is situated within the present Pukerangiora Historic Reserve. The plan and position is given on a block sheet and the original fieldbook sketch. The historical plan confirms the historical sketch in indicating a flanking extension along the cliff-top at the north-east corner; this feature is no longer visible on the ground.

The redoubt is about 30-35 by 46-66 metres (see Fig. 2.19A). Use is made of the cliff to the Waitara River for one of its sides. Two of the other three sides are in good condition, while the third, closest to Te Arei Road, has suffered considerable damage and is not at all clear. It may be that the defences on this face were deliberately thrown down to allow the garrison in the 1869 blockhouse command of the otherwise dangerous
FIGURE 2.19. Redoubt plans: A. Te Arei Redoubt; B. Timaru Redoubt.
defensive position adjacent. The historical plans indicate flanking defence covering both long sides of the work, while difficult archaeological evidence suggests a bastion on the short, damaged west face which is not indicated by the historical material.

**Mataitawa Blockhouse**

Mataitawa Blockhouse was built soon after the establishment of Mataitawa Redoubt. Colonel Warre gives the reason for the new post in a letter dated 19 November 1864.

"...in order to cover the whole of the immediate vicinity of Mataitawa, it would be necessary to have a Blockhouse at Wharuanga, about ½ a mile to the east of Mataitawa, across a deep gully, the country between Wharuanga & Pukerangi (Te Arei) being more or less under cultivation, and yet completely concealed by the ridge on which Wharuanga is situated, from the proposed stockade at Mataitawa."  

Mataitawa Blockhouse appears to have been built some time early in 1865. The post was occupied only by local forces. For some time the neighbouring redoubt and the blockhouse were both in use. After the redoubt was abandoned in September 1866 the blockhouse remained in occupation as Military Settlers became established on their land.

On 26 September 1866 Private Dowdell, apparently the only occupant of the Mataitawa Blockhouse, was ordered to lock up the post and proceed to town **en route** for Patea. The post was again occupied in October but closed up in February 1867. On 21 December 1868 a detachment of Armed Constabulary and Militia under Captain Kelly was ordered to Mataitawa to 

...put the Blockhouse and ditch at that place and Manutahi in a
thorough state of defence". 475

On 15 February 1869, in response to the White Cliffs scare, Mataitawa Blockhouse was occupied by one sergeant and six men of the Bushrangers. 476 The following day Ensign Johnson was sent to the post and ordered to make up the number to 25 men from the settlers of the district. 477 After this period of activity the garrison at Mataitawa and other nearby posts was steadily reduced. District Orders for 9 October 1869 includes the following:

"R.W. Ardlie is appointed Lance Corporal and will be obeyed accordingly, and will take charge of Mataitawa Block House and visit Manutahi and Sentry Hill Post, at uncertain times, and see that no poultry, calves &cs are kept in the Blockhouse or enclosure and report occasionally as to the state they are kept in..." 478

The remaining detachment at Mataitawa was struck off pay on 21 December 1869. 479

Mataitawa Blockhouse was situated at the Mataitawa town site on Richmond Road. 480 The site was formerly occupied by a Maori kainga called Waruanga 481 (sometimes Wharuanga or Waruhanga). In a survey fieldbook kept by Percy Smith there is a plan of 'Te Waruhanga BlockHouse' with measurements given in links, and a small perspective sketch of the work. 482 The plan and sketch combine to show the Mataitawa Blockhouse as being made up of two blockhouse buildings of common rectangular form with a narrow yard between. Around the whole is a stockade enclosing an area 15.5 by 14.9 metres (77 x 74 links). At two opposite corners are flanking angles of about 2 x 3 metres covering all four sides.

Plate 2.44 is a copy of the original Percy Smith sketch by J. McDonald. The original is also drawn on by A.H. Messenger.
PLATE 2.44. 'Block House Mataitawa' (J.M. McDonald from the original by S.P. Smith, ATL).

PLATE 2.45. Timaru Redoubt 1975.
for the picture given by Cowan.\textsuperscript{483} It is clear in the original sketch (from the lack of a gateway and the lie of the land to the right of the work) that Smith's view is from the rear (south) of the work; Messenger therefore misuses the sketch in inventing a foreground since there is in fact a steep drop into a gully directly behind the blockhouse.

The site can be seen today as a low mound about 50m south of Richmond Road about 500m south of the junction with Cross Road (see Pl.2.39). A shallow ditch surrounds the slightly raised blockhouse site, giving some confirmation to the historical suggestion (see above). Flanking defence is just discernible. The site has suffered greatly from cultivation over the years.

*Timaru Redoubt*

Having established the northern frontier to the forest edge and the banks of the Waitara River, European military authorities returned their attention to the south. Since March 1864 the farming areas behind New Plymouth had been made secure by the establishment of a network of blockhouses and the southern frontier had been established from St Andrew's Redoubt, Oakura, to the twin fortifications at Kaitake. The next move was the re-occupation of the Tataruaimaka Block; this was initiated by the return to St George's Redoubt on 24 November 1864 (see above) and the establishment of the nearby Timaru Redoubt the following day.

Timaru Redoubt was thrown up on the north bank of the Timaru River on 25 November 1864. Colonel Warre wrote in his diary,
"...after seeing the Camp pitched at St George's Redoubt & giving Major Colville his instructions I returned with Clarke - Ferguson &c to Huirangi where I pointed out to Capt McKellar the site for his Redoubt & directed his Company to move there tomorrow."\textsuperscript{484}

The reasons for establishing the position are outlined in a letter from Warre to the Deputy Quarter Master General, Auckland.

"A Company of the Military Settlers (Otago Contingent) under command of Captain McKellar, T.M.S., has also occupied ground on the right bank of the Timaru River which post secures safe communication between Oakura & Tataraimaka."\textsuperscript{485}

Captain McKellar's company was made up of two subalterns, four sergeants, one drummer and 81 rank and file.\textsuperscript{486}

Timaru Redoubt was occupied throughout by Captain McKellar's company. The temporary nature of the post is shown in a letter from Lieutenant Clarke, Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General, New Plymouth, to Lieutenant Colonel Lepper, commanding local forces:

"...I am advised to inform you, that, as the Post at the Timaru River will probably be abandoned as soon as the troops move forward to the Stony River (Hangatahua), Colonel Warre considers it to be hardly worth while digging a well."\textsuperscript{487}

In the event the force at Timaru was not advanced but retired to occupy an area now opened for military settlement.

Lieutenant Clarke wrote again to Colonel Lepper, 18 April 1865:

"I am desired by the Colonel Commanding to request you will have the goodness to move as soon as convenient Captain McKellar's Company of Military Settlers from their present camp on the Timaru River to Tuahukino between the Tapuæ and Oakura Rivers."\textsuperscript{488}

The order appears to have been quickly complied with.

Timaru Redoubt is situated on the coastal terrace on the east side of the Timaru River mouth. The present Weld Road runs through the centre of the work at the point where the
gravel road begins. Earthworks can be seen on both sides of the road (Pl.2.45).

The redoubt is of classic plan, about 24 metres square, with flanking defence on two corners covering all four sides (Fig.2.19B). While the ditch is in good condition under the macrocarpa trees east of the road and in one paddock on the other side, the north-west sector has been badly damaged by cultivation. Flanking defence at the north-west angle is distinct despite damage, however, and we may be confident that it is matched at the opposite angle where it has suffered some damage and disappears under a boxthorn hedge.

Tataraimaka Blockhouse

The occupation of St George's Redoubt in November 1864 paved the way for re-settlement of the Tataraimaka Block. As in other districts security was to be achieved by the establishment of blockhouses. In a letter of December 1864 to the Assistant Military Secretary, Auckland, Colonel Warre sought permission to erect two blockhouses at Tataraimaka, "similar to that recently erected at Dingle's Farm". 489

The site for the Tataraimaka Blockhouse was chosen on 22 January 1865. Colonel Warre wrote in his diary, "...after breakfast Mr Atkinson CM Clarke & I rode round the Tata Block, decided to place a Blockhouse on Mr Rawson's land". 490

On 28 February 1865 the new post was occupied by one officer, one sergeant and 21 rank and file of Captain McKellar's company, T.M.S., from Timaru Redoubt. 491

When Captain McKellar's company was posted to Tuahukino
in April 1865 the detachment at the Tataraimaka Blockhouse was replaced by men of Captain Carthew's company then engaged in road making near the Kaihihi River. The blockhouse was temporarily abandoned in September 1866 when available local forces were sent south to Patea. It appears it was re-occupied the following month but was soon after abandoned by its permanent garrison, being maintained only by local settlers as a militia post. The White Cliffs scare of February 1869 saw the last brief re-occupation of the post with Sergeant Carpenter going to Tataraimaka to take charge of twelve settlers of the district. The 1869 Colonial Defence Office report states that the blockhouse, with accommodation for 25 men and including one officers' and one store room, was then in good repair.

The location of the Tataraimaka Blockhouse can easily be determined: Doctor T.E. Rawson owned 150 acres on Pitone Road and the blockhouse is marked on this land ('Site of Old Block House') on the relevant block sheet. The site is on the prominent knoll about 50m west of the junction of Pitone Road and the present main road. A farm house, itself now gone many years, followed the blockhouse on the site, thoroughly confusing, if not erasing, the archaeological record of the earlier site. The present farm house stands just in front of its predecessor.

The Tataraimaka Blockhouse appears to have been of the two-storied defensible form. Colonel Warre stated his intention to erect a building similar to Dingle's Blockhouse, and when the Taranaki Herald of 26 July 1871 carried a report of a lightning strike on the blockhouse mention is made of a 'bottom room'.

The Taranaki Herald of 11 March 1865, in addition to reporting that the one post was now occupied, stated that, "another blockhouse is to be erected on Mr Cutfield's land". George Cutfield, for a time Superintendent of the province, owned two blocks of land in the Tataraimaka district: 298 acres on the west side of the junction of Greenwood and Timaru Roads, and another area east of the present main road and upper Timaru Road. The second seems a more commanding site for a defensive post; it seems likely, however, for lack of archaeological or historical confirmation, that the second Tataraimaka blockhouse was never built.

Stoney River Redoubt

On 14 December 1864 Grey wrote to General Cameron to indicate the government's objectives in Taranaki and Wanganui. The immediate aim in Taranaki was, "...such occupation of the country from Tataraimaka southwards as will secure for settlement a block of land between Tataraimaka and the Stoney River." In January 1865 orders were given to Colonel Warre for this movement. Warre reported to the Deputy Quarter Master General, at Headquarters, Wanganui, on 25 January:

"I have the honor to report for the information of the Lieut General Commanding that the Dett 43rd Light Infantry stationed at Tataraimaka under Command of Major Colvile, with a 12 pr Armstrong Gun, marched thence on the morning of the 23rd instt and occupied a position on a commanding knoll on the right bank of the Stoney (Hangatahua) River, about four hundred yards from the River and a mile and a half inland, without any opposition being offered by the Rebel Natives.

A Redoubt is being erected on the site selected under the superintendence of Lieut Ferguson R.E."
A marginal note in Warre's letter gives Major Colvile's force as follows,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field Officer</th>
<th>Captains</th>
<th>Sub-alterns</th>
<th>Sergeants</th>
<th>Drummers</th>
<th>Rank &amp; File</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Royal Artillery</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Engineers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43rd Regiment</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This movement to the banks of the Stoney River was an important one. The river was to act as the frontier of effective European control and settlement for fifteen years, until the Parihaka Campaign of 1880–81. The posts established at Warea and Opunake on the coast south of Stoney River in April 1865 did not alter this being essentially isolated and able only to control effectively the area within their immediate vicinity.

The redoubt thrown up at Stoney River was initially called 'Te Ngana' or sometimes 'Ngana', the name 'Stoney River Redoubt' only gradually coming into general use. On 11 February 1865 the Taranaki Herald reported that the 'Ngana Redoubt' was complete and that another camp was formed nearer the coast, about three-quarters of a mile from the Hangatahua ford. The reason for the additional camp is given in Colonel Warre's diary:

"The Redoubt [Stoney River] is very badly built - unflanked - & much too small for the number proposed viz 100 men... Selected a site near the [Redoubt] where to place the men who cannot be accommodated in the Redoubt & afterwards visited Capt Corbett's Co of Mily Settlers at Kaihihi."503

The redoubt never seems to have been satisfactory; in April 1865 Warre was still grumbling: "Mr Ferguson very obstinate about the Redoubt at Stony River which is too small & very badly defended nearly altogether unflanked."504

Reductions of the redoubt garrison took place soon after...
construction. On 20 February the 43rd at the post were reduced to eight officers, seven sergeants, six drummers and 150 rank and file under Major Colvile, and the officer commanding the 43rd in Taranaki was ordered, "You will observe that the strength of the officers is not reduced, as it is still necessary, owing to the smallness of the Redoubt at Te Ngana to keep up two Camps at Stony River." On 12 April Major Colvile, in command of the whole Stoney River force, was at the second camp while Captain Close commanded at Te Ngana. On 1 May the 43rd was ordered from Stoney River for the new posts at Warea and Opunake. The troops were relieved at Stoney River by Captain Percival's company of Military Settlers. On 1 July 1865 the garrison was made up of a company of Taranaki Military Settlers, four Royal Artillery and seven Commissariat and Transport Corps.

The 43rd Light Infantry, including Lieutenant Colonel Synge and headquarters, returned to Stoney River on 28 October 1865. There is no mention now of two positions. Towards the end of November Synge and the headquarters of the 43rd returned to town leaving Captain Horan in command of a strong detachment. The 43rd was replaced at the post in February 1866 by the 50th Regiment, lately from Patea. The 50th initially established their headquarters at Stoney River under Colonel Weare, however Weare soon replaced Colonel Warre as officer commanding in Taranaki and Captain Creagh commanded at the southern redoubt during the winter of 1866. On 20 August the 50th at Stoney River included 88 rank and file. The regiment withdrew from Opunake, Warea and Stoney River redoubts in May 1867. Stoney River was never re-occupied.
PLATE 246. 'Mt Egmont from the Camp near Stoney River'. The redoubt with tents within can be seen in the middle distance. (H.J. Warre, Rex Nan Kivell Collection, National Library of Australia).
A sketch by Colonel Warre (Pl.2.46) shows the auxiliary camp in the foreground with a road leading up to the Stoney River Redoubt behind. Tents can be seen within the redoubt which occupies the top of a small and abrupt hill. The site which fits Warre's sketch and the location indicated in contemporary reports and orders is at the corner of the present Kaihihi and Brophy Roads. An earthwork shows up on aerial photograph 4341/5 taken in February 1970 and, although it is not easy to interpret, this appears to have been of rectangular European form. This site was completely destroyed in the early 1970s when the present farm house was built on the site. The site of the camp has not been found.

**Pukearuhe Redoubt**

At the end of April 1865 military movements were made north and south of New Plymouth which were important not only in the prosecution of the war in Taranaki but in the wider political history of New Zealand. The first move was to Pukearuhe, an old pa at the south end of Paraninihi (or White Cliffs), where a redoubt was thrown up. This fortification closed off the route into Taranaki from the north. The route along the coast and beneath the 300m high White Cliffs was the third of the three Maori routes into north Taranaki to be closed and the war zone was now effectively isolated from Maori support outside.

A few days after the move to Pukearuhe Warre moved south: strong redoubts were thrown up at Warea and Opunake on the coast south of Stoney River. This movement was designed to allow land contact with the forces of General Cameron then
campaigning out of Wanganui to the banks of the Waingongoro River, and to facilitate military action against centres of Maori resistance in forested areas west of Mt Egmont. Politically, Warre's moves provoked the open breach between Grey and General Cameron which was to herald the frank espousal of colonial rather than imperial objectives in the prosecution of the war.\textsuperscript{517} 

The immediate reason for the occupation of Pukearuhe is given in the \textit{Taranaki Herald} of 29 April 1865.

"On Sunday last \textsuperscript{7}23 April\textsuperscript{7} a report was received through a native, who had come over from the enemy to warn the friendly natives, that the Ngatimaniapotos were expected down immediately by Wm. King's people. As it would have hindered the survey and occupation of the Waitara country, and interfered with any other movement, to have any considerable number of natives at Kaipikari, Colonel Warre with commendable promptitude, after consulting with the Minister for Colonial Defence, determined on taking possession of Pukearuhe, a position commanding the pass by the White Cliffs, and cutting off communication from the north. The Phoebe being opportunely in, was chartered to take 150 of the 70th and the Bushrangers down, and they accordingly embarked in the evening under command of Colonel Mulock, arriving off Pukearuhe early on Monday morning."\textsuperscript{518} 

Because of deteriorating weather only part of the force was landed, and because of mismanagement the men were without essential supplies or their commanding officer. The \textit{Phoebe} went on to Onehunga. Those landed included the Native Commissioner (Parris) and two Maoris, 35 Bushrangers under Captain Jonas and Lieutenant Free and about 70 of the 70th under Captain Ralston.\textsuperscript{519} Stores included tents, two bags of biscuits and some salt pork.\textsuperscript{520} 

That night the force was joined by a party of Maoris who had come overland from New Plymouth; because of lack of supplies, however, the Maoris were sent back to Mimi to obtain food from
cultivations there. On Wednesday (26 April) Parris returned to New Plymouth to make known the predicament of the Pukearuhe force. Colonel Warre at once despatched the steam ship Wonga Wonga with supplies and reinforcements, these being landed at Pukearuhe on Friday morning. Captain Messenger, Lieutenant Clarke, Ensign Pookes, Surgeon Spence and 75 men of the Taranaki Military Settlers were added to the garrison and the Bushrangers withdrawn. Parris returned to Pukearuhe on 9 May and reported 'a very fine redoubt' almost completed. On 31 May 1865 the garrison included Captain Ralston, two subalterns, three sergeants, five drummers and 61 rank and file, 70th Regiment, three subalterns, one staff officer, four sergeants, a drummer and 71 rank and file, T.M.S., and two men of the 43rd Light Infantry.

A blockhouse was soon erected within the redoubt. The successful tenderers for the work were Messrs Burton and Kelly of New Plymouth, and their price, £340. Because of a subsequent dispute over payment the tender document has been preserved. The building was specified as including an upper floor 42 feet 6 inches by 18 feet and a lower 40 feet by 15 feet 6 inches. The dispute arose partly over the loss of building material destined for the blockhouse with the wreck of the Alexandra at White Cliffs and the loss of the Stuart's cargo at the Waitara River mouth. The blockhouse was completed about the end of September 1865.

Towards the end of August 1865 the 70th Regiment, still in command of Captain Ralston, was withdrawn from Pukearuhe. Captain Messenger's Military Settlers at the post were then
made up to 100 men and four officers to make up part of the
loss. Shortly after the departure of the troops Major
Baddeley took command of the Military Settlers at the post. In
November Baddeley was absent from Pukearuhe and Captain Page was
in command. Baddeley returned on 25 November. On the same day
a party of Ngati Maniapoto advanced along the beach from the
north, were involved in a brief exchange of shots on the beach
and later attempted to ambush some Military Settlers who were
200 yards south of the post cutting fern.

The T.M.S. garrison was initially made up of No.5 Company
this being replaced, apparently by the end of 1865, by No.9
Company with Captain Page in command. Being an advanced
frontier post Pukearuhe was subject to some alarms as parties
of Maoris were sighted in the district. In August 1865 there
was daily skirmishing between the garrison and a large body of
Mokau Maoris who had come down to compete for the cargo of the
Alexandra. In November there was another alarm, as outlined
above. In August 1866 Ensign Hursthouse was temporarily in
command at the post when a party of 40-60 armed Maoris passed
through the district on their way north.

Notwithstanding the periodic alarms and the remoteness of
the position the garrison at Pukearuhe was subject to steady
reduction throughout 1866 and 1867. By mid-September 1866
Captain Page was in command of a reduced garrison of 65 men.
At the end of the same month the departure for Patea of almost
all the small remaining garrisons at the many blockhouses
throughout north Taranaki created a vacuum which was only partly
filled by a further reduction at Pukearuhe: fourteen men being
drawn from the post to go to Okato, Tikorangi, Manganui and Mataitawa. 533

By May 1867 Captain Page's company had left White Cliffs and a small remaining garrison, apparently of Military Settlers, was under command of Lieutenant Gascoigne. 534 On 22 October 1867 the Taranaki Military Settlers were disbanded, 535 Gascoigne then taking charge of a small Militia force at the post. At this time Pukearuhe and Warea were the only remaining posts in Taranaki to be held in any strength and the only posts initially established for military purposes in advance of the frontier which were still garrisoned. Early in 1868 the remaining garrisons of 25 men at both posts were withdrawn. At Warea the Militia was replaced for a brief period by an Armed Constabulary detachment; at Pukearuhe the garrison was replaced by three men in charge of the blockhouse. 536 Early in March the local command was asking Wellington if one man might be kept on pay at the post until the removal of ammunition and stores had been completed. 537

The depletion of the Pukearuhe garrison was accompanied by a general departure of Military Settlers who had been cultivating land in the district. In July 1867 one officer and 19 men were reported cultivating land in the area. 536 When the garrison was withdrawn in early 1868 the settlers petitioned the Minister of Colonial Defence for its retention, the petition being turned down. 539 In October 1868 it was reported that settlers were continually leaving the district. 540 By the end of the year about twelve remained between Urenui and Pukearuhe. 541 In September an order was given that at Pukearuhe, Tikorangi and
Okato the blockhouses be repaired, wells be cleared out, ditches and banks repaired and fern cleared. In November this was reported done although an earthquake had greatly damaged the refurbished parapet and ditch at Pukearuhe.

On 14 February 1869 a Maori raid from the north resulted in the death of the remaining occupants of Pukearuhe Redoubt: Lieutenant Gascoigne, his wife and four children, two other men and the Reverend John Whiteley who had arrived at the post towards the evening. The Maori party burned down the blockhouse and other buildings. With this the frontier was drawn back to the Papatiki Stream. Pukearuhe was not re-occupied for almost four years.

In the years 1869 to 1872 the Armed Constabulary and Bush-rangers occasionally patrolled to the abandoned post a little more than 3km north of the Papatiki Stream. On 11 September 1872 Pukearuhe was re-occupied from Waipake Redoubt by a party of Armed Constabulary under Inspector Tuke. The redoubt was renewed and a new blockhouse built.

There were 35 Armed Constabulary at the post in 1872 and the garrison was strongly maintained until the mid-1880s. On 31 March 1881 the garrison included one officer, three non-commissioned officers and 30 constables. On 30 June 1884 there was still one officer, four NCOs and 26 constables at the post. In 1885, however, there was a reduction which accompanied the general reduction in A.C. strength in Taranaki following the Parihaka campaign. The Pukearuhe garrison on 31 March 1885 stood at one officer, two NCOs and seven constables, with a 'Pukearuhe Road Party' working on road construction in the district of one NCO and nine men. The A.C. abandoned
Pukearuhe on 26 November 1885.550

During the long period of Armed Constabulary occupation of the post the garrison was employed in road and bridge building, patrolling the ranges eastward and north to the Tongaporutu River, maintaining their fortification and quarters and providing for themselves by extensive gardens on both sides of the Waikaramarama Stream. An excellent account of life at the frontier post is given by the surveyor E.S. Brookes in his book *Frontier Life*.551

Pukearuhe Redoubt and its accompanying settlement is unusually well documented by photographs. An excellent series of pictures in the Taranaki Museum shows No.9 Company, T.M.S., in occupation at the post in 1866.552 A second series of photographs shows the Armed Constabulary in occupation sometime in the 1870s or 1880s (Pl.2.47).553 Paintings and sketches are less common. The Taranaki Museum holds a photograph of an important watercolour showing the first blockhouse, redoubt and camp from inland.554 A watercolour by Thomas Good shows the redoubt with tents inside and buildings without (Pl.2.48).555 This picture shows the re-occupied post in 1873; the men are still in tents within the redoubt and the new blockhouse is not yet built. Good was in command of the Native Contingent at Urenui at this time.

Pukearuhe Redoubt and settlement were situated at the north end of the present Pukearuhe Road on a steep-sided plateau between the Waikaramarama Stream and the sea. The site was formerly occupied by Pukearuhe pa and the old defences and terraces were extensively modified for living quarters especially
PLATE 2.47. Pukearuhe during the Armed Constabulary period (W.H. Collis photograph, TM).

during the A.C. period. The plateau itself is divided into three parts by sharp gullies. All of the plateau was used by garrisons of 1865-1885 for the redoubt, houses and other buildings, a parade ground, gardens and other purposes. The redoubt itself stood at the eastern corner of the central terrace and commanded the steep road to the beach at the mouth of the stream.

The redoubt has a difficult history of construction and alteration. It seems likely the first work, built by the 70th Regiment, had five sides entirely flanked from three angles. Figure 2.20A gives a plan taken from a map dated September 1865 which shows the redoubt and the Military Settlers' town site at Pukearuhe.556 Entry to the redoubt was gained through the west side and through a corner of the north-west angle. Within this earthwork was the two-storeyed loopholed blockhouse, of which we have the description and illustrations mentioned above.

When the Armed Constabulary occupied Pukearuhe they rebuilt the redoubt to essentially the same five-sided plan but with rounded bastions at all five angles to flank all sides (Fig. 2.20B). This work is depicted in the Good watercolour, and is also shown in a series of A.H. Messenger ink sketches which, apparently incorrectly, ascribes this work to the period 1865-69 and depicts the earlier blockhouse within.557 It is, however, possible that the A.C. simply refurbished a design which the Military Settlers or subsequent occupation, had already altered in the period following initial construction by the 70th Regiment. The gateway is now in the middle of the north or seaward face. Inside, the new blockhouse is of a
FIGURE 2.20. Plans of successive redoubts at Pukearuhe: A. the first redoubt (1865); B. the second redoubt (1872).
typical single story barrack form, without loopholes.

In 1879 it was reported that, "...Pukearuhe Redoubt has been reduced in size, having been pulled down and rebuilt, and put in thorough good order for any emergency." In the year ending 31 March 1882 a new ball-proof, loopholed blockhouse 18 feet square was built at the north-west angle to provide flanking defence for the west face. This blockhouse extended over the ditch and stood until the 1930s to enable A.H. Messenger to draw the building for Cowan.

The site of Pukearuhe Redoubt and extensive associated settlement is now included in the Pukearuhe Historic Reserve. This has not, however, prevented the terrace from being cultivated over the years and the archaeological value of the site is now greatly reduced. Indistinct archaeological remains suggest a redoubt about 22 x 22 metres in size. Two sides fall away to the former road which descends steeply to the beach. The other sides are marked by ditches about 8m broad, generally 1-1.5m in depth, but which appear to have suffered considerably from the cultivation of the site, resulting in blurred and rounded angles no longer easy to interpret from surface evidence. Two causeways cross the ditch; on the seaward (north-west) face is the crossing to the gateway into the redoubt, while at the western angle is a larger causeway on which the late flanking blockhouse crossed the ditch.

Outside the redoubt there is a great deal of surviving archaeological evidence of the military settlement. The road to the beach remains in good order except for the beach end having slipped away. The concrete base of a hearth and other
remains survive in the low gap between the main central terrace and the northern terrace which overlooks the stream mouth. A small group of graves stands at the southern end of the reserve, while a monument to the missionary Whiteley, and a stone marking the spot he was killed, are to be found a few metres from the redoubt at the southern edge of the central terrace. In 1968 excavations were carried out on the route of the Kapuni gas line which crossed the southernmost terrace and the two platforms below on the west side.

**Warea Redoubt**

Warea Redoubt was established on 26 April 1865 following an ambush of eight men of the 43rd Light Infantry and Taranaki Mounted Volunteers south of Stoney River on 22 April. It was situated on the coast just north of the mouth of Teikaparua River, and was held for almost three years, initially by strong detachments of the 43rd and 50th Regiments and then by greatly reduced garrisons of militia and Armed Constabulary. The redoubt was an important one in advance of the Stoney River frontier. The forested area inland saw the last fighting of the Second Taranaki War. It is not given full treatment here: excavations were carried out at the site in 1978 and the historical and archaeological background to the site is given in the excavation report in Chapter 5, below.

**Opunake Redoubt**

Although at the time there was considerable dispute
as to who had issued orders to Warre for his moves to Pukearuhe and Opunake there can be no doubt that General Cameron had at least discussed establishing a post at Opunake before the move.

"Before leaving the Wanganui districts, the Lieutenant-General had informed his Excellency that though he did not consider it advisable to establish more posts northwards from the Waingongoro, a post might be established from the Taranaki side at Te Namu, about fifteen miles southwards from "Stony River"."

The force for Opunake sailed from New Plymouth at midnight on Friday 28 April on board the steam ship Wanganui.

"The Wanganui having on board Colonel Warre, C.B., Major Russell, Garrison Adjutant, Mr Parris, Assistant Native Secretary, (with a canoe and five natives – the canoe hoisted on board) Captain Gibson, Harbor Master, with a surf boat and life boat (in tow) and crews – Capt. Cay, Lieut. Bally, Ensign Howard and 85 men of the 70th Regt., Captain Stapp, Ensign Lawson and 26 Bushrangers, 3 Artillery men and a 5½ inch mortar, Lieut. Ferguson and 2 men of the Royal Engineers, and Lieut. McMahon 14th Regiment, Acting Deputy Assistant Commissary General, left the roadstead at midnight, and steaming at half speed was off Harriet Bay at dawn on Saturday morning, the weather being fine and the sea calm as a mill pond."

The Wanganui anchored off the entrance to Opunake Bay where the troops landed unopposed. A stockade on top of the cliffs on the south side of the bay was taken possession of, and "...the tents were at once pitched in and around the stockade, and Lieut. Ferguson proceeded to mark out the lines for a redoubt". A watercolour by Colonel Warre shows some tents in front of a section of palisade and probably dates from this day.

Having established the position at Opunake, Warre returned to New Plymouth by sea the same night (29 April). The force left at Opunake was made up of 120 men under the command of Captain Cay. Within a few days a second force assembled at Warea Redoubt (at the time under construction itself), and on
2 May marched along the coast to Opunake, Colonel Warre in command. This reinforcement was made up of 210 43rd Light Infantry, 35 Taranaki Mounted Volunteers, 41 Bushrangers and 77 Military Settlers. Warre and the Mounted Volunteers reached the new redoubt at 3 p.m. on the 2nd, the rest of the force arriving the following day. In the next few days the redoubt was rapidly completed, despite the fact that "...Mr Ferguson chooses to make the parapets so much too thick causing so much extra work".

Colonel Warre rode north again on 7 May, reaching New Plymouth in twelve hours. A strong garrison was left at Opunake.

| Commissariat & Transport Corps | - | 1 | - | 13 |
| Royal Artillery | - | 1 | - | 8 |
| Royal Engineers | - | - | - | 2 |
| 43rd Light Infantry | 10 | 12 | 6 | 180 |
| 70th Regiment | 3 | 4 | 1 | 70 |
| Mounted Volunteers | 1 | 1 | - | 10 |
| Military Settlers | 3 | 3 | 2 | 66 |

The garrison was much the same strength on 1 July 1865, being 315 regular troops and 79 local forces.

Early in June Colonel Warre returned to Opunake to command a force of about 200 of the 43rd and 70th Regiments, as well as Taranaki Mounted Volunteers under Captain Mace and Bushrangers under Lieutenant Free, which marched south on the 7th of June to make contact with Major Butler's garrison at Waingongoro,
PLATE 2.49. Opunake Redoubt 1975. The angled landward defences can be seen within the major bend of the road.

the northernmost outpost of the Patea campaign. This was the first land contact with European forces outside the north Taranaki area, preceding by eight months General Chute's well-known march inland of Mount Egmont.

On 15 February a force of over 300 men under Lieutenant Colonel Syne, 43rd, marched out of the redoubt to a small skirmish at the kāinga Ngapuketuranga about four miles away. Four men were wounded in the affray. On 21 February Captain Moran took a force out of Opunake to camp at Witiora about 10 miles to the north. The force was joined by a detachment under Captain Talbot from Warea Redoubt and spent two days destroying cultivations and burning villages in the area. While there was some fighting, however, the 43rd Light Infantry spent much of its time at Opunake in pig-hunting and other pursuits.

A detachment of the 50th Regiment took over from the 43rd at Opunake Redoubt at the end of February 1866, the regiment arriving in Taranaki at that time from the Patea district. On 20 August that year the 50th at Opunake included 103 rank and file. In May 1867 the regiment withdrew from Opunake prior to assembly for return to England. The redoubt was given over to Matakatane's people, much to the indignation of the Taranaki press.

Although Opunake lay beyond the effective European frontier in the period after the Second Taranaki War there was some European settlement nonetheless. Flax mills were established in the area by the early 1870s and some Native Police under Mr Patricio Wilson occupied a post at Te Namu on the banks of the Otahi Stream just north of the bay.
In March 1875 Opunake entered its second period of military occupation when 25 Armed Constabulary were directed there to assist the Native Police in putting down trouble among local Maoris. The detachment landed from the steam ship Napier on 2 March establishing their camp at Te Namu. For some years Te Namu was the site of the 'Opunake' A.C. camp.

In April 1879 the A.C. under Captain Tuke shifted to the site of the old redoubt on the south side of Opunake Bay.

"At Opunake, early in April, the station was shifted from Te Namu to Opunake Bay, about a mile to the south. A large amount of work was done at that time in removing buildings, stores, &c. Since the arrival of detachments from depot the men have been constantly employed completing the buildings removed from the old site, building a weatherboard store, men's and cook houses, chimneys to library and officers' quarters, and stone oven, 8 feet by 6 feet, for baking bread, &c; and all other necessary works have been pushed on as fast as possible." The measurements of the new redoubt are given as '120 by 130 feet'.

Throughout 1880 and 1881 there was a great build-up of Armed Constabulary in Taranaki. Much of the reinforcement landed at Opunake which was the headquarters camp for the Parihaka campaign. Major Goring was in charge at Opunake for a time, making way for Colonel Roberts when headquarters were established and troop numbers built up.

In 1881 it was reported that the redoubt at Opunake, "...could be held by a handful of men occupying the bullet-proof, loop-holed Blockhouse recently erected at one of the angles". On 31 March that year the A.C. garrison totalled 54 men. The garrison stayed at much the same strength until 1885 when the force was reported as down to 18 men, although there was also an 'Opunake Road Party' of 31.
A year later, 31 March 1886, the Opunake garrison stood at 26
and the 'road party', 25. The Armed Constabulary was dis-
banded on 1 September 1886 and Opunake Redoubt apparently
abandoned early the following year.

Although Colonel Roberts was in command of operations and
was based at Opunake, there were other officers including
Captains Morrison, Gascoyne and Capel in charge of the Opunake
station. Gascoyne went to Opunake at the end of 1884 and
remained until January 1887. Maxwell's Recollections and
Reflections of an Old New Zealander gives a good account of life
with the 'old force' at Opunake, along with a description of the
redoubt and the plan given here in Plate 2.51.

Opunake Redoubt was situated on the cliff top at the south
end of Opunake Bay, in the area of open ground between the
present Layard St and the cliff above the power station,
immediately north of the cliff top power board building.
The site is virtually destroyed. Maxwell writes,

"Most regrettably, Opunake Redoubt was completely destroyed,
instead of being carefully preserved. The buildings were
destroyed and the earthworks levelled. It was in perfect
order fifty years ago, and now there is not the slightest
sign to indicate where it was."

Despite Maxwell's remarks, however, it is quite possible to
trace out the ditches of the redoubt which was about 30m square.
The flanking angle at the north corner and the angled inland
wall are quite distinct. The work is also discernible from the
air (Pl.2.49).

The successive fortifications at Opunake are unusually
well documented by plan drawings, and perspective sketches and
photographs. The surveyor Nelson Carrington gives a good plan
-PLATE 2.51. Opunake Redoubt in the 1880s (E. Maxwell, Recollections and Reflections of an Old New Zealander, p.90).

-PLATE 2.52. 'Opunake Redoubt 1879' (TM).
of the first redoubt, dated 24 October 1867 (Pl.2.50). This work can be seen to use the cliff to the beach for one side, each of the other three sides being covered by flanking defence at one end. The redoubt was altered when rebuilt by the Armed Constabulary in 1879. The plan given by Maxwell (Pl.2.51) shows a parapet thrown up on the cliff side, with flanking defence on the inland side removed in favour of the whole side being slightly angled to the centre.

A photograph of the refurbished A.C. redoubt in 1879 is given in Plate 2.52. The picture is taken from the western angle with the beach below and to the left. The strong flanking defence at this angle can be seen. Men line the parapet. A sketch by Sherriff, which is dated 1881, shows some changes to the redoubt. The seaward flanking angle is now a blockhouse, which is mentioned in the 1881 report (see above). The blockhouse is similar to those still in existence at Mānaia. Sherriff’s sketch also shows buildings within the redoubt, and the nature of the alteration to the inland wall.

Tikorangi Redoubt

Following the movement of troops to Pukearuhe two posts were established north of the Waitara River to allow overland communication with the new redoubt and to prepare for the survey and settlement of the area. A post at Tikorangi was established by 'Taranaki Militia Volunteers', while Urenui was settled by the Native Contingent under Captain Good. Initially there was to have been a third settlement at the Mimi River but this was not put into effect.
There were, however, mixed motives in the decision to occupy land north of the Waitara. The site for the township and fortification at Tikorangi was chosen some days before the move to Pukearuhe, by Major Atkinson who was at this time Minister for Colonial Defence, Mr Parris, Native Commissioner, the Superintendent and the Provincial Surveyor. Thus while Warre emphasised the military objective of maintaining communication with Pukearuhe, Atkinson states what was probably the more important consideration:

"It having been determined by the Government to form a Military Settlement near Tekorangi on the north of the Waitara river, consisting of one hundred and twenty men, and also two settlements of loyal Natives at Urenui and Mimi, I have the honor to request that you will be good enough to inform me whether you see any military objection to the plan being carried out immediately." Warre, already in trouble over his movements to Opunake and White Cliffs, was subject of a further exchange between Grey and Cameron regarding Tikorangi. Cameron was by now extremely sensitive on subordinates communicating directly with civilian authorities.

Two companies of Taranaki Militia Volunteers were specially recruited for the settlement at Tikorangi and were promised land in the district. The companies were in command of Captains Armstrong and Jonas, with overall command of the operation being given to Captain Stapp, at this time Adjutant to the local forces in Taranaki. On June 19 the force crossed the Waitara River and began by building a fortified position on the hill directly above their town site. Stapp reported that,

"...on arrival at Tikorangi I erected a Stockade one Chain and a half square with two flanking angles at
opposite corners and have also thrown up a Ditch inside. One side of the Stockade abuts on a nearly perpendicular Gully and I have had the Bush cleared away for a considerable space on the Outside and still continue to employ some of the men at the same work so that with the arrangements we make daily I consider we are perfectly secure. I have had a Bake House erected from which we are furnished with excellent Bread. I am also having a well sunk which has reached 84 feet with a prospect I hope of soon reaching a supply of water."603

The two companies moved into the stockade on 7 July.604 A blockhouse was completed at Tikorangi by the middle of October.605

The Tikorangi Block extended from the Waitara River three miles northward. From its northern boundary to the Mimi River the land was given over to the Urenui Native Settlement,606 while north of the Mimi River was the Military Settlers' Puke-aruhe Block. Early in December 1865 the Chief Surveyor reported completion of the survey of 4000 acres at Tikorangi but remarked that 8000 acres were needed for the two companies.607 The miscalculation arose because half the block was unwanted; heavily bushed, steep hill country.608

Seeing apparently unoccupied flat land immediately to the north the disappointed men of No.2 Company under Captain Jonas moved across and built a redoubt about 2km west of the Onaero River. On 8 December they were ordered to return by the Minister for Colonial Defence.

"I have the hr to rect you will be gd enuf [sic] to inform me by what authority Capt Jonas removed his Compy of Tikorangi Settlers nearer the Onairo [sic] River and there constructed a redoubt...

Col Lepr will give immediate orders for the return of Cap Jonas' compy of Mila to Tikorangi. Before leaving their present camp they are to level any earthworks that they may have constructed."609
This unusual episode has left archaeological evidence of a redoubt about 100m west of the present Waiau Road south of the Inland North Road (Pl.2.53). The work is about 22 x 24 metres in size with what appears to have been flanking defence at two corners to cover all four sides. The redoubt has been greatly damaged, presumably initially by the destruction ordered on 8 December 1865. As it occupies a damp situation on a flat paddock it has also suffered considerably from stock damage. Three graves are now situated within the old earthworks.

On 9 December the Tikorangi Settlers were officially informed that the men of one company would not have land at Tikorangi unless they accepted hill country sections.610 There was a suggestion that the unlucky men might be given land south of Stoney River.611 On 16 January 1866 the companies tossed for Tikorangi, No.1 Company being successful.612 When the 66th Regiment left Te Arei Redoubt on 13 February Captain Jonas' company briefly occupied that post.613 They were relieved only ten days later by Military Settlers (see above). 'No.2 Company Taranaki Militia Volunteers (Tikorangi)' was later settled on land at Patea.614 Ironically, only a few months after the Tikorangi Volunteers were denied land north of their block, men of No.6 Company, T.M.S., were settled on land between the Onaero and Urenui Rivers as there was insufficient land for them on the Pukearuhe Block north of the Mimi.615

The garrison at Tikorangi Redoubt was rapidly reduced with the departure of No.2 Company and the settlement of No.1 Company on their land. Following the departure of Military
PLATE 2.53. The No 2 Company redoubt at Onaero 1975.

PLATE 2.54. Tikorangi Redoubt 1975.
Settlers for Patea in September 1866 Tikorangi was one of the four posts at military settlements in Taranaki to keep a garrison although it had to share only fourteen men with the other three positions. The remaining garrison was withdrawn in February 1867. In the years that followed the Tikorangi fortification remained as a parade post for military settlers of the district and was maintained for use.

During the White Cliffs scare of 1869 the post was re-occupied and strengthened. On 15 February one corporal and four privates of Captain Kelly's Bushrangers at Sentry Hill were ordered to proceed immediately to Tikorangi and occupy the blockhouse. The next day Ensign Lawson was ordered to take command and to make up the garrison to twenty-five from settlers of the district. On 19 February Lawson was further ordered, "...to raise the parapet around the redoubt, have a draw bridge made from the material at hand, don't delay in strengthening the place at once, make it as strong as possible by widening and deepening the ditch." On the same day it was reported that "fires have been seen at Mokau" and that it was desirable that settlers at Tikorangi sleep in the blockhouse that night. On 25 November 1869 the Tikorangi garrison was reduced to one sergeant, one corporal and six privates. From 15 March 1870 five men were retained on half pay, and on 1 November the remaining man in charge of Tikorangi Blockhouse was struck off pay.

In the years that followed Tikorangi continued to be maintained as a militia parade post. In March 1872 £1-10-0 was spent on repair of the blockhouse. On 20 April 1882
orders were given to Captain Armstrong for the return of all
government property issued to the Tikorangi Volunteers by
15 May, this signalling the end of Tikorangi's role as a
frontier post.627

The Tikorangi Redoubt site is on top of the hill at the
day of Ngaatirau Road, Tikorangi. The original military
settlement was laid out at the foot of the hill, some distance
from the present settlement at the Ngaatirau-Inland North Road
corner. The anonymous sketch of Te Arei Redoubt (Pl.2.43)
shows tents, huts and flagpole of the Tikorangi post in the
left background.

It will be seen that the historical record is not entirely
clear as to the nature of the defences at Tikorangi. Initially
a stockade was built 'a chain and a half square' with a ditch
inside, indicating a somewhat unusual work. Later emphasis
is on a redoubt and blockhouse. Archaeological evidence is
shown in Plate 2.54 and Figure 2.21A. What appears to be a
rectangular redoubt of classic form (defence at two angles
covering all four sides) is situated next to the abrupt face
mentioned in Stapp's 1865 report and therefore occupies the
position apparently first occupied by the stockade. This
fortification is about 22 x 17.5 metres in size measured along
the top of the eroded banks. The most economical solution is
that the present earthworks are of Stapp's ditch( and bank?)
within the stockade, that the stockade was later removed and
the earthworks then developed as the sole defence. Failing
more precise historical information archaeological excavation
would be needed to test this suggestion.
FIGURE 2.21. Redoubt plans: A. Tikorangi Redoubt; B. Urenui Redoubt.
The blockhouse was probably built within the redoubt or stockade defences. It is possible that this building still survives as part of a farmhouse in Ngatimaru Road. The smaller earthwork in Plate 2.54 and Figure 2.21A is of a defence about 10m square which surrounds a depression 3m in diameter. This seems likely to be the well dug in 1865, for which defences were provided either then or at some later date. At least two depressions on the slope south of the well provide typical archaeological evidence for semi-subterranean soldiers' living huts of the period.

The Tikorangi Redoubt site is in excellent order and appears to have suffered from none of the cultivation which has sadly reduced the archaeological value of almost all other redoubt sites in north Taranaki. The classic form of defence adds to the unusual archaeological interest.

Urenui Redoubt

The military post at Urenui, like that at Tikorangi, was established in the winter of 1865 to secure overland communication with Pukearuhe Redoubt. While Tikorangi Redoubt was also to provide security for a new European settlement, however, Urenui was to be a settlement of 'loyal natives'. A redoubt capable of holding 80 men was built in July 1865 by Captain Good and the Maori force high on the left bank of the Urenui River on the site of an old pa called Pihanga.

Urenui's status as a Maori settlement was shortlived: by August 1866 it was decided to settle men of No.6 Company T.M.S., for whom there was insufficient land at Pukearuhe,
between the Urenui and Onaero Rivers, the men being ordered to parade at Captain Messenger's house in Urenui on 3 January 1867 to select their town and rural sections. The Native Contingent was by this time also settled on land in the district.

Urenui Redoubt was held for many years by a variety of local forces, both Maori and European. Initially, as indicated, it was held by the Native Contingent under Captain Good. As early as November 1865, however, a minor scare in the Puakearuhe district (see above) resulted in the temporary despatch of fifty Tikorangi Volunteers to Urenui and Puakearuhe.

Initial response to the White Cliffs affair of February 1869 was to send Cornet Bayly and thirteen troopers of the Taranaki Cavalry Volunteers to Urenui to place themselves under Captain Good. A few days later, on 19 February, Captain Messenger was sent to take charge at the post.

In 1869 and 1870 Urenui was one of the most strongly garrisoned posts in Taranaki, acting as a key overland link with redoubts on the Papatiki Stream frontier. The garrison was made up of militia, Armed Constabulary and Native Contingent. Reductions to the garrison began in November 1869 when Captain Good was ordered to reduce militia and Maoris at the post to one captain, one sergeant, one corporal and 18 privates. On 9 May 1870 Good was ordered, "From & after 12th Inst. the detachment stationed at Urenui will be reduced to 1 Capt, 1 sergt, 1 Corpl, 15 Privates, 2 ferrymen at Mimi, 1 scout at Kipikeri [sic], 1 scout at Tupari, 1 ferryman at Urenui."
Again this order referred to militia only. The 1870 annual report of the Armed Constabulary gives the garrison on 15 June as three sergeants and 18 constables, A.C., one captain, one corporal and six privates 'Local Militia' and ten 'Natives'.\textsuperscript{639} The Maori scouts at Tupari and Kaipikari were struck off pay on 1 November 1870.\textsuperscript{640} As late as September 1872 there were six militia and 12 Maoris at Urenui under Captain Good.\textsuperscript{641}

For many years after 1870 the Armed Constabulary kept a small detachment at Urenui to maintain the redoubt and associated stables and other buildings and to act as a staging post to the important frontier posts northward. In the 1871 annual report of the Armed Constabulary the Urenui garrison is given as two constables.\textsuperscript{642} The detachment remained at two constables until 1882\textsuperscript{643} when it was reduced to one man until the final abandonment of the post in 1884 or 1885.\textsuperscript{644}

Urenui Redoubt is high on the left bank of the Urenui River commanding a wide view northward but a somewhat restricted view to the south and west owing to rising ground immediately behind the post. Plate 2.55 is a sketch by Colonel W.B. Messenger showing the redoubt from the river flat to the north, with buildings associated with the post to the left.\textsuperscript{645} Figure 2.21B outlines present archaeological evidence.

During its twenty years of occupation Urenui Redoubt was occasionally renewed and the defences slightly altered. In December 1868 repairs to the work cost £25.\textsuperscript{646} In September 1872 approval was given for the construction of two bastions to "...make the redoubt almost impregnable, at present there are no angles or bastions."\textsuperscript{647} This enables us to date the
PLATE 2.55. "Urenui Redoubt held by Friendly Maoris under Captn Good" (W.B.Messenger, ATL).
Messenger sketch to after September 1872 since the curious projecting bastion at the northern corner can plainly be seen. It is not known whether the second bastion was built.

Present archaeological evidence shows the redoubt to have been about 24m across the north-east face overlooking the cliff and river and extending at least 21m to the rear.\textsuperscript{648} A farm road has now cut into the south-west side of the work so that measurements on that side cannot be sure. The redoubt is not rectangular, narrowing from 24 to 21 metres away from the cliff face. As it is located on the truncated end of a slight spur the work is somewhat higher than surrounding ground except to the south-west where the ground rises again beyond the farm road. The present exterior height of the wall is about 2.8m while the interior height varies between .5 and 1m. The bank is generally in good order. Within the walls of the redoubt a much used vegetable garden effectively destroys any archaeological value.

Other historical and archaeological sites in the Urenui district deserve comment. Buist draws attention to a "Military redoubt on terrace edge near coast east of Onaero River mouth".\textsuperscript{649} An off-square platform about 21-17.5 metres in length and 14-12.5 metres in width is located on high ground (on the site is the trig '10922', 42.4m (139 feet) above sea level) overlooking a wide area south and west. Charcoal and oven stones suggest Maori occupation while rare pieces of glass confirm an historical date. A slightly raised margin of the platform is suggestive of an earth bank.

No historical reference to this site has been found.
It is noticeable that it occupies a site close to the Urenui Redoubt and overlooks the very countryside which rising ground to the rear of Urenui denies that position. It is possible, then, that a post was established here to command this ground and give protection to soldiers and other travellers on the road north of the Waitara. The alternative is that the site pre-dates 1865 and that it is not a military site despite appearances.

The ferry at Urenui was located where the present swingbridge crosses the river to the monument to Sir Peter Buck's birthplace. An Arden watercolour of the ferry is held in the Taranaki Museum. In 1872 a bridge of puriri and matai piles and rimu upper part and decking was built across the river. 650

Kaipikari and Tupari, mentioned above as having Maori 'scouts' in 1870, were two Maori villages occupying high ground at the margin of the hill country south and north of Urenui River. Kaipikari is situated just off the present Kaipikari Road at the top of the hill as the road rises off the coastal plain. The trig 'Kaipikari', 160m above sea level (525 feet) is situated on the site. The settlement was attacked by a force of 43rd and 70th Regiments and Maoris under Colonel Warre in early December 1864. At Kaipikari "...there was a formidable stockade, and half a mile of rifle-pits recently constructed. The enemy on the approach of the attacking forces fled". 651

Tupari overlooks the coastal plain just north of the Urenui River. The defences are made up of scarps only. 652
In 1872 the settlement had a population of 61 under the leading men, Pake, Tio and Tepatu. 653

**T.M.S. camps at Orongomaihangi, Tukitukipapa and Puke Ti**

Having examined the military settlement of the northern frontier region we may now turn to the similar settlement of the frontier between the Tataraimaka Block and Stoney River. The establishment of Stoney River Redoubt by regular troops in January 1865 has already been discussed. Following this the Taranaki Military Settlers moved into the frontier region and by the end of 1865 were established at Okato where a town was laid out and fifty acre rural sections surveyed for the men. Before the move to Okato, however, the T.M.S. occupied posts in the district at Orongomaihangi, Tukitukipapa and possibly at Puke Ti.

Captain Corbett's No.2 company, T.M.S., moved to Orongomaihangi in January 1865 accompanying the movement of the 43rd Light Infantry to Stoney River. 654 The old pa in a bend of the Kaihihi River was the most important of the three positions taken by General Pratt in the spring of 1860 in his sapping practice for subsequent operations at Waitara (see above). Until the inland road was constructed on its present line later in 1865 655 the route south lay along the coast. It is likely that Orongomaihangi was occupied to protect communication with the forward post at Stoney River. In any event it was not held long for when Captain Corbett's company marched north to occupy No.6 Redoubt (Huiringi) on 23 February they were not
replaced. 656

There is no archaeological evidence that may with certainty
be identified as belonging to the brief T.M.S. occupation at
Orongomaihangi. It is possible, however, that the position
occupied was not Orongomaihangi but the nearby pa of Puke-
kakariki (see Fig. 2.8). The latter occupies a more commanding
situation and indeed dominates Orongomaihangi itself. Since
Orongomaihangi was the central and most important of the pa
taken in 1860 its name would have been given to the whole
incident, and later extended to the 1865 position as likely to
convey more to the military and public. Much of the hill where
Pukekakariki stood is now destroyed for the present house on
the site. Remaining archaeological evidence of trenches and
platforms does not rule out a European defensive work.

The Military Settlers next occupied Tukitukipapa, the
Taranaki Herald reporting,

"Southwards, Orongomaihangi still remains unoccupied.
Captain Carthew, who marched through the town on
Saturday last [25 Feb] with his company, has formed
a temporary encampment at Tukitukipapa, where he will
remain until the roads which Lieutenant Ferguson, R.E.,
is at present laying out are completed, when the
company will move on to the beautiful district of
Puketehe." 657

Tukitukipapa was the scene of the submission of the Ngamahunga
people on 22 January 1865. 658 It was at that time reported as
a pa, "...formed of earthworks exactly after the models of
the English redoubts, with flanking angles and ditch complete". 659
After their submission the Maori inhabitants of Tukitukipapa
moved south of Stoney River to Noketuna. 660 In March the
Taranaki Herald reported that, "Captain Carthew's (No. 4 M.S.)
company are continuing with an inland road from Tukitukipapa". 661
Earthworks which appear to relate to Tukitukipapa are to be seen between the connecting link at the seaward end of Leith and Perth Roads and the sea cliff. A ditch and bank defence encloses an area about 80m long and up to 45m deep to the cliff edge. The very square plan is suggestive of European defences although it may serve equally to confirm the observations of the Taranaki Herald correspondent of January 1865.

Before moving to Okato at the end of winter 1865 Captain Carthew's company of Military Settlers appears to have shifted from Tukitukipapa to a position at Puke Ti close to the present junction of the main South Road and Perth Road. Indeed, when Captain Carthew's company moved south to relieve Captain Corbett's it was first ordered,

"...to Puke Ti where this Company will have to construct a Redoubt under the direction of Lieut Ferguson who will be instructed accordingly.

The position of Puke Ti which is rather inland but on this side of Kaihihi, will be pointed out to the Officer Commanding by the D.A.Q.M. General, but it will be advisable to halt for the night at Tataraimaka, and March early next morning to Puke Ti, to get the ground marked out & the Camp pitched with the necessary Outlying Piquets before dark."

We have seen, however, that the company remained at Tukitukipapa, apparently until mid-March at least. Early in April No.4 Company, T.M.S., was reported at 'Puketehe'. By this time they were rapidly completing work on the inland road from Tataraimaka to Stoney River, to which work Puke Ti would be much more convenient than Tukitukipapa.

On 23 April orders were given for Captain Carthew's company at 'Kaihihi' to join Colonel Warre's force at Warea. In June the company was at Opunake. It seems likely,
therefore, that while 'Pukete' is listed as an occupied post (although no garrison is given) in a report on the strength and distribution of troops on 31 May 1865 the position was already abandoned by this time.

It is probable that a military post was established at Puke Ti for a few weeks in March and April 1865. No archaeological evidence for the position has yet been found. A minimal sketch in a surveyor's fieldbook which may relate to a military fortification at Puke Ti shows a rectangular fortification with flanking defence for the two long sides only. Archaeology may yet offer confirmation.

**Okato Blockhouse**

In January 1865 Colonel Warre, Major Atkinson and others inspected the district north of Stoney River for township sites. It was, however, a second inspection by Atkinson the following month which resulted in the selection of a site for a township and military post at Okato. During the winter of 1865 the T.M.S. company which was to be settled at Okato was attached to the field force campaigning out of Warea and Opunake. In late winter it returned to garrison Stoney River and in early September was ordered to the new town site:

"Capt Carthew is requested to use every available man of his Det. in clearing a road from his present post one mile and a half inland in a straight line where there is an old "Pah" in the vicinity of which his Bhouse is to be erected..."

Colonel Warre had by now selected a new blockhouse site although the town site appears to have remained the same as that selected by Atkinson.
"Col Warre C.B. has changed the site of this Blockhouse, from the place mentioned by the Hon the Minister for Col. Defence to a place one mile and a half inland from the Redoubt at Stoney River which will protect a greater tract of Country, and in a great measure add to the safety of the Survey party."

Work was begun immediately on a blockhouse, carpenters of the Taranaki Military Settlers being employed to complete the building before 31 October at the cost of £40. On 20 September No.4 Company was ordered to camp within the redoubt when it was ready and to continue work on the blockhouse. The blockhouse was reported completed on 17 October.

The men of Captain Carthew's company were struck off pay and placed on their land early in 1866. On 26 September that year the remaining non-commissioned officer at Okato was ordered to lock up the post and proceed to New Plymouth en route for Patea. Okato was one of four remaining posts at military settlements in Taranaki to which men were posted after this general withdrawal, the blockhouse receiving a proportion of fourteen men detached for the purpose from Captain Page's company at Putakearuhe. The post appears to have been abandoned some time after this although it was briefly re-occupied in September 1867 following a minor scare at the southern frontier. Four men were to sleep in the blockhouse at night and two to remain on guard in the redoubt during the day, these men probably being drawn from settlers in the district. The post was then unoccupied until early 1869.

In September 1868 repairs were ordered to the blockhouse and redoubt at Okato. These were carried out between 11 and 19 December by Armed Constabulary and a party of newly enrolled Bushrangers under Captain Kelly. On 15 February
1869, as a result of the White Cliffs scare, a sergeant and four privates of the Bushrangers were sent to garrison the post. The next day Ensign Curtis was ordered to Okato to make the garrison up to 25 from settlers of the district. The garrison was then ordered to strengthen the blockhouse and ditch. A garrison of two Armed Constabulary and four militia is reported for 1870.

Throughout the 1870s and into the 1880s Okato was held by a small Armed Constabulary garrison. From 1871 to 1874 the garrison was four men. In 1875 the garrison was increased to eight. In 1879 and 1880 Okato, along with new posts at Cakura and Bayly's Farm, Tataraimaka, were bases for the greatly increased Armed Constabulary force in Taranaki prior to the advance south of Stoney River in March 1880. In 1879 it was reported that, "...a daily patrol is established from Okato to the mouth of the Stoney River". On 31 March 1881 the post at Okato was held by two non-commissioned officers and eleven men. It was abandoned on 22 December 1881, the frontier having shifted south and Parihaka itself occupied by troops on 5 November that year.

The fortification at Okato appears to have been altered at times during its long period of use. Initially a blockhouse was built within a redoubt which was large enough to enclose both the building and tents enough for the entire T.N.S. company (see above). It is possible that the redoubt was substantially altered in December 1868, the Bushrangers reporting that they 'commenced the redoubt' on the 12th, the day after arriving at Okato. However, in the Colonial Defence
PLATE 2.56. Okato Blockhouse 1975, to right of house.

PLATE 2.57. Te Arei Blockhouse 1975, to right of bend in road. Te Arei Redoubt is beneath the pine trees over the road.
Office report of 1869 the post at Ōkato is listed as a 'Blockhouse and Stockade', capable of holding 30 men, with one officers', one guard and one store room. £3-5-0 was spent on repairs to the blockhouse in March 1872.

A description of the post is given by Sergeant Lister, A.C., in September 1872.

"Ōkato is a small redoubt would accommodate about 30 men, surrounded by palisading of stout timber with no flanking angles. The block House inside is a weather Board building not bullet proof nor lined. It is in the form of a T having one large room and three smaller ones officers quarters, storeroom & Guard room it occupys an old Moarie/sic/ position on the top of a hill and commands a view of the country for about four miles round."696

Towards the end of the 1870s the post was again altered.

"At Ōkato the redoubt has been rebuilt where required, and kept in repair, and is now undergoing considerable alteration and improvement."697

The Ōkato Blockhouse and Redoubt site is situated on top of the prominent hill east of the present township, the trig 'Ōkato' (432 feet - 131.7m) is located at the north-east corner of the earthworks. The hill was formerly topped by a pa and terraces on its flanks are probably the result of modification of the older earthworks to provide for soldiers' huts and other facilities. In recent years a house has been built on the north side of the hill and a tennis court carved out of the south side, both of these certainly destroying much archaeological evidence. An aerial photograph taken on 22 May 1950 shows clearly the site before the house and tennis court were imposed.698 The picture shows the square redoubt and broad platforms around it on the hill top. The redoubt site itself is now in variable order. The walls of the work
are in excellent order, while inside the earthworks the ground appears to have been greatly disturbed.

Present archaeological evidence for the Okato fortification is given in Figure 2.22A. An aerial view of the site is given in Plate 2.56. Archaeological evidence indicates a rectangular redoubt about 15 x 11 metres with a strong circular flanking defence at the northern angle. A gap of 2.6m in the north-west wall indicates the gateway. The earth walls are surprisingly massive and the remaining original hill slopes below the work (the north-west and south-east sides) are unusually steep. The blockhouse was presumably located within the redoubt.

It will be seen from the historical information and archaeological evidence that a number of problems remain concerning the precise nature of the Okato fortifications from 1865 to its abandonment in 1881. At an early stage the work appears to have been rather larger than present archaeological evidence indicates. Later it appears to have included both redoubt and stockade defences, perhaps in the manner of the first position at Tikorangi. At the end of its life indications are only for a small earthwork defence. Recent destruction of the site has much reduced the likelihood of archaeology being able to demonstrate the nature of the defences and the sequence of changes to them.

The present Okato township is interesting in that it is one of the two military settlement townships surviving in north Taranaki more or less as laid out in 1865. The other is Lepperton (Manutahi).
Tuahukino, Ahu Ahu, Manganui and Te Arei Blockhouses

Remaining military sites of the Second Taranaki War are those of blockhouses established to secure areas being settled by men of the Taranaki Military Settlers. Three were located at town sites, Tuahukino (Koru), Ahu Ahu and Manganui, while Te Arei was established somewhat after the others to secure the well-known Maori fortification of the First Taranaki War. Manganui and Te Arei may be regarded as frontier posts. The other two blockhouses were erected well to the rear of the frontier and were therefore not garrisoned long, being maintained largely as parade posts for local military settlers.

Tuahukino Blockhouse was situated at the Koru town site about 3km up the present Koru Road from the main South Road. The post appears to have been established in April 1865 when Captain McKellar's company, T.M.S., was sent to the area from Timaru Redoubt. The blockhouse was built by the firm of Burton and Kelly which tendered £165 for the job on 25 May 1865. It was completed early in July. The Military Settlers in the district were struck off pay on 30 June 1865 and settled on their land except for one corporal and four privates.

In September 1866 the non-commissioned officer at Tuahukino was ordered to lock up the blockhouse and proceed to town en route for Patea. The post was not re-occupied. In 1869 the blockhouse, with accommodation for 25 men, one officers' and one store room was reported in good repair. As late as January 1872 the Tuahukino Blockhouse was retained for further use. It is not known when it was finally
given up. No archaeological evidence for the blockhouse has been found.

Ahu Ahu blockhouse was situated at the Ahu Ahu town site at the junction of the present South Road and Ahu Ahu Road. On 9 August 1865 the Lower Kaitake Blockhouse was ordered removed to Ahu Ahu for re-erection without delay. On 2 September it was reported that the blockhouse was completed except for the palisading. On 17 October it was reported completed. Military Settlers were established on land at Ahu Ahu before the blockhouse was erected. By 30 June 1865 they were struck off pay except for one corporal and four privates who were to provide a garrison at the new post. In September 1866 the non-commissioned officer at Ahu Ahu was ordered to lock up the blockhouse and proceed to town en route for Patea, along with other blockhouse garrisons throughout north Taranaki. The post was not re-occupied, being maintained for some years only as a parade post for the local militia. In the 1869 Colonial Defence Office report the Ahu Ahu Blockhouse was described as having accommodation for 35 men, with one officers' and one store room. It was sold by auction on 13 January 1872.

The location of the Ahu Ahu Blockhouse is known from the relevant survey Block Sheet. No archaeological evidence for the fortification has been found.

The Manganui Blockhouse was built in early 1866 at the Manganui town site on low ground at the confluence of the Manganui and Waitara Rivers. In February Privates O'Connor
and Bradley, No. 7 Company, T.M.S., were asked if they would, "...sanction the sale of one or two trees now growing on your Town Section to Government for the purpose of Building a Blkhouse at Manganui." Work on the blockhouse began in March.

Manganui Blockhouse was occupied by a corporal and three privates of the Taranaki Military Settlers on 14. May 1866. Work on the fortification was completed in June. The small garrison was withdrawn in September (see above), although in this instance the post was to retain a small garrison for some further months along with other frontier blockhouses at Tikorangi, Mataitawa and Okato. By early 1867 the blockhouse was permanently abandoned.

Although town and rural sections were laid out at Manganui and were to have been occupied by men of No. 7 Company, T.M.S., in fact land was not taken up here in the 1860s and the blockhouse was therefore found to be in advance of actual settlement. Because of this Manganui Blockhouse was shifted to a new site at Te Arei. Major Brown, who then commanded the Taranaki military district, wrote in June 1869:

"The question of removing the Blockhouse originated with the Settlers who were in advance of Huirangi Blockhouse, and in rear of Manganui Blockhouse, and who offered to do the carting necessary to remove the latter. Under the circumstances that the Manganui Blockhouse was about two miles in advance of any settler to be protected, that it was ball proof in the sides, but untenable, being liable to a vertical fire, I recommended to His Honor the Superintendent that the building should be removed and re-erected /sic/ at Te Arei."

No archaeological evidence for Manganui Blockhouse has been found.

The site for Te Arei Blockhouse was selected by Lieutenant Hursthouse of the Bushrangers on 19 or 20 March 1869, and
the Manganui building shifted and re-erected in March and April. Te Arei Blockhouse was the last military post to be permanently occupied outside New Plymouth between Okato and the Waitara River; one member of the local militia was reported on pay at the post in 1870. It was permanently abandoned in late 1870 or 1871.

The Te Arei Blockhouse site is immediately over the box-thorn hedge from the present Te Arei Road, across the road from the Pukerangiora Historic Reserve (see PIs 2.13 and 2.57). It is about 50m west of the old Te Arei Redoubt. Archaeological evidence consists of a platform about 12 by 7.5-10 metres, with a shallow ditch to the south and the ground falling away steeply to the north and west (Fig.22B). Among nearby farm buildings is a dilapidated shed with rifle slits in the weatherboards which is said to be material from the blockhouse, demolished early this century.

It will be noted that Te Arei Blockhouse dates from 1869, three full years after the last previous military post of the Second Taranaki War was established (Manganui Blockhouse). Further, it was established after the White Cliffs affair which resulted in a renewed period of activity in north Taranaki and which saw a number of new posts thrown up north of the Waitara River. Despite its date, however, it belongs to the Second Taranaki War since it arose, not out of the scare of 1869, but out of the policy of settling men of the Taranaki Military Settlers on their land.

Although the evidence is not always clear it seems likely Tuahukino and Ahu Ahu Blockhouses actually consisted
of a building of the barrack form defended by a stockade. The fortification at Manganui which was later shifted to Te Arei, however, appears to have been a defensible fortification in itself. This is unusual, most 'blockhouses' at this time actually being defended by a stockade (see Pl.2.44). The Brown quote given above seems to suggest a defensible building, and this has some confirmation from the surviving loopholed weatherboards said to be from the building. Archaeological excavation at Te Arei would demonstrate the precise nature of the defences.

THE WHITE CLIFFS SCARE

The successful Maori raid of 14 February 1869 on Pukearuhe resulted in a major scare on Taranaki's northern frontier and considerable military activity throughout the region. Much of this activity has already been outlined in discussion of military posts established prior to 1869, several of which were re-occupied briefly in response to the general alarm. Of interest here are some important new fortifications which were thrown up north of the Waitara River to strengthen the northern frontier. Two of these posts, the Waititi and Papatiki Redoubts on the south bank of Papatiki Stream, formed a new frontier a little south of Pukearuhe, while the others strengthened the extended lines of communication north of the Waitara (Fig.2.23).
FIGURE 2.23. Map showing military sites established during the White Cliffs Scare 1869.
Takapu Redoubt

The first new post established in the wake of the White Cliffs affair was a redoubt at the corner of Otaraoa and the Inland North Road at Tikorangi. Orders were initially given to Sub Inspector Davis to proceed to the Tikorangi school house on 27 February and "...take immediate steps to throw up a redoubt around the building for the defence of the place". The Armed Constabulary force is listed as two sergeants and 50 rank and file. Bad weather delayed execution of the order and it was 2 March before a force marched out to the site. The force now consisted of an A.C. detachment under Captain Gudgeon and Captain Kelly's company of Bushrangers from Sentry Hill. On 3 March the redoubt was marked out and work commenced.

Sub Inspector (or Captain) Davis was sent to Takapu ('Tikorangi Schoolhouse') on 26 March. On 5 April the Armed Constabulary at Takapu was relieved by Captain McKellar's company of Thames Volunteer Militia. The A.C. appear to have returned to Takapu, however, for orders were received on 20 April for the Bushrangers under Lieutenant Hursthouse and A.C. under Captain Tuke to move forward to Waiiti the next day. In August 1869 the Takapu garrison included 18 Bushrangers under Sergeant Whitcombe. On 25 November the garrison was reduced to one sergeant, one corporal and ten privates, and in March 1870 it was further reduced to five men on half pay. Takapu Redoubt was abandoned on 1 November 1870 when three Bushrangers were ordered to rejoin their headquarters at Papatiki and the three remaining militia were struck off pay.
Takapu Redoubt was sited partly to give security to the Tikorangi settlers, most of whom were located closer to the new position than they were to the Tikorangi Redoubt on the hill at the boundary of occupied land, and partly to secure the road north to Urenui and beyond. At this time the main road was inland, along the line of the present Inland North Road.

The redoubt site is marked on the old series cadastral map. 737 It was situated at the junction of Otaraoa and the Inland North Road, immediately over the fence in the paddock at the south-east side of the junction. The earthworks have been completely obliterated. No surface indication remains of the size and shape of the fortification.

**Waiti Redoubt**

The twin posts of Waiti and Papatiki Redoubt were situated on the left bank of the Papatiki Stream about 2km south of the abandoned redoubt at Pukearuhe. Both redoubts were thrown up at the same time in early April 1869 following reports of 600 Ngatimaniapoto at Mokau who were said to be about to advance and occupy Tupari. 738 Major Brown, by now commanding local forces in Taranaki, wrote to the Under Secretary of Defence on 20 April 1869,

"I therefore on the 6th April moved with the Armed Constabulary and the Bushrangers (one hundred and fifty strong) to the Waiti about two miles this side of Clifton, a line of defence that better secures our line of communication, and to a greater extent interferes with Ngatimaniapoto's line of communication from Mokau with Tupari and Natimaru [sic], than the former camp at Clifton..." 739
Captain Tuke, who was to remain in command at the post until 1872, was ordered to Waititi Redoubt on 20 April 1869.740

Waititi Redoubt was occupied throughout by the Armed Constabulary except for a few weeks in the winter of 1869 when Captain McKellar and 37 of his company of Thames Volunteer Militia were stationed there, and again briefly in 1870.741 Initially the garrison was a strong one, Tuke being ordered on August 12 to reduce the A.C. No.7 Division at the post by discharge to 120 men - 100 foot constables and 20 mounted.742 In 1870 the Waititi garrison was reported as including 40 A.C., 41 local militia and two "natives".743 In 1871 47 A.C. only were at the post,744 and in 1872, 37 A.C.745 On 11 September 1872 a party of Armed Constabulary under Major Tuke moved from Waititi to reoccupy Pukearuhe Redoubt.746 This movement greatly diminished the importance of Waititi Redoubt and the 1873 annual report of the Armed Constabulary gives the garrison as only five men.747 In 1874 the garrison is down to three men,748 this being the last time the garrison was included in reports. In the 1873 report it was reported that as a consequence of the great reduction in the garrison in September 1872, "...the old redoubt at Wai-itit has been reduced in size, to accommodate a few men in charge of stores, horses, paddock, &c".749

The two redoubts on the Papatiki Stream made up the forward northern frontier in Taranaki until Pukearuhe was re-occupied. The garrisons were responsible for supervising Maori movements across the frontier as well as securing the area to the rear. Regular patrols were carried out to Pukearuhe and eastwards into the ranges and the Mimi River valley.
PLATE 2.58. Waititi Redoubt. Papakiki Redoubt can be seen at left rear (F.H.Araen, TM).

A useful description of Waititi Redoubt early in 1872 is given in a report by Sergeant Major Horsford, A.C.:

"The redoubt at Wai/iti is on the upland, in an angle formed by a sharp bend of the Papatiki stream, it is commanded by high ground on all sides - at distances varying from two hundred to seven hundred yards. It is oblong in form, the dimensions, inside measurement, being 40 by 32 yards.

The parapets are of the average height and thickness, and are built in the ordinary manner, with alternate layers of earth and fern. The ditch is about eight feet wide and about nine feet deep. The place is strengthened by three small bastions, one of which is circular in form, and built with a fern revetment from the base of the scarp. The two bastions which are of the ordinary form are very narrow at the neck, and their gorge scarcely admits of the entrance of one man at a time, they are furnished with port holes which command the ditch.

The entrance to the Redoubt, which is on the south face, is covered by a traverse of earth, and a slab palisading is used to block up the gate at night. A gangway of earth affords a passage across the ditch, and this gangway is rendered safe for passengers by means of handrails on either side, these handrails however, are objectionable as fixtures, as they can be made use of as a sort of step on to the parapet.

A serviceable drawbridge, to work with ropes and pulleys, would be a much simpler and safer mode of closing the redoubt than the present.

The men are quartered in large and comfortable wares of raupo, and there is a good well inside the redoubt."750

Plate 2.58 is a watercolour by Arden showing the Waititi Redoubt in the foreground and Papatiki Redoubt behind.751

Archaeological remains of Waititi Redoubt are to be seen immediately above Pukearuhe Road about 100m north of the Waititi Road corner (see Pl.2.59). The earthworks of the reduced work of 1872 are in excellent condition while outside, the older, larger work can be discerned despite initial levelling and subsequent ploughing. At the southern angle of the early redoubt the round bastion mentioned in Sergeant Major Horsford's report can be made out (see Pl.2.59). Because
FIGURE 2.24. Redoubt plans: A. Waiiti Redoubt; B. Papatiki Redoubt.
of cultivation the huts and other buildings outside the redoubt which are visible in the Arden sketch can no longer be located from surface evidence. Some deep pits which may relate to the A.C. occupation can be seen half-sectioned in the road cutting about 50m from the redoubt site.

The walls of the post-1872 redoubt are now about 80cm high and are unusually distinct for redoubt sites in Taranaki. They enclose an area about 25 m. long and 14.5-11.5m in width (Fig. 2.24A). A causeway crosses the 5m wide ditch at the south-west side to an entrance which is now about 2.5m wide. At the south-east side is a ditch in excess of 9m in width which presumably results from the reduction in redoubt size here from 32m (see above) to about 25m. A drain crosses the interior of the work. At the northern angle is an unusual feature which extends about 7m out from the wall which cannot have been to provide flanking defence and was presumably simply a buttress to add strength to this angle which was bounded at both sides by a steep scarp. What may have been the well appears in the ditch on the north side of the causeway.

Papatiki Redoubt

Papatiki Redoubt was thrown up at the same time and in the same circumstances as Waititi Redoubt. It was occupied throughout by Taranaki Bushrangers, a volunteer force raised at the end of 1868. It is not clear who was initially in command at the post although it may have been Captain Kelly, who commanded the Bushranger company. By June 1869 Captain W.B. Messenger was in command at Papatiki and remained so until
the position was abandoned.

The first reference to 'Camp Papatiki' is given in District Orders for 8 September 1869; until then some confusion exists in the records as the name 'Waiti' is applied to both redoubts in the locality.

The size of the initial Bushranger force at Papatiki is not known. A reduction to fifty men was ordered in August 1869:

"Captain Messenger will immediately on receipt of this order reduce the Bushrangers to 50 not including himself & Ens Johnson. Capt Kelly & all above 50 will be released from duty & struck off pay from the 12th Inst. Capt Messenger will be careful to select the most efficient men & those who know the country best & are the best bush men. 3 Serjts & 2 Corporals are to be retained and included in the fifty." By 31 March 1871 the Bushrangers at Papatiki were down to two officers and 29 men, the total force at the two posts now being 65 officers and men.

Papatiki Redoubt was abandoned in December 1871.

"In accordance with instructions received from Government the whole of the Bushrangers are to be struck off pay, except Captain Messenger 1 serjeant and 7 Privates and the 2 Natives who are to be retained to do duty with the A.C. at Wai/iti.

Previous to the men being struck off pay Captain Messenger will employ them to throw down the Redoubt at Papatiki." The Taranaki Museum holds two watercolours by Arden which show Papatiki Redoubt in occupation; the more informative is given in Plate 2.60. The picture shows a basically rectangular work with flanking angles at the left rear, to cover the north-east face and entrance-way, and towards one end of the visible long side. Some huts are outside the redoubt and huts and tents are within. The other picture (not used here) depicts
PLATE 2.60. Papatiki Redoubt (P.H. Arden, T.M.).

PLATE 2.61. Papatiki Redoubt 1975. The earthworks can be seen left centre of the picture.
the south-west (end) wall of the work. Flanking defence of the same kind as at the north-east end can be seen. Two semi-subterranean huts in this picture show the Bushrangers to have the same approach to escaping the weather - by digging their huts into the hillside - as imperial and local troops in earlier campaigns. Papatiki can also be seen in the rear of Plate 2.58.

Papatiki Redoubt is visible from the (inland) Waititi Road about 200m from the Pukearuhe Road turn-off (Pl.2.61). It is about 50m east of the road on a low ridge with a steep drop to the Papatiki Stream behind. It is about 300m south-east of Waititi Redoubt.

The redoubt is in good condition archaeologically. The present shapes of the earthworks are likely to be the result of the deliberate throwing down of the work in December 1871. The redoubt is about 22.5 by 16 metres (Fig.2.24b). Flanking defence visible in the Arden sketches is still visible on the ground. A ditch about 4m wide surrounds the work except at the rear where the wall drops straight off down a steep bank to the stream. Sites of dug-out soldiers' huts can be seen immediately south of the fortification.

Mimi Stockade

During the 1860s and early 1870s the road north of Urenui lay either along the beach at low water or along the route of the present main road and the Old North Road to the Mimi River. In both cases the Mimi crossing was at the river mouth. It appears that some time after 1869 a stockade was constructed on
the north bank of the river partly to house ferrymen and
protect the crossing and partly to house A.C. working parties
in the area. 757

Exactly when the Mimi Stockade was built is open to
question. On 24 February 1869, £100 was authorised for its
construction - the date making it clear that the post was part
of the military response to the White Cliffs raid. 758 A minute
dated 9 March, however, states that, "...the stockade at Mimi
is not to be erected without further specific directions." 759
The later 'specific directions' have not been located. An
added difficulty in dating construction is that Maoris in the
Mimi area were put on half-pay shortly after the White Cliffs
raid as the only loyal force north of Urenui River. 760 Thus
when a Maori garrison is listed at Mimi in contemporary reports
this is likely to refer not to a stockade garrison but to a
volunteer force living in existing Maori settlements in the
district. The Maori volunteer force enlisted under Ihaia;
district orders for 9 August 1869 include, "Natives except
Ihaia & 19 other to be struck off pay from 13th Inst. & will be
distributed as follows 6 at Mimi, 2 at Kaipikeri, & 2 at Tupari,
Ihaia & 9 at Wai-iti". 761

On 20 December 1869 district orders included the item
that two ferrymen only are to be retained on pay, 762 these
being the Maori volunteers of 'Ihaia's force'. 763 About the
end of 1874 work began on a bridge over the Mimi River. It is
possible this, rather than the 1869 order, marks the construction
of the Mimi Stockade. "On the East Bank of the Mimi River,
a party averaging 8 Eight ft constables have been stationed

PLATE 2.63. Mimi Stockade 1975. The site can be seen at the centre of the picture.
for over 18 mos...employed in bridging the river, a work of importance and no little difficulty, and in cutting the approaches thereto and continuing the road towards White Cliffs.\textsuperscript{764} This bridge was situated where the present Pukearuhe Road bridge crosses the Mimi River. On 11 July 1877 it was reported that the Mimi working party had shifted to Waitoitoi.\textsuperscript{765} This apparently signals the abandonment of the Mimi Stockade: the ferry was no longer in use and the line of road now followed the present route some distance inland.

It is possible that the Mimi Stockade dates from earlier than 1874 and did indeed house the Maori ferrymen of the period 1869-1874. A group of important and generally accurate reports regarding the military landscape in north Taranaki, which date from March 1872, however, show no stockade operating at Mimi.\textsuperscript{766} Thus the conclusion that the post dates from the period 1874-1877 is most economical in terms of the historical evidence.

Mimi Stockade is shown on the old series cadastral map.\textsuperscript{767} It is situated on a spur which runs down to the north side of the Mimi River mouth (Pl. 2.63). The site is surprisingly dominated by higher ground a few metres away on the same spur although the stockade was well sited to command the crossing at the river mouth. Archaeological evidence consists of a platform about 6 x 8 metres which is surrounded by a now very shallow ditch about 4 m across (Fig. 2.25A). What is indicated is a small stockade with a surrounding defensive ditch. The site is in good condition and has apparently not suffered from cultivation.
FIGURE 2.25. Present archaeological evidence of defensive sites:
A. Mimi Stockade; B. Armed Constabulary redoubt north of Urenui River.
A.C. redoubt north of Urenui River

In the winter of 1869 a small redoubt was thrown up and briefly occupied on the north bank of the Urenui River, to command the northern approaches to the Urenui ferry. Any name which might have been attached to the post is not known.

The history of the post appears to be summed up by three district orders. On 2 June 1869:

"Capt Messenger will direct Capt Tuke Commdg A.C. to detail Fifty men including proportion of non Commissioned Officers under Sub Inspector Capel to proceed to Urenui on Monday next the 7th Inst & occupy a redoubt north of the Urenui River. Lieut Hursthouse T.M. Actg Engineer Officer will superintend the work ordered to be carried out & Sub Inspector Capel is to furnish working parties as requested by him." 768

On 2 July 1869:

"Inspector Tuke is directed to instruct Sub Inspector Capel and 25 men to join Head Quarters at Wai-itī to morrow the 3rd Inst - weather permitting - a cart must be sent either to night or to morrow morning (to suit the tide) & convey the tents &c required." 769

And early in August the post appears to have been abandoned:

"Sub Inspector Capel will march his Dett to morrow the 10th Inst. & join head quarters at Wai-itī." 770 Thus the redoubt was thrown up by its initial garrison of 50 men on 7 June, the garrison was halved to 25 men one month later and the post was abandoned on 10 August.

The redoubt occupied a surprisingly commanding position on the spur seaward of the Urenui Beach Road, 100m west of where the road dips down the hill (F1.2.62). The present Urenui Beach Road follows approximately the line of the old main road north of Urenui which crossed the river by ferry at the site of the Peter Buck memorial. Although the redoubt has
been cultivated many times the site can still be seen on the ground and from the air. Surface evidence indicated an off-square work about 20 x 18 metres without flanking defence (Fig.2.25B).

THE PARIHAKA CAMPAIGN

The last military expansion of the Taranaki frontier took place in the Parihaka Campaign of 1880-1881 (Fig.2.26). On 8 March 1880 the Armed Constabulary crossed Stoney River and on 5 November 1881 Parihaka was occupied by an overwhelming military force. Military occupation of the district continued until 1886 while road-builders and surveyors laid the foundation for effective European settlement of the new farming frontier. It was during the Parihaka Campaign that the Taranaki frontier finally met the Wanganui-Patea frontier which was expanding from the south.

Oakura A.C. Redoubt

In late winter or spring of 1879 redoubts were thrown up by the Armed Constabulary at Oakura and on Bayly's Farm, Tataraimaka. Together with the strengthened post at Okato these acted as bases for the build-up of Armed Constabulary prior to their advance over the frontier early the following year.

The 1879 build-up of Armed Constabulary in north Taranaki appears to have begun at a camp at Oakura in early winter. By 20 June there were 149 all ranks at the camp under Major Tuke. In August Tuke requested, "...immediately 2 spades
FIGURE 2.26. Map showing military sites established during the Parihaka Campaign 1880-81.
& shovels 6 picks & a few other necessaries for Redoubt building at Oakura...". This appears to date the building of the redoubt to August or early September 1879. In the 1880 A.C. report it is stated that, "at Oakura a strong bastioned redoubt, capable of holding 300 men, was erected for the defence of the inhabitants if required". It is not known when the redoubt was abandoned although it seems likely this took place before or about the time the A.C. crossed Stoney River. Certainly by late 1879 the focus of the military build-up had shifted south to the camp at Bayly's Farm.

The location of the 'Old A.C. Redoubt' is given on a 1907 map of the town of Oakura. The earthworks survive just off Hussey Street overlooking a steep scarp down to the Oakura River valley (see Pl.2.26). Within the old redoubt are the asphalt tennis courts of the Oakura Tennis Club, themselves now quite derelict. Figure 2.27A gives a plan of the redoubt. About 50 x 50 metres, it can be seen to be a large work, as indeed it would need to be to hold 300 men. The plan is a most unusual one in its use of angled bastions. Such a design follows classical fortification principles from an earlier period altogether and apart from No.1 Redoubt at Kairau (see Fig.2.12) and the A.C. redoubt at Opunake (see Pl.2.51), is unknown elsewhere in Taranaki. The remaining earthworks are in fair condition, although in winter 1978 they suffered some damage as a hedge was removed from the south wall.

Bayly's Farm A.C. Camp

The late 1879 and early 1880 build-up of Armed Constabulary
FIGURE 2.27. Redoubt plans: A. Oakura A.C. Redoubt; B. Bayly's Farm A.C. Camp.
north of Stoney River was concentrated at a 'strong square redoubt'\textsuperscript{775} thrown up for the purpose on Bayly's Farm, Lower Pitone Road, Tataraimaka.\textsuperscript{776} The new post was probably established in spring. On 8 October 1879 a correspondent of the Taranaki News reported,

"Since writing my last the A.C. station at Mr Bayly's has been strengthened by 25 men; the total strength of the two camps is now 78 men. Colonel Roberts and Major Tuke came here yesterday, and reviewed the men under command of Sergeant Castle and Captain Newell."\textsuperscript{777}

The 'two camps' were Bayly's Farm and Okato so it is likely that sixty or seventy men were stationed at the former under Captain Newall since the Okato post never seems to have had more than thirteen men during the A.C. period.

Early in 1880 the force at Bayly's Farm totalled 260 men,\textsuperscript{778} of Nos 4, 5 and 6 Companies, A.C.\textsuperscript{779} The camp was abandoned on 8 March:

"The camp at Bayly's Farm had been busy for a few days in consequence of the arrival of Colonel Roberts and suite; various surmises were afloat as to the movements of the force, but these were set at rest on Sunday, 7th instant, by orders being received that we were to be in readiness to march on the following morning.

On Monday, at an early hour, everyone was astir in the camp, and at 7 a.m. the advanced guard, numbering 60 men, under the command of Captain Newell, crossed Stony River; pushed on a distance of two miles, and there prepared a camping ground for the force. At 11 a.m., the main body, numbering about 200 men, under the command of Major Tuke, assisted by Captains Gordon and Grubb, the whole under the supervision of Colonel Roberts, struck camp and with 12 dray-loads of baggage proceeded on their march to join the advanced guard at Punehu."\textsuperscript{780}

The Taranaki Museum holds a photograph of a watercolour of Bayly's Farm A.C. Camp (Pl.2.64).\textsuperscript{781} The watercolour appears to be by 'A. Bay' and is one of three historically important, if artistically naive, pictures which apparently depict the
PLATE 2.64. Bayly's Farm A.C. Camp (A.Bay?, TM).

A.C. camps at Bayly's Farm, Werekino and Ngakumikumi. Bayly's Farm A.C. Camp is shown from the north with the square redoubt with some tents inside on a slight rise. In the foreground are tents and a few small huts and shelters.

Bayly's Farm A.C. Camp is situated between Waiaua and Pitone Streams about 150m from the sea (Pls 2.21 and 2.65). The redoubt encloses a high point on a broad and otherwise undistinguished spur. It is a rectangular work about 43 x 30 metres surrounded by a ditch between 5 and 8 metres wide (Fig.2.27B). The two long sides are flanked by unusual defensive arrangements which project two or three metres out from the mid-point of the walls. There is no flanking defence on the shorter end walls. Entrance was gained by a causeway across the ditch at the centre of the short north face. Many terraces are visible on the east side of the boxthorn hedge which now divides the redoubt. A jumble of rocks at the top of the knoll includes dressed slabs.

East of the hedge the redoubt including the surrounding ditch has until recently been in good condition while west of the hedge considerable damage may be the result of cultivation. In August 1978 great destruction was done to the site during preparation of a new fence line. Outside the redoubt cultivation has probably long destroyed any archaeological evidence for the tent camp and huts visible in Plate 2.64.

Werekino Camp

Werekino Camp was established by the Armed Constabulary on 8 March 1880 as the first A.C. camp of the advance south of
Stoney River. "Nos 4. 5. & 6 Cos A.C. crossed Stoney river and pitched Camp at Werekino about ½ mile from the point of commencement of new road on Monday 8th March 1880." 782

The new road, already begun from the Opunake end, was to open up the area south of Stoney River for European settlement. The fieldbook of the surveyor Newall shows the road to have started at the present junction of the main road and Puniho Road, the road to there apparently already having been formed to some degree when work began.

Werekino Camp was initially occupied by 260 A.C., with 63 workmen arriving shortly after to begin work on the road. 784

In Frontier Life Brookes gives an account of life at the post although unfortunately he does not give a date to his visit.

"The Armed Constabulary Force, with the working party, were stationed at Werikino /sic/ - close upon six hundred men. Owing to the engineer of the road party having gone on an exploring expedition for a road between Stratford and Opunaki, I was sent down by the chief surveyor to carry on the work..."

On the following day Major Tuke, then in command in the absence of Colonel Roberts, appointed to my party six Arawas. These natives have been noted for their attachment to the Queen, and make first-rate soldiers. They had their fern hooks as well as rifles with them. At eight in the morning the bugle sounded the assembly, the men forming in line opposite the two long rows of tents. At the further end, on the top of a little mound, stood a small fort, made by throwing up an embankment and carefully sodding the front in layers. This circular fort was occupied by a sentinel, from which position he could command the country round, and from the same could be seen the Pacific Ocean.

After the roll call the gallant major came out of the large marquee giving the word of command, when the covering party fully equipped, filed off to their duty, which was to take up a position in advance of the road works." 785

The build-up of men at Werekino was clearly very rapid, almost 600 men being stationed there at Brookes' visit. The
camp was abandoned only two months after it was established
and road making operations advanced south:

"On Monday morning [3 May] at a very early hour the camp
was astir, and active preparation for the coming march
was visible in every direction. At 8 a.m. the advance
guard, consisting of 80 men under the command of Colonel
Roberts, proceed to prepare the camping ground, at 9 a.m.
the bugle sounded the well-known call "Strike Camp." In
a very short time everyone and everything was ready for
the journey. Fifteen drays carried the baggage.

At 9.30 the main body, numbering 180 men with 40 or 50
of the Public Works Contingent, all under the command of
Major Tuke, assisted by Captains Newell and Gordon,
commenced their march along the Parihaka track." 786

Werekino Camp is pictured in a sketch by A. Bay (?) of
which a photograph is held in the Taranaki Museum (Pl. 2.66). 787

The picture shows two lines of tents, with two larger tents at
one end beneath a small mound which has a small earthwork
defence on top. A second earthwork appears on top of another
mound at the left of the picture. The Kaitake Ranges in the
background help locate and orientate the sketch.

Werekino Camp is located on the south bank of the Werekino
Stream, about 100m north of the main road between Komene and
Puniho Roads. The tents were located on gently rising ground
next to the deep cut stream. On top of a small lahar at the
east end of the camp is an earth wall almost 1m high in places
which encloses an area about 8m in diameter. This redoubt is
quite unlike previous works built in Taranaki. It protects
only the guard tent and it would be quite impossible for the
force at Werekino to fit inside it or fight from it. It was
to provide a model for later works at Ngakumikumi, Pungarehu
and Parihaka, and to a lesser extent other camps as well.

The second small guard redoubt in the Bay sketch cannot
now be located on the ground. It is possible the artist has
PLATE 2.66. Werekino Camp (A.Bay?, TM).

PLATE 2.67. Ngakumikumi Camp (Newall Fieldbook, NPL).
exaggerated the size of the mound on which it stands since no like mound exists there today. There are, however, some difficulties in the use of the Bay sketches which make it possible that despite documentation the sketch does not in fact show Werekino but another A.C. camp of the period. The accuracy and attribution of the picture require further work.

Ngakumikumi Camp

As road making proceeded south the Armed Constabulary shifted camp to be close to the work. On 3 May 1880 Werekino was abandoned and the combined force of A.C. and workmen moved south to Ngakumikumi on the south bank of Teikaparua River. Ngakumikumi was originally a Maori kainga which was destroyed by troops from Warea Redoubt in July 1865. The area was laid out as Warea township (the school and grave off Stent Road are reminders of this), but the local township has since developed around the diary factory just to the north. The Ngakumikumi Camp site was selected by Colonel Roberts.788

Initially Ngakumikumi appears to have been occupied for only six weeks since the camp at Pungarehu was established on 21 June and this is likely to mark the abandonment of the old position.789 However, on 20 December 1880 No.4 Company, A.C., returned to Ngakumikumi apparently to give protection to further surveying of land in the area.790 In late January 1881 it was reported that the Ngakumikumi road party had moved to occupy a new position at Rahotu.791 The old site at Ngakumikumi was re-occupied for a third time in January 1882 when a strong road party under Captain Newall moved there as part of the general
dispersal of A.C. after the advance on Parihaka. On 31 March 1882 A.C. at the post comprised one officer, five NCOs and 88 men. It is not known when Ngakumikumi was finally abandoned.

Ngakumikumi A.C. Camp was located just east of the present main road between the road and Teikaparua (Warea) River, immediately over the road from the Warea School and Burgess Road. A small circular guard redoubt, like that at Werekino, topped a lahar to the south of the present farm cowshed access road but has been destroyed in recent years. The tent camp, cook houses and other facilities occupied the low ground northward to the stream. Newall's fieldbook gives a minimal sketch map showing the small guard redoubt, tents and other surveyors' camp and other buildings (Pl.2.67).

Pungarehu Camp

Pungarehu Camp was occupied by Nos 4, 5 and 6 Companies, A.C., on 21 June 1880. The location was a central one between Stoney River and Opunake (the two starting points for the road building) and about 2.5km seaward of Parihaka. The camp quickly became the most important military and road making post in the district and in 1881 the A.C. headquarters under Colonel Roberts moved there prior to the advance on Parihaka.

On 31 March 1881 the Pungarehu A.C. garrison included three officers, eleven non-commissioned officers and 123 constables. Later that year there was a considerable build-up of
Armed Constabulary and volunteer forces from throughout New Zealand for the November advance on Parihaka. Many of the 1589 men who made up the force for Parihaka were stationed at Pungarehu.797 Following the movement the Pungarehu garrison was greatly reduced, the larger part of the remaining A.C. force in the district now being stationed at Parihaka. On 31 March 1882 the Pungarehu garrison was made up of three officers, four NCOs and 38 men.799 On 16 February 1883 the garrison was reduced to seventeen.800 By 31 March the following year it was down to eleven801 and by 31 March 1885 to four.802 Two remaining mounted constables were withdrawn on 22 July 1885,803 and the post handed over to the civilian police later that year.804

The A.C. report for the year ending 31 March 1881 remarks that,

"Pungarehu is situated about 1½ miles from Parihaka, is naturally a fairly-strong position, on which the men of Major Tuke’s division are encamped. Temporary breast-works have been erected, and the position is about to be strengthened by the addition of a blockhouse."805

A sketch in Newall’s fieldbook shows two small redoubts, one situated where the blockhouse was later to be erected and the other on the mound immediately next to the road on the west side (Pl.2.68). Also shown are many huts and tents, two wells, a rifle range, stables, telegraph office, marquee and a quarry. The blockhouse was finished by the end of August 1881.806 In a later report to the Commissioner, A.C., in Wellington Roberts gives some particulars of the building,

"Inside measurements of Pungarehu blockhouse forty six feet six inches by eighteen feet height of walls eight feet six inches will hold twenty-five men comfortably about nine thousand feet timber used in building of carpenters Sergt Forbes who superintended and Constable
PLATE 2.68. Pungarehu A.C. Camp (Newall Fieldbook NPL).

PLATE 2.69. Pungarehu A.C. Camp looking over the road from the redoubt (ATL).
Timber for the blockhouse came from Inglewood and cost £53. Gravel was used within the walls to make it bullet proof. In the winter of 1881 Colonel Roberts reported that he had "...directed Major Tuhe to build a parapet & shelter trenches on the hill where the men are camped." 

Pungarehu Camp is well recorded by photographs and sketches. The earliest pictures appear to be two photographs which depict the camp before the erection of the blockhouse in late winter 1881. The more informative of these is given in Plate 2.69. A comparison of this photograph with Newall's sketch map shows the latter to depict the camp with a fair degree of accuracy. Huts are seen to be both corrugated iron and raupo construction, tents occupy high ground under trees and a garden can be seen to the right. The photograph is taken from the guard redoubt on the lahar west of the road.

A second group of pictures date from after August 1881 and invariably focus attention on the blockhouse on top of the hill. These include the pencil sketch by A.A. Fulton given here in Plate 2.70. The blockhouse with its double row of loopholes can be seen on top of the hill with an earth embankment, for which Roberts gave orders in 1881, extending down the north slope to enclose an area on this flank of the hill. The road to the left is the present Pungarehu Road. The view looks down this road towards the sea which can just be made out through the intervening volcanic mounds. An important sketch by Private Ledger of the South Canterbury Rifles, published in his Pen and Ink Sketches of Parihaka and Neighbourhood, shows the camp and
PLATE 2.70. 'Pungarehu Blockhouse' (J.W. Fulton, ATL).

PLATE 2.71. 'Pungarehu' (J.Ledger, Pen and Ink Sketches of Parihaka and Neighbourhood).
small guard redoubt on the seaward side of the road from the blockhouse hill (Pl.2.71). He depicts the earth breastwork around the blockhouse curiously, almost as if it were a stone wall.

Since the 1880s the township of Pungarehu has developed on the flat ground along the main road and around the dairy factory on the Kapoaiaia Stream. The hilly area where the A.C. and road-builders' camp stood in the 1880s survives largely unscathed just north of the township. A great deal of surface archaeological evidence can be seen of platforms for tents and huts, and roads which formerly gave access to different parts of the camp. The blockhouse has survived intact and largely unaltered except inside where alterations have been made to render it a comfortable (and still occupied) dwelling. Just outside the blockhouse a two-celled 'lock-up' also has survived. On the lahar to the north of the road can be seen the remains of the guard redoubt. The earth breastwork appears to enclose an oval area about 6 x 9 metres. On the east and west sides of the mound, 3 or 4 metres from the breastwork, are two small pits or depressions, each about 2 x 1 metres in size.

Opua Camp

As the Armed Constabulary with surveyors and road-builders in train advanced south of Stoney River by a series of camps so there was a similar advance north from Opunake. Opunake was in fact the key military post of the Parihaka Campaign. The bay provided the only port in the district and was much used during the long A.C. occupation (from 1875 to 1886) as well
as by the volunteer forces in late 1881.

Here we may take a brief look at the geography of the Parihaka Campaign south of Opunake. The road between Opunake and the Waingongoro River frontier of the Waimate Plains was begun in early 1870s, some years before the 1880 advance south of Stoney River. Local Maoris themselves did much of the work. The Waingongoro River was the Waihi Redoubt, the key forward post at this part of the frontier throughout the A.C. period. Several other posts were established on the line of road between Opunake and the Waingongoro River, the most important being those at Manaia and Puketapu. Manaia Redoubt has survived in good order in the domain behind the town. The Puketapu Camp was situated at the present township of Pihama.

A record of the first A.C. camps established on the road north of Opunake is given in the A.C. annual report for the year ending 31 March 1881. "Temporary defensive works constructed at the camps at Nga Kumikumi, Opua, Kaikohu, and Pukehinau, while the roads north and south of Parihaka were being formed, and which were abandoned as the force advanced." The first camp north of Opunake was at Opua, close to the present main road bridge over the Okawewu Stream. It is not known when the camp at Opua was established but it was probably about the time of the March 1880 advance over Stoney River. On 19 May 1880 it was reported that Major Goring's camp at Opua would move forward to Witiore the next day if transport was available. The camp site has not been found.
Kaikahu Redoubt

Major Goring's force appears to have moved forward to Kaikahu Redoubt, more than 8km north of Opua. The new post was in fact a little beyond Witiora where no camp appears to have been established. Kaikahu was abandoned only a month after it had been established — on 25 June 1880 Roberts reported shifting the Kaikahu force on to Waitaha Stream.822

It is surprising that Kaikahu Redoubt saw such a brief occupation as an extensive camp was established and a substantial redoubt thrown up. In Recollections and Reflections of an Old New Zealander Maxwell gives a brief description of the post.

"Pukekahu...was on a small conical hill, earthwork only two lines of entrenchments on the least steep side — of comparatively small area, with a sunken magazine in the centre. It was only a temporary position and all the encampment, tents, cookhouses, etc., were on clear level land outside, between the redoubt and a nearby creek."823

Present archaeological evidence can be seen on a lahar mound about 100m from the main road and about 200m south of Manihi Road.824 The top of the mound is entrenched, not by a small circular guard redoubt as elsewhere in the area, but by a substantial squared-off work between 31 and 36.5 metres in length and 17 and 20 metres in width (see Fig.2.28). Within the redoubt is a deep pit, apparently the magazine mentioned by Maxwell. On the eastern side is a terrace 28 x 4 metres. A curious extension to the trench from the east side of the redoubt partially encloses an area about 7m in diameter which bears some resemblance to the kind of guard redoubt found elsewhere. Until recent years there was a pine plantation over the mound where the redoubt stands. That has recently been felled,
FIGURE 2.28. Kaikahu Redoubt plan.
not without damage to the site, leaving large stumps throughout the area. More recently again preparation of a fence line over the site by bulldozer has resulted in the defences being cut through in three places.

Waitaha Camp

The road camp at Pukehinau on the Waitaha Stream was established some time in June 1880. In July Colonel Roberts is giving his address as 'Pukehinau' thus indicating that for a brief period the camp was the headquarters of military operations in the district. It is not known when the Waitaha Camp was abandoned but it was certainly before 31 March 1881 as it is not listed in the A.C. annual report among camps occupied at that time. Two years later, however, a 'Waitaha Road' camp is listed with, next to Parihaka and Opunake, the largest garrison in the district. It is not known if this was the same as the previous Waitaha camp.

The Waitaha or Pukehinau Camp was situated on the south bank of the Waitaha Stream, south of Tipoka Road and about 700m to seaward of the main road. There is no remaining archaeological evidence, nor is there any obvious mound to have provided a site for a guard redoubt or other defensive work as mentioned in the 1881 A.C. annual report (see above). An oven with an iron door could once be seen dug into a bank at the camp site but this is now hidden following recent bulldozer work.

Rahotu Stockade

The Rahotu Stockade was located about 2.5km south of Waitaha
Camp. It was occupied in January 1881, not by the force moving north from Opunake but by A.C. who moved south from Ngakumikumi, itself occupied for a second time only one month previously (see above). The reason for establishing the new camp is to be found in a file of correspondence of January 1881 discussing the need for protection of road making parties and surveyors south of Cape Egmont. Roberts reported occupation of the new post on 27 January. On 31 March a large force of three officers, nine NCOs and 129 men was stationed at Rahotu.

On 22 June 1881 Colonel Roberts reported to Wellington that, "...Major Goring will shortly have a stockade built at Rahotu". On 12 July authority was sought for use of a dray to cart timber for the stockade. In the advance on Parihaka, 5 November 1881, two A.C. companies under Major Goring and a large body of volunteers under Major Pitt, Nelson Artillery, moved out from Rahotu to join the column from Pungarehu. Rahotu Stockade was abandoned on 14 December 1881, the remainder of Major Goring's No.3 Company moving to garrison Parihaka.

The Rahotu Stockade employed two laharas on which were much older Maori fortifications. On the higher was placed a well-finished stockade, while an earth breastwork was thrown up round the adjacent lower mound. The stockade was 77 ft by 56 ft in plan (23.5 x 17.7m) and made of 10 inch square timber, 12 ft in height. The garrison camped within the stockade and on the surrounding lower ground. The lower hill was used for a picket.

There are some informative pictures of the fortification
PLATE 2.72. 'Rahotu Stockade' (W.W. Fulton, ATL).
at Rahotu. Two photographs show the stockade from the east (the present Rahotu Domain) and from the south.\textsuperscript{840} A pencil sketch by Fulton depicts the stockade and adjacent entrenched hillock with tents and huts on the lower surrounding ground (Pl.2.72).\textsuperscript{841} This view looks down the present Rahotu Road towards the sea.

The Rahotu Stockade was situated about 800m seaward of the main road down the present Rahotu Road. The higher mound on which the stockade was placed now occupies a corner of the Rahotu Domain. The other mound is immediately over the road to the south. The stockade site occupies a platform of about 36 x 24 metres on top of the hill. A slight rim partly surrounds the platform which falls to the west. A steep scarp about 5m high at the east and 3.5-4m in height to the west encircles the platform. A terrace between 10 and 4 metres in width surrounds the hill. At the north-west end of the site a further terrace extends out 16 to 18 metres in places. Next to this a recent drain cuts through an older stone-faced dam wall which is up to 1m in height. The site is now under macrocarpa and pine trees with an understory of bracken fern and kawakawa.

No indication can now be found of the defensive earth breastwork which surrounded the hill to the south and which is shown in the Fulton sketch. The hill on which this part of the site stood has been gutted by quarrying. A section of massive double ditch and bank on the surviving south side of the hill indicates an earlier pa.
Cape Egmont Camp

In 1880 and 1881 a lighthouse was built at Cape Egmont. During construction a detachment of A.C. was stationed at the Cape to protect the work. On 31 March 1881 the Cape Egmont garrison was one officer, five NCOs and 36 constables. In the 1881 A.C. annual report the Cape Egmont post is described as a, "...small stone Redoubt close to the Lighthouse site, and a main camp, enclosed in a substantial palisading, erected on the banks of the Kapoaiaia Stream, about 200 yards from the Lighthouse." Despite careful examination of the banks of the Kapoaiaia Stream no evidence for the stockade has been found. Any surface indications are probably destroyed by cultivation. Of the 'small stone redoubt', possible evidence remains on a low mound some 100m seaward of the lighthouse. Part of a derelict wall of large blocks of dressed stone can be seen around a small part of the circumference of the mound. It is difficult to imagine what this may represent other than the indicated defensive work; as a defensive position, however, it is not well chosen: the mound rises to the centre so that the low wall offers no defence for much of the interior area and the whole site is in any event dominated by the much higher lahar mound close by on which the lighthouse stands.

Parihaka Camp

Parihaka was occupied on 5 November 1881 by a combined force of 558 Armed Constabulary and 1031 volunteers who were
drawn from many parts of New Zealand. The story of the actual occupation has been told many times and need not be repeated here. The A.C. and volunteers were rapidly encamped at Parihaka and two small fortifications thrown up to command the town.

"A strong picket was posted on Fort Rolleston, overlooking the Parihaka settlement, and a small battery constructed to cover the field-gun of the Nelson Artillery, which was placed in position on the following day. All the approaches to the settlement were guarded, and the main body of the troops withdrawn to pitch their camps, being distributed as follows:— Head-quarters camp, under command of Major Tuke, Armed Constabulary, on the west side of Parihaka: Constabulary, 381; Taranaki Rifle Volunteers, 46; total, 427. Major Goring's camp on the north-west side: Constabulary, 177. Major Pitt's camp, on the north and east sides, on hills over-looking the settlement: Nelson Volunteers, 185; Thames Volunteers, 170; Wellington Navals, 112; total, 467. The camps of Captain Hammersley, nearly a mile to the west of Parihaka, and Captain Watt, half a mile to the west, were occupied by 478 Volunteers of all ranks."845

The two fortifications erected at Parihaka were a stockade erected after initial occupation at Captain Goring's position overlooking the town, and an earth breastwork thrown up on a hill on the west side which protected the Nelson Artillery's Armstrong gun.

"At Parihaka a stockade similar to the one at Rahotu only in a rougher form, and with an earthen banquette inside, was built on a hill commanding the village. A great deal of labor has been expended in clearing this hill in and around the stockade of heavy logs and stumps, and in levelling and sloping off the hill and filling in the hollows. This work is not yet completed 30 Apr 1882 owing to the continual wet weather, which has considerably delayed the work. A breastwork was also raised on Fort Rolleston, a hill immediately over the village for the protection of an Armstrong gun, belonging to the Nelson Artillery Volunteers which was placed there when the place was first occupied."846

The volunteer units soon returned to their own districts, the Nelson Volunteers being the last to leave on 18 November.
Soon after the A.C. also began leaving Parihaka: No. 2 Company under Captain Gudgeon marched to Manaia on 23 November, in December No. 5 Company (Captain Gordon) retired to Pungarehu, while early in the New Year Nos 4 and 1 Companies (Captains Newall and Baker) were sent to Ngakumikumi and to a new camp at Manihi to continue road-building. At the beginning of March 1882 Captain Gascoigne’s No. 6 Company was transferred to the Waikato. No. 3 Company under Major Goring then began a number of years as permanent Parihaka garrison.

On 31 March 1882 the Parihaka garrison was given as two officers, five non-commissioned officers and 88 men. A year later it was up slightly at four officers, 10 NCOs and 89 men. In March 1884 the garrison was still the largest in the district: two officers, five NCOs and 54 constables. In March 1885 the station was closed and the men transferred to Opunake.

A large number of photographs exist which show the town of Parihaka in 1881 and shortly thereafter. Some of these appear to show Major Goring’s stockade on the hill behind. Two pencil drawings by W.W. Fulton depict Captain Hammersley’s camp west of Parihaka and a corner of Parihaka itself with the apparently unoccupied site of the future stockade enabling establishment of an early November date.

Surviving archaeological evidence of Fort Rolleston is a much eroded breastwork enclosing an oval area of about 7 x 9 metres on the high eastern end of the dominating hill at the west end of the settlement. There are a number of rua storage pits on the southern flank of the hill behind the fortification. The stockade site has not been located.
In addition to the A.C. camps in the district north of Opunake, here given separate treatment, there are a number of other camps which receive brief mention in the contemporary reports and correspondence but which are not recorded as being fortified and have not been located. Most of these camps are probably undefended 'road camps' for further roading in the district. The garrison of two of these camps are listed in A.C. annual reports. 'Manihi was established by Captain Baker's No.1 Company, A.C., in early 1882 (see above), and on 31 March that year had a substantial garrison totalling 102 men.855 A year later there is a 'Waitaha Road' camp with a garrison of 59 men.856

The Manihi and Waitaha Road camps may simply have involved re-occupation of the abandoned camps at Waitaha and Kaikahu Redoubt, these being located close to the indicated sites of the new camps. It is, however, possible that the new camp at Waitaha was shifted north of the Waitaha Stream: in Recollections and Reflections of an Old New Zealander Maxwell writes that the 'Waitaha Camp' was "...between the Waitaha stream and the Te Poka road".857 He also lists other camps, "...up the Ngariki road between the present road and the Okahū river", this being known as 'Ngariki Camp', and another called 'Newall Road'.858 It must also be remembered that most of the present road network between the Stoney and Waingongoro Rivers was surveyed and constructed during the 1880s by the Armed Constabulary and road-builders and that there were probably many more temporary camps in the area that are not mentioned here and indeed may never be found.
Chapter Two: References and Notes.


2 Spain's report is given in *AJHR*, 1861, C-1, pp.168-171; and Fitzroy's ruling, *ibid*, pp.174-176.

3 Wynyard to Grey, 28 Jul 1855: GBPP, 1860 [2747].

4 Halse to Superintendent, 1 Sep 1855; enclosed in Browne to Russell, 13 Sep 1855: GBPP, 1860 [2747].


7 Enclosed in Browne to Russell, 13 Sep 1855: GBPP, 1860 [2747].

8 Wynyard to Browne, 10 Sep 1855; enclosed in Browne to Russell, 20 Sep 1855: GBPP, 1860 [2747].


10 Murray to Major of Brigade, 15 Apr 1856, enclosed in Browne to Labouchere, 26 Apr 1856: GBPP, 1860 [2747].


13 AD1,71/293.


15 "Plan of Marsland Hill (Pukaka) New Plymouth" (TM).


17 Tuke to Commissioner, 16 Jan 1874: P1/23 (Taranaki,1874).

18 Enclosed in Stapp to Under Secretary of Defence, 1 Feb 1870: AD1,70/397, filed under AD1,71/293. This is apparently the basis of Messenger's plan in J. Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars*, Wellington, 1922, Vol I, p.158.

19 Oldfield to Tuke, 29 Feb 1872: P1/14 (Taranaki, 1874), filed under CD72/1159.

20 Warre to Deputy Quarter Master General, 28 Jul 1865: AD31/24.

21 Stapp to Holt, 18 Jan 1870: AD1,70/222, filed under AD1,71/293.

22 Correspondence in AD1,71/293.

23 Tuke to Commissioner, 16 Jan 1874: P1/23 (Taranaki,1874).
24 See, for example, Taranaki Herald, 4, 11, 18 and 25 Aug 1860.


28 Pratt to Military Secretary, 9 Sep 1860: Selections from Despatches and Letters relative to the Conduct of Military Operations in New Zealand 1860-5, War Office (WO), 0270.II.

29 Inscription on the stone reads, "Sacred to the Memory of Matilda the beloved wife of Richard Foreman who died June 16th 1860 Aged 35 years - Also of their children Richard who died May 16th 1860 Aged 8 years Mary who died June 19th 1860 aged 13 years Kate who died July 1st 1860 Aged 6 years John who died May 19th 1861 aged 1 year 9 months - Jesus convey us safely home To those not lost but gone before. Also of Richard Foreman Husband of the above who died Feb 6th 1889 Aged 65 years".

30 Taranaki Herald, 4 Aug 1860.

31 Based on a "Plan of New Plymouth shewing the lines of Defence and outer line of Blockhouses", published in WO,0270.II, opp. p.23. A bird's eye view, "New Plymouth, New Zealand", GBPP, 1861 [2798], opp. p.15, besides a very curious representation of the blockhouses as little castles, has added an apparently non-existent post in the Fort Herbert-Fort Cameron area.

32 New Plymouth Garrison Order Book 6 Jan 1862-4 Mar 1864 (NPL). The first five guards listed were all on Marsland Hill. The 'Boathouse' was on the beach below Mt. Eliot. Brown's House was in Courteney St at the site of the present Apostolic Church between Eliot St and Hobson St.

33 Taranaki Herald, 18 Aug 1860.

34 Hocken Library Warre sketchbook, 11,326, p.39. There is a very similar sketch in the Turnbull Library Warre sketchbook, p.27.


36 Letter 125, 25 Apr 1861: Taranaki Militia and Volunteers Letter Book 1 Jan 1861-17 Dec 1862 (NPL).


38 AD35/12.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid.

41 Hamley to Deputy Quarter Master General, Auckland, 7 Nov 1866: AD31/24.

42 Holt to Lepper, 23 Oct 1867: AD6/12,67/614/1.

43 Enclosed in Lepper to Holt, 2 Jun 1866: filed under AD1,67/4307.
Enclosed in Lepper to Holt, 11 Dec 1867: ibid.

AD35/12.

Homesteads burnt by Maoris in the First Taranaki War are shown on a map by Octavius Carrington, "New Zealand, Province of Taranaki, from Waitara to Oeo", 10 Jul 1862 (copy in the Taranaki Museum), and are listed in W.I. Grayling, The War in Taranaki, New Plymouth, 1862, pp.108-112. For a description of the burning of Omata village see Taranaki Herald, 25 Aug 1860.

See, for example, Taranaki Herald, 9 Feb 1861.


Various correspondence, accounts, etc., are enclosed in Pratt to Browne, 19 Aug 1860: AD100,60/36. For the decision on payment see Browne to Pratt, 25 Aug 1860: AD102/3,60/49.


The Taranaki Museum holds a ms "Journal of Officer in Charge, Bell Block", for the period 11 Jul to 14 Dec 1860.

R. Carey, Narrative of the Late War in New Zealand, London, 1863, p.46.

Carey, p.141.

See especially, Taranaki Herald, 25 Aug and 8 Sep 1860.


Taranaki Herald, 25 Mar 1865.

AJHR, 1865, A-5, pp.63-64.


Browne to Newcastle, 2 Mar 1860: GBPP, 1861 [2798] .

Browne to Newcastle, 12 Mar 1860: AJHR, 1860, E-3.

Carey, pp.22-23.

See Bates to Grey, 10 Apr 1863: AJHR, 1863, E-2. Maori settlements on the Pekapeka Block at Waitara in early 1860 are given in a number of sources. A map by Octavius Carrington, "Plan of Pekapeka Block", dated Oct 1860 (in Bates to Grey, 10 Apr 1863: AJHR, 1863, E-2) gives four kaima on the south bank of the river. From the seaward these are Te Whanga, Kuikui, Hurirapa and Wherohia. Except for Hurirapa all are marked as having been destroyed in Mar 1860.
Lieutenant Henry Stratton Bates' report to Grey gives some detail on these settlements. Kuikui ('Te Kuikui') with about 200 people and Wheroa, about 35, were occupied by Wiremu Kingi and his people and so were destroyed. 'Te Hurirapapa' had a population of 30 or 40: "This pa was not destroyed, but was occupied during the war by the friendly natives, and is still occupied by Te Teira and his adherents". A plan of the palisaded defence of the pa is included in Fieldbook 'H&W6' (held Lands & Survey Dept, New Plymouth).

An earlier map of the Waitara area, "Plan of Manu-Kori [Manukorihi] Pah a Native Fortification and part of the Surrounding Settlement", by Frederick Carrington, dated 1840-46 (copy in the Taranaki Museum) shows no kahanga at the mouth of the river - being, indeed, drawn up before the return of the Te Atiawa from Otaki in 1848. The pa shown closest to the river mouth on the south side is Pukekohe, the site of the future Waitara Camp. This pa, however, was probably already abandoned and does not seem to have been occupied in the years preceding 1860.


70 Taranaki Herald, 28 Jul 1860.

71 Browne to Newcastle, 12 Mar 1860: GBPP, 1861 [2798].

72 Enclosed in Browne to Newcastle, 22 Mar 1860: GBPP, 1861 [2798].

73 Gold to Browne, 19 Mar 1860: GBPP, 1861 [2798].

74 Browne to Newcastle, 22 Mar 1860: GBPP, 1861 [2798].

75 Cowan, Vol I, p.151.


77 Approximate map reference 786972.

78 Map reference 782968.

79 Browne to Newcastle, 30 Mar 1860: GBPP, 1861 [2798].


81 Ibid.

82 Garrison Orders, 28 May 1860: ibid.
83 See, for example, Taranaki Herald, 8 Sep 1860.

84 Carey, p.46.

85 Ibid, p.119.


87 Carey, p.127.

88 Ibid, p.141.

89 R.H.R. Smythies, Historical Records of the 40th (2nd Somersetshire) Regiment, Devonport, 1894, p.376.

90 Carey, p.145.

91 Ibid, p.163.


93 The article is reprinted in the Taranaki Herald, 13 Apr 1861.

94 Warre, Historical Records, p.165.

95 Grey to Newcastle, 13 May 1863: AJHR, 1863, E-2.


97 Lands & Survey Dept, New Plymouth, No s.s. 113.

98 Pasley, p.571.

99 Carey, p.163.

100 Ibid, p.172.


102 AD35/12.

103 Microfilm in TM.

104 Enclosed in Bates to Grey, 10 Apr 1863: AJHR, 1863, E-2.

105 Unnumbered fieldbook: Lands & Survey Dept, New Plymouth.

106 Gold to Browne, 30 Apr 1860: GBPP, 1861 [2798].

107 Ibid.


W.I. Grayling, Journal of events of the War at Taranaki from Omata Stockade (20 Apr-3 Sep 1860 and 4 Mar-13 Apr 1861), 20 Jun 1860.


Copy in the Taranaki Museum.

Taranaki Herald, 13 Oct 1860.

Crown Grant Record Map/Wairau and Cape: Lands & Survey Dept. New Plymouth.

Established on the sites of two older pa as shown on Frederick Carrington's "Plan of Manu-Kori Pah". The extent to which the earlier earthworks were utilised is not known.

Nelson to Major of Brigade, New Plymouth, 8 Jun 1860: AJHR, 1860, E-3C.

Nelson to Major of Brigade, New Plymouth, 19 Jun 1860: AJHR, 1860, E-3C.

Marjournam to Nelson, 24 Jun 1860: AJHR, 1860, E-3C.

Among those who give full accounts of the engagement are Grayling, The War in Taranaki, pp.33-36, Alexander, Incidents, pp.156-164, and M.S. Grace, A Sketch of the New Zealand War, London, 1899, pp.32-38. In his history of the 65th Regiment, accused later of failing to provide expected flanking support, Broughton, p.50, writes that the, "...attack was completely successful, though our troops lost 64 killed and wounded"!

The plans and sections of Puketakauere and Onukukaitara pa by Lieutenant Warburton are enclosed in Pratt to Military Secretary, 8 Sep 1860: WO.0270.II. There is also a section drawing of Puketakauere by Battiscombe in his manuscript Journal, 29 Aug 1860. Pasley, pp.586-588, gives a full description of the two pa.

Carey, pp.85-86.


Battiscombe, Journal.

Carey, pp.163 and 172.

Taranaki Herald, 13 Apr 1861.

Richmond-Atkinson Papers, Vol II, p.55. Whereas the Taranaki Herald of 18 Jul 1863 reported that Hapurona had by then burned down, "... the abandoned blockhouse at Puketakauere".

For example, Mould, 'Engineer Operations', opp. p.95, and Grayling, The War in Taranaki, opp. p.80. The two positions can also be seen in a 4 Mar 1861 watercolour sketch by Warre (TM).

Unnumbered fieldbook; Lands & Survey Dept, New Plymouth.

For example, Carey, p.121.

Carey, pp.34-35.


Grace, p.42.

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


Carey, p.46.


Browne to Newcastle, 27 Aug 1860: GBPP, 1861 [2798]; and Carey, p.85.

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

Grace, p.53.


Personal communication, Mr. Walter Hamill.

Pratt to Browne, 25 Sep 1860: AJHR, 1860, E-3C.


Carey, p.109.

Pratt to Military Secretary, 12 Oct 1860: WO, 0270.II.

The originals of Pasley's drawings are given by Mould, 'Engineer Operations', Pl.3.


**Taranaki Herald**, 4 Feb 1865.


Carey, p.98.

Mould, 'Engineer Operations', p.100

Pratt to Browne, 10 Nov 1860: GBPP, 1861 [2798].
Mould, 'Engineer Operations', p.100


Carey, p.140.

Ibid, pp.163 and 172.

Warre, Historical Records, pp.164-165.


Warre to Deputy Quarter Master General, Auckland, 20 Jan 1864: AJHR, 1864, E-3.


Warre to Deputy Quarter Master General, 22 Feb 1864: ibid.

Warre to Deputy Quarter Master General, 20 Oct 1864: ibid.

Clarke to Ryan, 29 Nov 1864: ibid.

AJHR, 1865, A-5, pp.63-64.

Enclosed in Letter No 276: WO, 0270.II.

Unnumbered fieldbook: Lands and Survey Dept, New Plymouth.


Carey, p.151.

Colonel Mould ('Engineer Operations') has left a detailed diary of engineering work on the sap and redoubts. Grayling, The War in Taranaki, p.80, gives the length of the sap from No 3 to No 6 Redoubt as 770 yards.


For example in Mould, 'Engineer Operations', opp. p.95; Grayling The War in Taranaki, opp. p.80; and WO, 0270.II, opp. p.25.


Grayling, The War in Taranaki, p.47.


Ibid, p.163.

186 Taranaki Herald, 13 Apr 1861.


188 Carey, p.152.

189 Aerial photograph 4335/9.

190 Aerial photograph 1784/13.


194 Taranaki Herald, 12 Jan 1861.


196 Taranaki Herald, 5 Jan 1861.

197 Carey, p.163.


199 Broughton, p.58.


201 Warre to Assistant Military Secretary, 21 Jul 1863: AJHR, 1863, E-3.

202 Aerial photograph 1784A/3.

203 Personal communication, Dr. A. Buist, Hawera.

204 Alexander, Incidents, pp.247-248.


206 Taranaki Herald, 19 Jan 1861.

207 Taranaki Herald, 2 Feb 1861.

208 Taranaki Herald 'Extra', 11 Feb 1861.

209 'Waitara' TN15, 1938, NZMS 13, Lands & Survey Dept.

210 Taranaki Herald, 19 Jan 1861. Mould, 'Engineer Operations', p.102, says the new redoubt was 400 yards in advance of No 2 Redoubt, while Grayling, The War in Taranaki, p.80, says 430 yards.

211 Mould, 'Engineer Operations', pp.102-103.

212 Carey, pp.161-162.

213 Taranaki Herald, 19 Jan 1861.
214 Pratt to Browne, 23 Jan 1861: AJHR, 1862, E-1A.

215 Carey, p.165.

216 Taranaki Herald, 26 Jan 1861.

217 Good accounts of the engagement are given in Grayling, The War in Taranaki, pp.50-51, and Carey, pp. 163-168. A memorial cross to the Maori dead is situated about 150 m north of the redoubt site.

218 Taranaki Herald, 16 Feb 1861.


220 'Waitara' TN15, 1938, NZMS 13, Lands & Survey Dept.

221 Mould 'Engineer Operations', p.104. The Taranaki Herald, 2 Feb 1861, puts No 4 Redoubt 266 yards in advance of No 3.

222 Taranaki Herald, 2 Feb 1861.

223 Taranaki Herald, 16 Feb 1861.


225 'Waitara' TN15, 1938, NZMS 13, Lands & Survey Dept.

226 Mould, 'Engineer Operations', p.104.

227 Carey, p.168.

228 Taranaki Herald, 16 Feb 1861.

229 Taranaki Herald, 'Extra', 11 Feb 1861.

230 'Waitara' TN15, 1938, NZMS 13, Lands & Survey Dept.

231 Aerial photograph 1785/21.

232 Carey, p.169.


234 Carey, p.172.

235 Broughton, p.57.

236 Ibid.

237 Grayling, ms, 11 Apr 1861.

238 Taranaki Herald, 15 Oct 1864.

239 Ibid, 11 Feb 1865.

240 Ibid, 25 Feb 1865.


22 Mar 1866: ibid.

26 Sep 1866: ibid.

4 Mar 1869: ibid.

AD35/12.

Fieldbook 'W.1', p.16: Lands & Survey Dept, New Plymouth.

Carey, pp.170-171.

Mould 'Engineer Operations', pp.105-106.

Ibid, p.106.


Broughton, p.56.

Taranaki Herald, 16 Feb 1861.

Carey, p.172.

Mould, 'Engineer Operations', p.106.

Taranaki Herald, 13 Apr 1861.

Grayling, ms, 11 Apr 1861.


Taranaki Herald, 13 Apr 1861.

See Taranaki Herald, 13 Apr 1861.


Aerial photograph 1785/21.

H.J. Warre, "Rebel (Natives) Pa, Te Arei": Rex Nan Kivell Collection (NK 4263/12), National Library of Australia.

Encl. in Browne to Newcastle, 23 Mar 1861: GBPP, 1862[3040] and [3049].

Taranaki Herald, 23 Mar 1861.

Terms offered, and declarations of Hapurona and Patukarakiki: AJHR, 1861, E-1B, pp.4-5.

Cowan, Vol I, p.213.

Taranaki Herald, 14 Mar 1863.

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.
277 Letter 261, 1 Aug 1864: Taranaki Militia and Volunteers Letter Book 26 Apr-29 Sep 1864 (NPL).
279 Taranaki Herald, 8 Apr 1865.
280 AJHR, 1865, A-5, pp.63-64.
282 AD35/12.
283 Personal communication, Mr. L. Jury.
284 Taranaki Herald, 11 Apr 1863. The 70th Regiment camp on 'Mace.'s farm was at Whaler's Gate (see map enclosed in Grey to Newcastle, 6 Apr 1863: GBPP, 1863 (467)). The camp here was not entrenched and was occupied for a short time only prior to the advance to Tataraimaka.
285 MacDonald's farm was situated between Greenwood and Lower Timaru Roads (see map enclosed in Grey to Newcastle, 6 Apr 1863: GBPP, 1863 (467)).
286 Taranaki Herald, 11 Apr 1863.
287 Greaves to Gamble, 14 Apr 1863: WO, 0270.I, Appendix V.
288 Taranaki Herald, 18 Apr 1863.
289 Cowan, Vol I, pp.216-218, gives a good account of this affair.
290 Taranaki Herald, 16 May 1863.
291 The pa (Porou, see Blocksheet Cape II, 14/4A) was on a dominating knoll on the high terrace south of the Katikara River about 800 m from the sea. The site has been much cultivated over the years; remaining archaeological evidence consists of very slight, wandering depressions surrounding the knoll. The site can just be made out on aerial photograph 1789/3. Map reference 471810. There is a useful sketch of the pa under attack in the Hocken Library Warre sketchbook, p.75.
292 Taranaki Herald, 4 Jul 1863.

293 Warre to Deputy Quarter Master General, 1 Apr 1864: New Plymouth Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book 4 Aug 1863-13 May 1865 (NPL). The location of the various pa destroyed during the advance on Kaitake is given in the section on Kaitake Redoubt, below.

294 Warre to Deputy Quarter Master General, 23 Apr 1864: AJHR, 1864, E-3.

295 Taranaki Herald, 23 Apr 1864.

296 Butler to Warre, 22 Apr 1864: AJHR, 1864, E-3.


298 Taranaki Herald, 28 Jan 1865.


300 AJHR, 1865, A-5, pp.63-64.


302 17 Apr 1866: ibid.

303 Greaves to Gamble, 14 Apr 1863: WO, 0270.I, Appendix V.

304 Taranaki Herald, 8 May (published on a Friday), and 16 May 1863.


306 Ibid, p.36.


309 Russell to Warre, 15 Sep 1863, enclosed in Grey to Newcastle, 5 Oct 1863: GBPP 1864 [3277].

310 Wright to Warre, 2 Oct 1863, enclosed in Grey to Newcastle, 2 Nov 1863: GBPP, 1864 [3277].


312 Warre to Minister of Colonial Defence, 27 Apr 1864: ibid.

313 Warre to Deputy Quarter Master General, 23 May 1864: ibid.

314 Warre to Deputy Quarter Master General, 13 Jul 1864: ibid.

315 Warre to Deputy Quarter Master General, 3 Apr 1864: ibid.

316 AJHR, 1865, A-5. pp.63-64.
Lieutenant Spencer P.T. Nicholl, 43rd Light Infantry, served in New Zealand and was severely wounded at Gate Pa. He was later Lieutenant Colonel. Nicholl himself probably did not take all the pictures in his albums since they appear to be the work of a variety of photographers. It is possible, however, that he did take the outstanding Taranaki group. He was certainly in Taranaki when they were taken, in the summer of 1864-65, and New Plymouth photographers of the period, such as Arthur Hoby, concentrating as they did on carte-de-visites, do not seem to offer an alternative candidate.

See Kaitake Redoubt, below.


Archaeological evidence at Oakura and Poutoko Redoubts contradicts Colonel Gamble who reported on 11 May 1863, "The redoubt at Oakura was finished to-day; it is of the same construction as that at Poutoko - fifty yards by forty - flanked at two opposite angles by square projections" (WO, 0270.1, p.34).

Wairau I and II blocksheet 45/2: Lands & Survey Dept, New Plymouth. This pa appears to be shown in the Hocken Library Warre Sketchbook, p.53.


Taranaki Herald, 10 Oct 1863.


Warre to Deputy Quarter Master General, 2 Mar 1864: ibid.

Clarke to Major Baddeley, 18 Jul 1864: ibid.

E.A. Williams Sketchbook, Hocken Library (75/107, 75/106 a and b).

Taranaki Herald, 11 Jan 1860.


Taranaki Herald, 20 Feb 1864.

Ibid.

Taranaki Herald, 20 Feb 1864.

H.J. Warre, Journals (ATL), 19 Feb 1864.


Taranaki Herald, 27 Feb 1864.


Taranaki Herald, 7 May 1864.


Clarke to Lepper, 11 Jan 1865: ibid.

Taranaki Herald, 7 May 1868.


AD35/12.


H.J. Warre, "Morere or Sentry Hill Redoubt 1865": Rex Nan Kivell Collection, (NK 6418/17), National Library of Australia.


AD35/12.

AJHR, 1865, A-5, pp. 63-64.


6 Nov 1866: ibid.

361 Ibid, p.222.

362 Warre to Deputy Quarter Master General, 12 Mar 1864: GBPP, 1864 [3386].


364 Warre to Deputy Quarter Master General, 26 Mar 1864: WO, 0270.II.

365 The trig 'Tutu A' is at map reference 499766.

366 Warre to Deputy Quarter Master General, 26 Mar 1864: WO, 0270.II.

367 See Cape III (14/5) Blocksheet: Lands & Survey Dept, New Plymouth.

368 See Plan in Warre to Deputy Quarter Master General, 26 Mar 1864: WO, 0270.II.

369 Taranaki Herald, 9 Apr 1864.


371 Taranaki Herald, 26 Mar 1864.


379 AJHR, 1865, A-5, pp. 63-64.

380 26 Sep 1866: Taranaki Military Settlers Memo Book 16 Aug 1865-3 Apr 1869 (NPL).

381 26 Mar 1869: ibid.

382 Nicholl Album Vol II, p.7 (ATL). The Taranaki Museum also holds copies.

383 Taranaki Herald, 7 Jan 1865.

385  Brutton to Lepper, 18 Oct 1864: ibid.
386  Brutton to Lepper, 25 Nov 1864: ibid.
387  Ibid.
388  Brutton to Lepper, 20 Dec 1864: ibid.
389  Russell to Lepper, 3 Feb 1865: ibid.
391  Wairau II (45/4) Blocksheet: Lands & Survey Dept, New Plymouth.
392  Fieldbook '0.7', p.58: Lands & Survey Dept, New Plymouth.
394  Warre to Deputy Quarter Master General, 29 Mar 1864: ibid.
395  Warre to Minister of Colonial Defence, 13 May 1864: ibid.
396  Warre, Journal, 2 Jun 1864.
398  AJHR, 1865, A-5, pp.63-64.
399  6 Jan 1866: Taranaki Military Settlers Memo Book 16 Aug 1865-3 Apr 1869 (NPL).
400  AD35/12.
401  H.J. Warre, "Dingles Blockhouse Taranaki": Rex Nan Kivell Collection (NK 4263/16), National Library of Australia.
403  Clarke to Kelly and Burton, 12 Sep 1864: ibid.
404  For example, see 10 Dec 1864: Taranaki Military Settlers Defaulters Book 1 Sep 1863-29 May 1864 and 22 Nov 1864-11 Mar 1865 (NPL).
405  Taranaki Herald, 8 Apr 1865.
406  AJHR, 1865, A-5, pp.63-64.
407  AD35/12.
408  H.J. Warre, "Ratanui Blockhouse Nov 9": p.33, Warre Sketchbook (ATL).
410  AJHR, 1865, A-5, pp.63-64.
AD35/12.


For an account of the destruction of Puketototara pa see Leslie to Brigade Major, New Plymouth, 2 Sep 1860: WO 0270.II. Lieutenant Colonel Leslie's report includes a plan and section of the fortification by Captain F. Mould, R.E.

Until 1864 what is now Waireka Road was the main South Road. In that year troops upgraded the old 'back road' or Allen Road from Omata to Hurford Road, and made use of part of Hurford Road to rejoin the old main road. The old line of Hurford can be seen running across paddocks east of the present South Road, to join the Waireka Road about 100 m from the present junction (see F1.2.20).


AJHR, 1865, A-5, pp.63-64.

AD35/12.


AD35/12.

H.J. Warre, Omata Stockade: Rex Nan Kivell Collection (NK 4263/2), National Library of Australia.

A map among Colonel Gamble's reports (7 Nov 1864: WO, 0270.I, opp. p.132) gives the location of Maori tracks and settlements in the area. Settlements shown include Mataitawa, Waruanga, Kahikatea and Kairoa.

Taranaki Herald, 15 Oct 1864.

Warre to Deputy Quarter Master General, 12 Oct 1864: GBPP, 1865 [3425].

Taranaki Herald, 22 Oct 1864.


Clarke to Ryan, 29 Nov 1864: ibid.

Clarke to Lepper, 11 Jan 1865: ibid.

Clarke to Lepper, 19 Feb 1865: ibid.

AJHR, 1865, A-5, pp.63-64.


See Anon, A Campaign on the West Coast of New Zealand, Wanganui, 1866.

26 Sep 1866: Taranaki Military Settlers Memo Book 16 Aug 1865-3 Apr 1869 (NPL).

Cowan, Vol II, p.27.


Anon, "Mataitawa Redoubt, Taranaki, Jan 24 1866", (ATL).

Taranaki Herald, 22 Oct 1864.


Clarke to Ferguson, 8 Dec 1864: ibid.

Clarke to Lepper, 11 Jan 1865: ibid.

Taranaki Herald, 25 Feb 1865.


Taranaki Herald, 22 Oct 1864.


Clarke to Lepper, 11 Jan 1865: ibid.

Clarke to Lepper, 19 Feb 1865: ibid.

AJHR, 1865, A-5, pp.63-64.


Clarke to Ferguson, 28 Oct 1864: ibid.

For example, see 16 Oct 1865: Taranaki Military Settlers Memo Book 16 Aug 1865-3 Apr 1869 (NPL).

22 Mar 1866: ibid.

Taranaki Herald, 27 Feb 1869.


Paritutu VII Blocksheet, the field plan can be found in Fieldbook 'W.3', p.50: Lands & Survey Dept, New Plymouth.

Taranaki Herald, 15 Oct 1864.

Ibid.
459 20 Oct 1864: ibid.
460 Clarke to Ryan, 29 Nov 1864: ibid.
461 Taranaki Herald, 4 Mar 1865.
464 12 Feb 1866: ibid.
466 13 Feb 1867: ibid.
467 H.J. Warre, "Rebel (Natives) pa, Te Arei": Rex Nan Kivell Collection (NK 4263/12), National Library of Australia.
468 H.J. Warre, "Rebel Pah at Te Arei": Rex Nan Kivell Collection (NK 4263/13), National Library of Australia.
469 Anon, "The Redoubt of Te Arei, Taranaki, Captn Jonas' station beyond", (ATL).
472 See for example, 4 Oct 1865: Taranaki Military Settlers Memo Book 16 Aug 1865-3 Apr 1869 (NPL).
473 26 Sep 1866: ibid.
474 13 Feb 1867: ibid.
476 15 Feb 1869: ibid.
479 20 Dec 1869: ibid.
480 See Paritutu VII Blocksheet, and original field sketch in Fieldbook 'W.1', p.42: Lands & Survey Dept, New Plymouth.

Fieldbook 'W.1', pp.34 and 42: Lands & Survey Dept, New Plymouth.

Cowan, Vol II, p.27.

Warre, Journal, 24 Nov 1864. Warre's 'Huirangi' is usually 'Hauranga'. Hauranga was a Maori settlement situated below the redoubt site on the present sand dune area at the mouth of the river. It was occupied through the early 1860s by friendly, and sometimes unfriendly, Maoris, and was described in 1864 as 'Meiha or Big Jack's pa'. There is a watercolour by Warre of the small palisaded kainga in the Taranaki Museum.


Ibid.

Clarke to Lepper, 16 Jan 1865: ibid.

18 Apr 1865: ibid.

3 Dec 1864: ibid.

Warre, Journal, 22 Jan 1865.


26 Sep 1866: Taranaki Military Settlers Memo Book 16 Aug 1865-3 Apr 1869 (NPL).


AD35/12.

"Crown Grant Record Map, Wairau & Cape": Lands & Survey Dept, New Plymouth.

Cape II (14/4A) Blocksheet: Lands & Survey Dept, New Plymouth.

At this time the main south road was on the coast. The present main road was made subsequently, using existing sections of the Timaru and Pitone Roads which ran inland from the old coast road; hence the great bends in this section of the road today. The blockhouse site overlooked the Tataraimaka town site where one house remains. The local settlement has since shifted to the banks of the Timaru River where the dairy factory was established.

"Crown Grant Record Map, Wairau & Cape": Lands & Survey Dept, New Plymouth.
Grey to Cameron, 14 Dec 1864: AJHR, 1865, A-4. The original spelling, 'Stoney', has an authentic history (see Skinner, History and Reminiscences of the Okato District, New Plymouth, 1935, p.8) although it is now out of favour with the Lands and Survey Dept. The Maori called the river 'Haungatahua'.

Cameron to Grey, 18 Jan 1865: AJHR, 1865, A-4.


Warre, Journal, 2 Feb 1865.

Ibid, 12 Apr 1865.

Clarke to Officer Commanding 43rd Regiment, Taranaki, 18 Feb 1865: New Plymouth Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book 4 Aug 1863-13 May 1865 (NPL). The officer commanding the 43rd in Taranaki was Lieutenant Colonel P.H. Synge. Warre's own regiment, the 57th, had by now been transferred to Wanganui.

Warre, Journal, 12 Apr 1865.

Warre to Deputy Quarter Master General, 8 May 1865: New Plymouth Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book 4 Aug 1863-13 May 1865 (NPL).


20 Nov 1865: Ibid.

A.E. Fyler, The History of the 50th or (The Queen's Own) Regiment, London, 1895, p.286.

Warre left Taranaki in March 1866 having been commanding officer there for almost five years.


Taranaki Herald, 4 May 1867.

H.J. Warre, "Mt Egmont from the Camp near Stoney River": Rex Nan Kivell Collection (NK 4263/9), National Library of Australia.

Cape I (14/3A) Blocksheet (Lands & Survey Dept, New Plymouth) marks the redoubt site as "Wharepapa", there is no mention of Te Ngana. About 200 m inland is marked a 'Redoubt' but this is presumably incorrect as it is in the centre of a flat low-lying paddock.

Cameron insisted he gave Warre no orders for the occupation of Opunake or Pukearuhe, although he had certainly discussed occupation of the former (see below), and he held strong suspicions of Warre and other officers having communicated with Grey and government ministers behind his back. Thus, Cameron to Grey, 3 May 1865: AJHR, 1865, A-4: "Since my arrival in Auckland on the 30th ultimo, I have read an account in the newspapers of Colonel Warre having occupied not only Te Namu, but also a point near the White Cliffs, about thirty miles, I believe, north of New Plymouth."
I had not received your letter of the 26th April [in which Grey suggests that Warre occupy Te Namu] when I left Patea, and had therefore given no orders to Colonel Warre to occupy either of these points, and I am not aware by whose orders he has done so." Grey replied saying that he had no information regarding the occupation of Pukearuru or Opunake, "excepting a private note from Colonel Warre", and praising Warre's action in strong terms: "...I believe that the two most important movements he has so skillfully and successfully made will go very far to bring to a close the war which has so long prevailed in the Taranaki district." (Grey to Cameron, 12 May 1865: AJHR, 1865, A-4).

The argument was eventually referred to England, on one occasion Cameron sending a vessel to Melbourne so that his despatches would arrive in England by the same mail as Grey's. Correspondence on the feud fills many pages in official printed papers (see, for example, AJHR, 1865, A-4) and played a major part in Cameron's return to England in August.

Grey was undoubtedly playing a double game. There is, for example, a letter (Grey to Atkinson, 26 Apr 1865: AJHR, 1865, A-4) in which he praises Warre for his action in occupying Pukearuru - this letter written some days before Cameron found out about the movement from the newspapers. Dalton, pp.228-229, discusses the fracas arising in large part from the occupation of Pukearuru and Opunake, and writes, "Warre earned a monumental reprimand from the Commander-in-Chief and narrowly escaped cashiering." The reprimand, Forster to Cameron, 26 Sep 1865, is printed in WO, 0270,II.

518 Taranaki Herald, 29 Apr 1865. The origin and nature of the information which led to the occupation of Pukearuru is given by Parris in a "Report Relative to Expeditions to Establish Military posts at Pukearuru": AJHR, 1865, E-8.

519 Taranaki Herald, 29 Apr 1865. Elsewhere in the same issue the Taranaki Herald gives a total of 103 officers and men landed, Parris says about 60 men of the 70th Regiment were landed along with 36 Bushrangers under Captain Jonas (AJHR, 1865, E-8).

520 Parris report: AJHR, 1865, E-8.

521 Ibid.

522 Ibid.

523 Taranaki Herald, 6 May 1865.

524 Parris report: AJHR, 1865, E-8.

525 AJHR, 1865, A-5, pp.63-64.

526 AD1,66/3019 includes a file of correspondence on the dispute. The Burton and Kelly tender is dated 29 May 1865.

527 Lepper to Holt, 6 Sep 1865: AD1,65/2724.
528 Warre to Deputy Quarter Master General, 23 Aug 1865: Officer Commanding Imperial Troops and Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General, New Plymouth, Letter Book 15 May 1865- 8 Mar 1867 (AD31/24).

529 Lepper to Holt, 21 Aug 1865: AD1,65/2570.

530 Page to Lepper and Baddeley to Lepper, 25 Nov 1865, enclosed in Warre to Assistant Military Secretary, 28 Nov 1865: G16/7.

531 Hursthouse to Lepper, 31 Aug 1866: G16/10.

532 Hamley to Deputy Quarter Master General, 13 Sep 1866: G16/10.

533 Lepper to Holt, 28 Sep 1866: AD1,66/4333.

534 Lepper to Holt, 15 May 1867: AD1,67/1848.


536 Holt to Stapp, 15 Jan 1865: AD1,68/1353.

537 Stapp to Holt, 4 Mar 1868: AD1,68/793.

538 Lepper to Holt, 29 July 1867: AD1,67/2634.

539 Petition dated 1 Feb 1868: included in file of correspondence concerning the disposition of the Armed Constabulary force etc, AD1,68/3742 file.


541 Stapp to Acting Under Secretary, 14 Dec 1868: AD1,68/4943.

542 Pollen to Stapp, 21 Sep 1868: 68/3177 in AD1,68/3742 file.

543 Stapp to Holt, 4 Nov 1868: 68/3851 in AD1,68/3976 file.


545 Tuke to Commissioner, 19 Sep 1872: P1/19 (Taranaki 1873).


548 A.C. and Maori, return of, for each provincial district of North Island: AJHR, 1884, H-16, p.1.


551 E.S. Brookes, Frontier Life, Auckland, 1892, pp.135-147.

552 There are three photographs in the series: a group of eight men receiving their rum ration is depicted outside the loopholed blockhouse (TM photograph file EC 671), "A Group of Non Commd Officers" (EC 672), "No 9 Cy T.M.S." (EC 673).
The most important, perhaps all, photographs taken showing Pukenaruhe during the Armed Constabulary period were taken by the New Plymouth photographer W.H. Collis. A number of Collis photographs are held in the Taranaki Museum, while a similar series, including an excellent group in the 'Fitzgerald Album', are in the Alexander Turnbull Library.

Anon, "The Redoubt at Pukenaruhe 1868." (TM).

Thomas Good, White Cliffs and redoubt ("T.G./1873"): Hocken Library, 23,103.

Ms map 'Town of Clifton Taranaki......September 1865", scale 3 chains to one inch: TM. 'Clifton' was the name given to the proposed town at White Cliffs, and the name is sometimes used for the military post in the early period. The name has since been adopted by Clifton County. The map shows the surveyed town sections with names of Military Settlers who had selected them after ballot.


Taranaki Herald, 6 May 1865.

Ibid.

H.J. Warre, "Camp Opunake" : Warre Sketchbook, ATL.

Warre to Deputy Quarter Master General, 8 May 1865: New Plymouth Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book 4 Aug 1863-13 May 1865 (NFL).

Ibid.

Warre, Journal, 5 May 1865.

Warre to Deputy Quarter Master General, 8 May 1865: New Plymouth Garrison Quarter Master Letter Book 4 Aug 1863-13 May 1865 (NFL).


Parris to Native Minister, 21 June 1865: AJHR, 1865, A-5.

Synge to Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General, 15 Feb 1866: G16/11.

Horan to Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General, 24 Feb 1866: G16/11.

Ibid, p.246; Fyler, p.286.
Taranaki Herald, 13 Apr, 4 & 11 May 1867.
Parris to McLean, 5 Apr 1871: NS71/472 in AD1,71/1338.
Taranaki Herald, 3 Mar 1875.
Ibid, p.20.
E. Maxwell, Recollections and Reflections of an Old New Zealander, Dunedin, 1935, p.79.
Maxwell, p.79.
Gascoyne, p.124.
Maxwell, p.90.
Maxwell, p.85.
Cowan, Vol II, p.482.
Atkinson to Warre, 30 May 1865: AJHR, 1865, A-4.
Taranaki Herald, 22 Apr 1865.
Warre to Deputy Quarter Master General, 30 May 1865: AJHR, 1865, A-4.
Atkinson to Warre, 30 May 1865: ibid.
Cameron to Grey, 7 Jun 1865: ibid.
See broadsheet, "Conditions upon which land will be given to settlers on the north of the Waitara": AD31/1 "Conditions of service in the Colonial Defence Force 1865-66".
Atkinson to Stapp, 15 Jun 1865: 65/4373 in AD1,66/430.

Taranaki Herald, 24 Jun 1865.

Stapp to Lepper, 27 Jul 1865: in AD1,66/430.


Lepper to Holt, 17 Oct 1865: in AD1,66/430.

Carrington to Lepper, 7 Dec 1865: AD31/1.

Ibid.

Taranaki Herald, 16 Dec 1865.

Haultain to Lepper, 8 Dec 1865: in AD31/1.

Jupp, Diary, 9 Dec 1865.

Jupp, Diary, 11 Dec 1865; and see Haultain minute, 6 Feb 1866: in AD31/1.

Jupp, Diary, 16 Jan 1866.


"Crown Grants to be issued to the Forces at Patea": AD31/9.

Holt to Lepper, 24 Aug 1866: AD6/6,66/1755/1, authorising location of men of No 6 Company T.M.S. between Onaero and Ureenui Rivers. Richmond to Lepper, 24 Dec 1866: AD6/6,66/2213/1, ordered immediate steps to put men in possession of the land and struck them off pay.

Lepper to Holt, 28 Sep 1866: AD1,66/4333.


For example, Pollen to Agent of the General Government, Taranaki, 21 Sep 1868: 68/3177 in AD1,68/3742, ordering the repair of blockhouse, the well to be cleared out, ditches and banks made good and fern cleared.


16 Feb 1869: ibid.

Stapp to Lawson, 19 Feb 1869: Taranaki Military Settlers Memo Book 16 Aug 1865-3 Apr 1869 (NPL).

19 Feb 1869: ibid.


11 Mar 1870: ibid.

30 Oct 1870: ibid.
Memo, 19 Mar 1872: 72/224 in AD1, 72/239.


Atkinson to Warre, 30 May 1865: AJHR, 1865, A-4.

AD35/12.

Pihanga or Te Pihanga (often mis-spelled 'Pehangi' or 'Pehanga') is frequently given as the name of the redoubt, especially in early days.

Holt to Lepper, 24 Aug 1866: AD6/6, 66/1755/1.


Good to Stapp, 24 Jul 1867: in AD1, 67/2781.

Warre to Assistant Military Secretary, 28 Nov 1865: G16/7.


9 May 1870: ibid.


Harington minute, 16 Sep 1872, Stapp to Under Secretary of Defence, 2 Sep 1872: AD1, 72/1187.


The last record of a constable at Urenui is in the 1884 Annual Report on N.Z. Constabulary: AJHR, 1884, H-1, p.7.

W.B. Messenger, "Urenui Redoubt held by Friendly Maoris under Capt Good": Cowan Collection, ATL. This sketch is reproduced by Cowan, Vol II, p.484, where it is incorrectly dated to 1864. The picture shows changes made to the redoubt in Sep 1872.

Harington to Stapp, 22 Dec 1868: AD6/13, 68/613/1.
647 Stapp to Under Secretary of Defence, 2 Sep 1872: AD1/72/1187.

648 See Buist, Archaeology in North Taranaki, New Zealand, Wellington, 1964, p.56.

649 Ibid, p.71. Buist also lists N109/14, south of Urenui River and immediately above the present main road (map ref. 957977) as a redoubt. Present archaeological evidence and lack of any historical reference does not encourage agreement.


651 Taranaki Herald, 3 Dec 1864.

652 Buist, p.55, N99/18 (map ref. 002011).

653 Thomas, "Report in accordance with circular No 78...", 13 Sep 1872: in CD72/1152.

654 Taranaki Herald, 4 Feb 1865.

655 Warre to Assistant Military Secretary, 21 Apr 1865: G16/8.

656 Taranaki Herald, 25 Feb 1865.


658 Warre to Assistant Military Secretary (Confidential Report No 3), 23 Jan 1865: G16/8.

659 Taranaki Herald, 28 Jan 1865.

660 Warre to Assistant Military Secretary, 21 Oct 1865 (encl. in Letter 109): G16/7.

661 Taranaki Herald, 18 Mar 1865.

662 Tukitukipapa is marked on the cadastral map, NZMS177 N108 (New Plymouth), 1 Oct 1962 (map ref. 460812).

663 Sometimes 'Pukete' or 'Puketehe'. There is a pa, Puke Ti, marked on the cadastral map, NZMS177 N108 (New Plymouth), 1 Oct 1962 (Map ref. 477767). This is a ring-ditch Maori fortification with no sign of European modification or use.


665 Taranaki Herald, 8 Apr 1865.

666 Warre to Assistant Military Secretary, 21 Apr 1865: G16/8.


668 Taranaki Herald, 24 June 1865.

669 AJHR, 1865 A-4, pp.63-64.

670 Fieldbook '0.7', p.13: Lands & Survey Dept, New Plymouth.

671 Taranaki Herald, 21 Jan 1865.
Ibid, 25 Feb 1865.

4 Sep 1865: Taranaki Military Settlers Memo Book 16 Aug 1865-
3 Apr 1869 (NPL).

Lepper to Holt, 6 Sep 1865: AD1,65/2724.

Ibid.

20 Sep 1865: Taranaki Military Settlers Memo Book 16 Aug 1865-
3 Apr 1869 (NPL).

Lepper to Holt, 17 Oct 1865: in AD1,66/430.

Taranaki Herald, 6 Jan 1866.

26 Sep 1866: Taranaki Military Settlers Memo Book 16 Aug 1865-
3 Apr 1869 (NPL).

Lepper to Holt, 28 Sep 1866: AD1,66/4333.

23 Sep 1867: Taranaki Military Settlers Memo Book 16 Aug 1865-
3 Apr 1869 (NPL).

Pollen to Agent of the General Government in Taranaki, 21 Sep 1868:
AD1,68/3177 in 68/3742.

11 Dec 1868: Taranaki Militia and Volunteers ( & T.M.S.) Order
Book 1 Jul 1868-? Oct 1873 (NPL). And see also "Diary of
Bushrangers from their enrolment 4 December 1868 to the end of
March 1869", 11-19 Dec 1868: AD1,69/2080.

15 Feb 1869: Taranaki Militia and Volunteers ( & T.M.S.) Order Book
1 Jul 1868-? Oct 1873 (NPL).

16 Feb 1869: ibid.

19 Feb 1869: Taranaki Military Settlers Memo Book 16 Aug 1865-
3 Apr 1869 (NPL).

Papers and Report relating to the Armed Constabulary: AJHR, 1870,
D-7, p.10.

Annual Report on the State, Efficiency and Distribution of the A.C.
Force: AJHR, 1871, G-5, p.18; Annual Report of Commissioner A.C.
Force: AJHR, 1874, H-12, p.20.


Annual Report on N.Z. Constabulary: AJHR, 1879 (Session II), H-15,
p.20.


Roberts to Commissioner, 29 Dec 1881: P1,3498/81.

"Diary of Bushrangers from their enrolment 4 December 1868 to the
end of March 1869", 11 Dec 1868: AD1,69/2080.
694 AD35/12.

695 Memo (Major St. John), 19 Mar 1872: AD1,72/224 in 72/239.


697 Annual Reports on N.Z. Constabulary: AJHR, 1879 (Session II), H-15, p.20.

698 Aerial photograph 1792/2.

699 See Wairau I and II (45/2) Blocksheet (Lands & Survey Dept, New Plymouth) where the name 'Tuahukino' is given alongside the Koru town site.


701 Kelly and Burton to Atkinson, 25 May 1865: in AD1,66/3019.

702 Kelly note, 9 Jul 1865: ibid.


704 26 Sep 1866: Taranaki Military Settlers Memo Book 16 Aug 1865-3 Apr 1869 (NPL).

705 AD35/12.

706 Moule minute on Ngarongomate to McLean, 4 Mar 1872: AD1,72/239.

707 See Cape III (14/5) Blocksheet: Lands & Survey Dept, New Plymouth.

708 Warre, Journal, 7 Apr 1865.


710 Lepper to Holt, 2 Sep 1865: AD1,65/4299.

711 Lepper to Holt, 17 Oct 1865: in AD1,66/430.


713 AD35/12.

714 Moule minute on Ngarongomate to McLean, 4 Mar 1872: AD1,72/239.


716 12 Mar 1866: ibid.

717 10 May 1866: ibid.

718 1 June 1866: ibid.

719 Lepper to Holt, 28 Sep 1866: AD1,66/4333.


721 Brown to under secretary of Defence, 29 Jun 1869: in AD1,70/834.

Brown to Under Secretary of Defence, 29 Jun 1869: 69/4231 in AD1,70/834.


Personal communication, Mr. D. Surrey.


27 Feb 1869: ibid.

"Diary of Bushrangers from their enrolment 4 December 1868 to the end of March 1869", 1 Mar 1869: AD1,69/2080.

3 Mar 1869: ibid.


4 Apr 1869: ibid.

20 Apr 1869: ibid.

11 Aug 1869: ibid.

23 Nov 1869: ibid.

11 Mar 1870: ibid.

30 Oct 1870: ibid.

'Waitara', TN15, 1938, NZMS13, Lands & Survey Dept.

Brown to Under Secretary of Defence, 20 Apr 1869: AD1,69/2700.

Ibid.

20 Apr 1869: Taranaki Militia and Volunteers ( & T.M.S.) Order Book 1 Jul 1868-? Oct 1873 (NPL).

5 Jul and 9 Aug 1869: ibid.

9 Aug 1869: ibid.


Tuke to Commissioner, 19 Sep 1872: PI/19 (Taranaki 1873).


750 Horsford, "Report on the Topographical features of that part of Taranaki Province which is contained between the White Cliffs on the North, and by the Mimi River on the South, and between the sea on the West and the Ranges on the East": in CD72/1151.

751 Arden gives us an important group of four watercolours of the two Papatiki Stream redoubts (TM). Pl.2,58 depicts both works with Waititi in the foreground. Another picture shows only Waititi, from the south-west with a number of huts and other buildings outside. Two pictures show Papatiki Redoubt only: Pl.2,60 shows the work from the north, while another depicts the redoubt from the south-west and shows the strong defences and the steep drop into the valley behind it. Another sketch of Papatiki by W.B. Messenger, is published in Cowan, Vol II, p.485.

752 Buist, p.70, also lists a, "Military redoubt on right bank of Papatiki Stream north of 99/79 [Waititi Redoubt]. Almost totally destroyed." There is no historical record of a third military redoubt in this area, nor is there now any archaeological evidence (the site visited 5 Jul 1975).

753 8 Sep 1869: Taranaki Militia and Volunteers ( & T.M.S.) Order Book 1 Jul 1868-? Oct 1873 (NPL).

754 9 Aug 1869: ibid.


757 The Taranaki Herald White Cliffs correspondent reported, 2 Feb 1867, that, "A further sum of £50 has also been granted by the Government towards the erection of a small blockhouse on the lower part of our location, a couple of miles this side of the Mimi." This blockhouse was authorised in Dec 1866 (Richmond to Lepper, 24 Dec 1866: AD6/6,66/2208/1). It appears it was never built. A small cliff pa between Mimi and Waititi (N99/42) is said by Buist p.60, to have, "...the form characteristic of a military redoubt." I do not agree with Buist on this, and in any event there is no historical confirmation.

758 Richmond to Harington, 24 Feb 1869: 69/1112 in AD1,70/3085.

759 Haultain minute, 9 Mar 1869, on Brown to Acting Under Secretary of Defence, 4 Mar 1869: 69/1310 in AD1,70/3085.

760 Brown to Acting Under Secretary of Defence, 19 Mar 1869: AD1,69/1792. The Maoris taken on half-pay are referred to in the correspondence as 'Chatham Islanders' being the Ngati Mutunga returned from the Chatham Islands in 1868.

20 Dec 1869: ibid.


Stapp to Commissioner, 20 Apr 1876: P1/30 (Taranaki 1876).

Messenger to Tuke, 11 Jul 1877: P1/34,271/77 (Taranaki 1877).

P1/14 (Taranaki 1872) in CD72/1159.

'Mimi' TN15, 1938, NZMS 13, Lands & Survey Dept.


2 Jul 1869: ibid.

9 Aug 1869: ibid.


"Town of Oakura Wairau Survey District", (old town litho), Lands & Survey Dept, 1907.


The same farm on which Fort Strange (1860) and St. George's Redoubt (1863-1866) were located.

Taranaki News, 11 Oct 1879. 'Newell' should be Newall'.

Ibid, 6 Mar 1880.

S. Newall, Fieldbook, 1880 (NPL).

Taranaki News, 20 Mar 1880. The 'camping ground' was at Werekino. 'Punehu' is nowadays given as 'Puniho', 'Punehu' being the name of another locality in south Taranaki.

The whereabouts of the originals is not known. An inscription on the reverse of the TM copy of the Bayly's Farm picture states "No 1 Camp Armed Constabulary Bayly's Farm Front View".

Newall, Fieldbook (NPL).

Ibid.


Brookes, pp.39-40.

Taranaki News, 8 May 1880.
Reproduced by Cowan, Vol II, p.468, who incorrectly gives the name 'Waikino'. There are difficulties in interpreting the three Bay (?) watercolours. The TM copies are inscribed on the reverse No 1, No 2 and No 3 A.C. camps. The Bayly's Farm camp sketch appears correct. The picture inscribed "No 2 A.C. Camp" is difficult to place; as No 2 camp it should historically be Werekino but this seems unlikely. It might show Ngakunikumi Camp to judge from the relative positions of Mt Egmont and the ranges behind it although the actual camp and buildings are quite remarkably like those in the Bayly's Farm picture. The Werekino picture is inscribed "No 3" camp and there are difficulties here in matching the sketch with the historical description we have of this camp and present topographic features.

Taranaki News, 8 May 1880.

Newall, Fieldbook (NPL).

Ibid.

Roberts to Commissioner, 27 Jan 1881: Register information, the original telegram (P1, 241/81) is missing.

Roberts to Commissioner, 11 Jan 1882: P1, 108/82 says the move to Ngakunikumi took place 11 Jan, while in the annual report, AJHR, 1882, H-16, p.4, it is said to be 16 Jan.


Shows clearly on aerial photograph 2137/5 and 6, taken 19 Sep 1955, but is destroyed by 8 Nov 1970 (aerial photograph 4489/4).

Newall, Fieldbook (NPL).

Ibid.


Ibid, p.11.

Roberts to Commissioner, 16 Feb 1883: P1, 377/83.


Roberts, Annual report for 12 months ended 31 Mar 1886, 22 Apr 1886: P1, 1092/86.

Ibid.


Roberts to Commissioner, 31 Aug 1881: in P1, 2320/81.
Roberts to Commissioner, 26 Sep 1883: P1,2283/83.

Roberts to Commissioner, 22 Jun 1881: P1,1625/81, in 2283/83.

Roberts to Commissioner, 7 Jun 1881: P1,1502/81, in 2283/83.

Roberts to Commissioner, 22 Jun 1881: P1,1625/81, in 2283/83.

Ibid.

"Armed Constabulary Camp at Pungarehu": Elsdon Best Collection, ATL.


J. Ledger, Pen and Ink Sketches of Parihaka and Neighbourhood, Dunedin, 1883.

For example see Maxwell, Opunake was the A.C. headquarters for Taranaki for most of the 1880s, except when Colonel Roberts was in the field at Pungarehu and elsewhere.

Wilson to McLean, 12 Jan 1872: AD1,72/1279.

Cowan, Vol II, p.177, gives a good description of the 'Waihi Redoubt', which actually appears to have been a stockade.


Maxwell, p.79, lists temporary camps south of Opunake at Waiaua, Oeo, Ouri, Patiki and Puketapu. (Note that 'Puketapu' and 'Ouri' probably refer to the one camp).


Roberts to Reader, 19 May 1880: P1,1537/80. A telegram, Roberts to Commissioner, 13 Jul 1880, states "Opua is the first camp occupied by Major Goring north of Opunake &c" (P1,2097/80, in 2118/80 but now missing). This may indicate that Opua was still occupied at this time although this seems unlikely.

Roberts to Commissioner, 25 Jun 1880: P1,1897/80 (original destroyed).

Maxwell, pp.82-83.

Identification of the site is confirmed by the Newall fieldbook.

Roberts to Commissioner, 25 Jun 1880: P1,1897/80.

Roberts to Commissioner, 13 Jul 1880: P1,2097/80, filed in 2119/80 and now missing.


The post is marked ('Pukehinau') on a ms map in a file of correspondence (P1,173/81) concerning military protection for surveyors and road-making parties south of Pungarehu early in 1881.
830 I am grateful to Kelvin Day for information on this site.
831 P1,173/81. See especially Humphries to Surveyor General, 18 Jan 1881.
832 Roberts to Commissioner, 27 Jan 1881: P1,241/81.
834 Roberts to A.C. Commissioner, 22 Jun 1881: P1,1625/81, in 2283/83.
835 Roberts to A.C. Commissioner, 12 Jul 1881: P1,1796/81.
837 Roberts to A.C. Commissioner, 14 Dec 1881: P1,3363/81.
838 Roberts, Annual report for the year ended 31 March 1882, 30 Apr 1882: P1,1353/82.


840 Both photographs are held in the Taranaki Museum. The one depicting the stockade from the east is published in Cowan, Vol II, p.472.
841 W.W. Fulton, "Rahotu Stockade" (ATL).

846 Roberts, Annual report for the year ended 31 March 1882, 30 Apr 1882: P1,1353/82.
848 Ibid, p.4.
849 Ibid, p.11.

854 W.W. Fulton, "Parihaka", and "Capt Hammersley's camp, Parihaka", ATL.
857 Maxwell, p.80.
858 Ibid, pp.79-80.
CHAPTER III

FORTIFICATIONS AND FRONTIERS

Over the period 1860 to 1886 an active European military frontier was maintained in Taranaki. In chapter two the shape of this frontier was described in detail from the historical and archaeological evidence. We may now use the detailed description to examine the broad geographical and organisational aspects of the Taranaki frontier as well as the design and use of the fortifications upon which the frontier was based. Comparisons may be drawn between the particular characteristics of the Taranaki frontier and other frontier situations in New Zealand and elsewhere.

FORTIFICATIONS

Over seventy European military fortifications were established in north Taranaki in the period between 1855 and the close of the Parihaka Campaign. These included blockhouses, redoubts and stockades built for a wide variety of purposes, tactical and strategic, for defence and attack, to defend settlements, to provide refuge and to act as barracks or guard posts. The argument will be made that the distribution of these posts marks the success of the imperial power; we need first, however, to examine the fortifications themselves. This section begins with an historical review of the use of field fortifications, goes on to examine the historical antecedents of the New Zealand examples, and concludes with a comparative examination of the design and function of the Taranaki works.
Fortifications are of two general kinds: continuous or attached works, and field fortifications. Continuous fortification systems include city walls and flanking defence, frontier walls of various kinds and battlefield entrenchments. Their characteristic is that they provide a continuous fortification for defence of a large area, which can include not just campaigning troops but civilian populations and economic resources as well. In Taranaki only the defences of New Plymouth fall into the category of continuous fortifications; an earth breastwork and entrenchment encircled the town with a ring of blockhouses outside. The characteristic military fortification of the Taranaki campaigns is the detached field fortification.

The use of detached fortifications in frontier regions has a very considerable antiquity. A series of thirteen fortresses in the region of the Second Cataract in upper Egypt date from early in the Middle Kingdom. ¹ Seven of the fortresses are located along the cataract itself and were clearly forward frontier positions. On the plain to the rear a network of posts maintained a watch over native populations. Some two thousand years later the Romans made extensive use of field fortifications in maintaining their hold over frontier regions. Roman field works fell into several classes including legionary fortresses, auxiliary forts, marching camps, practice camps and fortlets.² Legionary fortresses might enclose an area of over 20 ha,³ while fortlets could be as small as 0.03 ha with sides of 18 and 19 metres.⁴ The standard form was a simple rectangle with gates in the centre of each side.
Roman fortifications were essentially offensive rather than defensive. The large number of gates and the lack of projecting bastions for artillery were suited to an army whose aim was to fight in the open. Flat or gently sloping sites with good access to water were preferred. In fighting, the Romans would leave their fort for open ground where the full weight of foot soldiers could be brought to bear in hand to hand combat and where cavalry would have room to move. Towards the end of the empire there was a fundamental change in the design and use of Roman fortifications. In Britain many of the walled towns were provided with forward projecting bastions on which artillery such as catapults and stone-throwing machinery could be mounted. The emphasis was now on defence rather than attack.

Through succeeding centuries fortifications underwent considerable changes as new methods of warfare, especially the use of explosives and firearms, were introduced. In Europe in the 15th century the introduction of cannon gave a substantial advantage to the attacking force for the first time. In 1453 Constantinople, which had withstood previous sieges of much longer duration, fell in 55 days to the Ottoman Turks who used cannon to bombard the walls. During the Renaissance and after much effort was put into the design of fortifications which could withstand artillery attacks, one of the most important innovations being the mounting on the walls of artillery of equivalent range to that used by the attacking force. The design of fortresses engaged the attention of men such as Leonardo da Vinci and Albrecht Durer, and in the 17th century
reached a peak under the Frenchman Vauban. The advantage had now returned to the besieged.

With fortifications so difficult to attack many commanders now sought a return to the open field to win victory. At this time fieldworks, in the proper sense of 'field of battle works', were developed to enable small groups of men with firearms to command broad fronts in tactical situations. This enabled release of a larger part of any force for major blows on the enemy while the flanks or other key points were defended by comparatively few troops. Trenching tools have since become standard soldiers' equipment and digging in on battlefields, common practice.

It can be seen that detached fieldworks can serve two general functions: the tactical and the strategic. On the battlefield such fortifications are tactical and give temporary advantage in disposition of men and weapons to one side while preventing the enemy from using his resources to the best advantage. Strategic works on the other hand have a long-term frontier or garrison role and are designed to deter attack. Such posts must be strong enough to withstand attack but their success may best be gauged, not by their having repelled an attack but by no attack having been made.

Direct historical antecedents for European field works in New Zealand are best looked for in other parts of the world which were subject to the post-Renaissance expansion of Europe. Initially massive fortifications were built, not so much for protection of trading settlements from indigenous populations but to defend them from rival European powers. An example is
the astonishing Portuguese fortress of Port Jesus at Mombasa on the East African coast which dates from the late 16th century and has been cited as the culminating point of Italianate Renaissance military architecture. Following the adventurers and merchants of the first phase of European expansion were farmers and tradesmen anxious to settle permanently in the new worlds. These people did not need massive fortresses at key strategic points so much as small local fortifications to act as refuges and deter limited local attacks. It was this second phase of expansion especially in North America which saw the development of fieldworks, suited to small scale frontier warfare, of a kind very similar to those used later in New Zealand.

Early North American examples can be found for the three major fortification types subsequently used in New Zealand. In a recent series of excavations at Wolstenholme Towne in Virginia the plan of an early 17th century stockade has been uncovered, this being the oldest known English fortification in the New World. The fort has a four-sided trapezoidal plan about 25 x 40 metres in size with flanking defence at two adjacent corners covering all but one side. A century later at the southern frontier of Georgia an earthwork redoubt was built with four bastions in 'star form'. Excluding the bastions the dimensions are about 20 x 40 metres which falls nicely within the New Zealand range. An example of the third fortification type comes from northern New England where a mid-18th century frontier blockhouse survives at Fort Halifax in Maine. The building is square with a shingled roof, upper
storey overhanging the lower, and is made of squared logs
dovetailed at the corners.

The majority of European fortifications in New Zealand
can be shown to have close links with these earlier works in
North America. There were design developments in New Zealand,
however, especially in the case of earthwork fortifications,
which were a response to particular local circumstances. Also
in New Zealand there is a group of works without clear parallels
elsewhere. These may have general similarities with earlier
fortifications in other parts of the world but they owe their
design, not to earlier experience, but to the native military
and engineering skills of local settlers. The most important
Taranaki examples are the works at Bell Block and Onata.

Towards the end of the 1860s in New Zealand there was some
attempt to formalise experience in fortification design from the
previous decade. In December 1868 a circular letter from
Colonel Haultain, Minister for Colonial Defence, gave advice on
the construction of a simple redoubt for 100 men. A plan of
the recommended work shows it to have been 65 x 65 feet (19.8
x 19.8m), entirely flanked from two angles with a large bastion
28 x 22 feet (8.5 x 6.5m) at one angle and an 18 feet (5.5m)
square blockhouse opposite. Detailed specifications are given
of the blockhouse, which was regarded as important because it
would enable a small body of men to defend themselves even if
the main part of the redoubt was taken by the enemy - as, indeed,
had occurred at Turukurumuokai in July 1868. In 1869 was
published in Wellington Captain Young's Hints on House Defence,
Flockhouses and Redoubts which contained detailed instructions
on the design and building of blockhouses and redoubts of many forms and the principles behind their design, and also gave advice on the defence of isolated houses, groups of houses and town blocks.

In Taranaki the development of fortification design over the two decades, 1860 to the early 1880s, resulted in the use of a wide range of forms. The range of forms illustrates the changing requirements of military defence as the struggle for Taranaki moved through its various phases. Each of the major classes of fortification, blockhouse, stockade and redoubt, may be examined for the variety of forms, the link between form and role, and the historical development of fieldworks in Taranaki.

**Blockhouses**

It is important to appreciate the fundamental difference between the barrack and guard room buildings often associated with military posts in Taranaki which were referred to as 'blockhouses' and the loopholed defensible buildings which are of interest here. Furthermore, many of the fortifications referred to as 'blockhouses' in contemporary reports were in fact stockades which enclosed barrack blockhouse buildings. An example of such works is the 'Kataitawa Blockhouse' depicted in Plate 2.44. Discussion of these works will come later under 'stockades'; here we are concerned only with blockhouses which were themselves the defensible position or fortification, or were independently defensible buildings which were part of a larger fortification.

There were probably five blockhouses in north Taranaki built to the old New England style - the two-storeyed,
loopholed blockhouse. Dingle's, Ratanui, Puketotara and Tataraimaka were certainly of this form while there is some evidence that the blockhouse at Allen's Hill was as well. The three posts for which we have contemporary illustrations, Dingle's (Pl.2.36), Ratanui (Pl.2.37) and Puketotara (Pl.2.38), appear to have had lower storeys about three metres square and upper storeys about four metres square. Both storeys were loopholed. Dingle's was described by Colonel Warre as having four-inch lining— which Warre considered insufficient—and small trap-doors in the overhanging upper floor to enable defenders to fire down at attackers in the ditch. We may assume similar arrangements for the other works as well. The three illustrated works, however, all have different external defensive arrangements. Dingle's had a ditch crossed by a drawbridge, Ratanui was surrounded by an earth breastwork which archaeological evidence shows to have been about twenty metres square, while Puketotara apparently had no additional defence.

These blockhouses were all designed for small garrisons of Military Settlers and were part of a network of posts aimed at securing farming districts to the rear of the fighting zone. Information we have gives garrisons at Dingle's and Ratanui of eight and five men respectively. Allen's Hill and Tataraimaka both had garrisons in excess of twenty which raises the possibility of additional accommodation at these posts.

Another small group of apparently independently defensible blockhouses relate to Taranaki Military Settler town sites. Many of the posts established at these places were in fact stockades although labelled 'blockhouses'. It seems likely
however, that the posts at Tuahukino, Manganui/Te Arei and Huirangi were loopholed defensible blockhouses and, although precise evidence of their form is lacking, it seems they were single-storeyed works. A surviving building which may be similar to these is the single-storey defensible blockhouse at Pungarehu dating from the 1880s. This building is 14.2 x 5.5 metres in size and was designed to hold 25 men, these details giving some indication of the size of earlier single-storeyed works also designed to house 25 men. At Pungarehu gravel was used within the walls to make them bullet-proof.

At Bell Block the blockhouse stood on its own for some months until the stockade was erected when regular troops were added to the garrison. The building was 18.9 x 6.7 metres in size, fully flanked by towers at two opposite corners which were 6.7 metres in height. The main building had a single row of loopholes while the towers had three rows. This building was designed and built by local settlers to a form unique in New Zealand. The garrison was fifty men.

Three other blockhouses made up part of the defences of a redoubt. Within the early (1865–69) redoubt at Pukearuhe was a two-storeyed, loopholed work of the New England form although considerably larger than other Taranaki examples. The building had an upper floor 13 x 5.5 metres and a lower, 12.2 x 4.7 metres. In the early 1880s at Pukearuhe and Opunake blockhouses were placed at redoubt angles to make up part of the flanking defence. The Pukearuhe building was 5.5 metres square with three rows of loopholes. The Opunake blockhouse may have been about the same size but only had two rows of loopholes.17
Enfilading blockhouses of this form, dating from the same period have survived at the Manaia Redoubt in south Taranaki. This arrangement was quite unknown in the 1860s and must be seen in the light of Colonel Haultain's circular of 1868.

Blockhouses were time consuming and expensive to build. Dingle's, for example, appears to have taken several weeks to construct, and Tataraimaka, about one month. Such an investment was only reasonable when a long term role was planned. The £340 cost of the early blockhouse at Pukearuhe represents a substantial cost and indicates the long term garrison role envisaged at the northern frontier. Two-storey blockhouses such as those at Dingle's and Ratanui cost about £100, again a substantial sum at the time. 16

Stockades

Like the blockhouse, the stockade is suggestive of a planned long term role. In Taranaki the stockade form of defence is represented by eighteen posts. Of these, however, the stockades at Marsland Hill, Bell Block, Okato, Farihaka and Cape Egmont were associated with other defensive works and need not be discussed here. The remainder were independent defensible fortifications.

Stockades were generally of a rectangular plan. Most were fully or partly flanked. Only the small Mimi Stockade appears, from surface archaeological evidence, to have lacked flanking defence, although other works for which we have no clear information may also have been without. Many stockades, such as Omata and Puketakauere, had additional defence in the form
of a ditch, while others occupied the top of a small hill to give added security. Such a location is especially common among stockades of the First Taranaki War when an attack had to be seriously contemplated, and it may be compared with the preferred flat land situation for redoubts. Another reason for 1860–61 stockades being located on hills was that all of them were used for signalling and so required height to give the maximum line of sight.

Flanking defence varied considerably in arrangement. At one extreme was the Matarikoriko Stockade, fully flanked from two opposite corners and having as well two small sentry boxes or look-outs raised above the top of the stockade at the remaining corners. At the other extreme is the stockade at Rahotu, built almost exactly twenty years later, which appears to have been flanked to only a small extent with part of the longer sides covered. Other flanking defence consisted of the standard bastions at two angles to cover all four sides, as at Omata, Puketakauere, Mataitawa and possibly Mahoetahi. At the Sentry Hill outwork the bastions were placed at adjacent corners leaving one face undefended except from the redoubt 100 metres away.

Because of the opportunity of incorporating barrack rooms in stockades hard against the external defences, something which was not possible in redoubts, quite small stockades could hold large garrisons. The Omata Stockade of 19 x 13 metres, for example, was garrisoned by up to eighty men, while the Mahoetahi post, which appears from surface archaeological evidence to have been somewhat less than 150m², was held by up
to forty men.

Stockades were costly to erect in both time and money. A report on payments concerning the construction of the Omata Stockade shows a total of 84 days carting with bullock waggons and 241 work days by the six carpenters who were employed. In addition, much work at the post was carried out by Militia who were on pay and rations. It took five months to complete the Omata Stockade although it was defensible if not comfortable after two months. Likewise the Rahotu Stockade appears to have taken several weeks to complete. In battlefield situations, however, the time could be greatly reduced. At Puketakawe the actual stockade, with sides totalling about 60 metres, was built by fifty men in two and a half days. In about another month a ditch was dug around the stockade and the internal buildings erected. At Mahoetahi forty men took six days to prepare timber for the stockade and clear bush from the site. Actual stockade construction took a little more than three days. Another 250 men provided covering parties and other support. Matarikoriko Stockade was built in two weeks (stockade and interior buildings) by daily working parties of sixty men.

Except for Marsland Hill, stockades of the First Taranaki War all incorporated internal barrack buildings as a structural part of the actual stockade. The Omata Stockade provides a well documented example (see chapter four below). During the second war prefabricated barrack buildings became available and it was usual to erect the stockade around one or two of these. An example of this form is provided by Mataitawa Blockhouse (see Pl. 2.44). In the Parihaka Campaign the
stockades at Rahotu, Cape Egmont and Parihaka itself were probably without internal buildings except perhaps for raupo huts and tents. By now the military situation no longer required the garrison to live within the stockades and all military posts of the 1880s involved an extensive camp outside the actual fortification.

Stockades were sometimes held for only a short time — Matarikoriko, for example, was held for only four months — but mostly they were garrisoned for some years, thus repaying the investment in their construction. Omata, Bell Block, Mataitawa and Manutahi were all held for five or six years, while the post at Okato was maintained for sixteen years.

**Redoubts**

The most important class of European fortification in Taranaki, as elsewhere in New Zealand, is the earthwork redoubt. The redoubt was made to a great variety of plans which were commonly based on the square or rectangle with flanking defence at the angles to cover the sides. The plan given by Haultain in his circular of 1868 is of one of the classic forms, square with flanking defence at two angles to cover all four sides. The other classic form is the so-called 'New Zealand redoubt' with flanking defence at all four corners to cover the sides. Other redoubts could be very complex, such as at Waitara where the main 'camp' underwent a major expansion in the winter of 1860, or simple square or circular works without flanking defence (see Fig. 3.1).

Standard redoubts of the form entirely flanked from two
FIGURE 3.4. Taranaki redoubt plans. A. Camp Waitara; B. Waireka Camp; C. Mataitawa Redoubt; D. Warea Redoubt; E. Matakara Redoubt; F. Kaitake Redoubt; G. No 4 Redoubt.
corners were thrown up at Waireka in the First Taranaki War and at Timaru and possibly Tikorangi and Stoney River in the second war (Fig. 3.1B). The so-called 'New Zealand redoubt' is represented by four important works of 1863-64: St Patrick's, St George's, St Andrew's and Mataitawa Redoubts (Fig. 3.1C). Not all of these are exactly square but the principle of defence is the same. Other basically four-sided redoubts could be entirely flanked from three angles, as was No 6 Redoubt, or by the older bastion form of flanking defence which was employed at No.1 Redoubt in 1861 and, surprisingly, during the Armed Constabulary build-up of 1879, at Oakura. This latter form of defence originated in Europe during the Renaissance and was designed to leave no part of very large fortifications unflanked and to allow a concentration of fire from two bastions on any breach of the curtain (or side walls) by artillery. It was certainly overdoing things in New Zealand where the enemy lacked artillery and fortifications were so small that even the outer faces of square corner bastions would not provide cover for more than a very small attacking party.

Another group of basically square redoubts was sited to obviate the need for flanking defence of one side. Te Arei, Warea, Opunake and Papatiki Redoubts were flanked on three sides while the fourth was protected by a cliff (Fig. 3.1D). Some four-sided redoubts, however, were for some reason not entirely flanked, the unflanked side or sides being an apparent weakness in the defence. Bayly's Farm A.C. Camp of 1880 employed unusual flanking defence projecting from the centre of the two long sides while the two short sides, still thirty metres long, were
undefended. No 7 Redoubt underwent two expansions which resulted in one face being left unflanked, and indeed it could be claimed that the large size of the bastions of the initial work was such that it too was very imperfectly defended. Kaitake Redoubt appears to have been unflanked except for the forward half of the two long sides (Fig. 3.1F).

Some four-sided redoubts had no flanking defence (Fig. 3.1G). Numbers, 2, 4, 5 and 8 Redoubts were small square guard works which defended the line of advance in General Pratt's 1861 advance on Huirangi and Te Arei. They were associated with much larger fully flanked redoubts nearby. Other simple square redoubts like Pahitere and Sentry Hill were thrown up on small hills in the manner of stockades, or, in the case of the 1869 Armed Constabulary redoubt north of Urenui River, in open country where a flanked work might have been justified by the situation.

More complex redoubts may be briefly introduced. The Waitara Camp was at first a four-sided work flanked only on the two forward faces. An extension from a rear face was designed not only to increase the enclosed area but to complete flanking defence for the entire work (Fig. 3.1A). Waitara Blockhouse, also dating from the opening of the Waitara campaign, was in fact a redoubt which enclosed the 'blockhouse' and other facilities within a large earthwork mostly, though not entirely, flanked. Fort Turner appears from archaeological evidence to have been a complex work at least partly flanked, but which enclosed a small hill much of which cannot possibly have been protected by the earthworks which encircled the base. No 3
Redoubt comprised three small adjoining squares which were placed in such a way as to give flanking defence to two-thirds of the front and rear faces only. It was the unflanked left face which was attacked on 23 January 1861 and troops were required from nearby No 1 Redoubt to clear the ditch.

Three five-sided redoubts were built. The first work at Pukearuhe was completely flanked from three angles while the post-1872 work appears to have added two more bastions and to have been defended by what were probably rounded bastions at all five angles. Imperfectly flanked five-sided works were also built at Matakara in 1864 and Kaikahu in 1880. At Matakara there were two small projections which apparently provided minimal flanking defence for all except one face (Fig. 3.1E), while Kaikahu, sited on an irregular volcanic lahar, employed a substantial projection from one angle which covered, or part-covered, the three forward faces.

During the Parihaka Campaign a greatly simplified form of circular redoubt was frequently used. At Werekino, Ngakumikumi, Pungarehu and Parihaka small guard redoubts as little as 9 m in diameter were thrown up on top of lahars to act as lookouts for extensive undefended camps on low-lying ground nearby. Fort Rolleston at Parihaka was occupied by artillery to dominate the village. At Cape Egmont a small stone redoubt was built, apparently a unique fortification for the Taranaki campaigns.

Redoubts were used in both long-term occupation roles and battlefield situations. The great advantage that they had over other fortification types was that they could be thrown up
rapidly by men who could put up sufficient earthworks to be at least partly protected as they worked. During the First Taranaki War the Waireka Camp involving about 290m of ditch and bank was thrown up in one day by working parties detached from a force in excess of 200 men. The most useful body of information on the rapid erection of earthwork redoubts in urgent tactical situations, however, comes from Colonel Mould who was in charge of engineering operations for General Pratt at Waitara (see above). Large and small works were thrown up and in most cases the size of working and covering parties is given along with the hours worked. No 1 Redoubt, like Waireka Camp, had about 300m of ditch and bank. It was thrown up by 150 men in one day under heavy fire. An additional 750 men formed a defensive screen. On the following day the garrison of 480 men formed the banquette and gun platforms and raised the parapet. Smaller redoubts were also thrown up in one day. No 2 Redoubt, which was 26 yards (23.8m) square was thrown up in eleven hours by a working party of sixty men. The parapet was seven feet high (2.1m) and averaged six feet (1.8m) thick. Banquettes were formed and a barbette or gun platform prepared also on the one day. Again the redoubt was thrown up under heavy fire. No 4 Redoubt, 13\(\frac{3}{2}\) yards (12.3m) square was thrown up by working parties of one hundred men from 5 a.m. to noon and seventy men from noon until 7 p.m. No 8 Redoubt was built by 87 men in fourteen hours working behind a galion screen. It was 16 yards (14.6m) square.

Occasionally large redoubts were built in stages in battlefield situations. For example, No 3 Redoubt was initially
a 30 yard (27.4m) square work thrown up in one day. Over succeeding days two additional 30 yard squares were added to it, with the intervening walls breached as the additions were completed. Similarly No 7 Redoubt was twice increased in size although in this case the enlargements were made over some weeks as additions were made to the garrison.

The degree of urgency in erecting these fortifications may be gauged by the apparent efficiency of the workforce. At Numbers 1 and 2 Redoubts the workforce threw up one metre of ditch and bank every six man-hours employed. No 1 Redoubt required some more work the following day but No 2 Redoubt was substantially completed in the one day. On the other hand about twenty man-hours work went into every metre of earthwork at Numbers 4, 5 and 8 Redoubts, although in these cases the interior banquette was usually completed and the parapet, glacis, ditch and gun platform did not require further work.

Often, however, redoubts were thrown up in more relaxed circumstances for a long-term garrison role. Here the work might take several days to complete, the troops living in tents nearby during construction. St Patrick's Redoubt, for example, took more than a week to build, while at St George's 200 men completed the ditch and bank of 260 yards (245.3m) in four days. Assuming a ten hour working day this indicates more than 32 man-hours per metre of defences.

Redoubts were constructed by a ditch being dug and the earth thrown up to form a bank and occasionally also to make up a glacis outside. Tools used were picks and spade-handled shovels. In Taranaki the very light soils required the bank to
be made up of alternate layers of earth and fern. In 1868 Colonel Haultain advised that,

"The best way of building a Redoubt is with alternate layers of earth and fern - the fern to be laid in small bunches of half a dozen stalks or so close together, with the heads outside, a few inches of earth to be shovelled on these and trampled down, then another layer of fern and so on - in this way an almost perpendicular wall may be built up, forming an excellent parapet which will last until the fern rots away - a period of at least three or four years. If fern is not to be procured other small brushwood will answer the purpose, but not so well." 21

Because of the support given by the banquette redoubt walls were most likely to collapse outwards into the ditch. The greater part of the reduction from the base to the top of the wall was therefore on the outer face. The base was recommended to be 3-4 inches (7.5-10cm) broader than the parapet for every foot (30cm) of height. 22 Initially at least there was often a drawbridge across the ditch to the gate although this was frequently replaced by a causeway as the security situation eased. A heavy wooden door held the gateway which, as a weak point of the defences, was generally sited close to a strong bastion.

Redoubts were not always put up to the satisfaction of all military authorities. During the Second Taranaki War the Royal Engineer Lieutenant Ferguson was often in trouble for badly designed or constructed works, the criticism throwing some light on military and engineering considerations to be taken into account. At Kaitake a section of parapet sunk so much in only two weeks that it no longer afforded any protection. Furthermore, although built within a recently taken pa, much of the earlier palisading was left standing to obscure the fire of defenders. Four days after Sentry Hill Redoubt was initially
marked out Colonel Warre visited the work and expressed concern that the quantity of fern used in the wall would itself lead to subsidence. Redoubt walls needed continual refurbishing and ditches needed constant cleaning out. At St Patrick's Redoubt rats were so numerous within the parapet that a working party of Royal Engineers was required to repair the defences.

There were also occasional design faults. In February 1865 Colonel Warre remarked that the new redoubt at Stoney River was too small for the number of men who were to garrison it. Of Opunake he grumbled, "...Mr Ferguson chooses to make the parapets so much too thick causing so much extra work."Colonel Warre gives two useful sketches to indicate the internal arrangements of one and two hundred man redoubts in campaigning conditions, that is with all men under canvas inside the work (Pls. 3.1 and 3.2). Plate 3.1 shows a one hundred man work with flanking defence at two angles covering all four sides. The sides are 35 yards (32m) and 20 yards (25.6m) respectively and inside are twenty tents: nine, accommodating twelve men each, for the soldiers, two officers' and two commissariat tents, and one tent each for orderly room, hospital, magazine, guard, drivers and doctor. The two hundred man redoubt (Pl. 3.2) is 42 yards (38.4m) by 35 yards (32m) enclosing thirty tents. Like the smaller redoubt it is also shown with the classic flanking defence at two angles to cover all four sides. A path generally ran around the redoubt immediately inside the parapet, as indeed was revealed by the excavations at Warea (see below). This may be compared with the intervalum road
PLATE 3.1. Design for a one hundred man redoubt (H.J. Warre, Sketchbook, Hocken Library, p.131).

PLATE 3.2. Design for a two hundred man redoubt (H.J. Warre, Sketchbook, Hocken Library, p.110).
in Roman fortifications and was designed to allow rapid access to any threatened face. Within this were the tent lines, or buildings if the redoubt assumed a long-term occupation role.

Captain Young states the principles for 'European warfare' that a redoubt should have two men per yard (0.9m) of parapet, or that there should be fifteen square feet (about 1.3m²) of internal space per man. The first rule applies to large works while the second applies to small. He adds that where soldiers armed with breech-loading rifles are defending a fortification against an enemy without artillery one man per four feet (1.2m) of parapet is sufficient. Although breech-loaders were not in common use in New Zealand until the late 1860s nonetheless this does indicate that the proportion of men to parapet need not be as high as two for each yard as European experience indicated.

Examination of Taranaki works shows garrisons to have been rather smaller for the size of redoubts than Captain Young indicated. To an extent an exception occurred in the active battlefield situation at Waitara in early 1861, although even here the works were not fully manned according to the principles laid down by Young. No 1 Redoubt, for example, had 400 men occupying an enclosed area of 2500 square yards, that is 48 square feet per man and about two feet per man at the parapet. As a large redoubt, No 1 was manned according to Young's first principle of men to parapet length. No 2 Redoubt, on the other hand, was a small work. It was occupied by 128 men with a parapet of 104 yards and an enclosed area of 576 square yards. Here there was more than one man per yard of parapet but still over forty square feet of space per man - nothing like 15 square
feet per man as laid down in Young's manning principle for small works. No 4 Redoubt was only 13.5 yards square and had a garrison of 50 men. Each man had about 33 square feet of space and about 7 feet of parapet.

Away from the battlefield the standard Taranaki redoubt for two companies - 200 men - was 35-40 metres square (38-44 yards). Here there were generally about 65-90 square feet of space per man and, with bastions included, about 2½-4 feet of parapet per man. An example is given by Waireka Redoubt which was about 33 x 44 yards in size and so gave the garrison of about two hundred men 66 square feet and just under three feet of parapet per man. Two larger redoubts were Waireka Camp with about four feet of parapet per man and almost one hundred square feet, and St George's Redoubt with four feet of parapet and about 110 square feet per man.

Redoubts which were held for any period of time were rapidly made more comfortable by their garrisons. At first the troops would be under canvas in the standard military 'bell tent' of the period. Subsequently huts might be made of raupo and other local material. Later again if a long term role was planned for the post permanent weatherboard buildings with iron roofs were erected, commonly prefabricated in kauri and shipped down from Onehunga. One such 'blockhouse' survives in Taranaki close to the military settler redoubt at Pahitere. The two photographs of St Andrew's Redoubt (Pls. 2.24 and 2.25) show a wide range of buildings that were used, in addition to a number of tents inside and outside the actual redoubt. Plate 2.51 gives a plan of the arrangement of buildings within the Opunake Redoubt at
a late period.

As the security situation eased garrisons moved out of their redoubts into accommodation of various kinds situated close to the fortification. Commonly used was a semi-subterranean hut roofed over with raupo, flax or whatever else was at hand. The Nicholl Album photographs of St Andrew's, Pahitere and Kaitake Redoubts (Pls. 2.24, 2.25, 2.33 and 2.34) all depict accommodation of this type and archaeological evidence is abundant at military sites throughout Taranaki (see for example Pls. 2.20, 2.26, 2.32 and 2.35). In frontier locations some redoubts were held for many years. Opunake and Pukearuhe were occupied discontinuously over a twenty year period which saw much rebuilding of the fortifications and small towns grow up to house soldiers' families and growing civilian populations.

FRONTIERS

One of the foremost aims of chapter two was to emphasise the close links between the establishment of European fortifications in Taranaki and the geography of the expanding European frontier. Indeed, the most effective way of plotting the advance of the frontier of European control and settlement is by locating and historically identifying the military fortifications which were established in the period. It is the intention here firstly to examine in general the various ways military frontiers might be organised and to see how the Taranaki situation compares, and secondly to use this approach to re-examine the history of the expansion of the Taranaki settlement.
The organisation of frontiers

In broad terms military frontiers may be organised in one of two ways: the frontier may be established in depth to garrison more or less alien territory, or it may be held by a single line of strong posts to control movement in and out of the settled region. These may be termed network frontiers, and fixed line frontiers or limes (Fig. 3.2). Between the two extremes lies a wide range of compromises to suit local topographic, military and settlement situations.

Excellent examples of fixed line and network frontiers are given by the Roman and Mercian frontiers with Wales, the archaeological evidence of the two frontier arrangements being well described by Nash-Williams and Fox respectively. The earlier Roman frontier saw all of Wales covered by fortifications except the lands of the Demetae and the Deceangli who, as allies, were exempt from military occupation. The forts were linked by roads and were placed within a day's march of each other. To the rear of the frontier were the legionary fortresses at Chester and Caerleon, which may be regarded as base-depots rather than strongpoints. Offa's Dyke on the other hand is a single 'travelling earthwork' made up of a ditch and bank which traversed the Welsh March from the mouth of the Dee to the Bristol Channel. It was not a military barrier in the sense that it was constantly held against incursions; rather it was an agreed boundary which nonetheless might at times provide a useful tactical advantage for lowland Mercia. Whereas the Roman frontier sought to impose military control over the indigenous population, by the later arrangement the Mercians merely indicated the
NETWORK FRONTIER — with rear base depots

FIXED LINE FRONTIERS

wall

regular fortifications

FIXED LINE FRONTIER with base depots

and forward outposts

FIGURE 3.2. The organisation of military frontiers.
boundary of their kingdom and controlled traffic in and out of it.

Between these two arrangements lies the Roman frontier in the north of England. Here was a fixed wall with a number of fortifications forward of it ('outposts') which more or less controlled the area for some distance beyond. The purpose of Hadrian's Wall itself, however, was bureaucratic and not military, its object being to control movement into and out of the Empire. Behind the frontier as well as forward of it was a network of posts, the wall itself acting as an administrative barrier within the network.

In Figure 3.2 is indicated something of the variety of frontier arrangements which might operate. The diagrams are greatly simplified to emphasise the outstanding features of each arrangement. The network frontier straddled the boundary between the area under direct political control and the regions beyond. More or less hostile peoples outside the state were kept under control by a network of posts which acted as a buffer against any sudden incursion. To the rear are generally base-depots such as have been mentioned for the Roman frontier in Wales. These would enable concentration of force at any threatened sector.

The fixed line frontier strongly marked the boundary between the state and regions beyond. The boundaries between modern nation-states are of this sort whether or not they are as strongly fortified as the present East-West frontier in central Europe. The salient characteristic of such frontier arrangements is not its military but its administrative aspect.
The wall or line of posts controls the movement of people. Forces at base-depots to the rear might rapidly move to any sector which came under military threat. When this occurs, however, the threat is generally met, not by occupying the fixed positions as fighting platforms but by moving out from the frontier to engage the enemy.  

Fixed line frontiers could take a variety of forms. They could be marked by a continuous wall such as Hadrian’s Wall or Offa’s Dyke or indeed the Great Wall of China. They might consist of spaced fortifications from which intervening ground could be overlooked or patrolled. In Germany from the time of the Emperor Domitian there was a frontier system consisting of a road linking earth and timber forts and marked with timber towers some 540 to 650 yards apart. The Han Chinese limes in central Asia consisted of towers about 2½ miles apart stretching across the desert. In the late 18th century the Spanish authorities in Mexico established a line of forts or presidios about 120 miles apart between the Gulf of California and the Gulf of Mexico as the northern frontier. Rivers were often used as frontiers. After the loss of Dacia in the third century the Romans withdrew behind the natural frontiers of the Rhine and Danube. A map showing the distribution of forts in Noricum (roughly present day Austria) in the late first century A.D. shows sixteen posts evenly spaced along the right bank of the upper Danube. Use could be made of natural topographic features – an example being Hadrian’s Wall running along the top of the Whinsill. Mountain areas have long provided natural frontiers which could easily be maintained by
comparatively small garrisons. The maintenance of the North-West Frontier of the British Empire in India was based on control of a few key passes or routes.

Military frontiers, then, could vary greatly in design. We need now to look briefly at the political necessities which lay behind this variety. Again we may turn to the Roman frontier, providing as it does such a wealth of examples of differing political and military circumstances. Roman frontier systems are based upon two general circumstances: those which are part of aggressive movements against barbarians or to control newly subject peoples, and those, following the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117-138), which were built to define the limits of both the Roman and the Barbarian worlds. Thus frontiers may be seen to go through two phases: firstly a network frontier is established and then the fixed line _limes_ instituted. In Noricum the enactment of the Claudian reforms of the mid-first century A.D. in the areas of urbanisation and citizenship allowed the army to hand over administration of large tracts of land to civilian authorities. The network of posts in the interior was now abandoned and at least four new forts were built on the Danube frontier.

The progress from a network frontier to a fixed line frontier has useful archaeological implications. The design of frontier arrangements at any one time strongly reflects the military-political situation. Thus the fossilisation of the Roman frontier into _limes_ indicates the end of the Roman expansion. The network frontier of the earlier situation, however, enables us to add a useful corollary: an abandoned fort is a
successful one. Clearly this is not always the case, but in episodes of imperial conquest - at the Roman frontier as in 19th century New Zealand - abandoned fortifications reflect the progress of the imperial power.

We may now turn to another aspect of the military organisation of frontiers which is of direct relevance to the New Zealand situation. The provision of roads is essential to the control of frontier regions as they enable strong links between fortifications and allow rapid deployment of troops to threatened sectors. Rome again provides the best example of the imperial use of roads in frontier regions. Margary's Roman Roads in Britain gives the road system of Roman Britain in some detail, indicating both a remarkable network of roads at the time and a very considerable body of knowledge about them which has been built up over the years.

In general fortifications are not to be found far in advance of the road system. When a new forward post is established in a frontier region it is a first priority to build a road to it and so link it with other posts and with base-depots to the rear. Frontier road systems must allow rapid transit; they are therefore fairly straight, or, if that is not possible, they take the route which may be most easily traversed. The straightness of Roman roads is in part indicative of their military function. But frontier roads must be sited not only for strategic objectives but to give tactical advantage. It is important to command the area immediately alongside roads to guard against surprise. The removal of forest alongside strategic roads in the recent conflict in south Vietnam, by
American and allied forces, provides a modern illustration of this. Frontier road systems must allow rapid deployment of forces in reasonable security.

One role of frontier road systems that has not so far been mentioned is that of opening up land for settlement. While such roads were built for purely military reasons most also had a settlement function or they developed a settlement role as the frontier moved forward or the establishment of *limes* provided security in frontier districts. The later settlement role of frontier roads is frequently well understood by military engineers who were, nonetheless, building the roads primarily for military purposes.

Margary lists three classes of Roman roads in Britain: military roads, civil roads to facilitate trade, and roads associated with land settlement areas for time-expired soldiers. There were road systems designed specifically for soldier settlement areas. These were set out to a rigidly defined gridiron pattern enclosing areas of required multiples of Roman land units. Such districts have survived remarkably unscathed to today in parts of Italy and North Africa.

The settlement of frontier districts by retired soldiers or military settlers served a number of purposes. Such a body of men would provide an available reserve when needed for frontier defence and as farmers they could also help provide the regular forces with food. The system might also act as an inducement in recruitment and, in the case of Rome at least, it would serve to keep away from the centre a large body of men who might otherwise add to the recurring political instability
of the Empire. In Roman Britain special towns known as *coloniae* were established for retired legionaries at Colchester, Gloucester and Lincoln. Each man received a plot of land in the town and another outside it, the size of the plot depending on rank.

A rather different system was one which did not settle retired regular soldiers but which recruited soldier-settlers by granting privileges, usually land, in return for service. An excellent example is provided by the soldier-settlers who held the Austrian border in Croatia from the 16th to the late 19th century. Land grants to peasant-soldiers (the *Grenzer*), as well as additional privileges, saw a chain of fortified villages, blockhouses and watchtowers protecting Croatia and Austria proper from the incursions of the Ottoman Turks.

**The Taranaki military frontier**

The changing Taranaki military frontier reflects on a small geographic scale and within a short time span a wide range of ways of organising military frontiers. For much of the First Taranaki War the frontier may be viewed as a fixed line surrounding New Plymouth with more or less isolated outposts north and south of the town. Fixed line frontiers were also established during the Second Taranaki War on a number of occasions when the European military thrust briefly halted having outpaced the capacity to effectively occupy the land. Such frontiers may be seen between the Kaitake Ranges and the sea in the winter of 1864, at the Waitara River over summer 1864-65, at Stoney River from 1865 to 1880 and at Papatiki Stream 1869-72 (see Fig. 3.3). Network frontiers were also
FIGURE 3.3. Military sites of the Taranaki Wars.
employed: the first effective example was established behind the town in 1864 when land, from which farmers had been driven at the outset of the war, was re-occupied with security provided by four new blockhouses. In the closing stages of the Second Taranaki War an extensive network of posts was established at proposed military town sites while the Parihaka Campaign saw a chain of posts extending along the new road through remaining Maori land south of Stoney River.

The construction and up-grading of roads was carried out by European military forces throughout the Taranaki campaigns to enable rapid military movements, to maintain communication with the various posts and to open up confiscated land for settlement. The best known instance of the military construction of roads must surely be that of the Parihaka Campaign. The Maoris rightly saw the road pushed south of Stoney River as the key to the dispossession of their land and they struggled to prevent the work. During the 1880s not only was the main road constructed through the Wainate Plains but a network of minor roads was established to enable European farmers to be placed on confiscated land.

During the 1860s the military were responsible for the construction of many roads of immediate strategic and subsequent settlement value. When the important advance to the Mataitawa area occurred in October 1864 the construction of a road to the new Mataitawa Redoubt was pushed ahead to give security to the forward post at the end of the inland track from the south. Matakara Redoubt was especially established for Bushrangers engaged in clearing bush from both sides of
the new road to prevent surprise attacks. A year later Lieutenant Ferguson supervised construction of a road which extended to Stoney River from the inland corner of the old Tatarainaka Block. This was crucial in enclosing the tract of confiscated land north of Stoney River which it had been decided to occupy and in making secure the new military settlement at Okato.

Military settlements likewise played an important role in the prosecution of later phases of the Taranaki Wars. They were also to a large extent the mechanism by which the ambition of older Taranaki settlers for the expansion of their settlement was translated into effect. The most important programme of military settlement was that of the Taranaki Military Settlers. Recruited on the goldfields of Otago and Victoria, the T.M.S. were promised 50 acres for three years' service and a good conduct discharge. Cadastral maps showing surveyed land holdings in north Taranaki are today dominated by the 50 acre holdings of this settlement programme. Like the Roman ex-legionnaires the Taranaki military settlers were to have a rural and a town section. However, the towns which were surveyed and ballotted for mostly failed to develop, only Lepperton (Manutahi) and Okato surviving. Small scale military settlements were subsequently established at Tikorangi in 1865 and Punehu in the 1890s.

Thus aspects of frontier organisation of great antiquity and widespread application were used in Taranaki to secure both military success and the expansionary goals of European settlers in the province. It may be argued, indeed, that
although the skirmishes and engagements of the 1860s, and the
occupation of Parihaka in the 1880s, have attracted most
attention from those interested in the period, in fact the
crucial signposts to eventual European success are to be found
not in the dramatic events of war but in the steady expansion of
the geographical distribution of military fortifications. It is
these posts after all which secured the land. "We must make
war in the Roman way of roads and posts" wrote a settler in
October 1860, indicating that at least some perceptive
settlers saw the nature of the struggle in which they were
engaged. Subsequent Pakeha emphasis on battles has tended to
emphasise the prosecution of the war at the expense of its
result. There is here a topic in the psychology of colonialism
which is worthy of some study. Our topic, however, is concerned
with the archaeological illustration of the expansion of the
Taranaki frontier and it is to analysis of this that we now
turn.

From the European point of view the First Taranaki War was
essentially defensive. A strong fixed line frontier was
established around New Plymouth while beyond the town were
several outposts in a countryside more or less controlled by
the Maoris. The military command was hampered in its attempt
to defeat the enemy by its desire for victories in the field and
by the lack of authority to engage in territorial conquest which,
by the 'confiscation act', provided both means and raison d'etre
for later campaigns. The many attacks on pa in the First
Taranaki War were undertaken in the belief that they would bring
about a defeat that would force the Maori to sue for peace.
Only at Mahoetahi, however, was such an attack successful, and here only because the Waikato taua was overconfident. Other such attacks invariably resulted in vacation of the position by the defenders who simply built another stronghold elsewhere. The troops would then return to New Plymouth being equally unable to secure a victory and unable to secure the land.

The history and geography of military fortifications of the First Taranaki War are indicative both of the defensive nature of the war and the lack of clear cut imperial objectives. Around New Plymouth was a double defensive line consisting of a line of blockhouses and the inner entrenchments. North to Waitara and south to Omata were isolated outposts. The establishment of Fort Strange and Fort Turner on the Tataraimaka Block may be seen as a premature attempt to create a network frontier; there was at the time, before the first winter of the war, some hope that rural districts might be defended. Military defeat at Puketakauere resulted in the return of the Tataraimaka force. Until the end of 1860 military movements north and south were essentially probes to neutralise threatening forces and to rebuild morale after the winter.

From the end of December 1860 General Pratt conducted his well known offensive up the left bank of the Waitara to Huirangi and Te Arei. Eight redoubts and a stockade were thrown up and the Maori fortifications sapped in what was a very considerable military undertaking. Following the cease-fire, however, the troops withdrew from the forward posts and only Waitara, Mahoetahi, Bell Block and Omata were held in the
two years before the re-opening of the war. The many fortifications of Pratt's advance must be seen, therefore, not in terms of frontier development but as part of a singularly cautious military excursion which was essentially an attack on pa, the fruitlessness of which was already well proven. The result of the First Taranaki War was to leave the imperial power in control of less land than had been held before. The lack of military success and the failure to resolve the land problem of the Taranaki settlement made the Second Taranaki War inevitable.

The Second Taranaki War began when strong redoubts were thrown up at the southern margin of the Omata Block and on the abandoned Tataraimaka Block. Within a few weeks open hostilities broke out with the ambush of soldiers at Wairau. Grey then brought about a withdrawal from the posts still held at Waitara and Mahoeatahi; thus he sought to satisfy Taranaki settlers by re-occupation of land lost in 1860 and at the same time extricate his government from the embarrassment of Waitara and so allow a free hand for the resolution of the problems inherent in the European settlement of the province.

During the winter of 1863 the military presence in Taranaki was confined to New Plymouth and outposts at Bell Block, Omata, Poutoko (St Patrick's Redoubt), Oakura (St Andrew's) and Tataraimaka (St George's). With the rising conflict in the Waikato Tataraimaka (30 June) and Oakura (11 August) were abandoned so that troops could be sent north. The withdrawal was only temporary. Fort Robert, which was established early in October, is important as the first post occupied by Taranaki
Military Settlers, in this case from Otago. It thus signals the beginning of the policy of resolution of the conflict by occupation of the land and marks a remarkable shift from the political considerations which led to the abandonment of Waitara in the autumn. The passage of the New Zealand Settlements Act in November 1863 provided the means of resolving both the military conflict and the land shortage of the Taranaki settlement. From the summer of 1863-64 the geography of military posts in Taranaki marks the expanding frontier of settlement.

On 15 February 1864 Mahoetahi was re-occupied and Sentry Hill fortified to create an initial northern frontier. Two weeks later Oakura was re-occupied and 120 Military Settlers established a new redoubt close by at Pahiteres. At the end of March the Maori positions on the northern flanks of the Kaitake Ranges were taken and Kaitake Redoubt thrown up to prevent further use of this important route into north Taranaki by southern Maoris. During the winter of 1864, therefore, there were for the first time frontier lines north and south of New Plymouth which were established specifically to control movement into and out of the settlement. Behind the frontier the four blockhouses at Puketotara, Ratanui, Dingle's and Allen's Hill provided security for farmers returning to their land. Such an arrangement combined fixed line and network frontiers and may be seen as an early stage in frontier development.

The crucial military movements to Kaitake in March 1864, Mataitawa in October 1864 and Pukearuhe in April 1865 have been described in chapter two. The establishment of
fortifications in these districts gave control over movement in and out of north Taranaki to European military forces. Following these moves to close up the frontier the settlement of confiscated land by Taranaki Military Settlers was rapidly pushed ahead.

The movement to Mataitawa in spring 1864 resulted in the establishment of posts at Mataitawa, Te Arei, Matakara, Manutahi and Te Waruanga and the re-occupation of No 6 Redoubt (Huirangi). The large number of posts were needed because of the broken and forested country in the area, and the consequent difficulty of entirely halting use of the inland track by the enemy. Over the summer of 1864-65 the effective northern frontier lay at the Waitara River.

After the movement to Mataitawa and the banks of the Waitara attention again turned south. St George’s Redoubt at Tataraimaka was re-occupied by regular troops on 24 November 1864. The next day Timaru Redoubt was thrown up by a company of Military Settlers on the right bank of the Timaru River. This movement echoed the return to St Andrew’s Redoubt in March when the old work was re-occupied by troops and a new redoubt was thrown up nearby by Military Settlers. In February 1865 a new blockhouse was occupied inland on the Tataraimaka Block which was designed to encourage farmers to return to their land in the district. A second blockhouse proposed for the area was not built, presumably because security on the southern frontier was already greatly improved by the movement of troops to Stoney River at the end of January.

The decision to occupy the land between Tataraimaka and
Stoney River was made in December 1864. The movement of the 43rd Regiment forward to Stoney River on 23 January 1865 was important in the history of the war since it secured the land up to what was to remain for fifteen years the southern frontier of European settlement in Taranaki. The establishment of outposts at Warea and Opunake in autumn greatly reduced any potential threat from disaffected tribes south of the river so that when the road was pushed south from Tataraimaka and the military post was established at Okato in spring the military settlers were immediately placed on land in the district. A military presence remained on the Stoney River frontier until Parihaka was taken in late 1881.

The occupation of Pukearuhe in April 1865 was the third important movement which closed off north Taranaki to the Maori. After the move posts were thrown up at Tikorangi in June and Urenui in July, partly to maintain communication with the northern outpost and partly to secure the region north of the Waitara River by the establishment of military settlers and allied Maoris on land in the area. European civil and military authorities were somewhat half-hearted about the occupation of the region, however, and the confusion is nicely illustrated by the unusual episode at Tikorangi when disappointed military settlers moved over the surveyed boundary and attempted to force the pace of land acquisition.

Fighting in the Second Taranaki War did not finish until early 1866 but occupation of the land shows the war to have been won before then. The Taranaki frontier now consisted of outposts at Opunake and Warea south of Stoney River, forward positions at Pukearuhe, Mataitawa and Stoney River and a
network of posts at military settlers' town sites throughout the region. Marsland Hill and subsidiary facilities in New Plymouth provided the base-depot. By early 1867 the only posts still permanently occupied were Warea and the frontier positions of Pukearuhe, Urenui and Okato. This is clearly a late stage in the development of the Taranaki frontier with the forward frontier posts still garrisoned and the rear network abandoned.

At the end of the Second Taranaki War European settlement extended from Stoney River to the Waitara between the forest and the sea. To the north there was discontinuous settlement at Tikorangi, Urenui and Pukearuhe. Between the Waitara and Stoney Rivers military sites were evenly distributed and numerous. It can be argued that the area north of the Waitara, and indeed south of Stoney River, awaited a similar investment in frontier fortifications.

The insecurity at the northern frontier in the years after the Second Taranaki War is expressed by farmers leaving the Pukearuhe district and by pleas for a strengthened garrison at the redoubt (see above). On 14 February 1869 the fears were shown to be justified when the remaining occupants of the redoubt were killed by a northern raiding party. The White Cliffs Scare that resulted saw brief re-occupation of many of the military posts in Taranaki and the establishment of five new positions north of the Waitara River. The new frontier line was established by two redoubts on the left bank of the Papatiki Stream, somewhat to the rear of Pukearuhe. Redoubts were also thrown up on the main road at the north end of the
Tikorangi Block (Takapu) and to command the northern approach to the Urenui River. Subsequently a stockade was constructed to command the Mimi River crossing. Thus a network frontier was re-established to meet the renewed threat.

The area north of Waitara River was now effectively claimed by military posts. The frontier returned to Pukearuhe in September 1872 but the mistake of running down the garrison at such a forward post was not repeated and a strong Armed Constabulary detachment was maintained until the mid-1880s when the opening up of the King Country made unnecessary the defence of Taranaki's northern border.

The Parihaka Campaign saw European settlement extend over the remaining substantial territory still in Maori hands after the 1860s. Stoney River was crossed in March 1880 and at the same time an advance began from the outpost at Opunake. The military development of the new frontier district followed the lines of previous expansionary phases as a network of posts was linked by new roads. Unlike previous campaigns, however, the progress from network to fixed line frontier no longer occurred. When Parihaka was taken in November 1881 there could be no further Maori withdrawal in Taranaki forward of the advancing imperial power. The forcible break-up of Parihaka was followed by the very rapid reduction in European military strength in the district, the maintenance, at least for a while, of what was essentially a network frontier and the final withdrawal of all military forces in 1886.

The military frontier in Taranaki was organised according to a model of great antiquity. The method of expansion of
the English settlement of New Plymouth in the years 1860 to 1881 strongly reflects, on a much smaller scale, such earlier imperial success as that of Rome. Recognition of the military nature of the expansion of the Taranaki settlement enables us to see the phases of forward military movement and frontier development which secured the province for the Pakeha. Military success did not depend upon winning the few engagements which seemed important at the time - and, indeed, subsequently. Rather, success depended on enclosing successive areas of north Taranaki by phases of military frontier development which in turn enabled Pakeha farmers to systematically dispossess Maoris of their land.

Archaeologically the phases of European expansion in north Taranaki are accurately reflected by the distribution of military posts. The Second Taranaki War, White Cliffs Scare and Parihaka Campaign each saw an investment in fortifications which claimed successive areas for Pakeha settlement. Nor does the lack of fighting obscure the fundamentally military nature of the Parihaka Campaign: the events of 1880-81 must be seen as the logical conclusion to a process which began in 1863.

When the Armed Constabulary was disbanded in 1886 there had been a European military presence in Taranaki for over thirty years. At first this was made up of imperial troops; later, colonial militia, military settlers and a professional colonial force, the Armed Constabulary, took over the major role. We have seen that there was initially some confusion over European objectives. This was clarified, however, by passage of the New Zealand Settlements Act and the strategy of
the campaigns then came into line with the realities of imperial expansion. It is perhaps not surprising that the colonial forces should have seen more clearly than imperial commanders the military as well as the political necessity of the expanding frontier - the colonial forces after all shared in the colonial hunger for land.
Chapter Three: References and Notes.


2 This follows V.E. Nash-Williams, *The Roman Frontier in Wales*, Cardiff, 1969.

3 For example, Caerleon, see Nash-Williams, p.29.

4 For example, Hirfnydd, in Wales, Nash-Williams, p.141.


6 Cunliffe, p.116.


11 Ivers, pp.58-59.


13 Haultain to officers commanding militia districts, 16 Dec 1868: AD32/5012 (Maori War Papers).


16 Accommodation at blockhouses and stockades built before 1869 is given in a report, *Returns of Blockhouses, Redoubts, and Stockades, 1869: AD35/12*.

17 See the sketch by G. Sherriff, in Cowan, Vol II, p.482.

18 Young, p.10, gives the cost of such works built under contract near Wanganui as £88.

19 Enclosed in Pratt to Browne, 28 Jan 1861: G16/1a,61/23.

20 Young, p.12.
21 Haultain to officers commanding militia districts, 16 Dec 1868:
AD32/5012 (Maori War Papers).

22 Young, p.19.


24 Taranaki Herald, 12 Dec 1863.

25 Warre, Journal, 2 Feb 1865.

26 Ibid, 5 Mar 1865.


28 Nash-Williams, p.154.

29 Young, pp.15-16.

30 Nash-Williams.


32 Nash-Williams, pp. 6 and 8.

33 Fox, see especially p.279.

34 Breeze and Dobson, p.3.

35 See E.N. Luttwak, The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire, Baltimore, 1976, for an excellent discussion of the defence of Roman limes.

36 Breeze and Dobson, p.54.


41 Cunliffe, pp.109-110.

42 Alfoldy, p.104.


49 See, for example, the Okato, Ahu Ahu and Koru districts on NZMS 177, New Plymouth, N108, 1st edition 1962, Lands & Survey Dept.

50 See broadsheet, Conditions upon which land will be given to settlers on the north of the Waitara: AD31/1,66/603.

51 See notice, Special settlement for Police & Constabulary, 18 May 1886: P1,1304/86.

ADDENDUM 1.

The Taranaki landscape required a small scale and scattered type of warfare. Since the forest edge was nowhere more than five kilometres from the sea the Maori was able to strike quickly, or erect his pa in reasonable security, and then to retreat rapidly to almost perfect safety. British regular troops seldom entered the bush, and although local forces, such as the 'Bushrangers', occasionally did so, this was generally towards the end of the period of active warfare, when European forces had achieved their main aim of effective control of the adjacent open country.

In the open country where almost all the campaigning took place the topography consisted of terraces divided by narrow and steep-sided river valleys. South of New Plymouth the many small rivers flowed rapidly in rocky beds off Mt Egmont and the ranges to the north, down to the sea. To the north of the town intervening terrace country was more extensive and the river valleys neither as steep-sided nor as deep. Any European force which moved out from New Plymouth was committed to a slow and difficult march in and out of the succession of river and stream valleys, which, after rain, might be quite impassable.

Vegetation in the open country consisted of native grasses and bracken fern (*Pteridium esculentum*), with remnant stands of forest in the valleys and less frequently on the terraces. The bracken was luxurious and of a height that it afforded ample cover for ambush or retreat. The rich - and coveted - Taranaki earth is based on successive ash falls from the various volcanic centres of the province. It is both light and deep, and as a result tended to make movement over the earth roads of the period very difficult in the wet winters of this west coast region, so open to the prevailing weather.

The topography of Taranaki had a considerable impact on the method of warfare adopted by the Pakeha. It was difficult to engage any substantial
Maori force in open country where a useful defeat might be inflicted.

The Maori was not committed to holding particular fortifications or tracts of territory and could always withdraw to safety nearby. The broken nature of the landscape meant that when the strategy of depriving the enemy of his land was adopted, a very large number of posts was required to maintain frontiers and to reassure Pakeha farmers on confiscated land.

In Taranaki fighting was relatively small scale. The fact that it continued for many years reflects this and the consequent inability of European forces to inflict a lasting defeat on the enemy. A contrast may be drawn with the Waikato campaign which was over in a summer and where Maori forces were badly beaten at Rangiriri and Orakau at the margins of the extensive Waikato basin. In the Waikato European forces took the initiative in open country more suited to their style of warfare. In Taranaki the initiative was with the Maori - certainly until the strategy of dispossession was adopted, and occasionally, at a tactical level, even after that.

In Taranaki the mobility and security of Maori forces required a thorough imposition of European fortifications on the land. These were, however, seldom attacked, and the stunning failure of the two attempts to do so gave added security to even comparatively weak fortifications later in the Second Taranaki War. Since the Maori had no artillery, an attack on, for example, a redoubt had to involve an attempt to gain entry over the wall in the face of a defending force undiminished in fighting strength. Subsequent to the major Taranaki campaigns the introduction of the breech loading Snider conversion gave European forces, in the later Urewera campaigns for example, a substantial fire-power advantage over any Maori
ADDENDUM 2.

The study of field fortifications in Taranaki, and elsewhere in New Zealand, has depended on comparative studies in two general areas. The first of these has been the search for direct historical antecedents of the New Zealand works, and the second, the study of models of frontier organisation which might throw light on the organisation and objectives of the European military frontier in Taranaki. While the first of these has no readily accessible comparative or general historical literature, the general model chosen in the second area has been subject to a vast descriptive and theoretical literature capable of giving insight into a wide range of frontier situations.

The search for historical antecedents to styles of European frontier fortification used in New Zealand proved difficult. There is a very limited literature on early 19th century colonial frontier situations in which the British army was involved - or, indeed, from which troops campaigning in New Zealand in the 1860s might reasonably be expected to have gained some indirect knowledge. The situation in India and the eastern Cape Province in South Africa seemed to offer immediate British army experience in a similar kind of warfare but literature was limited or unavailable.

The most useful material on this area of comparison was found to be that relating to the European, mainly English, frontier in North America. It was available although limited in extent, and the scale of fighting and types of fortification were indeed comparable to the New Zealand situation. The American frontier, however, cannot be claimed
as a direct antecedent to that in New Zealand: the American fortifications which are referred to in this thesis are a century or more older than those of this part of the world. Nonetheless the similarities of form and use are unmistakable and the influence of the earlier experience, however remote, is undeniable.

For the more general model of frontier organisation, that of the Roman frontier was irresistible. A wide range of fortifications, a variety of frontier organisations relating to changing political and strategic needs, an immense archaeological literature and resources in historical and theoretical studies allowed a great potential for the examination of comparative situations, and in model building for just about any frontier situation. The differences of scale and time are unimportant when set against the variety of models which might be derived from the Roman experience.

The Roman model has been used in three general areas: that of the actual organisation or disposition of fortifications, in the use of roads as an essential element in the military effort, and in the settlement of time-expired soldiers on confiscated land. Any resistance to the selection of an Old World model for a Pacific situation was overcome upon discovery of C.W. Richmond's perceptive remark of 1860: "We must make war in the Roman way of roads and posts" (see p. 342). The European in Taranaki, like the legions at the frontiers of the Roman world, sought land by military power, and military success through occupation of the land.