‘A Monument We Should Cherish’: Redoubts, Remembrance and the New Zealand Wars

Sophia Gunn

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Abstract

This thesis contributes to historical understandings of New Zealand Wars remembrance through an examination of three colonial fortifications and how these sites have been commemorated since the nineteenth century. I have chosen Marsland Hill Stockade, Fort Galatea and Queen's Redoubt as the focus points of this study. Whilst historians have made claims about these sites and the New Zealand Wars generally, this thesis is concerned with the local contours of remembrance and commemoration. Through processes of collective memory, colonial fortifications in Aotearoa were transformed from military bases to broader cultural sites that, taking on a life after military conflict, were utilised to support communities. These sites were shaped by an early emerging Pākehā sense of identity, environmental forces as well as national and international trends. Colonial fortifications became intertwined with mythmaking on both national and regional levels. In turn, the landscapes were positioned as monuments of Pākehā triumph, justifying colonial conflict with Māori and land settlement. Although there are some clear similarities, positioning each site alongside each other offers insight into aspects of early settler life, iwi history and identity-building. Ultimately, I contribute to interpretations of the 'forgetting and remembering' of the New Zealand Wars by focussing on the sites that existed in-between war and settlement, the colonial fortifications.

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War Memorial in Pōkeno, 2023. Photograph by author.

Introduction

'Since values vary among societies,' Bernard Barber argues, 'appropriate war memorials will always, as they have done in the past and still do, take different concrete forms.'[1] Colonial fortifications are one of the 'concrete forms' that groups have used to commemorate the New Zealand Wars and they are the foreground of this thesis. Despite notions of these conflicts and their landscapes being forgotten, or ignored, this thesis argues that communities have related and connected to these sites and the wars over time, in varied ways. Each site reveals a unique relationship between the community and the former military site, complicating notions of a culture of 'national forgetting' in Aotearoa New Zealand today and bringing to light crucial insights of identity, memory and landscape.

The New Zealand Wars have been recognised through various memorial statues, scenic reserves, place names and exhibitions, constructed by local communities and on the national stage over time. These practices have historically allowed communities to publicly recognise and remember the wars. As suggested by Barber, these acts of remembrance reflect the values of the connected community who are doing the remembering.[2] To 'remember' implies a person, or group of people, recognising and engaging with their past, either personally or as a collective. However, remembering is a present-day action, and this alters contemporary understandings of the past, and how specific narratives move into the future. This thesis considers both personal and community remembrance by examining three colonial fortifications; Marsland Hill in Taranaki, Fort Galatea in the Bay of Plenty and Queen's Redoubt in Pōkeno, each bringing to light different aspects of war remembrance.

[1] Bernard Barber, 'Place, Symbol and Utilitarian Function in War Memorials', *Social Forces*, 28, 1, 1949, p.68.
[2] Barber, 'Place, Symbol and Utilitarian Function in War Memorials', p.68.

This study is not only concerned with the public displays of 'honouring' the New Zealand Wars, but also the subtle ways that these landscapes reflect the actions of the past. I position the colonial fortifications, and consequently the remembrance of the wars, within the fabric of land settlement, identity building and community development. Tracking these sites over time, and positioning them within wider social and political changes, suggests they were not forgotten, rather repurposed and, through the early colonial pursuit of settlement and identity, they were remembered by communities.

Studying the history of sites over time allows nuances of community relationships to come to light. The remembrance of the New Zealand Wars was not restricted to the early twentieth century; rather, remembrance became intertwined with Pākehā settlement and identity building. Each site experienced fluctuating levels of interest over this period, meaning each chapter spends more time in certain decades. I have chosen to focus on the remembrance of these site from the completion of the wars to the present day.

I use the term 'colonial fortifications' to encompass redoubts, stockades and barracks used by the colonial forces during the nineteenth century conflicts. Colonial fortifications were, in many ways, 'in-between' spaces during warfare. Colonial fortifications sat at a unique cross-section among interpretations of war memory, in-between war and settlement. Through settlement and identity building, the historic sites of the wars took on new meanings following conflict, and in many ways the Pākehā community attempted to cover the violence that once defined the landscape of warfare in Aotearoa. The military presence during the time of conflict not only demonstrated violence, but also a need for control, reflecting what Charlotte Macdonald calls New Zealand's 'garrison sovereignty.'[3] The construction of colonial fortifications was a part of this wave of military culture, 'flagstaffs, barracks,

[3] Charlotte Macdonald, 'Woolwich to Wellington: From Settler Colony to Garrisoned Sovereignty', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 53, 1, 2019, p.51.

fortifications — were conspicuous on the landscape' Macdonald explains.[4] Not only was this a display of power, but also capability, as Macdonald explains 'the actions through which imperial–colonial relations were forged included the spilling of blood, and fear about the potential spilling of blood.'[5] Macdonald also reminds us of the foundations of these wars on the making of modern-day New Zealand and the violence and loss of life that infiltrates the landscape.[6] By constructing colonial fortifications, the British forces demonstrated the 'power' they held over the land, and in turn over the Māori.

They were not spaces that necessarily experienced conflict on the ground, but often supported the effort of the colonial forces, in terms of logistics (such as holding ammunition and other supplies) and were sites of refuge for the Pākehā community. Fortifications were used to secure land, as well as 'strategic in defending communication lines and holding positions and territory.'[7] Redoubts, the most common form of defence during the New Zealand Wars, 'were defended by ditch and bank earth works.' [8] Typically, these fortifications took on a 'square or rectangular plan or 'trace', but they could take many forms depending on the lie of the land or wishes of the Royal Engineer or officer in charge of construction.'[9] Stockades, on the other hand, Nigel Prickett explains 'were defended by close-set timbers, 10 ft (3 m) high or more, loopholed for defensive fire.'[10] During the New Zealand Wars, there were 320 colonial fortifications constructed throughout Aotearoa.[11] Although this thesis focusses on Pākehā fortifications, it is important to note each site in this study was built either on or next to a former Māori pā or settlement. In some cases, this

[4] Macdonald, 'Woolwich to Wellington: From Settler Colony to Garrisoned Sovereignty', p.66.
[5] Macdonald, 'Woolwich to Wellington', p.58.
[6] Macdonald, 'Woolwich to Wellington', p.58.
[7] Nigel Prickett, 'Fortifications of the New Zealand Wars', *Department of Conservation*, www.doc.govt.nz/globalassets/documents/science-and-technical/sap261entire.pdf., p.4.
[8] Prickett, 'Fortifications of the New Zealand Wars', p.5.
[9] Prickett, 'Fortifications of the New Zealand Wars', p.5.
[10] Prickett, 'Fortifications of the New Zealand Wars', p.7.
[11] Ian Barton and Neville Ritchie, *A History of Queen's Redoubt and the Invasion of the Waikato*, Atuanui Press, Pōkeno, 2021, p.xii.

allowed the colonial forces to utilise Māori resources, in others, Māori history became intertwined, overshadowed, and ultimately erased through the remembrance of the colonial site.

Colonial fortifications began as military sites, symbolising colonial force and control and evolved to take on different purposes throughout the twentieth century in New Zealand. Despite their military beginnings surveyors imagined a world following the wars and beyond initial settlement, as part of a larger intention to settle and colonise. [12] For example, in Tauranga, Surveyor Federick Utting, suggested in 1866 that the location of the redoubt in Tauranga would be suitable for a 'church or town hall.' [13] Therefore, just as redoubts were constructions that reflected intentional choices made by New Zealand's early Pākehā, the development of these sites afterwards can also be analysed, as they were encompassed within the early visions of colonial settlement.

Albert Park is a key example of this colonial vision coming to life, as it became a popular recreation location. The military barracks, today known as 'Albert Park', can be found in the heart of Auckland central. Albert Park was once the location of the Albert Barracks used during the wars.[14] As a student at the University of Auckland, I have walked through Albert Park countless times. Today, a preserved wall of the barracks can be found at the University of Auckland city campus (figure 1). The wall of the barracks at the University is passed by daily and Albert Park is enjoyed by many, yet the military history goes widely unnoticed. They have become part of the fabric of Auckland life and vanished among public memory. This has become one of the problems with remembering our historic war landscapes. In some ways, they were intertwined with settlement and assumed a background

[12] Giselle Byrnes, *Boundary Markers: Land Surveying and the Colonisation of New Zealand,* Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2015, p.55.
[13] Giselle Byrnes, *Boundary Markers: Land Surveying and the Colonisation of New Zealand,* p.55.
[14] Kerryn Pollock, 'City parks and green spaces - Early green spaces in major cities', Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, https://teara.govt.nz/en/photograph/20560/albert-park-auckland.

presence. However, it also illustrates that there is an opportunity for education. As these structures and sites are ingrained among everyday life, they serve a relevance to many, and these connections can instigate education and remembrance. Albert Park would be the obvious focus of a chapter, or an entire thesis, given its military importance and notable Victorian aesthetic. Albert Park was a starting point that inspired me to understand how military landscapes have been remembered. However, instead, I decided to focus on more obscure locations, to understand the contours of regional and local history.

Figure 1: Albert Barracks, University of Auckland 2023. Photograph by Author.

The remembrance of the New Zealand Wars has captured the attention of historians. Historians have considered how and if the wars have been remembered by New Zealand. It is widely considered that New Zealanders have forgotten, or intentionally ignored the New Zealand Wars during the retelling of history and among public discourse. Vincent O'Malley

argues that since the 1970s, New Zealand fell into a form of 'uncomfortable silence.'[15] 'The Waikato War does not fit within a comfortable nation-building framework' O'Malley explains, and this has caused Pākehā communities over time, particularly from the 1970s, to avoid conversation and recognition of the wars altogether.[16] This is juxtaposed by the events of the early twentieth century. O'Malley points to the fiftieth anniversary of Ōrākau, explaining that both the government and public were eager to recognise the day, and many efforts were made to make the occasion accessible to the public.[17] However, more recent anniversaries, such as the 150th anniversary of the battle of Rangiriri in 2013, were not as publicised or recognised, with only one member of parliament in attendance.[18] The lack of care for these significant anniversaries in recent years suggests that for the Pākehā community, to O'Malley, the wars have become too uncomfortable, ignored and forgotten. This 'forgetting', as Ruth Harvey considers through imagery, began during periods of conflict and was reflected in the material produced at the time. Māori and Pākehā women often excluded from the imagery captured during the wars.[19] Therefore, there is significant challenge with restoring these understandings of the past.

Conversely, Kynan Gentry argues that New Zealanders' relationship with the wars is more complex than a simple 'forgetting.' Gentry argues that 'while they were by no means undertaken on the scale seen in the United States or Canada, New Zealanders did make efforts to preserve and protect the heritage and historic landscape of the New Zealand Wars – the first efforts even beginning before the end of the wars themselves.'[20] Gentry explains that to understand this past it is crucial to consider the 'political and intellectual contexts' of the

[15] Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000,* Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2016, p.31.
[16] O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000,* p.31.
[17] O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand,* p.17.
[18] O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand,* p.15.
[19] Ruth Harvey, 'Eyes on History: Pictorial Representations of the Taranaki War', In Kelvin Day, ed., *Contested Ground: The Taranaki Wars, 1860-1881,* Huia Publishers, New Plymouth, 2010, p.157.
[20] Kynan Gentry, *History, Heritage and Colonialism: Historical Consciousness, Britishness and Cultural Identity in New Zealand 1870-1940,* Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2015, p.94.

New Zealand War sites heritage preservation and that, 'interest in the preservation and visiting of New Zealand War sites was both a reflection of, and reflected in, beliefs about the importance of the wars to New Zealand's present.'[21] In this thesis, I do not seek to deny a collective 'forgetting' of the wars. By examining a range of source materials such as paintings, photographs, news articles and maps, I position these sites as cultural landscapes and within a local focus, to deconstruct how these sites were both remembered and forgotten. These scholars who have engaged with the remembering and forgetting of the wars have considered crucial aspects of cultural memory which has formed the New Zealand publics' connection (and isolation) with the wars today. There are now new opportunities to look at this historical problem in new ways.

Miranda Johnson offers an alternative lens to the remembrance of the New Zealand Wars and its landscapes. Johnson suggests that studying these 'sites of memory' as 'knots of memory' can transform the way we interpret remembering and forgetting, allowing for the complexities of these sites and the way we engage with them in the present, to be accounted for.[22] In this way, New Zealanders have not forgotten the wars, 'as the injunction to "remember" insists upon—but rather that, for many of us, our entanglements through time, our relationships to historical events and their agents (some of whom are our ancestors), are not lived in ways they were by earlier generations.'[23] Johnson proposes the framework of 'knotted histories' to draw connections between histories and each other. As Johnson suggests, 'these places not only commemorate nineteenth-century events. They are also the grounds of ongoing cross-cultural and dynamic encounters, confrontations, disputes and reconciliations.'[24] Johnson's framework suggests these historic landscapes are dynamic and evolving cultural landscapes. As this thesis demonstrates, colonial fortifications progressed

[21] Gentry, *History, heritage and colonialism,* p.119.
[22] Miranda Johnson, 'Knotted Histories', *Journal of New Zealand Studies,* 29, 2019, p.95.
[23] Johnson, 'Knotted Histories', p.94.
[24] Johnson, p.94.

alongside communities and took on new meanings in the process. Through a shared connection to the landscape, communities across generations become interlinked, complicating the notions of formal remembrance and implies the wars have been remembered in subtle, nuanced ways.

Juxtaposing the subtly of 'knotted histories' are the more obvious forms of remembrance that have gripped historians, such as physical structures. Monuments and statues have been utilised by communities throughout history to recognise significant events. These structures provide crucial insight on relationships, values and identity. More specifically, they reflect the priorities of the community who installed the monument. Consequently, they have caught the attention of historians such as Jock Phillips. Through his research, Phillips realised these monuments, diverse in size and shape, represented a rich history.[25] Even more significantly, Phillips comments that the monuments reflect the 'social energy' of the community.[26] In this sense, the monuments go beyond the history of their physical structure and embody the values of the community as well. Monuments capture a crucial moment in time (generally they were prompted by a significant anniversary), but this results in the study of remembering and forgetting to become fragmented and broken into stages, given the trends of monument building over the twentieth century. Positioning these landscapes as the monuments themselves and studying their trajectory over a long span of time suggests these sites were engaged with both intermittently such as during centennial celebrations yet were also consistently engaged as they became ingrained among ongoing Pākehā settlement. This thesis focusses on not only the monuments of the wars, but the landscapes they were built upon. Monuments were utilised by communities to identity and memory build in ways that went beyond a stone statue. I also consider how communities

[25] Jock Phillips, *To the Memory*, Potton & Burton, Nelson, 2016, p.10.
[26] Phillips, *To the Memory*, p.10.

engaged with these monuments, after their installation. Bill Nevin explains that 'the memorials remain as stony anachronisms, telling of a bygone age and representing values now rejected or even despised. Destroying or updating them is a cultural form of marking political change.'[27] Tony Ballantyne asserts that, 'places and cultures are dynamic, they are constantly made and remade: statues need not be forever.'[28] In this thesis, I examine the way these 'dynamic' places and cultures have engaged with the colonial fortifications. Indeed, 'statues need not be forever', but the land endures.[29]

Each of these scholars, diverse in their interpretations, have guided my understandings of how New Zealanders have forgotten and remembered the wars over time. By positioning colonial fortifications at the foreground of this thesis, I have attempted to bridge these arguments and focus my analysis on a regional level, to distinguish the national from the local. This thesis examines each site beyond statues and key anniversary dates, to understand how these sites were engaged with by communities and formed their own unique cultural landscapes.

As 'in-between' spaces, redoubts, fortifications and stockades existed between war and settlement. Consequently, they occupy a unique position within New Zealand War remembrance scholarship. Redoubts have been somewhat overlooked in wider New Zealand Wars memory scholarship. Nigel Prickett, however, has focussed various chapters, articles and books on the history of colonial fortifications of war. Prickett has focussed on the use of both Pākehā fortifications and Māori pā during the wars. Ian Barton and Neville Ritchie offer a detailed account of a specific redoubt, in their book, *A History of Queen's Redoubt and the*

[27] Bill Niven, 'War Memorials at the Intersection of Politics, Culture, and Memory', *Journal of War and Culture Studies,* 1, 1, 2008, p.44.
[28] Tony Ballantyne, 'Toppling the Past? Statues, Public Memory and the Afterlife of Empire in Contemporary New Zealand', *Public History Review,* 28, 2021, p.2.
[29] Ballantyne, 'Toppling the Past?', p.2.

Invasion of the Waikato. Building on these accounts, I intend to focus on the memory of these sites to reveal the nuances of war remembrance.

Scholarship on the New Zealand Wars has historically been dominated by national narratives. These narratives particularly came to light when commemorative anniversaries and monuments are the focus of analysis. Particularly in the early twentieth century, ceremonies of remembrance such as the unveiling of a monument or a centennial gathering, were opportunities for mythmaking and nation building ideals. The past became an avenue to guide public understandings of the present, reaffirm a collective identity for the Pākehā community and encourage a narrative of strong race relations between Māori and Pākehā to the rest of the world.

To go beyond the grand national narratives that have dominated the telling of New Zealand's history, Tony Ballantyne argues that 'we need to produce critical work that thinks under as well as across the nation.'[30] Examining redoubts through a local study offers the opportunity to look more closely at the ways these sites, diverse in location and size, have progressed over time alongside and intertwined with the development of local communities, contributing to a wider understanding of how New Zealanders have remembered and shaped these historic sites. This is also applicable to their military beginnings, as the New Zealand Wars were diverse in both causes and consequences, and the colonial fortifications constructed in support of each campaign resulted in different progressions too.

Untangling the 'national' from these narratives also helps to guide present day understandings of historical trauma in a more nuanced way. Following significant events, such as war and conflict, governments manipulate a 'national narrative' to restore unity and reputation.[31] Jenny Edkins explains that 'the nation-state often wishes to impose heroic

[30] Tony Ballantyne, 'Thinking Local: Knowledge, Sociability and Community in Gore's Intellectual Life, 1875-1914', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 44, 2, 2010, p.138.
[31] Jenny Edkins, 'Trauma and Memory', In David Dean, ed., *A Companion to Public History*, Wiley, New Jersey, 2018, p.432.

narratives and forms of commemoration that reinforce national identity.'[32] As explored by Edkins, memorials that recognise trauma, such as war memorials, often attempt to fit what happened into a 'linear narrative.'[33] However, due to the nature of trauma, these events cannot be fit into this streamlined narrative. [34] My reading of these sites is not linear or fragmented. Instead, I want to highlight these sites as dynamic. In this way, the sites are not contained to a singular interpretation of the past, and a singular moment in history. Instead, they are changing alongside communities.

This thesis focusses on three case studies of different redoubts, to develop a complex understanding of local New Zealand War remembrance. Each site is considered from its life as whenua, Māori land, into the present day, considering the ways in which the land has been both shaped by community interaction and itself shaped this remembrance. Redoubts became a platform of cultural practises and routines which reveal an evolving identity and memory. In some cases, Pākehā looked to the site as a monument of colonial success, a way to affirm their own modernity. However, for the Māori community in some cases, the sites proved to be a reminder of past injustices.

To look at the history of these sites, and interrogate them as sites of remembering, in new ways, the work of Lucy Mackintosh has guided my framework. Mackintosh argues that in Tāmaki landscapes 'are often focal points for grand statements of civic or national identity, but they also allow space for us to step off the pathways of collective memory and find hidden traces of the past.'[35] Through her work, Mackintosh has intertwined the past with the present 'when histories and landscapes are viewed as co-constituted, or made together, then deep natural histories and early human histories can be seen as interwoven with the more

[32] Jenny Edkins, 'Trauma and Memory', p.432.
[33] Edkins, p.440.
[34] Edkins, p.440.
[35] Lucy Mackintosh, *Shifting Grounds*, Bridget Williams, Wellington, 2021, p.15.

recent past and the present.'[36] Consequently, integrating the sites of the New Zealand Wars into Mackintosh's framework of studying the land to reveal deep and interlinked histories and the remembering of the New Zealand Wars is disrupted. Through the land, I examine the processes involved that constructed these sites as cultural landscapes. I examine sources such as photographs, paintings, news articles and maps to build on these narratives. This encompasses the processes involved which led to both remembering and forgetting the wars. These have evoked a variety of stories to come to light, which suggest these sites have been both forgotten and remembered. They reflect the social practises that were prompted in response to the regions war history, as well as the myths these sites supported. However, these primary sources also revealed a range of emotions and responses that the former colonial fortifications drew, amid a community who grappled with loss and hardship following conflict. As Melanie Lovell-Smith argues, on historic sites, 'they are selected, created and maintained by a society, and have a role to play in endorsing a cultural image.'[37] By examining colonial fortifications, I consider how these sites have been maintained, and how they were intertwined with a construct of identity.

When studying the history of Aotearoa, it is appropriate to turn to the land. Māori and Pākehā share different world views in connection to the land, which contributed towards conflict both during and after the wars. For Māori, the land holds deep knowledge. Danny Keenan argues that the New Zealand Wars were ultimately a war for land, hence why Māori generally prefer the title of the 'Land Wars.'[38] These Land Wars were ultimately a battle for land and in turn, power, to fulfil the growing demand from incoming settlers. Settling the land on or surrounding a formal redoubt, aligns with the intentions of the wars to settle and claim land in Aotearoa. In response to Keenan's challenge, studying the history of the land at

[36] Mackintosh, *Shifting Grounds,* p.12.
[37] Melanie Lovell-Smith, 'History and Historic Places', University of Auckland, MA thesis, 2000, p.19.
[38] Danny Keenan, *Wars Without End,* Penguin Books, Auckland, 2009, p.40.

each site will allow my analysis to go beyond the surface. William Cronon argues that the land is a mirror of who has power in a space.[39] This Pākehā world view of wanting to gain 'control' over the land (specifically Māori land) directly conflicted with Māori relationships with whenua.[40]

In the first chapter, Marsland Hill, a colonial stockade, located in New Plymouth, Taranaki is explored as a monument of Pākehā identity. The hill began to be levelled in 1855 and was in use from the start of the first Taranaki War.[41] Marsland Hill has been utilised in a variety of ways; in the early twentieth century, the installation of a memorial on Marsland Hill reflects the colonial narrative of Māori and Pākehā unity, overshadowing a dark past. Through this case study, identity becomes the overarching theme of how the Pākehā community connected to this site. 'Britishness was invented as much as it was inherited, constructed by settlers at the same time as they themselves were embodiments of it,' historian Felicity Barnes argues.[42] Through their remembrance of Marsland Hill, New Plymouth settlers continued to construct both their British and Pākehā identity. The site then became utilised for tourism and recreational purposes. The memorial was damaged by a member of the public in 1991, evoking discussion on the place for New Zealand Wars memorialisation in modern-day Aotearoa.

Chapter two focusses on Fort Galatea, a colonial redoubt that was initially constructed in 1869 in the Bay of Plenty. The isolated location of Galatea, next to Te Urewera allowed the colonial forces to track Māori along their transport routes. The site became an extension of colonisation following conflict with the introduction of a native school, but it also became

[39] William Cronon, 'Kennecott Journey: the Paths out of Town', In William Cronon, George A. Miles, Jay Gitlin, eds., *Under an Open Sky,* W.W. Norton, New York, 1992, p.45.
[40] Marjorie Lipsham, 'Taiao and Mauri Ora: Māori Understandings of the Environment and its Connection to Wellbeing', *Mai Journal,* 12, 2, 2023, p.182.
[41] Nigel Prickett, 'Pākehā and Māori Fortifications in Taranaki, 1860-1881: Form and Purpose', In Kelvin Day, ed., *Contested Grounds: The Taranaki Wars, 1860-1881,* Huia Publishers, New Plymouth, 2010, p.82.
[42] Felicity Barnes, *New Zealand's London: A Colony and its Metropolis,* Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2012, p.5.

an arena for cultural exchange. The cultural landscape of Galatea transformed over the twentieth century, but the fortification was not commemorated until 1969, in the form of a 'centennial celebration.' The mayor of nearby township Murupara labelled Fort Galatea as a 'monument we should cherish' and the celebration was utilised by officials to unify the local people.[43] However, as I will discuss, not all members of the community were celebrating or celebrated, as on the eve of the centennial, the exhibition and officers' quarters were burnt down in what was considered an act of protest. The Fort Galatea centennial was also largely removed from national narratives, and instead had a regional focus.

In the third and final chapter, the remembrance of military sites is considered through Queen's Redoubt in the Waikato. Compared to Marsland Hill Stockade and Fort Galatea, Queen's Redoubt has received the most recent attention. Consequently, I situate this site in more contemporary discussions on memory and military landscape preservation, and their future. Queen's Redoubt was an essential redoubt during the colonial government's attempt to bring down te Kīngitanga during the Waikato War. The division of land in Pōkeno included the redoubt, meaning the military site became encompassed among settlement, reflecting the intentions of the colonial forces to claim land in New Zealand for settlers. The settlement of Pōkeno and consequently Queen's Redoubt, demonstrates that the site was intertwined with the colonial vision for the land. In more recent times, Queen's Redoubt has become a space of education and remembrance due to the work of the Queen's Redoubt Trust. Queen's Redoubt offers a case of the role of passionate individuals driving forms of heritage-making. Each colonial site, diverse in both location and function after the wars, offer valuable insight in the complexity of the remembering and forgetting of the New Zealand Wars.

[43] *Daily Post,* Fort Galatea Centenary, 1 May 1969, Whakatāne Museum, p.2.

Broad similarities and patterns are identifiable. Each site was dominated by Pākehā settlement. Sections of Queen's Redoubt were sold to settlers among a larger plan to claim the land of 'Pokino', whilst Fort Galatea was sold to an individual for farming.[44] Marsland Hill, whilst not used for farming or settlement, became involved in the fabric of New Plymouth life, as a reserve and lookout point. The once heart of a major military system became the heart of a colonial township. A second feature of these case studies was how a dominant Pākehā story-telling has been contested by Māori groups, as the both the value of the site, and the mamae it caused was brought to light by debate and acts of protests. Ultimately, beyond their use as defensive colonial fortifications, each site continued to support the needs of Pākehā.

Each site also had events of public remembrance. Marsland Hill became tied to national notions of remembrance in 1909, with the opening of a memorial, in honour of the troops and kūpapa who fought for the colonial forces in the New Zealand Wars. By 1969, these grand narratives appear to have quietened, and regional recognitions became more apparent, as was the case with the Fort Galatea centennial celebration. Queen's Redoubt, the last of all three sites to be formally recognised, became a place for education with the creation of the Queen's Redoubt Education and Visitor Centre. Therefore, each site was acknowledged on the public stage, but each had their grand moment in different points throughout the twentieth century.

More recently, both historians and the public have questioned the purpose of colonial memorials. On statues, historian Felicity Barnes explains that 'history has changed around them, not through them: it is only by being in the wrong place in the wrong time that they have become part of a public debate, not because of their own intrinsic historical value.'[45] Monuments become time capsules and remind us of how society once thought, but this will

[44] 'Pokino' refers to the Māori settlement on the land, prior to the construction of Queen's Redoubt.
[45] Felicity Barnes, 'To Dethrone Statues Erases Presence not Past', *newsroom*, 2020, https://www.newsroom.co.nz/2020/06/18/1235162/dethroning-statues-erases-presence-not-their-past.

not remain the same forever as society progresses and the way we view our history develops.[46] This connects to Barnes' notion of history happening around the statue, not developing alongside ongoing social thought.[47] On the other hand, as our understandings of the past evolve, what these reminders of the past represent is continued to be brought in to question and where they fit in a society which no longer agrees with the values they were built upon. This thesis seeks to contribute to this discussion on how we can understand these historic landscapes in the modern day.

[46] Barnes, 'To Dethrone Statues Erases Presence not Past', https://www.newsroom.co.nz/2020/06/18/1235162/dethroning-statues-erases-presence-not-their-past.
[47] Barnes, https://www.newsroom.co.nz/2020/06/18/1235162/dethroning-statues-erases-presence-not-their-past.

Chapter 1. ‘An Emblem of the Lasting Peace Between Races’: Marsland Hill Stockade, Taranaki

Figure 2. Landscape of Marsland Hill, 2023. Photographed by Samantha Glenny.

Figure 3. Monument on Marsland Hill, 2023. Photograph by Samantha Glenny.

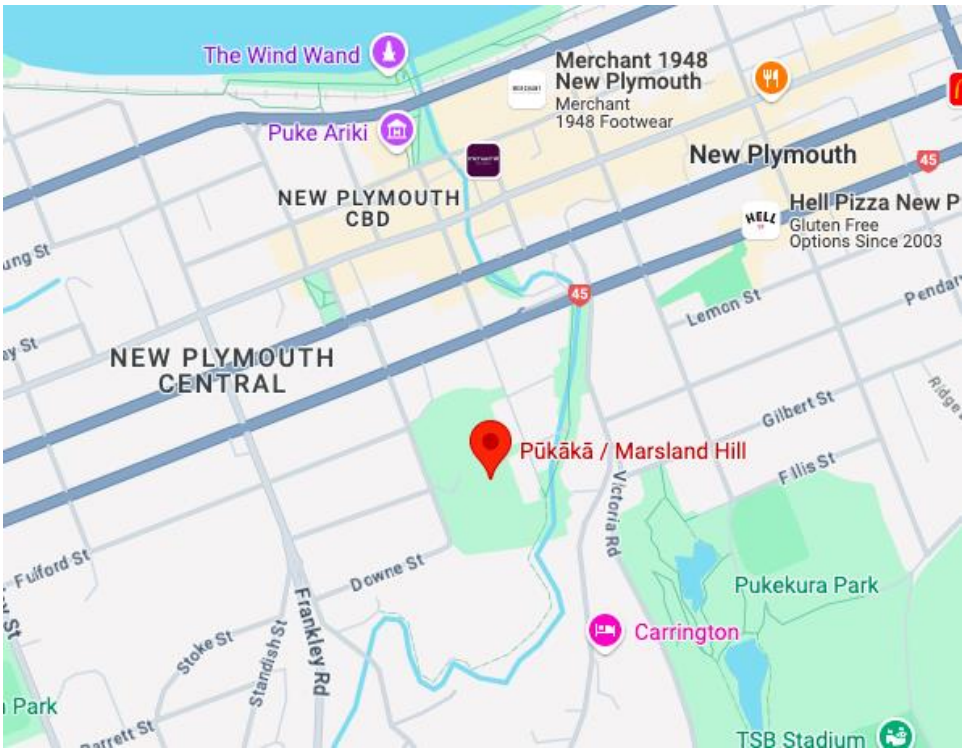

Figure 4. Pūkākā/ Marsland Hill on map. Google Maps, 2024.

Today known as Marsland Hill/Pūkākā, the once military stockade was an essential landscape among a wider system of warfare in Taranaki. However, on the 6th of February 1991, Waitangi Day, Marsland Hill Stockade in New Plymouth was the target of protest.[48] In more recent times, protests and politics have dominated Waitangi Day. In 1991, Marsland Hill became another landscape targeted in protest against or highlighting injustices against Māori .[49] The soldier statue - raised in 1909 to mark the remembrance of the New Zealand Wars - was left in pieces (figure 5). In its place, protesters raised a new sign which read, 'in

[48] Deena Coster, 'Remembering Land War History goes beyond bricks and mortar', *stuff*, 2017, https://www.stuff.co.nz/good-reads/96695123/remembering-land-war-history-goes-beyond-bricks-and-mortar.
[49] Coster, 'Remembering Land War History goes beyond bricks and mortar', https://www.stuff.co.nz/good-reads/96695123/remembering-land-war-history-goes-beyond-bricks-and-mortar

Remembrance of the Māori people who suffered in the military campaigns - honour the Treaty of Waitangi.'[50] The vandalism made the front page of the *Taranaki Daily News* and the Returned Services Associated considered the action to be 'despicable and unwarranted.'[51] The protest on a site with deep associations to the Taranaki Wars, intertwined the landscape of Marsland Hill with Māori injustices and connected it to wider issues of colonial oppression.

Figure 5. Image of destroyed statue, 'statue', Puke Ariki, PA2018.014.

In this chapter, I will discuss how Marsland Hill was transformed from an 'emblem of peace,' as it was declared in 1928 by the *Taranaki Daily News*, to a site of protest in 1991.[52] I will first explore how the military stockade supported a lingering military presence throughout the 1870s in New Plymouth. Marsland Hill was then mobilised as a memorial, 'time may pass

[50] Coster, https://www.stuff.co.nz/good-reads/96695123/remembering-land-war-history-goes-beyond-bricks-and-mortar.
[51] Coster, https://www.stuff.co.nz/good-reads/96695123/remembering-land-war-history-goes-beyond-bricks-and-mortar.
[52] *Taranaki Daily News*, 19 December 1928, p.14.

and memory may fade, but Marsland Hill, New Plymouth, will stand forever as a memorial to the struggles and the dangers of the early pioneers and to the days of military occupation when some of the most famous of occupations lived upon its summit,' the *Taranaki Daily Times* claimed in 1928.[53] Whilst it stood as a memorial of struggle and danger for Pākehā - not least in the way that it demolished earlier iwi histories - the site has Māori roots. Pūkākā Pā, as it was known before it became a military stockade, was occupied by different groups of Māori. The site was originally occupied in the nineteenth century by Pōtiki taua, before it was utilised by colonial forces during the New Zealand Wars.[54] S. Percy Smith explained that 'prior to the levelling operations undertaken by the Military in 1856, to form the site of the barracks' there 'was a very fine specimen of a *pa*, its *tihi*, or summit, rising in terraces for over forty feet above the present level. Living as the Maoris did, very close together, this *pa* must have contained a large population prior to its abandonment.'[55] Pūkākā pā was believed to be built by Potiki-taua. [56] Once Potiki-taua were no longer occupying the site, as they were 'driven out of this part of Taranaki by the Ngatiawa,' it is understood Ngāti Awa finished the construction of Pūkākā Pā before it became Marsland Hill Stockade. [57] The site was then levelled off in 1855 for use as a military colonial stockade.[58] With this, these iwi histories became seemingly overshadowed.

I will consider the role of memorials through the placement of a memorial statue on Marsland Hill. The environment of the landscape was maintained and tamed, reflecting the community's need to 'beautify' an ugly past. Over time, the space experienced varying levels of interest. At times, it was reported the site had become overgrown and abandoned. The

[53] *Taranaki Daily Times*, 19 December 1928, p.4.
[54] *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand,* 37, 1904, p.211.
[55] S. Percy Smith, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840,* New Plymouth, 1910, pp.7-8.
[56] *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand,* 37, 1904, p.211.
[57] *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand,* 37, 1904, p.211.
[58] Nigel Prickett, 'Pākehā and Māori Fortifications in Taranaki, 1860-1881: Form and Purpose', In Kelvin Day, ed., *Contested Grounds: The Taranaki Wars, 1860-1881,* Huia Publishers, New Plymouth, 2010, p.82.

ambivalent and inconsistent interest in this space reflects broader social views at the time, as well as the interest of local individuals. The site also became shared with a South African War memorial and observatory, bringing into question the purpose of historical landscapes as the commemorated event moves further into the past. The 1991 Waitangi Day protest on Marsland Hill suggested that, despite best efforts from public officials to maintain a narrative of peace and unity, Marsland Hill could not erase Māori grievances for whom the site represented a deep historical wrong. In this way, Marsland Hill Stockade became much more than a former military site.

The Colonial Forces in Taranaki - 'Every precaution was taken to protect the white population.'[59]

Marsland Hill Stockade supported the militarisation of Taranaki, as central to a wider system of British warfare. War in Taranaki was sparked by a debate over the land of Waitara. In the words of O'Malley, 'the Waitara dispute became a question of sovereignty and rangatiratanga', when 'unresolved tensions in the Treaty of Waitangi came to the fore, especially once Browne decided to brush aside all Māori objections and press on with the purchase.'[60] Marsland Hill Stockade supported a culture of militarisation and fear. Early accounts of the wars allude to tension among the people of Taranaki. This tension would remain throughout the community beyond the wars. The *Daily Southern Cross* writer shared these emotions,

> A day never to be forgotten in the annals of Taranaki; For the first time has blood been shed in war between the races-[sic] At about 11, a.m., the report of artillery and small arms assured us that the troops were attacking the newly erected stockade on Teira's land, and intense was the excitement of our community on hearing these sounds of strife and battle. How anxiously was intelligence looked for- how many the

[59] William Irwin Grayling, *The War in Taranaki, during the years 1860-1861*, New Plymouth, 1862, p.22.
[60] Vincent O'Malley, *The New Zealand Wars: Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa,* Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2019, p.81.

> speculations as every booming sound came travelling through the air, who were sent to their account as each messenger of wrath was hurled at the doomed works. Groups of people were to be seen in different parts of the streets, and on hill tops, anxiously conversing about the far off sounds of conflict and war.[61]

Based on this early account, conflict with Māori was of significant interest to Pākehā but also a deeply unsettling experience. This fear would come to define Pākehā and Māori relations in New Plymouth during and immediately after conflict. William Grayling explained that 'not knowing what might be the next movement of the enemy, every precaution was taken to protect the white population.'[62] The British were able to build up their military presence fast and Taranaki was put under martial law.[63] Thus, military control increased quickly in Taranaki. However, as explained by Vincent O'Malley, despite their differences and disputes, Māori were trying to resolve the conflict without the use of force.[64] Wiremu Kīngi Te Rangitāke even requested to speak to Governor Thomas Gore Browne to sort out their disagreement, but the request was refused.[65] Thus, a series of conflicts began around the Taranaki region. A year later, the first war ended in March 1861.[66] However, the region of Taranaki continued to experience conflict throughout the 1860s and was 'uneasy' in to the 1870s.[67] Ultimately, an emerging theme for these events at Taranaki was the growing realisation that attempting to 'unite' the Pākehā and Māori populations was not going to be successful, given the value system of each group. Marsland Hill, existed on the margins of these wars. It supported growing Pākehā fear, and consequently tensions with Māori. However, it also aided Pākehā settlement and identity. These experiences and values would come to define the remembrance of Marsland Hill following conflict.

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[61] *Daily Southern Cross*, 26 March 1860, p.1.
[62] Grayling, p.22.
[63] James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period: Volume I (1845-64)*, Wellington, 1955, originally published 1922, p.159.
[64] O'Malley, *The New Zealand Wars: Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa,* p.82.
[65] O'Malley, *The New Zealand Wars: Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa,* p.82.
[66] O'Malley, *The New Zealand Wars: Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa,* p.95.
[67] Kelvin Day, 'Introduction', In Kelvin Day, ed., *Contested Ground: The Taranaki Wars 1860-1881,* New Plymouth, 2010, p.xi.

Figure 6. *New Plymouth Under Siege*, Edwin Harris, 1860, Puke Ariki, PA2022.002.

The construction of colonial fortifications, such as Marsland Hill, was tied into this wider plan for Pākehā control and dominance. Marsland Hill was depended on by the community of New Plymouth during conflict. Women and children sought safety on Marsland Hill Stockade during potential threats to their safety, as displayed in the above image. In *New Plymouth Under Siege* by Edwin Harris (figure 6), the women are depicted as vulnerable and are turning to Marsland Hill for safety.[68] Ruth Harvey has considered the function and purpose of the colonial military in New Zealand during the wars. Harvey asserts that during this time 'the military occupied a unique place in Victorian culture.'[69] Shifting public perceptions on the Crimean War due to the 'incompetent leadership' displays meant

[68] Ruth Harvey, 'Eyes on History: Pictorial Representations of the Taranaki Wars', In Kelvin Day, ed., *Contested Ground: The Taranaki Wars 1860-1881*, Huia Publishers, Wellington, 2010, p.168.
[69] Harvey, p.149.

that the public were more concerned with seeing images of the 'common soldier.'[70] Harvey also argues that the imagery produced during this time reflected the British desire to explain and 'justify' their occupation of Aotearoa, 'it argued a need to support British settlers and to maintain a British way of life in the colonies.'[71] Thus, through the imagery that was created, the British were able to control the narrative of the wars. Harris depicts his view of New Plymouth through the commanding perspective of Marsland Hill. As Pākehā shelter on the hills surface, above a war scene below, Marsland Hill was portrayed as necessary protection. It served both for safety and comfort to Pākehā. In turn, this shifts the memory of this landscape. Ultimately, the stockade's construction served to advance the colonial military. However, in Harris's depiction Marsland Hill is a space of refuge, rather than conflict.

The exclusions from this painting also had an impact on the memory of Marsland Hill. The painting does not include depiction of Māori. Harvey explains that the lack of Māori in New Zealand War imagery 'speaks volume about power and control.'[72] Ultimately, the British were making their capacity for power and control known through their use of military force, as explained by Charlotte Macdonald, and were further able to control this narrative to those in England and the colonies through strategic imagery production. Deaths were also absent from New Zealand Wars photography and were rare in other imagery.[73] Harvey asserts the crucial point that this intentional avoidance of injury and death 'helps shadow the reality of a conflict that many New Zealanders know very little about.'[74] If society was covering up the harsh realities of the New Zealand Wars during the nineteenth century, it creates a barrier between the past and present, as the full impacts of these wars were filtered, particularly for Māori. What is excluded from a source can be just as valuable when understanding the past,

[70] Harvey, p.150.
[71] Harvey, p.150.
[72] Harvey, p.158.
[73] Harvey, p.169.
[74] Harvey, p.164.

as what is included. In Edwin Harris's image, a small moment in time is shown. Women and soldiers are looking over a developed looking town, where death and injury is unseen. The prominence of Marsland Hill represents the importance this space held at the time, as a place of refuge and protection. During a time of fear and anxiety (amplified by the government's military force) Marsland Hill was depended on by the Pākehā community, in turn, creating fear and division towards Māori.

Throughout the 1870s, Marsland Hill was used to keep Pākehā safe, but also as a reminder of the colonial military's force. By 1870, twelve men and one sergeant remained on Marsland Hill to watch out for the community.[75] In February 1870 it was confirmed the barracks on Marsland Hill would be repaired, suggesting there was still suspicion the space would need to be used.[76] However by August 1870, the buildings on Marsland Hill were put under auction and sold.[77] The absence of the military in this area caused anxiety among Taranaki Pākehā. A *Daily Southern Cross* correspondent in New Plymouth shared their fears,

> I believe that if the natives were to suddenly surprise this town our position would be critical. If we had some means of defence, or some place to put our women and children whilst we fought the natives, we should be right enough. This settlement has never been in such an unprotected state since the war commenced in 1860.'[78]

There was still a significant amount of fear in New Plymouth and once the military presence decreased, these fears were amplified. As explained, Taranaki quickly became a militarised area during the wars. Potentially, the overwhelming militarisation of the space heightened fears and Pākehā distrust of Māori, alongside their pre-existing British superiority ideologies.

Conflict in Taranaki was anticipated by the government throughout the 1870s and Marsland Hill was looked to for support by the community and officials. In 1879 it was reported that the 'actual hostilities may be averted with the Taranaki natives', but they were

[75] *Evening Post*, 29 January 1870, p.2.
[76] *Taranaki Herald*, 19 February 1870, p.2.
[77] *Taranaki Herald*, 20 August 1870, p.2.
[78] *Daily Southern Cross*, 19 September 1870, p.3.

still sending in '250 constabulary' to defend New Plymouth, in preparation for a potential attack in 'Oakura and towards Opunake.'[79] The 'readiness' of the New Zealand government to arm and delegate men to defend the Pākehā population demonstrates that well into the 1870s the military were an ongoing presence in New Plymouth township and a potential attack was anticipated. In this way, Marsland Hill remained a site of defence and protection. In June of 1879, a meeting was held for volunteers to support the defence of New Plymouth and it was reported that 'the attendance was large.'[80] Sixty-two local people had enrolled by the conclusion of the meeting, and they were hopeful more would volunteer.[81] Marsland Hill was used to hand out arms the day following the meeting.[82] The local men of New Plymouth volunteering to defend their township and reflected a strong loyalty to the defence of the community and antagonism towards Māori, cantered on Marsland Hill.

Jock Phillips argues in the late twentieth century, war memorials were not desired as war was a real-lived experience for both Māori and Pākehā, 'public amnesia, perhaps, would allow the military failures and the social pain to be forgotten.'[83] However, as displayed by a writer in the *New Zealand Herald,* a cemetery next to Marsland Hill evoked strong emotion and remembrance for those who died during the wars.[84] Upon a visit to St Mary's cemetery, at the foot of Marsland Hill and next to the Taranaki Cathedral Chruch of St Mary, the writer was overcome by war memories.[85] The writer traced memories of the war as they walked along the cemetery below Marsland Hill, noting the headstones of friends they lost in battle.[86] They also commented '... with "a light heart" the officers expecting to be back in time for the Queen's birthday ball! How little did they see into the future, and how little conjectured that

[79] *Auckland Star,* 5 June 1879, p.3.
[80] *Taranaki Herald,* 5 June 1879, p.2.
[81] *Taranaki Herald,* 5 June 1879, p.2.
[82] *Taranaki Herald,* 5 June 1879, p.2.
[83] Phillips, *To the Memory*, p.28.
[84] *New Zealand Herald,* 7 April 1888, p.1.
[85] *New Zealand Herald,* 7 April 1888, p.1.
[86] *New Zealand Herald,* 7 April 1888, p.1.

the history of the coming year would be written, for the colony, in tears and blood.'[87] For the writer, the cemetery next to Marsland Hill prompted remembrance of those who passed during warfare. It is clear, from their account, that the war remained an upsetting and unsettling experience. Whilst there were some memorials already made in honour of the fallen during and immediately after the wars, rapid memorial building did not begin until the early twentieth century.[88] This was, in part, because Pākehā during this time did not want to remember the conflicts, it was a lived and painful experience.[89] The correspondent's visit to the cemetery evoked strong emotion, as those who fell were personal friends. During the late nineteenth century, Marsland Hill was yet to be formally remembered, but, as evident by the writers account, the cemetery at the foot of Marsland Hill contributed to the memory of Marsland Hill and the fallen in the wars on a personal level. Immediately following the wars, the memory of Marsland Hill was underpinned by its military associations. Those who wrote on Marsland Hill, recognised it as a place of protection but also a necessary base in a larger war system, in an incredibly militarised New Plymouth. St Mary's cemetery aided remembrance, as the post-war period became a time of reflection among those who experienced the horrors of conflict and lost loved ones. Remembrance did not need to be formalised as what happened was far from forgotten.

However, as a presence in the township of New Plymouth, Marsland Hill shifted from a military site, with associations to the defence of Pākehā and a memory of hardship, to a symbol of the Pākehā settlers experience of war, and their 'success' in overcoming this hardship. In 1889, Marsland Hill was remembered in narratives of settler hardship in the press. Alongside calls for sympathy from Auckland, the hill was tied into a wider narrative of Taranaki Pākehā overcoming the struggles of war,

[87] *New Zealand Herald,* 7 April 1888, p.1.
[88] Phillips, *To the Memory*, p.19, p.32.
[89] Phillips, *To the Memory*, p.20.

> No part of New Zealand deserves the sympathy and interest of the people of Auckland more than Taranaki. It is our nearest neighbour, and we have had close connections with its settlers ever since the New Zealand Company commenced operations at that place. The misfortunes of Taranaki have been much greater than our own. Even at the worst times of the war Auckland had a large space of country where peaceful and profitable pursuits were never interrupted, and where industries were carried on which brought wealth to the city. But there was a time, lasting over the years, when the settlers of Taranaki were cooped up within the town of New Plymouth, and when no one could go beyond a gunshot from Marsland Hill without the risk of being killed by the natives.[90]

This reflection reveals crucial insights into rhetoric to emerge following the wars, but also how the site began to emerge among public memory. Whilst it is acknowledged that 'only the embers remain' towards the 'native difficulty,' the writer is alluding to the vulnerable Pākehā of New Plymouth, and thus a single rhetoric of the wars emerges. This was also evident in the *Auckland Star* 'the settlers in outlying parts of the country removed to the town, with their wives and children, for shelter, leaving with sad hearts all their worldly possessions and the result of years' labour to the tender mercies of the enemy.'[91] Māori are positioned as the enemy, shaping the early understandings of the nineteenth century conflicts and uniting Pākehā through a narrative of settler triumph. Not only did Marsland Hill evoke memories of war hardship and loss, but it began to be utilised by the community as a memory device.

As the settler township of New Plymouth grew, the Pākehā population was able to turn their attention to aesthetics. One anonymous individual drew comparisons between Marsland Hill and Albert Park in Auckland.[92] Both landscapes share a military history and were once central to their respective military systems. The individual explains that Marsland Hill deserves to be the Albert Park of New Plymouth, referencing Albert Park's key position and beauty.[93] The historical importance of Marsland Hill is also identified by the individual,

> Marsland Hill was to the Maori in the olden days feasting place and fortress; to the early settler it was look-out and refuge in troublous times- the scene of military pomp

[90] *New Zealand Herald,* 9 March 1889, p.4.
[91] *Auckland Star,* 9 April 1889, p.2.
[92] *Taranaki Herald,* 4 March 1895, p.2.
[93] *Taranaki Herald,* 4 March 1895, p.2.

> and headquarters of the soldiery; to the newer generation of "Who'd a thought its' and mountain-roader pioneers, the old barracks afforded welcome shelter, and gave to them a first glimpse of the bush country so many were destined to afterwards to subdue and to thrive upon. A memorable spot, truly![94]

Marsland Hill is beginning to be 'remembered.' That is, Marsland Hill as a landscape was looked upon by the New Plymouth community as a symbol of their past and in turn, their identity. With the Taranaki conflicts escaping into the 'past,' Taranaki locals are looking back on the value of Marsland Hill as a landscape for Māori and Pākehā, young and old. Upon this reflection, the individual is questioning how Marsland Hill can be best commemorated and recognised as a space, suggesting the site has similar potential to Albert Park. There are colonial connections made here, as Albert Park mirrors the quintessential colonial escape, right in the heart of the city. It also suggests a relationship between Auckland and New Plymouth which extended from Auckland's initial suggestion of sympathy for Taranaki in 1889. The Pākehā communities, through their shared experience of conflict, were able to relate to one another. In turn, forming an inter-regional 'Pākehā' identity.

Remembrance on Marsland Hill Stockade

[94] *Taranaki Herald*, 4 March 1895, p.2.

Figure 7. Photograph taken on the day the New Zealand Wars monument was unveiled. 'Unveiling of the Wars Memorial on Marsland Hill', photographer unknown, 1909, Puke Ariki, PHO2008- 1695.

Figure 8. Figures standing in front of Marsland Hill monument, on the day it was unveiled. 'Governor General William Plunket at Taranaki Wars memorial unveiling on Marsland Hill', William Andrews Collis, 1909, Puke Ariki, PHO2009-123.

In 1905, the idea arose to install a memorial on Marsland Hill in honour of those who had fallen during the New Zealand Wars.[95] Captain Mace initially raised the point that as the South African War was beginning to be recognised throughout New Zealand, so should those 'brave old veterans who lost their lives whilst fighting for their home and country.'[96] The memorial on Marsland Hill emerged among a wave of early twentieth century memorials. It was even suggested in the *Taranaki Herald* that, to save funds, one memorial be dedicated to the two wars.[97] Although just a suggestion that never came to fruition, the proposal to combine a memorial for both the Boer War and New Zealand Wars brings in to question the overall purpose of this monument, as well as aspects of colonial identity. Grouping the events in this way suggests that Pākehā felt equally connected to the Boer War, of which Pākehā

[95] *Taranaki Herald*, 8 August 1905, p.8.
[96] *Taranaki Herald*, 8 August 1905, p.8.
[97] *Taranaki Herald*, 9 August 1905, p.4.

fought as part of the British military, as they did to the New Zealand Wars, which occurred on their own shores. Jock Phillips explains that the emergence of memorials for the South African War 'domesticated' memorials for the New Zealand Wars, suggesting that the creators of the South African War memorials turned to building monuments for the New Zealand Wars as they needed a new project.[98] The memorial for the South African War on Marsland Hill became a separate endeavour, but it is notable the commemoration of the two conflicts were connected initially.

The monument on Marsland Hill was dedicated to the Pākehā and kūpapa who fought in the New Zealand Wars as a collective, meaning, it stood as a national monument of remembrance and it served to unite and recognise Pākehā across Aotearoa, rather than just locally. However, it also tied New Zealand's national identity to Britain. The distinction was made by Captain Mace that the monument should recognise the New Zealand Wars in its entirety, rather than just the Taranaki conflicts, claiming 'it must not be a local affair but a colonial one.'[99] It was also noted that the wars were yet to be officially commemorated as the impact was still so great that individuals had to prioritise the care for the living, rather than remember the dead, 'except by the erection of perhaps a simple headstone.'[100] Given the significant loss and hurt experienced during the wars, commemoration was not the focus for the people of New Plymouth, but as time passed, they became ready to remember.

On December 3rd, 1906, a public meeting was held to discuss a New Zealand Wars memorial on Marsland Hill.[101] Committee members included the Mayor of New Plymouth, E. Dockrill as treasurer, Mr W. F. Gordon as secretary and Arthur Standish as Chairman and was made up of those with interest in the New Zealand Wars. [102] Arthur Standish confirmed

[98] Phillips, *To the Memory*, p.32.
[99] *Taranaki Daily News*, 4 December 1906, p.2.
[100] *Taranaki Herald*, 7 January 1907, p.4.
[101] *Timaru Herald*, 4 December 1906, p.5.
[102] 'Marsland Hill Memorial Committee', Puke Ariki, ARC2001-379, p.7.

that the proposal of a memorial was 'heartily supported by the people of New Plymouth and there is no doubt will be in other parts of the colony.'[103] Standish also gave the following reasons why Marsland Hill was selected,

> Marsland Hill, the site selected for the erection of the memorial, is in every respect a most suitable place. The hill is near the centre of the town of New Plymouth, and stands high above it, commanding a view of the town and surrounding district, and is a spot of historic interest. It is the site of the first military barracks erected in Taranaki, and was the head military quarters both before and throughout the Maori war in this part of the colony.[104]

Indeed, the location of Marsland Hill was selected for its commanding view, meaning it was a monument that the community felt deserved to be, both metaphorically and literally, looked up to. Whilst Marsland Hill was no longer used as an active military base, it remained to have a dominating presence over the people of New Plymouth.

On the 7th of May 1909, the monument was finally ready and 'veterans of the war, volunteers, cadets and the general public' gathered in honour of the New Zealand Wars.[105] The crowd on the day reflects significant interest from the New Plymouth community, including officials.[106] Among the public, the crowd included those with direct connections in the wars, suggesting these direct connections were a driving force for the installation of the 'handsome marble monument' that was 30 ft high and made from Italian marble.[107] There was significant interest in this event as large crowds gathered to recognise the wars (figure 7).

However, this event was not without controversy. On the 11th of May 1909, four days after the monument was unveiled, people were attempting to climb and deface the monument.[108] The *Taranaki Herald* reported that a barbed wire fence around the monument

[103] 'Marsland Hill Memorial Committee', p.7.
[104] 'Marsland Hill Memorial Committee', p.7.
[105] *Evening Post*, 8 May 1909, p.9.
[106] *Evening Post*, 8 May 1909, p.9.
[107] *Evening Post*, 8 May 1909, p.9.
[108] *Taranaki Herald*, 11 May 1909, p.1.

was suggested as a solution and was built.[109] The intention behind this vandalism is unclear, but it suggests that beyond the attempts made to maintain this historic space, not all members of the community viewed the site as sacred.

From the twentieth century, Pākehā were beginning to form their own identity in New Zealand and recognising those who faced battle and hardship in the New Zealand Wars helped as they 'legitimised their presence', the memorial on Marsland Hill was one of these memorials that helped the Pākehā of New Plymouth to assert understand their identity as Pākehā.[110] More than twenty New Zealand War memorials were built around Aotearoa from 1907.[111] Jock Phillips explains that many memorials, including the monument on Marsland Hill, were a product of public funding and government subsidy.[112] To this end, these monuments were physical representations of the troops, New Zealand citizens, and the New Zealand government recognising the importance of these wars. However, they were also indicative of the Pākehā community in New Zealand grappling with their evolving identity. The early twentieth century was a time of growth for those who settled in New Zealand. On one hand, Pākehā were wanting to establish themselves and define their own culture. However, they were also affirming a wider colonial identity. They established their history in stone, imprinted messages of honour and loss whilst embedding themselves as a community who 'fought' to be on this land.[113] That being said, it is evident that the losses experienced in these wars were emotionally and culturally impactful, both for Pākehā and Māori.

Identity building through Marsland Hill revealed the nuances between the British in New Zealand, and the British in Britain. Pākehā were beginning to assert their own identity, independent from their British heritage, but at the same time were still loyal to Britain. On the

[109] *Taranaki Herald*, 11 May 1909, p.1.
[110] Phillips, *To the Memory*, p.32, 34.
[111] Phillips, *To the Memory*, p.32.
[112] Phillips, *To the Memory*, p.35.
[113] Phillips, *To the Memory*, p.32.

22nd of June, 1909, W. F. Gordon contacted Colonel William C. S. Mair of the late 65th Regiment, updating him on the status of Marsland Hill. Gordon acknowledges 'although you did not assist us in the Memorial movement' he still wanted to let Colonel Mair know that there is 'at last' a 'beautiful monument on Marsland Hill.'[114] Colonel Mair responded on the 25th of August 1909, thanking Gordon for the update but declining the opportunity to financially support Marsland Hill.[115] Mair gave the following reasons,

> I can speak only for my own regiment. They, as you may be aware, were nearly twenty years in New Zealand, and served in three wars, assisting the Colony when matters were not looking their brightest. Many of our officers and men lost their lives in action, and many died of hardship and exposure during that long tour of foreign service. In view of these facts, I cannot help but feel that the financial responsibility for the erection of the monument should be entirely with New Zealand, without applying to our regiment for assistance. Some years ago I had the honour and pleasure of being present in York Minister, when a memorial erected by us to the officers and men who lost their lives in New Zealand was unveiled by the Archbishop. By this tribute of respect I think we have done all that is behoved us to do for the honoured memory of our comrades.[116]

As suggested by this interaction, a complex shift is occurring in responsibility for the remembering of the New Zealand Wars. Mair is insinuating that due to the significant loss that the British colonial forces faced, they have sacrificed enough for New Zealand. Furthermore, he stated that as there was a memorial for those who fought in England, the Marsland Hill memorial is separate and does not need to be supported by the regiment, isolating New Zealand from Britain. Other regiments did contribute towards the memorial, so Mair's perspective is not reflective on the attitudes towards New Zealand as a whole.[117]

The emergence of New Zealand War memorials, such as Marsland Hill, in the early twentieth century can, therefore, be attributed to a few different factors. The popularity of

[114] William C. S. Mair to W. F. Gordon, 25 August 1909, 'Marsland Hill Memorial Committee', ARC2001-379, Puke Ariki, p.49.
[115] William C. S. Mair to W. F. Gordon, 25 August 1909, 'Marsland Hill Memorial Committee', ARC2001-379, Puke Ariki, p.49.
[116] William C. S. Mair to W. F. Gordon, 25 August 1909, 'Marsland Hill Memorial Committee', ARC2001-379, Puke Ariki, p.49.
[117] Phillips, *To the Memory,* p.34.

South African War memorials, which was initially discussed alongside the discussion for a New Zealand Wars memorial on Marsland Hill, 'fully domesticated the idea of war memorials', according to Kynan Gentry.[118] This normalisation caused an influx in New Zealand Wars memorials.[119] Vincent O'Malley also explains that in the early twentieth century, 'Māori were no longer viewed as a threat to the colonial order—and the dark days of the New Zealand Wars had receded into distant memory—settlers could afford to be nostalgic about them too.'[120] In Taranaki, which during the time of the wars was heavily militarised and threats of potential warfare lingered, it is suggested the settlers were hesitant and unconfident to memorialise the wars during the nineteenth century, unsure if they were even over. Another explanation for the boom in memorials in the early twentieth century, around fifty years following the conflict is the anniversaries of the deaths of those who fought.[121] This sparked an increase in both memorialisation and accounts of warfare.[122] The Marsland Hill memorial committee was made up of key figures in the township, such as the mayor, and those with direct connections to the Taranaki Wars, such as Captain Mace. The makeup of this committee reflects the intentions of the memorial twofold, to 'unite' the people of Taranaki and a need to remember the wars.

Marsland Hill was also the site selected for a memorial in honour of the Taranaki men who fought in the Second Boer War (1899-1902). The memorial was unveiled in January, 1911 and was reported by the *Taranaki Daily News* as a 'useful looking structure' with 'ornamental fountains.'[123] The memorial had the following inscription, 'erected in memory of the Taranaki men who fell in the South African War, 1899-1902, by the people of the district,

[118] Gentry, p.99.
[119] Gentry, p.99.
[120] Vincent O'Malley, "'Recording the incident with a monument": The Waikato War in historical memory', *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, 19, Wellington, 2015, p.79.
[121] Gentry, p.100.
[122] Gentry, p.100.
[123] *Taranaki Daily News,* 26 January 1911, p.4.

in admiration of their patriotism in volunteering to join the Motherland forces on behalf of the Empire.'[124] All former soldiers 'who served in the South African War' were invited to take part in the day.[125] The New Plymouth community's choice to commemorate both the South African War and the New Zealand Wars on Marsland Hill brings into question the overall purpose of this commemoration.

As this section has explored, the New Zealand Wars memorial and the South African War memorial were connected from initial conversations with the Marsland Hill War Committee. They became separate projects but were eventually placed on the same landscape. This decision suggests the landscape became somewhat of a catch-all for monuments in New Plymouth, rather than sacred to the Taranaki Wars. The New Zealand Wars memorial allowed the community of New Plymouth to understand and assert their Pākehā identity, in the form of a monument and ceremony. These social practises constructed a sense of unity. During the turn of the century, Marsland Hill began to be a symbol of Pākehā settler achievement, and the monument for the New Zealand Wars cemented this notion. The connection between the South African War memorial and the New Zealand War memorial both through initial planning, and eventually sharing the same landscape, suggests the New Plymouth community made sense of the New Zealand Wars, through their understanding of the South African War. The monument on Marsland Hill became an opportunity for the community to explore both their national identity as Pākehā- given the war memorial was dedicated to conflicts across the nation- as well as their identity in relation to their imagined home in Britain.

Reshaping and Repurposing Marsland Hill

[124] *Taranaki Daily News,* 26 January 1911, p.4.
[125] *Taranaki Daily News,* 21 January 1911, p.1.

Over the early twentieth century, attention and interest in Marsland Hill was inconsistent. Reports varied, with Marsland Hill being on occasion overgrown and ignored, and other times tidy and presentable. The New Zealand Wars memorial prompted a renewed interest in the site. At the turn of the century, great 'potential' was observed in the natural environment of Marsland Hill by the local community. In 1901, one member of the community identified that this potential was yet to be fulfilled and with some work, Marsland Hill could become 'a place of resort for visitors.'[126] The anonymous individual continued to add 'nature has been lavish in putting such into your hands.'[127] Acknowledging that money may stand in the way of 'beautifying' Marsland Hill, the letter to the editor suggests that the local men of New Plymouth could volunteer their time to transform the space, and they also volunteered the local women of the town to provide these men with afternoon tea.[128] However, despite these suggestions in 1906 it was still reported that the land at Marsland Hill was overgrown and 'spoiling it from a spot from which to overlook the town.'[129] However, efforts were begun to 'beautify' Marsland Hill.

Local Pākehā attempted to transform this landscape, conforming to the colonial agenda of taming the land. In January 1908, it was reported that Marsland Hill was looking much better, due to the work of the nearby prisoners.[130] The same year the Marsland Hill Memorial was unveiled, a 'beautifying committee' was formed to protect and uphold the 'natural beauties in public places' in New Plymouth.[131] The *Taranaki Herald* stated that public interest was not overwhelming and with Mayor Mr G. Tischa, a limited crowd

[126] *Taranaki Daily News*, 31August 1901, p.32.
[127] *Taranaki Daily News*, 31 August 1901, p.32.
[128] *Taranaki Daily News*, 31 August 1901, p.32.
[129] *Taranaki Daily Times*, 22 May 1906, p.2.
[130] *Taranaki Daily News*, 15 January 1908, p.2.
[131] *Taranaki Daily News*, 15 April 1909, p.2.

gathered to discuss the committee's formation.[132] The Mayor of New Plymouth, Mr G. Tischa was particularly interested in ensuring young people remained interested in preserving the natural environment of New Plymouth and remarked he wanted to make the town 'the garden of New Zealand.'[133]

The notion of New Plymouth as 'the garden of New Zealand,' was a continuation of early Pākehā settlers' colonial vision of New Plymouth. This vision was both reflected in and instigated by a painting done by surveyor and draughtsman, Charles Heaphy titled *Mt Egmont from the southward* (figure 9).[134] The image depicts a proportionally distorted Mount Egmont, now Mount Taranaki, behind a lush but contained environment. *Mt Egmont from the southward* is a colonial interpretation of early Taranaki. During this time, as Oliver Stead explains, 'the land from Cook Strait to Taranaki was promoted by the company as the most suitable for colonisation.'[135] Stead suggests the mountain in this painting could be considered a 'symbol of available and bountiful land.'[136] Indeed, Heaphy's understanding of the Taranaki landscape reflects the land to be controlled but also plentiful, 'ready' for incoming settlers.

[132] *Taranaki Daily News*, 15 April 1909, p.2.
[133] *Taranaki Daily News*, 15 April 1909, p.2.
[134] Oliver Stead, *Lines in the Sand*, David Bateman, Auckland, 2008, p.31.
[135] Stead, *Lines in the Sand*, p.31.
[136] Stead, p.31.

Figure 9. Charles Heaphy, *Mt Egmont from the southward*, 1840, C-025-008, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand

The intention of preserving Marsland Hill as a contained, scenic environment positions this site among a wider colonial landscape of Taranaki. Prior to 1909 and the memorial on Marsland Hill, the Scenery Preservation Society maintained the historic grounds of Marsland Hill.[137] The formal recognition of appointing committees and societies to the preservation of Marsland Hill, suggests an interest in maintaining these sites, but also 'beautifying' an ugly past. Indeed, New Plymouth in the early twentieth century demonstrated a keen interest in preserving the natural 'oasis of bounty.'[138] In turn, the histories of this land were concealed and overshadowed, to form a new reputation for the space, extending the interpretation of Taranaki offered by Heaphy in the nineteenth century.

The early twentieth century demonstrates that the local Pākehā community utilised the land of Marsland Hill for their own needs. They introduced a statue and memorial in honour

[137] *Taranaki Herald*, 19 June 1907, p.4.
[138] Byrnes, p.43.

of those who had fallen in the New Zealand Wars, but they also used the space for leisure. The 'beautifying committee' demonstrates a deeper purpose for the land of Marsland Hill Stockade. By choosing to decorate this historical space, one defined during the New Zealand Wars by fear and loss, it demonstrates a need to cover and beautify a dark past. Given the scenic view of New Plymouth from Marsland Hill, locals were keen to tidy, decorate and beautify the space to make it their own.[139] Taranaki in particular, Byrnes explains, was considered an 'oasis of bounty.'[140] As Byrnes illustrates, British settlers in nineteenth century New Zealand envisioned the 'landscape' of Aotearoa and worked to redefine the space.[141] The Pākehā engagement with this space alludes to both a desire to commemorate but also a desire to repurpose.

The military memory of Marsland Hill continued to be overshadowed with the addition of an observatory in 1919. It was decided by the Astronomical Society that Marsland Hill was the ideal spot for their new observatory.[142] Therefore, the society agreed to approach the borough council for permission to put an observatory on that site.[143] It was believed by the Society that the addition of an observatory in New Plymouth would be beneficial for both research and education purposes for all ages.[144] On the 19th of August 1920 the observatory was officially opened.[145] The New Plymouth public were 'surprised' by what they saw from the observatory, stating that 'it is not easy at first to mentally grasp so strange a scene.'[146] Thus, whilst the 'beautifying committee' of New Plymouth ensured that the local community could enjoy a scenic outlook of their town on Marsland Hill, the addition of an observatory served to complicated and overshadow Marsland Hill's military past.

[139] Byrnes, p.39.
[140] Byrnes, p.43.
[141] Byrnes, p.39.
[142] *Taranaki Daily News*, 1 August 1919, p.6.
[143] *Taranaki Daily News*, 1 August 1919, p.6.
[144] *Taranaki Daily News*, 1 August 1919, p.6.
[145] *Taranaki Daily News*, 18 August 1920, p.1.
[146] *Taranaki Daily News*, 23 November 1920, p.7.

Ultimately, the addition of an observatory on Marsland Hill further demonstrates the local community of New Plymouth utilising and shaping their space as their needs as their society progressed. As a signifier of modern achievement, the observatory on Marsland Hill held space for science, further clouding the site from its military past and its modern-day function. Whilst the beautification of Marsland Hill as a scenic reserve fulfilled a need for recreation and leisure, the observatory highlighted the desire for research, education and tourism. This supports Gentry's conclusion that 'while the quest for preservation was initially dominated by veterans, as the country progressed and the myth of the wars grew, they were increasingly viewed as sites of recreation and tourism.'[147]

Marsland Hill was identified by the citizens of New Plymouth as the perfect location for these needs. Most importantly to this study, reshaping Marsland Hill in these ways further implemented a sense of identity and purpose to a space which once held a very different use. As discussed, the primary purpose of Marsland Hill was to protect the community against the threat of attack during the New Zealand Wars. Once this threat subsided, an opportunity formed to repurpose Marsland Hill, encouraging the Pākehā community to transform this space. The additions to Marsland Hill such as the two monuments, progressions as a scenic reserve and an observatory, redirects the narrative of Marsland Hill and situates it as a dynamic space which supports Pākehā advancement, but overshadowing its use as central to New Plymouth's military system.

Conclusion

Although developed in 1855 as a site of military defence, Marsland Hill transformed into a place of refuge, remembrance and then tourism and recreation over the twentieth century. Selected for its height and superior location to central New Plymouth, Marsland Hill was

[147] Gentry, p.120.

enacted as a site to protect the New Plymouth Pākehā community from a potential attack. Despite an attack never occurring, Marsland Hill was an integral part of a wider military system during the Taranaki Wars and women and children would flee to the space for protection. Taranaki was particularly vigilant in 'militarising' their land and community. This was an intergenerational project: as William Irwin Grayling stated in 1877, 'every precaution was taken to protect the white population.'[148]

The turn of the century observed a new interest in New Zealanders wanting to remember the New Zealand Wars through formal monuments in collective – rather than just personal- ways. Marsland Hill was selected as an ideal location to remember those who died during the New Zealand Wars. Thus, a soldier statue and monument were placed on Marsland Hill. A large crowd gathered on the day it was unveiled and it was a significant occasion for the Pākehā of New Plymouth. It does not appear Māori were involved, beyond the acknowledgement of kūpapa who fought in the wars. The event was ultimately an opportunity for the Pākehā community to assert their identity.

During the twentieth century, Taranaki was self-titled the 'garden of New Zealand.'[149] Taranaki was considered by Pākehā as a plentiful land for colonisation, as demonstrated in the painting by Charles Heaphy. Great potential was identified in Marsland Hill as a superior location to view the New Plymouth scenery. A 'beautifying committee' supported the condition of Marsland Hill's environment. However, the space went through varying states, as it was reported at times the land had become overgrown and was seemingly neglected at times. This reflects an unstable dedication to managing Marsland Hill as a site of importance. Nonetheless, Marsland Hill was an integral part of New Plymouth, one local arguing it should take on a similar role to Albert Park in Auckland, given its previous military history also. In

[148] Grayling, *The War in Taranaki*, p.22.
[149] For example, S. Percy Smith, *Taranaki the Garden of New Zealand,* New Plymouth, 1906.

this sense, long after the site was a stockade, it was being transformed and shaped alongside the needs of Pākehā. Remembering the Wars on Marsland Hill allowed the community to 'cement' their identity as 'deserving' members of New Zealand society. They certainly did feel an emotional attachment to the wars and wanted to recognise those who passed. But the memorial also allowed the community to build and reflect on their struggles as a group, contributing to a larger narrative of Pākehā triumph. W. H. Skinner asserted that 'there is probably no spot in New Plymouth and its neighbourhood that the memories of the early pioneer and his children so universally cling to as Marsland Hill, as in the days of fierce struggle, when British supremacy practically hung in the balance, this spot was their city of refuge.'[150] Evidently, the settlers' identity also 'hung in the balance,' Marsland Hill offered them protection, tying the notion of Marsland Hill to a much larger matter of identity and culture. Marsland Hill continued to affirm identity through its use as a site to acknowledge the South African War, and as a scenic reserve, boasted as an ideal outlook over New Plymouth. Today, Marsland Hill continues to be used for recreation. The New Zealand Wars memorial still stands, but the soldier statue that was destroyed in the 1990s was never replaced.[151] In 2017, following the Te Atiawa Claims Settlement Act 2016, the official geographic name of Marsland Hill was declared Pūkākā/Marsland Hill. Sign posting on the landscape explains both the iwi and colonial military history of the land (figure 10). These changes signify that the histories of Pūkākā and Marsland Hill are connected by their shared use of the same landscape. Naming is an important aspect of a landscape's legacy, as it reflects the intentions of the namer, as Giselle Byrnes claims, 'names inscribed on the land by the early surveyors were deliberate and provocative statements of power.'[152] Officially

[150] *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand,* 37, 1904, p.211.
[151] Coster, *https://www.stuff.co.nz/good-reads/96695123/remembering-land-war-history-goes-beyond-bricks-and-mortar*
[152] Brynes, p.80.

including Pūkākā in the name of this site is an acknowledgment of the history that became overshadowed when the site was renamed Marsland Hill.

The value of this memorial does not lie in the presence of the marble soldier. Ultimately, the value of the memorial is in the beliefs and culture it reflects. Similarly, the evolving use of Marsland Hill as a landscape mirrors the values of New Plymouth as a community. A community wanting to recognise their struggles, assert their identity and 'place' in Aotearoa and utilise and repurpose a space that once served as a military defence. In doing so, as reflected by the destruction of the memorial towards the end of the twentieth century, 'honouring' this space has felt disrespectful to Māori. Interest in Marsland Hill was not consistent nor stable following the New Zealand Wars, into the present day. However, analysing Marsland Hill reflects deeper attitudes of preserving community and the environment.

Figure 10. Sign at Pūkākā/Marsland Hill, 2023. Photograph by Samanatha Glenny.

Chapter 2. ‘The Ruins that Talk’: Fort Galatea, Bay of Plenty.

During the colonial pursuit of the Ringatū prophet Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Tūruki (1868-1872), Fort Galatea was built along the Rangitaiki river, on the cusp of Te Urewera. What was considered an ideal location by the colonial forces for monitoring the movements of surrounding Māori, ultimately established the fate of Fort Galatea beyond the wars and into the twentieth century. The isolation of Galatea, once useful for monitoring Māori along transport routes, disadvantaged the settlement of Galatea, as the community endured land infertility and isolation. Fort Galatea became a measure of progress for the community and was used by the twentieth century community to construct a collective narrative of achievement as a settlement.

In this chapter, I will map out the importance of Fort Galatea as a landscape and location during the military campaign against Te Kooti. The position of Fort Galatea in the ‘untamed’ and ‘wild’ depths of the Bay of Plenty, formed the foundations for colonial attitudes towards the site which were evident throughout the twentieth century. Ultimately, these attitudes impacted the memory of Galatea as they sought to justify military action and settlement. Giselle Brynes argues that the colonial settlers' intentions for Aotearoa were to ‘claim, tame and redefine the meaning of landscape in specifically British terms.’[153]

In many ways, Māori and Pākehā collaborated and connected on Fort Galatea, after the wars. Fort Galatea, after the end of the formal fighting, became a native school, ultimately

[153] Byrnes, p.39.

acting as an extension of colonialism. However, the site also became a space for engagement. There was social and political nuance to the dynamic between Māori and Pākehā. The interactions between Māori and Pākehā in Galatea during this time transcend a simple narrative of Māori versus Pākehā. As discussed in the introduction, Miranda Johnson invites us to think of history as knotted, interconnected. Johnson argues, 'these places not only commemorate nineteenth-century events. They are also the grounds of ongoing cross-cultural and dynamic encounters, confrontations, disputes, and reconciliations.'[154] Through this framework, Fort Galatea became the arena of cultural exchange.

The influx of Pākehā ex-serviceman of the World Wars on the Galatea estate via land ballot introduced new military connections to the landscape. It also prompted a formal remembrance of Fort Galatea. The centennial celebration of the Fort became an opportunity to express a narrative of struggles and triumphs following the wars. The fortification returned to the spotlight and the site became a signal of community development and those of Galatea and the surrounding settlements such as Murupara were invited to reflect on their history and identity. One individual commented that the exhibition allowed the 'ruins to speak.' [155] However, the act of another individual spoke even louder than the ruins when he burnt down the site on the eve of the highly anticipated celebration. Resilience, hope and an imagined nostalgia underpinned the sentiments of the day. The community attempted to conceal and make sense of this past, through historical recreation. Ultimately, the evolution of Fort Galatea, from military fortification to marker of modernity, reflects the social and cultural shifts which altered the social landscape of this community. This regional focus was evident in the centennial celebration, as the day was one of local celebration, rather than overwhelmed by national narratives which defined New Zealand War celebrations of the

[154] Miranda Johnson, 'Knotted Histories', *Journal of New Zealand Histories*, 29, 2019, p.94.
[155] A. A. Coates, *Galatea*, Whakatāne & District Historical Society, 1980, p.21.

early twentieth century. This chapter will consider the way the fort was used as an arena of cultural exchange, a sudden re-emergence in memory upon the centennial anniversary and the way in which the environment acts as an historical force.

The Colonial Vision of Fort Galatea (on the cusp of the 'wilds of the Urewera')

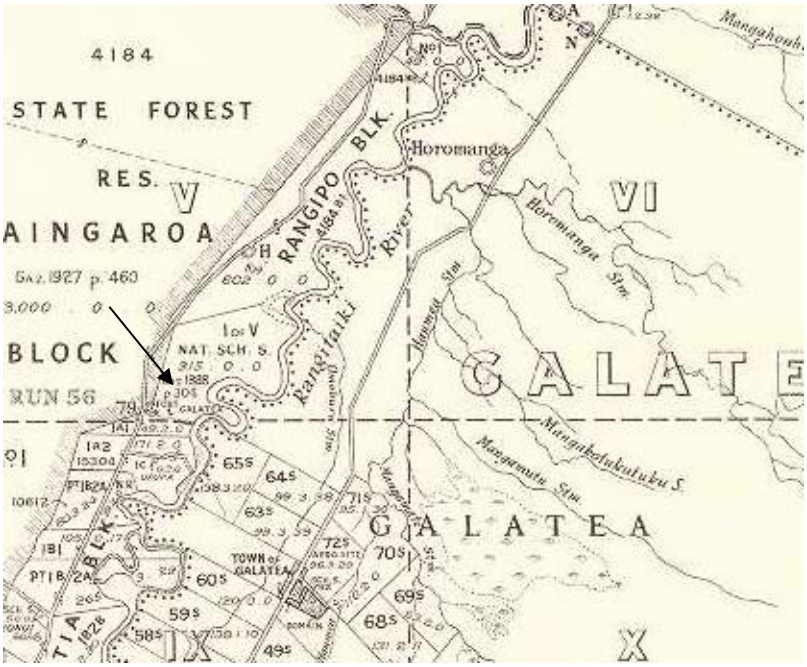

Figure 11: Fort Galatea on map, Healy, E.T., 'Galatea Survey District', *N.Z. Lands and Survey*, 1940. Arrow added by author.

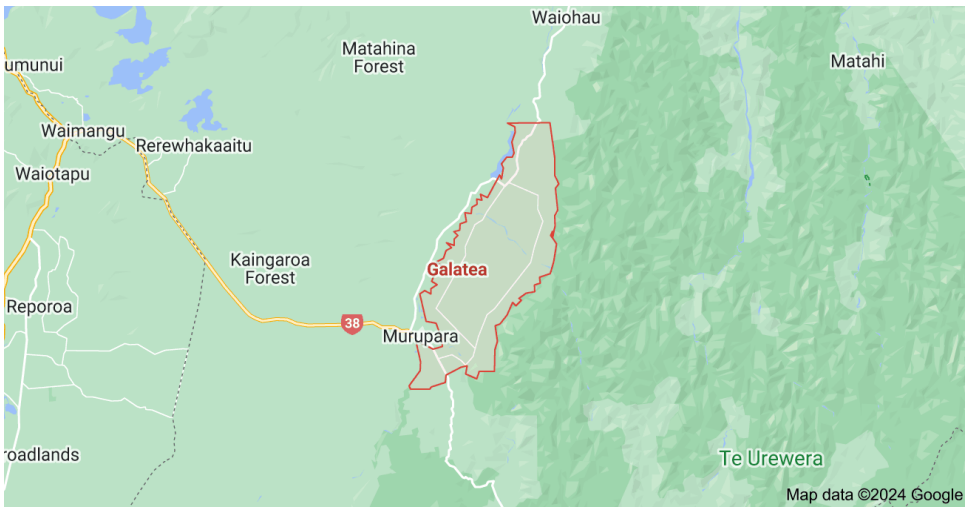

Figure 12: Map of Galatea area. Google Maps, 2024.

Originally the land of Ngāti Manawa, Fort Galatea was constructed on a landscape which later would be described as 'wild,' alluding to the colonial visions of unsettled land. The fort was built near a kāinga (habitation) known as Karamuramu.[156] The colonial military selected this location as it was ideal to monitor the perceived threat of Te Kooti during the East Coast conflicts. By the twentieth century, this location was labelled as 'wild' in narratives of the war. The position of the fort was selected for its, as one news source later put it, 'easy access into the wilds of the Urewera.'[157] The label of the land of Galatea as 'wild' and untamed became a recurring theme among later descriptions of the conditions during war time. An *Auckland-Waikato Historical Journal* article published in 1968 on the Wylie Family, some of the Pākehā 'pioneers' who settled at Galatea in 1886, claimed their story is of importance as they went to Galatea 'in its original wild and roadless state, much of it even unexplored and even uninhabited by Europeans.'[158] The description reveals further colonial attitudes towards the land, particularly the notion of the land being 'unexplored' and 'uninhabited' by Europeans - obviously excising any Māori presence. This notion was then referenced in 1969, in a publication for the Galatea Centennial,

> The only approach lay up the beds of the rivers which had their source in the bush-clad Urewera, where lurked even greater danger from the untamed mountain tribes who were dreaded by even their fellow-Maoris of the surrounding countryside.[159]

It is implied that once Galatea was settled and established as a township, the untamed land is no longer threatening and the notion of 'green pastures' alludes to the British countryside,

[156] Miles, Anita, 'Rangahaua District 4 Te Urewera', Waitangi Tribunal Rangahaua Whanui, March 1999: https://waitangitribunal.govt.nz/assets/WT-Te-Urewera.pdf, p.222.
[157] *Poverty Bay Herald,* 23 November 1937, p.15.
[158] 'The Wylie Family at Galatea', *Historical Journal Auckland-Waikato,* 13, October, 1968, Whakatāne Museum, p.2.
[159] *The Daily Post,* Fort Galatea Centenary, 1 May 1969, Whakatāne Museum, p.4.

suggesting the land is now manageable. These notions are also overshadowing the violence of the land in the years of war. It is insinuated that the 'dangerous' environment is intertwined with 'dangerous' Māori. The apparent absence of dangerous land coincides with the 'absence' of Māori, or more so the dominance of colonial culture. Ultimately Galatea was claimed, tamed and redefined 'in specifically British terms' following its use as a site to support conflict. [160]

It is unsurprising that Fort Galatea's natural environment became engulfed in the Pākehā vision of the unsettled land, given the name of the site has colonial roots. The naming of Galatea alludes to the colonial vision for the Galatea landscape. For Māori, the wider area was known as Kuhawaea, which refers to 'a respite for the out-of-breath and weary folk, after the strenuous trek through the Urewera mountains.'[161] However, Māori connections to the space seemingly became overshadowed and the fort was named after the HMS Galatea, on which Prince Alfred, the Duke of Edinburgh, travelled to visit New Zealand in 1869 upon the arrival of the colonial forces to the place.[162] The prince was warmly received as the first visitor to New Zealand who was part of the Royal Family in Britain. Rangatira from all over the country met at the Government House in Auckland to officially welcome the Prince to Aotearoa.[163]

Fort Galatea was thus named in honour of the arrival of the ship and the Duke of Edinburgh in 1869. Naming Fort Galatea after this event alludes to the fort's power, mirroring British authority. Fort Galatea comes from a long line of redoubts named after British ships -

[160] Byrnes, p.39.
[161] Coates, *Galatea,* p.2.
[162] Wynne Spring-Rice, 'The History and Archaeology of Fort Galatea, Bay of Plenty, New Zealand, 1869-1969', University of Auckland, MA Thesis, 1983. p.27.
[163] *Te Ao Hou*, Royal Tour 1953, p.14.

namely Esk Redoubt, Fort Niger - and royalty (Queen's Redoubt, Alexandra Redoubt).[164] Fort Alfred, built close to Fort Galatea at the same time, also takes on a royal namesake.[165]

Naming Fort Galatea after a name of imperial importance was ultimately a matter of control. Captain Stuart Newall, commented, upon the force reaching Karamuramu which appeared to be evacuated by Māori, 'in field orders at a late hour the place was named "Fort Galatea after H.R.H the Duke of Edinburgh's ship.'[166] As explained, Giselle Byrnes claims that 'names inscribed on the land by the early surveyors were deliberate and provocative statements of power; they were assertions of presence and signifiers of occupation.'[167] Naming Fort Galatea after an imperial ship asserted their control and power over the land. As explored by Lawrence D. Berg and Robin A Kearns, not only was the use of place names a tool to Europeanise the land, 'it was also part of a process of gendering the landscape in Western masculinist terms.'[168] Naming is thus intentional and purposeful. The arrival of the Duke of Edinburgh was a significant event that Pākehā felt deserved its own recognition, reflecting colonial attitudes and priorities. Giselle Byrnes explains that 'place names are not simply words imposed on a blank space, but are evidence of historical events which expressed the intentions – as well as the actions – of the namer.'[169] In this way, control and commemoration become intertwined. Naming a space also comes with political intent. To steer the narrative away from Māori rebellion, Pākehā are aligning Galatea, the redoubt on the cusp of Te Urewera, with notions of British loyalty and commitment.

Naming Galatea after a ship of royal and British importance ultimately framed this landscape as per the colonial vision of the land, overshadowing former connections between

[164] Prickett, 'Fortifications of the New Zealand Wars', https://www.doc.govt.nz/globalassets/documents/science-and-technical/sap261entire.pdf p.37, 117, 27.
[165] Prickett, https://www.doc.govt.nz/globalassets/documents/science-and-technical/sap261entire.pdf, p.83.
[166] Spring- Rice, p.27.
[167] Byrnes, p.80.
[168] Lawrence D. Berg and Robin A. Kearns, 'Naming as Norming: 'Race', Gender, and the Identity Politics of Naming Places in Aotearoa/New Zealand', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 14, 1, 1996, p.108.
[169] Byrnes, p.80.

Ngāti Manawa and their whenua. As a redoubt, Fort Galatea held military and colonial roots. Throughout the twentieth century, the land was defined in the press as untamed and wild, alluding to typical colonial impressions of uninhabited space. Framing the land in this way served to justify Pākehā action and highlights potential struggles the forces may have faced, in an unfamiliar environment.

Fort Galatea as an Arena of Cultural Exchange

While in use as a military fort, Fort Galatea became the stage for engagements and exchange between the Māori and Pākehā cultures. The fortification was a crucial site of refuge for some, as explained in a written account from Mr Ernest G. Hallett, who described how 'during the time the troops were away fighting the Hau Haus my mother and other women - mostly Maoris - were housed at the Fort for safety, a period extending over two years; my mother at the end was a fluent Maori speaker.'[170] Thus, alongside refuge, here is an example of how the Fort fostered the expansion of te reo Māori to Pākehā. In this sense, Fort Galatea goes beyond a site of conflict. This encounter between cultures and language affirms Johnson's conceptual framework of these grounds, as 'cross-cultural.'[171]

This cultural exchange was also present through the military force on Fort Galatea during the conflicts. Kūpapa were a significant proportion of the defence at Galatea. The experience of kūpapa is complex as it is hard to fit them into a narrative of colonisation.[172] Kūpapa intentions in the colonial forces during this time were complex. As Ron Crosby explains, the position of Ngāti Manawa whenua between Tūhoe and Te Arawa caused tension

[170] Ernest G. Hallett, 'SGT Hallett at Fort Galatea', *Historical Review*, Vol. XII, No. 3, September 1964, Whakatāne Museum, p.58.
[171] Johnson, p.94.
[172] Lyndsay Head, 'The pursuit of modernity in Māori society', In Andrew Sharp and Paul McHugh, eds., *Histories Power and Loss*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2001, p.98.; Ron Crosby, *Kūpapa: The bitter legacy of Māori alliances with the Crown*, Penguin Books, Auckland, 2015, p.19.

and jealousy over rohe (territory).[173] Crosby suggests that Ngāti Manawa's willingness to fight with the colonial forces was thus for the protection of their rangatiratanga, 'rather than any economic or religious reason.'[174] To position this into a broader context, Māori during the wars were battling with a 'central question of Maori modernity', that being, as explained by Lyndsay Head, whether to unite as a collective.[175] Prior to colonisation, Māori were not organised as a collective, rather they were grouped by iwi and hapu. This shaped conflicts and loyalties to the colonial forces. As Head explains, the majority of Māori either supported, or more likely did not actively oppose, the European government of New Zealand.'[176] Situating the kūpapa of Galatea in this context adds a new layer to Māori and Pākehā relationships in Galatea, particularly Pākehā with Ngāti Manawa. However, according to the Ngāti Manawa deed settlement of 2009, 'the Ngāti Manawa troops were not well provisioned by the Crown.'[177] The report suggests Māori experienced significant hardship during this time, 'for the next four years Ngāti Manawa were disconnected from their homes, cultivations and traditional resources and many of their men were away from their whanau while on military duty.'[178] Apart from their military responsibilities the colonial forces including kūpapa on Fort Galatea worked on roads, bridges paddocks. [179] Beyond the military and defence function of the fortification, the men also aided the 'progression' of Galatea in a colonial sense. As Ron Crosby suggests, remembering the wars in an accurate way requires an understanding of these complex reasons kūpapa fought alongside imperial and colonial

[173] Crosby, *Kūpapa: The bitter legacy of Māori alliances with the Crown*, p.242.
[174] Crosby, p.242.
[175] Head, 'The pursuit of modernity in Māori society', p.98.
[176] Head, p.98.
[177] Ngati Manawa Deed of Settlement, Deed of Settlement Historical Claims, 12 December 2009, https://www.govt.nz/assets/Documents/OTS/Ngati-Manawa/Ngati-Manawa-Deed-ofSettlement-12-Dec-2009.pdf, p.16.
[178] Ngāti Manawa Deed of Settlement, https://www.govt.nz/assets/Documents/OTS/Ngati-Manawa/Ngati-Manawa-Deed-ofSettlement-12-Dec-2009.pdf, p.16.
[179] 'The Wylie Family at Galatea', *Historical Journal Auckland-Waikato,* 13, October 1968, p.2.

forces.[180] The position of kūpapa who fought along Pākehā during the wars for various reasons, complicates recognition of those who died in the New Zealand Wars.[181]

Alongside these cultural exchanges were the personal experiences of colonial soldiers who produced the first accounts of the wars. The accounts of wars by early figures shaped public understandings of the wars. Captain Gilbert Mair, one of these key figures, led the military force of on Fort Galatea, including kūpapa.[182] Before the wars, Mair developed an understanding of Māori culture as he and his brother would purchase kauri gum from Māori who were mainly of Te Arawa.[183] These early engagements allowed him to develop strong relationships with Māori. Mair had a long and recognised involvement with the colonial military. Mair was born in Whangārei and initially was part of the 1st Waikato regiment where he was present in conflicts at Whakamārama and Irihanga.[184] Later in his military career, he became a key member in the campaign against Te Kooti. [185] Mair was also present for the arrival of the Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Alfred, on the HMS Galatea in 1870, escorting the Duke to Rotorua.[186] As an interpreter in parliament, Mair was fluent in te reo.[187] His relationship with Māori was complex and colonial attitudes were evident in his understanding of the wars. When he became unwell, the local Māori were concerned for Mair and he sent a farewell message to the people of Arawa, where he claimed following the efforts of the wars, the two peoples of New Zealand were able to live 'under one law and with affectionate regard, the one for the other.'[188] The affection between Te Arawa Māori and

[180] Crosby, p.19.
[181] Crosby, p.19.
[182] *Evening Star*, 14 December 1923, p.9.
[183] Henry Brett, ed., Gilbert Mair, *Reminiscences and Maori stories,* Auckland, 1923, p.v. (preface written by Henry Brett).
[184] *Taranaki Daily News*, 5 December 1923, p.5.
[185] *Taranaki Daily News*, 5 December 1923, p.5.
[186] Henry Brett, ed., Gilbert Mair, *Reminisces and Maori stories*, p.vi.
[187] *Taranaki Daily News*, 5 December 1923, p.5.
[188] *Taranaki Daily News*, 5 December 1923, p.5.

Mair appeared to be mutual, but as implied by his message, Mair upheld the colonial narrative of Māori and Pākehā unity.

His death in 1923 sparked a 're-remembering' of the wars and Fort Galatea.[189] Local newspapers wrote widely about his significant achievements as part of the colonial army, including an acknowledgement of his role in the campaign against Te Kooti. These accounts affirmed a narrative of the 'wild' environment of the Ureweras, 'two years were spent in dangerous patrol work in the dense bush, during which time Te Kooti was kept constantly on the move' the *New Zealand Herald* commented.[190] It is implied that both Te Kooti and the landscape was dangerous. The opportunity to recall the events in the press became an opportunity to justify the need to claim the land of Aotearoa and the colonial pursual of Te Kooti.[191] Naturally, the death of those with experience in the wars such as Mair enacted recall of the sites and events of the war. In turn, these colonial figures were tied to an historical colonial understanding of Fort Galatea, perpetuating a narrative of a 'dangerous' and 'wild' Fort Galatea and further justifying the military's actions against Te Kooti, even decades after the wars.

Māori and Pākehā in the Bay of Plenty had a complex, inter-connected relationship following the wars. The cultural exchange between Māori and Pākehā that began during the wars, extended to the opening of the native school on Fort Galatea which began in 1877. However, it was also an extension of the colonising agenda. This was exhibited by the engagement between local iwi and the Pākehā who worked in the native school. The native school initially had 'eight children were from Ngāti Rongo; six from Patuheuheu; three from Warahoe; and six from Ngāti Whare. The remaining ten were Ngāti Manawa from Galatea.'[192] The school opened among six native schools in Te Urewera area from 1877 to

[189] *New Zealand Herald,* 30 November 1923, p.10.
[190] *New Zealand Herald,* 30 November 1923, p.10.
[191] *New Zealand Herald,* 30 November 1923, p.10.
[192] Judith Binney, *Encircled Lands: Te Urewera, 1820-1921,* Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2016, p.435.

1899.[193] The 1875 Fort Galatea officers' quarters of the redoubt was repurposed as the schoolhouse.[194]

The introduction of native schools had multiple complex purposes. Judith Binney argues that it was intended for these schools to 'act as a spearhead for English values and the English language.'[195] However, they were also used as part of medical campaigns and to supply medicine to Māori children, as teachers during this time 'became the sole providers of European medicine for Urewera Māori until the first decade of the twentieth century.'[196] More specifically to Galatea, the government believed that if the Māori of Te Urewera saw the willingness of Māori who attended and endorsed the Galatea Native school, they may also want a native school for their tamariki. Officials presented Galatea as an integrative site; where it had once been a symbol of British military supremacy, it would now be a beacon of 'civilisation', in the uncertain aftermath of the wars. Missionary J. Duffus stated the school was considered to 'bring about a better state of feeling between the two races.'[197] Evidently from this early statement, attempts were made to justify colonial actions as for the betterment of both Māori and Pākehā. This was further confirmed in an 1891 parliamentary report, which stated 'this school has very considerable value as a civilising agency in a district where such a thing is greatly needed.'[198] It was hoped that the school's location, being so close to the Urewera, would encourage the 'secluded' Māori living in these areas to follow the lead of the 'obliging' action of the other iwi.[199] During the campaign, the site was ideal to track Māori and as a foothold into Te Urewera. Once the site became a native school, among the many

[193] Binney, *Encircled Lands: Te Urewera, 1820-1921,* p.433.
[194] 'The Wylie Family at Galatea', *Historical Journal Auckland-Waikato,* 13, October 1968, p.2.
[195] Binney, p.433.
[196] Binney, p.434.
[197] Binney, p.434.
[198] *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives AHR,* 1891 Session II, E-02, p.7.
[199] Binney, p.434.

other intentions of its openings, it was yet another attempt to 'convince' and ultimately control the Māori of Te Urewera.

Whilst it was open, the Galatea native school faced a range of problems. After one year of opening, the school shut down due to a lack of attendance. As indicated by school records, that this was due to the health epidemics occurring at the time and lack of food, from both the school and parents.[200] Ngāti Manawa claimed their initial lack of support for Galatea school 'was due to the teacher's alcoholism and consequential ill-health.'[201] However, Ngāti Manawa petitioned for the school to be reopened.[202] The school experienced a series of unfortunate events, including the eruption of Tarawera.[203] Woods, the first school teacher, left Galatea, making way for the Turnbull family to begin working at Galatea Native School.[204] The Turnbull family originally came to New Zealand and settled on farms in 1875.[205] The youngest son of Joseph and Mary Ann Wylie, also named Joseph moved to Galatea in 1886 to work as schoolmaster for the Galatea Native School.[206]

Even once the school was reopened in 1881, Galatea school continued to struggle. The land at the site of Galatea could not be cultivated and thus they could not grow food for the children to consume.[207] Conditions worsened with the eruption of Mount Tarawera in 1886 as the land became poisonous for the next six months and the school was forced to shut down.[208] The school was reopened in 1887, with the new teacher Joseph Wiley who struggled to gain medical supplies for the many unwell children that attended the school.[209]

[200] Binney, p.434.
[201] Binney, p.434.
[202] Binney, p.434.
[203] 'The Wylie Family at Galatea', *Historical Journal Auckland-Waikato,* 13, October 1968, p.2.
[204] 'The Wylie Family at Galatea', *Historical Journal Auckland-Waikato,* 13, October 1968, p.2.
[205] 'The Wylie Family at Galatea', *Historical Journal Auckland-Waikato,* 13, October 1968, p.3.
[206] 'The Wylie Family at Galatea', *Historical Journal Auckland-Waikato,* 13, October 1968, p.3.
[207] Binney, p.435.
[208] Binney, p.434.
[209] Binney, p.435.

Although the school did not give the government the foothold they were hoping for, observers at the time attempted to demonstrate that the school was having an impact on Māori. 'The teacher's example, too, in making the best of a rather sterile soil and a rigorous climate, is of great use,' the 1891 report claims.[210] The article continued that 'the teacher has begun to grow wheat, and to use wheat-meal of his own grinding, and the Natives are following suit.'[211] However, only a few years later, reports were notably more pessimistic, and it appears the quality of the students' work also declined.[212] Galatea's isolation was also considered as a potential reason for the decline in results, as suggested in the following report,

> Useful work was being done here, although Galatea is not one of our strong schools. Some allowance should be made for extreme isolation, but not so very much, seeing that there are very isolated schools that need no such allowance. The results were very fair, but little of the work was good. There was a satisfactory number of passes that give an examiner almost as much as they give the teacher were entirely wanting.[213]

Whilst Galatea's location was selected by the colonial forces for its ideal location to monitor the movements of Māori, its isolation and land fertility impacted the lives of those in Galatea following the wars, including the efforts of the native school.

The opening of a native school on Fort Galatea reflected both the interests of European and Ngāti Manawa. Native schools promoted European ideologies and the use of the English language. This was a complex relationship, as both teachers such as Joseph Wylie and the Ngāti Manawa community had a shared care for the health of local Māori. Upon struggling to gain sufficient funding and supplies, Wylie used his own income to provide the children at Galatea school with medicine during the measles pandemic.[214] In 1894, Wylie stated 'the Natives here are very poor and will not pay for medicine in fact they have not got

[210] *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representative (AJHR),* 1891 Session II, E-02, p.7.
[211] *AJHR,* 1891 Session II, E-02, p.7.
[212] *AJHR,* 1895 Session 1, E-02, p.5.
[213] *AJHR,* 1895 Session 1, E-02, p.5.
[214] Binney, p.436.

the money to do so, and I cannot allow them to die for want of treatment.'[215] Thus, Wylie adapted the school facility to address the direct concerns threatening Māori at the time. This shared care for Māori encouraged collaboration as Wylie and Harehare Aterea from Ngāti Manawa wanted the school to be shut down for two weeks to provide full support for those unwell, but this was denied by the Education Department.[216] The school was eventually moved from the site of Fort Galatea to the nearby area of Te Awangararanui.[217] Despite many genuine efforts made, the school was unable to stay open due to many unfortunate external circumstances. The successes and failures of the native school at the remains of Fort Galata reflects the evolving needs of the Galatea community and the difficult external forces which ultimately meant the school could not be sustained.

In moments during and following the wars, Fort Galatea became an arena of cultural exchange. Kūpapa formed a substantial portion of the colonial force based on Fort Galatea. Notably this was a complex dynamic, as explained by Head and Crosby. However, it formed the foundations for these early encounters of cultural exchange. This was extended to the native school, which opened upon completion of the wars. Figures such as Wylie and Aterea affirm that Fort Galatea became a place of collaboration and exchange. They both had shared interest in the native school. As discussed, through Miranda Johnson's proposed framework of 'knotted histories', Pākehā and Māori histories become inter-connected, in ways that allow us to study them through a multi-faceted lens, rather than a simple narrative. It is important to note that the official purpose of native schools, such as Galatea native school, was to support the colonisation of Aotearoa. Through education, the government aimed to influence young Māori. However, on the ground, the site offered a more nuanced cultural dynamic. This complicates notions of memory, as whilst the site was built for military purposes, considering

[215] Binney, p.436.
[216] Binney, p.436.
[217] Binney, p.437.

the relationships between Māori and Pākehā on the grounds of Fort Galatea reflects a different story. In this way, Fort Galatea was utilised for a variety of purposes following its use as a military fort.

Peace and Prosperity?

During the wars, the Bay of Plenty became a landscape of war. Fort Galatea supported this military advancement. However, efforts were made by the press to overshadow the violence of war and accounts reflected Galatea as a vast space of peace and prosperity. The intentions of these accounts were two-fold. Galatea was signalled as a marker of colonial achievement and the horrors of conflict were concealed. A writer in 1889 came to the following conclusions,

> formerly known as a fort and military position at the time of the war. It received its name from the man-of-war in which the Duke of Edinburgh came to the colony on a visit. A large area of country about here is held as a run for grazing sheep, the quality being very indifferent and only suitable for pastoral purposes. Galatea is a more native settlement, there being only a native school and store. Quiet as it and Te Teko is, they both saw stirring times during the last war, and since then they have had their busy times, while land speculating and purchasing were rife in the district. [218]

Galatea was largely untouched by colonial settlement. This untouched narrative of Galatea remained in to the early twentieth century, as they were mainly unbothered by visitors. However, there were some reports of disturbance. In 1927, twelve cars joined to travel from South Rotorua to the Urewera country.[219] This 'motor car party' reportedly travelled to Fort Galatea alongside making other stops in the area, and it was reported that the 'trenches' of the

[218] *New Zealand Herald,* 29 October 1889, p.6.
[219] *New Zealand Herald,* 4 April 1927, p.10.

Fort were still 'plainly to be seen.'[220] Therefore, the absence of colonial interaction also meant Fort Galatea remained unbothered.

A memorial in Opepe also became an opportunity to boast peace. The signpost of the memorial became a point of discontent for Māori in 1935. This discussion suggests a complex shift occurred in the way Māori of the Bay of Plenty engaged with Pākehā. The memorial recognised a conflict in 1869, where a group of colonial soldiers who were based on Fort Galatea, were attacked by a group under the leadership of Te Kooti.[221] The event was labelled as the 'Opepe Massacre' immediately in the press.[222] In recognition of the event, a signpost was placed and read as follows,

> 'Opepe Massacre, 7th June, 1869- Near this spot are the graves of nine members of the Bay of Plenty Calvary who were suddenly attacked and killed by hostile natives under Te Kooti, who was then marching from the Urewera Country to Taupo.'[223]

Almost seventy years after the event, in 1935, Te Arawa Māori requested the term 'massacre' be rephrased on the signpost.[224] As a replacement, they suggested 'engagement' be used instead, given that, in their words, 'Maori and pakeha now live in peace and harmony.'[225] It was also explained that the term 'massacre' also did not acknowledge the country was experiencing war when the event occurred and framed Māori as the instigators.[226] In October 1935, the request was accepted by the government to change the signpost. However, the government decided that 'surprise attack' was the most appropriate replacement. Despite not going with their suggestion, it was published in the press that Te Arawa were grateful for their support in the change.[227]

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[220] *Auckland Star*, 4 April 1927, p.8.
[221] *New Zealand Herald*, 7 June 1935, p.13.
[222] *Hawkes Bay Herald*, 25 June 1869, p.2.
[223] *New Zealand Herald*, 7 June 1935, p.13.
[224] *New Zealand Herald*, 7 June 1935, p.13.
[225] *New Zealand Herald*, 7 June 1935, p.13.
[226] *Manawatu Standard*, 9 October 1935, p.3.
[227] *Dominion*, 21 October 1935, p.10.

Narratives of the New Zealand Wars that emerged during the early twentieth century sought to unify the citizens of New Zealand. This was particularly utilised in the build-up to the First World War, at a time when New Zealand's loyalty to Britain a matter of major political importance.[228] The government's willingness to alter the memorial reflects both evolving interpretations of the New Zealand Wars. It also suggests that the memorialisation of this attack was utilised as a 'signpost' for healthy race relations between Māori and Pākehā. As the discussion occurred following the First World War and in the shadow of increasing likelihood of another major war in the late 1930s, governments utilised the commemoration of the wars to promote a narrative of national unity. However, Māori were not completely absent from this public agenda, claiming as Opepe leaders did the change was appropriate given Māori and Pākehā now coexist in 'peace and harmony.'[229] In this way, Māori were able to utilise the signpost to signal peace for their own benefits. Memorials such as statues and plaques become an expression of present, rather than the past.

The Purchase of the Galatea Estate

The purchase of the Galatea Estate not only altered the social landscape of Galatea, but it also sparked a re-remembering of the wars. This new attention, coupled with a new group of settlers caused the eventual centennial commemoration of Fort Galatea in 1969. The chairman of the Government Land Purchase Board, J.D. Ritchie proposed to the Commissioner of Crown Lands that, based on the advice of the Bay of Plenty Development League, the land of Galatea station be purchased for returned soldiers.[230] By 1920, Mr

[228] Gentry, p.100
[229] *New Zealand Herald*, 7 June 1935, p.13.
[230] Coates, *Galatea,* p.34.

Troutbeck, the owner of the land at the time, was open to sale and inspections were made by the Commissioner of Crown Lands.[231] However, it was decided the land was not the appropriate fit for returned soldiers and due to another larger offer being made for the land (which did not actually eventuate) the Land Purchase Board decided against the purchase. [232] However, settlement at Galatea and the purchase of the estate was raised again in 1929, alongside requests from the Minister of Native Affairs Sir Apirana Ngata to complete the Te Teko-Galatea Road, as there was 'value to open up Crown Land south of Murupara, and timberland at Te Whaiti, Heruiwi and also Troutbeck's and Grant's properties.'[233]

Once announced that the government acquired ownership of the Galatea estate (across from Fort Galatea) in January 1931, plans quickly began.[234] This was hoped to provide much needed employment to the struggling area.[235] The land purchased by the government was 22,000 acres and was estimated to have 120 holdings once divided.[236] In response, a 'Galatea Settlement Committee' was founded. The plan was to, within two years, place 2000 cows on the land, which they believe could eventually hold 10,000 cows to make an 'annual revenue of £100,000.'[237] Town planning for Galatea in 1931 included a school, church and post-office.[238] The government's purchase of the large Galatea estate hoped to transform the isolated area into a profitable one, but the development had a rocky start and delays in the progress of the estate led to criticisms.[239]

The news of the land settlement prompted a renewed interest in the history of Fort Galatea, and the history of the former military redoubt was published in the press.[240] Despite

[231] Coates, p.35.
[232] Coates, p.36.
[233] Coates, p.36.
[234] *Poverty Bay Herald,* 20 January 1931, p.5.
[235] *Dominion,* 20 January 1931, p.10.
[236] *Ashburton Guardian,* 20 January 1931, p.2.
[237] *Dominion,* 20 January 1931, p.10.
[238] Coates, p.38.
[239] *New Zealand Herald,* 17 May 1932, p.11.
[240] for example, *Stratford Evening Post,* 24 January 1931, p.6.

this rapid change occurring for Galatea, in 1937 it was reported that of the three fortifications built at the same time in the same area, those being Fort Alfred and Fort Clark, Fort Galatea is the only one 'still in use.'[241] The buildings had been improved and used for a farmhouse and the article reports if one wishes to get through tall, overgrown manuka, they can see the remains of the trenches which were once in use.[242] During this period, the site of the former redoubt and native school was occupied by the Turnbull family.[243] Prior to this, following the closure of Fort Galatea native school, the historic building and land was leased to Joseph Wylie.[244] The history of Fort Galatea assumed a background presence among the pursuit of a rapid settlement and given that it was used by various families, for various uses such as farming and timber growing.[245] However, the accounts of Fort Galatea to emerge in news articles upon the purchase of the Estate, reflects that history and memory are utilised to create connections and demonstrate relevance, foreshadowing the events of the 1969 Fort Galatea Centennial.

The ballot for land introduced new settlers with war connections to the area of Galatea. The ballot for land went to First and Second World War soldiers. Therefore, despite not having direct connection to Fort Galatea, the new settlers had connections to the World Wars, and they demonstrated this with the building of a war memorial. Initial ballot applications for land on the Galatea Estate (a total of 2,391 acres) began in 1937.[246] These settlers, as ex-servicemen of the First World War experienced difficult conditions in Galatea, following the Great depression.[247] In 1945, thirteen sections of the Galatea Estate became available for ballot for ex-servicemen.[248] By the time the ex-serviceman of the Second World War

[241] *Poverty Bay Herald,* 23 November 1937, p.15.
[242] *Poverty Bay Herald,* 23 November 1937, p.15.
[243] Spring-Rice, p.57.
[244] Spring-Rice, p.57.
[245] Spring-Rice, p.57.
[246] Coates, p.47.
[247] Coates, p.60.
[248] *Herald,* 8 June 1945, p.8.

recipients of Galatea land arrived, the government learnt to give them more support.[249] This support looked like training those who required help and offering farms that were already developed.[250] As ex-servicemen in the world wars, the new Galatea residents asserted their identity and war connections by building a war memorial hall in 1952.[251] Halls were a common form of memorialisation during this period. Despite these settlers not having personal or ancestral connections to the East Coast Wars, as ex-servicemen honouring their war history may have helped foster a relationship between the ex-war veterans and their new home on Galatea. War memorials also serve a utilitarian function, aiding Galatea's progress as a growing settlement. However, as explained by Gretel Boswijk, 'memorials such as community halls, parks or swimming pools, the generation responsible for their creation likely understood the meaning of the whole site as a war memorial. Since then, several generations have grown up who have no direct experience of the war years, and for whom the hall, park or pool is just part of where they live.'[252] In this way, war memorials allow the community to assert their identity, but later become tied within the fabric of everyday life, limiting their initial function.

Whilst Galatea as a landscape has a history of human settlement prior to the ballot, with various groups utilising the space at different times, through the Crown purchase of the estate and its use for farming and ex-servicemen settlement, Galatea experienced its largest Pākehā population increase. This instigated change for Galatea as a township. In the process, this shaped the community and identity of Galatea. It also caused recognition for Fort Galatea, as the press recounted the Fort's use during the colonial campaign against Te Kooti.[253]

[249] Coates, p.60.
[250] Coates, p.60.
[251] 'Galatea War Memorial Hall', https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/galatea-war-memorial-hall.
[252] Gretel Boswijk, 'Blue days: A mid-20th century war memorial swimscape and the persistence of memory', *New Zealand Geographer,* 78, 3, 2022, p.197.
[253] *Dominion*, 20 January 1931, p.10.

From early in the township planning process, the 'Galatea Settlement Committee' identified that the land of Galatea should 'provide the much desired incentive for the type of men who should be, and wish to be, on the land.'[254] The notions of a 'working man' and ex-soldier were alluded to as the ideal resident of Galatea. Herbert Allison Collins arrived in Murupara, a nearby town to Galatea, in May 1942 to work in the growing forestry industry. 'Galatea was settled by 200 soldier settlers,' Collins stated 'and they all turned out well too, except a few- very few- who thought they should be leading the life of "Landed Gentry" (without working).'[255] Those who were not willing to 'work hard' were thus going against the grain of an imagined Galatea life.

The obscured military past of Fort Galatea can be attributed to the lack of settlers with connection to the wars. Furthermore, those who did settle experienced significant hardship, such as Myra Jansen. Jansen moved to Galatea with her family through the ballot system. Her experience reflects one of struggle and sacrifice, as well as community. She tells of nearby neighbours supporting each other on their farms.[256] Myra came across women in Galatea who 'worked like men' and would step in whilst the men worked on the 'road from Galatea to Te Whaiti.'[257] Myra Jansen's reflections suggest that life was very tough in mid-twentieth century Galatea and as a community they faced many setbacks such as drought which impacted their crops. However, there were also examples of resilience and community in the face of such challenges. Of course, it is clear from accounts such as from Myra Jansen that Galatea during this evolving middle twentieth century period was extremely hard, due to the conditions of the land and isolation. Like Myra Jansen, many of those who settled in Galatea during the nineteenth century came from a ballot system for previous military service. Thus,

[254] Coates, p.37.
[255] Herbert Allison Collins, 'Reminiscences on Kaingaroa, Murupara and Galatea, and related letters from Collins', Alexander Turnbull Library, MS-Papers-10880, p.13.
[256] Joan Boyd, *Daughters of the Land: Nga Uri Wahine A Hineahuone A Glimpse into the lives of rural women in the Rotorua region 1893-1993*, Rotorua District Council, Rotorua, 1993, p.44.
[257] Boyd, *Daughters of the Land,* p.47.

the lack of recognition to Fort Galatea in a formal sense (like the stone memorial built on Marsland Hill, New Plymouth) could also be attributed to a lack of intergenerational connections to the area of Galatea. The remembrance of Galatea in connection to the passing of Mair, for example, was connected to his service and experience with the wars. However, few Pākehā settled in Galatea following the wars. There was not a rise in settlement numbers until the government acquired the land. As evident with the monument on Marsland Hill, New Plymouth, the work of passionate individuals, usually those with connections to the governance of the township and/or participated in the wars often drove formal remembrance. This is coupled with the difficult environment and effort to settle an area, which potentially was the priority for Pākehā. Without this connection by most Pākehā settled in Galatea, there is a lack of formal commemoration through plaques, memorial gardens, statues and monuments.

Commemorating Fort Galatea

Aotearoa in the mid-twentieth century observed multiple key centennial anniversaries. The signing of the Treaty of Waitangi was marked in 1940 and was a day of celebration throughout the nation. By the 1960s, a series of New Zealand War centenaries were recognised by communities and towards the end of that decade in 1969, the community of Galatea celebrated their own unique centennial, one hundred years since the construction of Fort Galatea.

By 1963, Fort Galatea had gained the status of historic reserve.[258] The Centennial Celebration for Fort Galatea, one-hundred years after Fort Galatea was constructed, was an

[258] *Press*, 27 July 1963, p.10.

opportunity for the community to come together to recognise the fort and the wars, as well as the history of their community over the century. To mark the event, an exhibition of photos was put up along the walls of the building on the redoubt. One anonymous individual had early access to this and spoke highly of the effort,

> gnarled poplars rising to 150 feet, mighty macracarpas with barrels like Kauris, and tall ancient Pines, are the land beacons marking the remains of Fort Galatea today, but if you did want the ruins to speak, visit them in the evening alone as I did.[259]

What remained of Fort Galatea was poplars and pines but it was deemed worthy of celebration by the people of Galatea.

On Saturday the 3rd of May 1969, 1500 people gathered to remember Fort Galatea.[260] The lead up to these highly anticipated events did not go smoothly, however. On the eve of the centennial, the display was intentionally set on fire and destroyed. Conflicting stories emerged at the time regarding the intentions of the act. The *Press* claimed that Frances Anthony Hall set fire to the redoubt under the influence of alcohol.[261] It was reported that Hall 'realised it was a foolish action' and called the nearby fire services, but the redoubt was destroyed .[262] Ten days later, presumably when more information was brought to light, it was reported that Hall's defence claimed the act was both done on a dare and as an act of defiance, as 'Hall felt the redoubt was a monument to pakeha soldiers who had trodden on the toes of his people in the past.'[263] Despite the disruption made by Hall, the committee supposedly restored the 'historical review prepared on cardboard and hung round the walls of the barracks' that was initially created before the big event.[264]

Whilst the justifications for Hall's actions differ significantly, the claim that Fort Galatea served as a 'monument' of Pakeha oppression is important and anticipates the

[259] Coates, p.21.
[260] *Press*, 5 May 1969, p.24.
[261] *Press*, 13 May 1969, p.32.
[262] *Press*, 13 May 1969, p.32.
[263] *Press*, 23 May 1969, p.18.
[264] *Press*, 5 May 1969, p.24.

sentiment of other protests, such as the 1991 destruction of the Marsland Hill monument. This action was juxtaposed by the words of Pākehā officials on the day of the centennial, for whom the anniversary was a time to celebrate unity and resilience. This was reflected in the message written and published in the Fort Galatea Centennial edition of the *Daily Post* by Mayor of Murupara, P. G. Murphy,

> It is, therefore, a monument we should cherish. I hope the days is not far distant when the fort and its buildings will be restored to a state of preservation which will become a permanent monument to the days when Maori and Pakeha tested each other's mettle in the fires of war.[265]

Not only does this message overlook existing tensions between Pākehā and Māori, but the true reality of warfare was downplayed in preference to a story of the wars as a baptismal 'fire' which helped forge New Zealand identity. As explained by Myra Jansen and Herbert Collins, the isolated life in the broader Galatea area in the mid-nineteenth century was difficult and the language on the day of the centennial spoke to a need to unify and encourage the local people of the area. Whilst Hall deemed Fort Galatea, a 'monument to pakeha soldiers who had trodden on the toes of his people in the past', Murphy insisted the Fort was 'a monument we should cherish.'[266] Thus, the remembrance of Fort Galatea evoked a range of emotions and responses and despite best efforts from officials, the narrative of unity was not believed by all.

For officials, the centennial presented as an opportunity to build a collective sense of identity. The sentiments of the Galatea centennial in some ways repeated those of the 1940 Waitangi centennial, marking a century of progress since the signing of the Treaty. The 1940 centennial became an event to highlight colonial advancement, particularly within the British Empire. As Jock Phillips notes, for many Pākehā, there was limited recognition of the actual

[265] P. G. Murphy, *Daily Post*, Fort Galatea Centenary, 1 May 1969, Whakātane Museum, p.2.
[266] *Press*, 23 May 1969, p.18.; P. G. Murphy, *Daily Post*, Fort Galatea Centenary, May 1969, p.2.

Treaty.[267] Instead, the anniversary was a chance to pay a 'tribute to the noble pioneers.'[268] Whilst Māori were somewhat included in the 1940 celebrations, their role was limited to idealised depictions of the culture and as an opportunity to promote Māori as a 'civilised' population, alongside notions of Pākehā and Māori having the 'best relations in the world.'[269] To support this, examples of dissonance between the two groups were purposefully avoided.[270] This was also reflected in the 1969 Galatea centennial, as Murphy suggested the wars were simply each group 'testing each other's mettle.'[271]

As stated by Phillips, the events of thirty years prior in 1940 'represented a self-conscious effort to proclaim and reinforce a national value system.'[272] The centennial anniversary of the signing of the Treaty became an event of national importance, and national values were brought to the spotlight. The Galatea Centennial, in contrast, was an event of regional importance. Communities from Galatea and surrounding areas such as Murupara came together to recognise Fort Galatea. Whilst events did include moments of value affirming, such as Mayor Murphy's message, it was also a chance for the community to reflect on their growth as a district.

Fort Galatea was not the only centennial celebration in New Zealand during this time, given the number of conflicts which broke out in the 1860s. For example, at the centennial commemoration of Rangiriri in 1963, there were connotations of Māori and Pākehā unity, with speeches used as an opportunity to allude to 'bravery and mutual respect.'[273] Indeed, Fort Galatea was marked as a 'monument' of education, change but also 'hope.' The mayor's

[267] Jock Phillips, 'Afterword: Reading the 1940 Centennial', In William Renwick, ed., *Creating a National Spirit: Celebrating New Zealand's Centennial,* Victoria University Press, Wellington, 2004, p.273.
[268] Phillips, 'Afterword', p.276.
[269] Phillips, 'Afterword', p.275.
[270] Phillips, 'Afterword', p.274.
[271] P. G. Murphy, *Daily Post*, Fort Galatea Centenary, 1 May 1969, p.2.
[272] Phillips, 'Afterword', p.272.
[273] Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2016, p.28.

speech also echoes common ideals shared among other 1960s centennials at the time.[274] This hope was further indicated by P. G. Murphy when he stated in the newspaper, 'we should also point to its silent ramparts with a sense of pride in the certainty in the differences which led to their construction shall never be repeated again.'[275]

One of the highly anticipated events of the centennial celebration was a reference to the site's military use through a 'demonstration by a special military group from Waiouru, which will wear the uniform of the armed constabulary of the period' and was one of the highly anticipated events of the day. However, in the words of historian Jay Winter, historical reenactment 'is dangerous because it adds elements of excitement and adventure to contemporary notions of war.'[276] The Galatea and Murupara communities were not attempting to recreate the specific events of war. But dressing in the attire adds excitement and intrigue from an idealised perspective. The act of 'redressing' the past, through dressing in historically accurate attire suggests one of the intentions of this celebration was to recreate the past. By focussing on more regular aspects of the war in the Galatea centenary itinerary, such as what they wore, the community is attempting to fit the wars into a narrative they can understand, maybe even enjoy. In turn, the violence of warfare becomes overlooked and certainly white-washed. The day's activities, instead, became an opportunity to 'celebrate' the past.

There was also a degree of what Paul Moon terms 'prosthetic nostalgia.' Moon describes this as 'a nostalgic longing for a period or place that the person experiencing the nostalgia has had no involvement with or direct connection to.'[277] Although Moon analyses

[274] Vincent O'Malley, 'Little Town, Big Histories: Remembrance and Denial on the Waikato Frontier', in Joanna Kidman, Vincent O'Malley, Liana MacDonald, Tom Roa and Keziah Wallis, *Fragments of a Contested Past: Remembrance, Denial and New Zealand History,* Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2022, p.128.
[275] P. G. Murphy, *Daily Post*, Fort Galatea Centenary, 1 May 1969, p.2.
[276] Jay Winter, 'Unfinished Business: Remembering The Great War Between Truth and Reenactment', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 30, Cambridge University Press, 2020, p.120.
[277] Paul Moon, 'Prosthetic Nostalgia: History and Memory in "Art Deco Napier"', *Journal of New Zealand Studies*, 32, 2021, p.61.

Napier's art deco heritage to explain this concept, I believe it is applicable to the 1969 commemoration of Fort Galatea. The community of Galatea, given most of them arrived following the veterans' ballot, did not have direct connections to the Fort. Consequently, the events of the day such as the wearing of attire from the period of the wars, idealised the past. As Paul Moon explains, the past becomes commercialised and thus filtered through a lens of the present, 'this is a crucial feature of contemporary nostalgia: the opportunity it presents for commodifying the past.'[278] By recreating the past to both understand it and connect through it, the history of Galatea and the wars became idealised and commercialised.

The commercialisation was present in advertisements for local businesses in Galatea. Local businesses of the area took advantage of the centennial activities to promote goods and services. Advertisers repeatedly leveraged the catch phrase 'one hundred years ago today', comparing what life was like during the time Fort Galatea was in use, compared to the reality of life in 1969. One advertisement stated, for example, 'one hundred years ago- Te Kooti fought wars' and then explained that all customers must visit Nixon's food market to attain 'the widest range' and 'the best prices.'[279] By commodifying the past for marketing, the historical significance of Fort Galatea became lost amongst the efforts made to profit from the occasion. The past becomes a tool for marketing and the events are manipulated to fit the narrative of the business and suit the Pākehā audience.

With the threat of war formally marked as an event of a century gone, the community of Galatea were able to be both nostalgic and commercial in their treatment of the wars. Vincent O'Malley explains that the boom in New Zealand War memorials in the early twentieth century, among other reasons, can be partly attributed to Māori no longer being a perceived threat by Pākehā, 'settlers could afford to be nostalgic about them.'[280] This was

[278] Moon, p.72.
[279] *Daily Post*, Fort Galatea Centenary, 1 May 1969, Whakatāne Museum, p.1.
[280] O'Malley, '"Recording the Incident with a Monument", p.79.

reflected in depictions of the New Zealand Wars, 'which included appropriating Māori motifs for symbols of nationhood.'[281] Whilst O'Malley situates this in the early twentieth century, I believe the sentiment is an appropriate explanation for the commercialised, racialised depictions of life during the wars during the Galatea centennial. The advertisements, stereotyping Māori customs and ways of life, was used in this context to 'bring together' the Galatea community, at the expense of Māori who became the punchline.

[281] O'Malley, "Recording the Incident with a Monument", p.79.

Figures 13: Advertisements from the *Galatea Centennial Edition Daily Post*, May 1969, Whakatāne Museum.

The cartoons of Māori life in the centennial newspaper show a generalised and stereotyped depiction of nineteenth century Aotearoa. This juxtaposes with the serious undertone of the comments made by the Mayor of Murupara. Whilst some advertisements are misleading, misrepresentative or just offensive to past and present Māori culture, they all highlight the way the present alternative is 'better,' such as in the examples above, alluding to colonial superiority. Whilst some advertisements highlighted the consistencies of life, others highlighted the significant cultural and technological developments over the one-hundred-year period.

Ultimately, the centennial celebration of Fort Galatea was a way for the community, despite their lack of connection to Fort Galatea, to create a sense of unity and shared belonging, shaping memory in the process. The Fort was marked as an important lesson for

the community, downplaying the horrors of war and the role of the colonial forces. The events of the day intended for the community to understand the war, but it really recreated an imagined version of the past. The actions of Hall suggested that the community were not united in their celebration of Fort Galatea, and the burning of the redoubt reflected wider discontent which heightened in the 1970s.

Conclusion

The cultural landscape Galatea evolved significantly from the conclusion of the wars in to the twentieth century. These changes impacted the way Fort Galatea was looked back on and interacted with by both Pākehā and Māori. Remembering Fort Galatea becomes complicated as the landscape was multifunctional and its remembrance was multifaceted. As a function, the site served the needs of both Māori and Pākehā through its use as a native school. Once the Galatea Estate was settled, Fort Galatea was turned to by the community as a marker of colonial achievement. The community of Galatea drew connections to the fort to feel connected to both the landscape and each other, following decades of hardship. During the wars Fort Galatea was an essential base for the colonial force (consisting of both Pākehā and kūpapa soldiers). This site allowed the military to track Māori of Te Urewera, a significant area of interest to the government. Later in the twentieth century, the physical environment was remembered in the press and during the centennial as wild and untamed. The naming of Fort Galatea laid the foundations of the colonial vision for the untamed land. Naming allows a particular narrative of a place, in this case a landscape, to dominate, which shapes how historical events are remembered. Through its name, Fort Galatea has many levels of commemoration. The name itself recognised the arrival of HMS Galatea. However, following the New Zealand Wars, Fort Galatea became known by its military past, rather than its

connection to British Royalty. The colonial roots of this space thus shaped the identity of Fort Galatea.

Hoping for a foothold to Te Urewera, the land of Fort Galatea was used as a native school by the government following the wars. During this time Fort Galatea can be exemplified as a dynamic arena of cultural exchange between Māori and Pākehā, affirming Miranda Johnson's framework.[282] The alteration of the Opepe Memorial sign was a further example of a mutually beneficial collaboration, which served the needs of both groups. Through these exchanges, the role of Fort Galatea and its remembrance is complicated. The sale of the Galatea Estate and ballots for land for ex-serviceman of the world wars caused an influx of Pākehā settlers with war connections. An interesting shift in the remembrance of Fort Galatea occurred, as Galatea and surrounding communities decided to commemorate the centennial anniversary of Fort Galatea in 1969. The centennial cemented Fort Galatea as a marker of achievement for Pākehā and a 'lesson' they could all learn from, as alluded to in the words of Mayor Murphy.[283] For Hall, the centennial represented historical injustice. The centennial use of Fort Galatea is a reminder that unifying devices, like Fort Galatea, inevitably cause exclusions too. The centennial also became a nostalgic and commercial opportunity. Despite the lack of connection to the site for its military purposes, the centennial was an attempt by Pākehā to form connections to this landscape and as a community. Today, Fort Galatea is an historic site with sign posting to mark its value as a former redoubt and is managed by the Department of Conservation.[284] Prior to the increase in Pākehā settlement, the landscape of Fort Galatea was utilised for practical purposes and through these changes, became a place of cultural engagement, collaboration and exchange. Following the purchase

[282] Johnson, p.94.
[283] *Daily Post*, Fort Galatea Centenary, 1 May 1969, p.2.
[284] Department of Conservation, 'Actively managed historic places: East Coast Bay of Plenty', 2009: https://www.doc.govt.nz/globalassets/documents/conservation/historic/national-registeramhp/east-coast-bop-historic-sites.pdf, p.2.

of Galatea Estate, the landscape and its history were used as a device which brought groups together, while it also instigated contention. The centennial was an opportunity for the community to engage with a violent past, connect as a community and assert their own identities as recent settlers. Whilst the site was considered a 'monument to Cherish' by Murphy, Hall's statement that the fort is 'a monument to pakeha soldiers who had trodden on the toes of his people in the past' reminds us that whilst the fort unified Pākehā, its continued use and remembrance isolated Māori.[285]

[285] P. G. Murphy, *Daily Post,* Fort Galatea Centenary, 1 May 1969, p.2.; *Press,* 23 May 1969, p.18.

Chapter 3. ‘From a site of war to a place of learning’: Queen’s Redoubt, Pōkeno

Figure 14: Queen’s Redoubt Sign. Photograph by author.

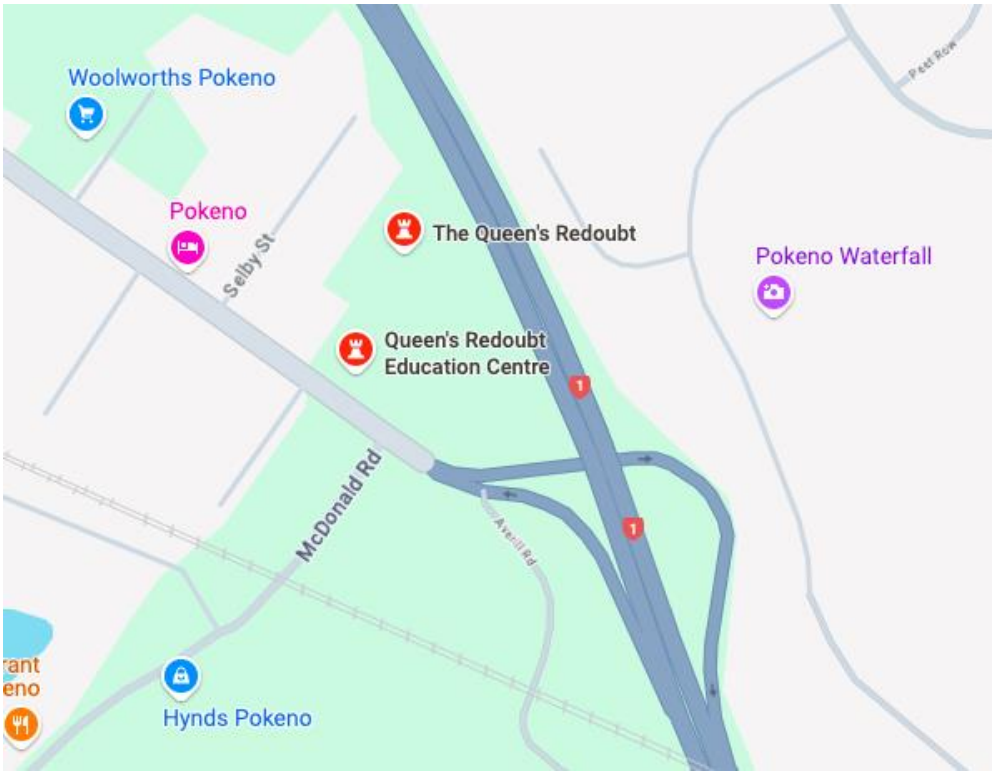

Figure 15. Queen's Redoubt on map. Google Maps, 2024.

In 1863, the government officially invaded the Waikato region. In the build-up to this invasion, an infamous transport route, the Great South Road, was constructed by the imperial and colonial forces, to aid access between Auckland and the Waikato. In the heart of this system was Queen's Redoubt. Of each site included in this study, this Redoubt was the largest, in both population and physical size. The location of Queen's Redoubt along Great South Road provided an essential position for the colonial forces to invade the Waikato. The large concentration of soldiers produced a small eco-system around Queen's Redoubt, with hotels, stores and schools introduced to support the growing local population. With the end of the war, boom turned to bust, and sections on the redoubt were subdivided, the ditches were filled by 1879 and the land used for farming.[286] Any historical trace of Queen's Redoubt

[286] Ian Barton and Neville Ritchie, *A History of Queen's Redoubt and the Invasion of the Waikato*, Atuanui Press, Pōkeno, 2021, pp.236-7.

might have also similarly vanished if not for a group of passionate individuals, in the 1990s, who sought to memorialise the redoubt. The subsequent establishment of the Queen's Redoubt Trust is an example of new directions of redoubt preservation and remembrance into the twenty first century. Through their work, the Trust recognise the 'changing role' of Queen's Redoubt, 'from a site of war to a place of learning and understanding, commemoration and peace.'[287] The history of the Redoubt suggests both changing societal attitudes towards the historic landscapes of the New Zealand Wars, but it also has sparked essential discussion on the future of our historic war landscapes.

This chapter will follow the historical trajectory of Queen's Redoubt in Pōkeno, after the Waikato War, tracing how this site went from a military base to a site of learning. As the population of Auckland continued to grow throughout the twentieth century, Queen's Redoubt disappeared further into the 'past.' Queen's Redoubt was called upon during moments of reflection and recount, rather than being a part of active discussion among the community. However, as I will argue, despite the shift observed from Queen's Redoubt – from the bustling military base to an overlooked, ignored site next to a main highway - there were moments of remembering enacted by the community; that is, moments in this history when Queen's Redoubt and the Waikato War was remembered and reflected on by the local community in meaningful, purposeful ways. This suggests a more fragmentary forgetting, shaped by different interactions with the site of the redoubt.

As with each site included in this study, Queen's Redoubt has not avoided controversy. Scholars Keziah Wallis and Liana MacDonald have recently argued that Great South Road is 'intimately entangled' with the colonisation of Aotearoa.[288] They argue that

[287] Barton and Ritchie, *A History of Queen's Redoubt & the invasion of the Waikato,* p.242.
[288] Keziah Wallis and Liana MacDonald, 'Remembering the Past on the Road to War: Journeying Down the Great South Road', In Joanna Kidman, Vincent O'Malley, Liana MacDonald, Tom Roa and Keziah Wallis, eds., *Fragments from a Contested Past: Remembrance, Denial and New Zealand History,* Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2022, p.92.

Queen's Redoubt is 'a narrow temporal picture of the history of this land.'[289] Such a critical perspective brings into question the function and 'place' of commemorating military landscapes such as Queen's Redoubt, given their colonial roots. In a wider collection of essays on the politics of public memory, Wallis and MacDonald reflect on the war landscapes across South Auckland and upper Waikato and how 'to follow the Great South Road is to follow in the footsteps of the British invasion.'[290] Finding the Queen's Redoubt visitor centre closed, they offered a necessarily limited analysis. The stories around the redoubt, in their estimation, were Pakeha-centric, lacking Māori voices and stories, and the wording used on the panels was also brought in to question. Specifically, they read that the redoubt was 'built to make possible the Invasion of the Waikato' and that the invasion was 'to attack and neutralise the King movement among the Māori', omitting any reference to Māori histories before or indeed after the miliary occupation of the site.[291] According to Wallis and MacDonald, this presentation of remembrance of Queen's Redoubt in the visitor's centre represents a version of the past, but not a full picture. This essay raises essential questions on the need and place for the commemoration of historic colonial landscapes. As this chapter will discuss, whilst acknowledging the points made by Wallis and MacDonald, I question whether this is the appropriate location to showcase Māori histories. The Trust has and continues to face significant barriers that have limited their progression. These barriers offer insight into the limitations of New Zealand Wars remembrance in contemporary times.

I intend to consider the value the of the education centre and I will consider these perspectives in this chapter and connect them to a wider discussion on the ongoing role of historic landscapes in our communities, particularly those with a complex, colonial past. Ian Barton and Neville Ritchie identify significant value in the restoration and ongoing

[289] Wallis and MacDonald, p.100.
[290] Wallis and MacDonald, p.92.
[291] Wallis and MacDonald, p.99.

educational use for Queen's Redoubt as 'one of the most important fortifications established by the British Army.' [292] This is based on the integral part played by Queen's Redoubt in a wider military system (supporting the colonial campaign during the Waikato War). It also reflects how colonial fortifications are situated as 'in between' spaces of conflict. Colonial fortifications such as Queen's Redoubt existed on the margin between settlement and war. They were not sites of conflict and if they were, I believe the remembrance of these sites and the way communities engaged with them would reflect a different narrative. Instead, redoubts aided the progression of the colonial military. They provided protection but were also a means of war. As expressed by Charlotte Macdonald, they were used to intimidate and ultimately existed as a reminder of the British military's capability for warfare.[293] This chapter, as the third case study, explores how this military prominence impacted the landscape following the Waikato War up to the present day, and provides important insights into the future preservation and commemoration of redoubt sites.

Pokino and Queen's Redoubt on the 'Road to War'

Prior to the construction of Queen's Redoubt in the Pōkeno area, a Māori settlement known as Pokino (the namesake of today's Pōkeno) was occupied by Ngāti Tamaoho. [294] The earliest map they were located on was made in 1860.[295] The exact location of this kāinga (habitation) is unknown but was stated as two miles away from Queen's Redoubt by Colonel Gamble in 1864.[296] The land of Pokino was well kept and Ngāti Tamaoho grew crops such

[292] Barton and Ritchie, p.i.
[293] Macdonald, 'Woolwich to Wellington', p.66.
[294] Nigel Prickett, 'The History and Archaeology of Queen's Redoubt, South Auckland', *Records of the Auckland Museum*, 40, 2003, p.7.
[295] Barton and Ritchie, p.37.
[296] Prickett, 'The History and Archaeology of Queen's Redoubt, South Auckland', p.7.

as wheat, peaches and potatoes.[297] Before the construction of Queen's Redoubt, a Māori settlement, Mangatawhiri was located near the Tani Te Whiora stream where they ran a flourmill, powered by water.[298] The settlement was no longer occupied before Queen's Redoubt was constructed.[299]

The construction of Queen's Redoubt as part of growing hostilities went hand in hand with the progression of the Waikato War. The Great South Road was developed to support the war effort. By March of 1863 the road had made its way to Mangatāwhiri river, on the cusp of Kīngitanga land.[300] The building of Great South Road suggested the government had long intended to invade the Waikato. Queen's Redoubt was constructed among this intention. As indicative of the wider political stakes underlying the shift to war, the name 'Queen's Redoubt' has been viewed by historians as a response to te Kīngitanga. Barton and Ritchie suggest that 'whether it was intended, the name 'Queen's Redoubt' would also have been a snub to the Kingite movement.'[301] This was mirrored in other settlements of the Waikato, such as Ngāruawāhia when it was briefly changed to Queenstown .[302] Through the naming of Queen's Redoubt, the colonial forces were directly aligning themselves with Queen Victoria, and against te kīngitanga. The government feared what te Kīngitanga would mean for British authority in New Zealand.

Further confirming the government's intent, upon the outbreak of war, Governor Grey demanded Māori 'to take the oath of allegiance to the Queen and to give up their arms.'[303] Vincent O'Malley explains that 'the Governor prepared plans for the invasion of Waikato

[297] Prickett, 'The History and Archaeology of Queen's Redoubt, South Auckland', p.7.
[298] Prickett, 'The History and Archaeology of Queen's Redoubt, South Auckland', p.9.
[299] Prickett, 'The History and Archaeology of Queen's Redoubt, South Auckland', p.9.
[300] Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000*, p.178.
[301] Barton and Ritchie, p.29.
[302] Nancy Swarbrick, 'Waikato places - Ngāruawāhia', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/waikato-places/page-5
[303] James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period: Volume I (1845-64)*, p.251.

with a view to dismantling the Maori King movement by force' following Kīngitanga support for Taranaki resistance during the first Taranaki War.[304] The Waikato War was considered integral to the British in the fight against what they believed to be a significant threat, the Kīngitanga movement. The government created a proclamation, addressed to the chiefs of the Waikato, which explained and asserted the 'consequences' for 'those who wage war against Her Majesty, or remain in arms, threatening the lives of Her peaceable subjects.'[305] These consequences included threatening to dispossess Māori who did not conform to the government's demands of the land they were 'guaranteed' in the Treaty of Waitangi.[306] Ultimately, Queen's Redoubt aided the attempt to dismantle and end Te Kīngitanga, and consequently Māori power and independence. The government relied on threatening ultimatums and military strength, in terms of troop numbers and force, to undermine Māori independence. Queen's Redoubt is part of this history as it was built to disempower Māori.

Prior to the establishment of Queen's Redoubt, a group from the colonial forces stationed at what was referred to Pokino Camp was used to construct roads.[307] The group settled on Austins farm in 1861 and in early 1862, Camp Pokino became a significant 'road-making establishment at the forward end of the Great South Road.'[308] However, by June of 1862 the camp was no longer operating but Queen's Redoubt was under construction, meaning the site still had a colonial military presence.[309] On the 11th of July 1863 (the day before the Waikato was officially invaded by the imperial forces), it has been understood that the Māori village of Pokino 'was destroyed by an unauthorised expedition of soldiers from

[304] Vincent O'Malley, 'Kingitanga and Crown: New Zealand's Maori King movement and its relationship with the British monarchy', In Robert Aldrich and Cindy McCreery, eds., *Crown and Colonies: European Monarchies and Overseas Empires,* Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2016, p.166.
[305] Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars,* p.251.
[306] Cowan, p.251.
[307] Prickett, 'The History and Archaeology of Queen's Redoubt, South Auckland', p.10.
[308] Prickett, 'The History and Archaeology of Queen's Redoubt', p.10, 13.
[309] Prickett, 'The History and Archaeology of Queen's Redoubt', p.13.

Queen's Redoubt.'[310] However, there have been some unclear details surrounding this act, as sources differ on the full story. *The New Zealander* stated that whares were burnt down during the attack, and in response George Grey the next day advised that the Government will compensate Pokino Māori.[311] However, Bruce Ringer argues that this report was incorrect and it was believed that on the 13th of July, the settlement was evacuated and a group from Queen's Redoubt, looking for potatoes, came across a group of Māori, were 'fired upon' but no one was harmed.[312] Then on the 14th of July, it is believed a group of soldiers set fire to the storehouses at the evacuated Pokino village and were arrested.[313] These varied stories reveal different narratives of the war. The first account reflected the violent nature of this war. The corrected version by Ringer suggests the colonial military were utilising the resources of Māori now the village was abandoned, alluding to the actions of the Pākehā settlers after the wars.

Despite the redoubt only being in use for a short period of time, the site had significant impacts. Queen's Redoubt was to be the base of which the imperial and colonial military invaded the Waikato and on the 12th of July 1863, the Waikato War officially began.[314] The location of the redoubt allowed Lieutenant-General Cameron and 380 colonial soldiers to cross the Mangatāwhiri river, signalling an invasion to the Māori.[315] At times, Queen's Redoubt was very close to the warfare, 'in July, August and September 1863 there was fighting on or near the Great South Road north of Queen's Redoubt, and Maori attacks on European farmhouses and outposts in South Auckland districts.'[316] However, by June 1864, the war relocated and the military population at Queen's Redoubt had significantly

[310] Prickett, 'The History and Archaeology of Queen's Redoubt', p.7.
[311] Barton and Ritchie, p.49.
[312] Barton and Ritchie, p.49.
[313] Barton and Ritchie, p.49.
[314] Prickett, 'The History and Archaeology of Queen's Redoubt', p.15.
[315] O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand*, p.229.
[316] Prickett, 'The History and Archaeology of Queen's Redoubt', p.15.

decreased.[317] Queen's Redoubt had gone to 'care and maintenance standard' upon the departure of the 65th Regiment.[318] Despite a short period in operation, Queen's Redoubt had significant impact on not only the Waikato War, as a key base for the start of the invasion but it also instigated the colonial claim over Pōkeno, allowing the land to be divided, sold and settled by Pākehā.

From 'Pokino' to the 'City of the Waikato'

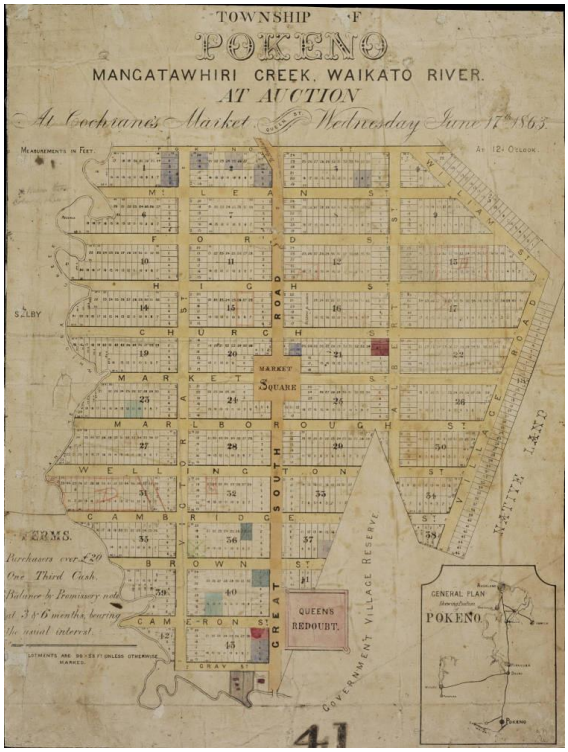

Figure 16: Land subdivision of Pokeno. 'Township of Pokeno, Mangatawhiri Creek, Waikato River', 1863, Map 4498-18, Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections.

[317] Prickett, 'The History and Archaeology of Queen's Redoubt', p.16.
[318] Barton and Ritchie, p.232.

Pōkeno was divided and sold, as per the British intention of the wars to claim the land. In 1863, sections of land became available for auction in Pōkeno, including sections along the former Queen's Redoubt.[319] In 1864, 146 lots of land in Pōkeno, boasted as the 'city of the Waikato,' were advertised for auction, including some on the former Queen's Redoubt.[320] The quick turnaround for land sale of the area, supports the intentions and scheme implemented to take the land off Māori and place military settlers.[321] By dividing up the land of Pōkeno, and eventually Queen's Redoubt, Pākehā settlers quickly established their 'place' in Pōkeno. Not only was this exhibited by the sale of land, but the connotations of Pōkeno as the 'city of the Waikato,' as one land advertisement boasted, demonstrate that the wars allowed Pōkeno to be tamed and civilised, as per the government's colonial agenda all along.

The sections were advertised as 'homes for military settlers and traders', establishing the demographic they were hoping to attract to Pōkeno.[322] As suggested by Simon J Dench, the sale of land in Pōkeno, in the presence of Queen's Redoubt, may have evoked mixed feelings.[323] Dench explains, 'the existence of the redoubt is also a reminder of the contested nature of this location and may have been seen by some as a symbol of danger rather than security.'[324] This 'contested nature' of a redoubt reflects the diversity of feelings of fear and safety, towards the site, which potentially impacted the Pākehā community's desire to purchase land in Pōkeno.[325] Being directly on Queen's Redoubt was mentioned twice in the advertisement, suggesting it was a selling point for potential buyers.[326] As they were trying to

[319] Historic Overview- Pokeno and District, *Waikato District Council District Plan Review Built Heritage Assessment*, https://www.waikatodistrict.govt.nz/docs/default-source/yourcouncil/plans-policies-and-bylaws/plans/district-plan-review/section-32-reports/historicheritage/appendix-10-4-1-2-historic-overview---2-pokeno.pdf?sfvrsn=fe2480c9_2, p.50.
[320] *New Zealand Herald*, 14 April 1864, p.2.
[321] Vincent O'Malley, *The New Zealand Wars: Ngā Pakanga o Aotearoa*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2019, pp.104-5.
[322] *New Zealand Herald*, 14 April 1864, p.2.
[323] Simon J. Dench, 'Imaging and Imagining the Waikato: A Spatial History c.1800-c.1914', The University of Waikato, PHD Thesis, 2018, p.217.
[324] Dench, p.217.
[325] Dench, p.217.
[326] *New Zealand Herald*, 14 April 1864, p.2.

attract 'military settlers and traders,' it is implied being located so close to the Redoubt would be ideal for those with military connections or wanting to sell to those who remain on the Redoubt. With the division and sale of the land at Queen's Redoubt, the site became intertwined with the hope and potential of Pōkeno to be the 'city of the Waikato.'[327] It was not until 1867 when military involvement was officially completed on Queen's Redoubt as the final buildings on the redoubt were auctioned.[328]

Following the significant decrease of soldiers on Queen's Redoubt, the settler community of Pōkeno was lively and beginning to build their future. On the site of Queen's Redoubt, like Fort Galatea, a school was opened following the wars. Queen's Redoubt School was established in 1870.[329] The school was closed twice, due to low numbers.[330] The decision to close the school was opposed by many of the community in Pokeno. A petition was presented to the Board of Education, calling for the re-opening of the Queen's Redoubt school.[331] At least one member of the board, Mr Goldie, advocated for the decision to repealed.[332] According to Goldie, the decision was confusing as they had recently invested seventy pounds into the school building and they had a roll of twenty students, like other small schools that remained open.[333] It appears the decision triggered a lively debate among the board of education, to no avail. The school remained closed.[334]

Establishing a school on the former redoubt suggested an emerging settler community eager to utilise the land for practical purposes, rather than commemorative. A new settler

[327] *New Zealand Herald*, 14 April 1864, p.2.
[328] Barton and Ritchie, p.233.
[329]'Historic Overview- Pokeno and District', *Waikato District Council District Plan Review Built Heritage Assessment*, https://www.waikatodistrict.govt.nz/docs/default-source/your- 129 council/plans-policies-and-bylaws/plans/district-plan-review/section-32-reports/historicheritage/appendix-10-4-1-2-historic-overview---2-pokeno.pdf?sfvrsn=fe2480c9_2, p.51.
[330]*Auckland Star,* 11 August 1888, p.5.
[331] *New Zealand Herald*, 8 September 1888, p.6.
[332] *New Zealand Herald*, 6 October 1888, p.5.
[333] *New Zealand Herald*, 6 October 1888, p.5.
[334] *New Zealand Herald*, 6 October 1888, p.5.

community developed in Pōkeno. By 1872, the community of Pōkeno had developed a thriving social life. A 'soiree' was held at Queen's Redoubt School in 1872, which doubled as a chance to look back on their progress as a community.[335] The evening was a success with a large group joining for tea and speeches, and dancing.[336] The opening address, given by Mr George Austen, was an opportunity for reflection.[337] The speech contrasted what Queen's Redoubt and Pōkeno were, and how they changed over the last six to seven years.[338] The progression of the area was present in the thoughts of those in Pōkeno, but Queen's Redoubt was also beginning to be placed in the 'past' and used as an opportunity to boast progression.

In his speech, Austen also praised the work of Mr Dougal, for employing local people to work in the flax mill 'throughout the hard times.'[339] As mentioned, flax mills were prominent in the Pōkeno Valley, it is believed six were in operation during Pākehā settlement.[340] As stated by Austen, they provided employment for the community during challenging times. The Dean family, who arrived in New Zealand on the *Helenslee* ran many of the flax-mills in the area.[341] Flax mills are thus woven into the development of Pōkeno as the 'city of the Waikato.' Some of the flax mills utilised the water from Tani Te Whiora.[342] In this way, the Māori history became overshadowed by Pākehā commercial pursuits.

In this post war period, as the physical war landscape began to fade, so did the memory of the Waikato War. In 1871, a *Colonist* correspondent journeyed through the Waikato. 'Every now and then my companions drew my attention to some grass-covered mound, the remains of one of the numerous redoubts thrown up the troops during the war,'

[335] *New Zealand Herald*, 22 November 1872, p.3.
[336] *New Zealand Herald*, 22 November 1872, p.3.
[337] *New Zealand Herald*, 22 November 1872, p.3.
[338] *New Zealand Herald*, 22 November 1872, p.3.
[339] *New Zealand Herald*, 22 November 1872, p.3.
[340] 'Historic Overview- Pokeno and District', p.51.
[341] 'Historic Overview- Pokeno and District', p.51.
[342] 'Historic Overview- Pokeno and District', p.51.

the individual reflected.[343] Whilst the sites may have become overgrown, others joining him on his journey through the Waikato would mention these important spaces, suggesting that whilst some parts of the land had been ignored, the stories of the war were alive through conversation. His companions also 'pointed out extensive clearings and rich paddocks, replacing the bush, which three years ago grew dense on either hand.'[344] The writer observed that 'Queen's Redoubt, for so long a time headquarters, is fast crumbling down...'[345] The suggested 'crumbling down' of Queen's Redoubt and 'grass covered' mounds referenced from the individual suggests that despite the war being of very recent history for these individuals and conflict continuing in other parts of the North Island, the war landscape was quickly submerged.[346]

The 'new' Queen's Redoubt was reflected on by one individual in 1871, only four years after the official military departure from Queen's Redoubt,

> A visitor to this district, or, as it was generally called during the 1863-4 wars, the Queen's Redoubt, must be struck with the remarkable change [sic] which have since taken place. Instead of the afternoon's military music, bugle calls, and the ominous challenge of "Who comes there?" you witness the easy-going business people, the noise of flaxmills in the working trim, the construction of roads, the falling of bush, the building of comfortable dwellings, the onward progress of agricultural pursuits, the gradual increase of settlers, and the steady development of the resources of the settlement.[347]

It therefore did not take long for the site to transform in to a 'typical' colonial settlement. This account is also evidence of colonial attitudes towards this landscape that closed off the experience of conflict. The writer expresses that the site experienced a 'remarkable change.'[348] This change details the land transforming from military base, the sound of 'bugle

[343] *Colonist*, 25 April 1871, p.3.
[344] *Colonist*, 25 April 1871, p.3.
[345] *Colonist*, 25 April 1871, p.3.
[346] *Colonist*, 25 April 1871, p.3.
[347] *Daily Southern Cross*, 10 March 1871, p.3.
[348] *Daily Southern Cross*, 10 March 1871, p.3.

calls' and 'military music' to signs of modernity, such as the construction of roads, incoming settlers and resources.[349] 'The falling of bush' and the 'onward progress of agricultural pursuits' was key to this development.[350] By taming the environment, Pōkeno is emerging as a colonial town, and they are beginning to, as Giselle Byrnes explains, 'redefine the meaning of landscape in specifically British terms.'[351] The article also expressed some hope for the future of the district, including the addition of a school and a registrar, claiming that 'in noticing the wants of the district, the appointment of a registrar of Births, Marriages and Deaths stands number one.'[352] The writer of the article hinted at the beginnings of Queen's Redoubt as a post-war colonial settlement. The changed indicated here, from military environment to growing settlement is particularly jarring given the conditions of the land prior to colonial force engagement. The village of Pokino, defined by its abundance of crops, is fading in to the past alongside the echoes of 'military music, bugle calls,' making way for the 'new' Pōkeno.[353] Not only was the Waikato War receding in memory, but so was its military underpinnings. The engagement from the colonial military through Queen's Redoubt, and the wider Great South Road, established the claiming of Pōkeno as a colonial township, or 'city.' The military held power over the land, and this allowed access to resources previously utilised by Māori. Queen's Redoubt transitioned from a military site to a citizen-soldier township.

'Rediscovering' the Pōkeno War Memorial and the Mercer Memorial

[349] *Daily Southern Cross,* 10 March 1871, p.3.
[350] *Daily Southern Cross,* 10 March 1871, p.3.
[351] Byrnes, p.39.
[352] *Daily Southern Cross,* 10 March 1871, p.3.
[353] *Daily Southern Cross,* 10 March 1871, p.3.

A war memorial was installed in Pōkeno in the early twentieth century in recognition of those who died during the Waikato War. However, its engagement following the First World War speaks to shifting ideas of war memory in Aotearoa. The Pōkeno War Memorial is located on the burial site where those who died in the surrounding area during the war were buried. Due to poor record keeping, it is not known exactly how many people were buried at this site or where.[354] Barton and Ritchie explain that 'only 40% of the soldiers buried in the cemetery were killed in action or died of wounds.'[355] The rest, passed away due to illness, drowning or unknown reasons.[356] Allowing the community to recognise those in the area who passed during the wars, in 1902 a stone mason named Mr J Bouskill began making the monument for the government.'[357]

> The monument, which will be on a bluestone base, will be in the shape of a pyramid, the apex being a representation of stacked rifles carved in stone, while on two sides there will be marble panels, on which will be inscribed the names of soldiers who died fighting their country's battles.[358]

[354] Barton and Ritchie, p.106.
[355] Barton and Ritchie, p.107.
[356] Barton and Ritchie, p.107.
[357] *Bay of Plenty Times*, 12 September 1902, p.2.
[358] *New Zealand Herald*, 6 September 1902, p.4.

Figure 17: Image of Pōkeno War memorial. ‘Maori War Memorial’, Bettany, Arnold C., 1925, Footprints 03275, Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections.

Figure 18: War Memorial in Pōkeno, 2023. Photograph by author.

As evident from the above images, the pyramid shape of the structure makes it distinctive in the New Zealand memorial landscape. The rifles on the monument allude quite blatantly to the war. The monument cost 100 pounds, paid for by the government and was officially erected in 1902.[359] Upon the turn of the century and prior to the First World War many war memorials recognising the events of the New Zealand Wars were built. In 1926, the need to maintain these sites was recognised by the *Auckland Star*. Presumably, these memorial grave sites for the New Zealand Wars were not considered top priority due to the First World War. The *Auckland Star* article was a call to action, with the title 'Ake ake! Remember the veterans.'[360] Over the year, the department of Internal affairs prioritised the maintenance of the grave sites of those who passed in the New Zealand Wars. The Pōkeno War Memorial was included in this, and the 'cairn-like memorial has been shifted to a more prominent place near the gate.'[361] This demonstrates that the 1920s, following the events of the First World War and a renewed interest in war commemoration and national unity, was a time when New Zealanders and officials sought to recognise the events of the New Zealand Wars. The remembrance of the First World War being a catalyst for New Zealand War memorial maintenance suggests remembrance of the New Zealand Wars was not necessarily a top priority, rather a consequence. Kynan Gentry attributed the small boom in monuments in the late 1920s to the War Graves Commission 'looking around for work after completing Great War obligations; partly by a renewed interest in the wars stemming from the experiences of the First World War; and partly from local initiatives.'[362] War memorials, like

[359] Barton and Ritchie, p.110.
[360] *Auckland Star*, 9 April 1926, p.9.
[361] *Auckland Star*, 9 April 1926, p.9.
[362] Gentry, p.104.

the Pōkeno memorial were thus wrapped up in larger ideas of World War One remembrance and militarism.

A World War One statue was constructed during the same wave of war memorials as the Pōkeno memorial, in the nearby town of Mercer. The monument was dedicated to those in Mercer who lost their lives in the First World War. The structure was unveiled in 1922, and given the influx in memorials during the 1920s, the introduction of a memorial in Mercer was not particularly out of the ordinary, as towns, cities and districts throughout Aotearoa were also honouring the fallen in the form of stone soldiers.[363] However, the Mercer memorial had a 'unique' feature, as it was described in the press at the time. The soldier statue stood upon a former gun turret, used on the gunboat *Rangiriri*.[364] The turret itself has a diverse past, as, after the war, it was also used as a nightly lock-up to contain intoxicated people.[365] The monument was unveiled by Governor General Lord Jellicoe, and the occasion involved speeches, the singing of hymn, and the national anthem.[366] In front of the large crowd that gathered on the day, a Member of Parliament, Mr T. W. Rhodes commented that given Mercer's crucial role in the New Zealand Wars, potentially the community 'has more of the martial spirit than prevailed in some of the districts.'[367] At the time of its creation, the monument was described as 'one of the most unique and peculiarly appropriate.'[368] The connection offered by Rhodes, that Mercer's involvement in the nineteenth century wars alludes to a 'martial spirit' among the area, which, as suggested, carried through to the commemoration of World War One.

[363] *Waikato Independant*, 6 September 1921, p.6.
[364] *Waikato Independant*, 6 September 1921, p.6.
[365] *Greymouth Evening Star*, 13 September 1921, p.2.
[366] *New Zealand Herald*, 29 April 1922, p.10.
[367] *New Zealand Herald*, 29 April 1922, p.10.
[368] *Horowhenua Chronicle*, 15 September 1921, p.3.

Māori, in this commemoration, appeared to be an afterthought. Even the description of the day, as published in the *New Zealand Herald,* stated a welcome was provided by a 'Māori Woman'; no name was provided or the details of the welcome.[369] World War One shifted the social landscape of Aotearoa. The global war encouraged a renewed interest in the New Zealand Wars and there was a need for First World War monument builders to have a new job.[370] James Cowan attempted to prove the First World War created a unity between Pākehā and Māori.[371] However, as exhibited in the Mercer monument, Māori involvement in New Zealand War celebrations was sometimes superficial and did not suggest a recent unity. The *Franklin Times* claimed in 1922, through this memorial, Mercer successfully connected 'the old and the new with her war memorial and her monument will be especially interesting to the generations yet to come.'[372]

Although the 'old and the new' came together in the creation of this structure, the response from the community a century later was probably not the 'interest' the inter-war audience anticipated. One hundred years on from the unveiling of the monument, Haydn Solomon, chief executive from the Ngāti Naho Trust claims the turret is 'not appropriate,' 'in the middle of a community where people's tūpuna (ancestors) were directly affected by the war.'[373] Local Māori in the Mercer area advocated for the removal of the gun turret in Mercer, given its role in attack against the Waikato-Tainui during the Waikato War, and citing a long-term grievance with the manner of memorialisation which excluded Waikato Māori perspectives.[374] The turret as a glorified memorial has caused pain to members of the

[369] *New Zealand Herald*, 29 April 1922, p.10.
[370] Gentry, p.104.
[371] Gentry, p.108.
[372] *Franklin Times*, 26 April 1922, p.4.
[373] Stephen Ward, *Waikato Times*, 11 July 2023, 'Call to shift gun turret 'used to kill our people' on eve of Waikato invasion anniversary': https://www.waikatotimes.co.nz/nz-news/350033218/callshift-gun-turret-used-kill-our-people-eve-waikato-invasion-anniversary.
[374] Ward, *Waikato Times*, https://www.waikatotimes.co.nz/nz-news/350033218/callshift-gun-turret-used-kill-our-people-eve-waikato-invasion-anniversary.

Māori community in Mercer, as explained by Soloman 'it's offensive - every day we have to wake up and look at it.'[375] Vincent O'Malley claims 'that turret in the middle of the community stands as a reminder of the invasion of Waikato.'[376] The question is raised as to whether this is a necessary reminder. The proposal to place the gunboat turret on Queen's Redoubt suggests that the site is viewed as not only a place to exhibit the history of the redoubt, but also as an all-encompassing space. The Queen's Redoubt Trust includes education on the New Zealand Wars as one of its main goals, so holding a historic relic used during conflict aligns with the goal to deepen understandings of this past. [377] During the 2020 Black Lives Matter protests in the United States, statues which glorified African American slave holders were the target of protest and their purpose was thus brought into question. Consequently, discussion was sparked in Aotearoa, with many statues of New Zealand's colonists under debate. To this end, this prompts the question, will the Mercer gunboat turret be the only proposed new addition to Queen's Redoubt? Most likely not. Ultimately, it is important to question the overall function of landscapes such as Queen's Redoubt, while we are currently amid a statue overhaul. These actions suggest historical military landscapes, such as Queen's Redoubt, will become swept within a grander narrative, either national or regional, of the New Zealand Wars, rather than considering the nuances of each site.

The Queen's Redoubt Trust

The work of the Queen's Redoubt Trust instigated a new phase of remembering Queen's Redoubt for the community of Pōkeno. However, restoring and remembering the redoubt came with its own set of complex challenges for the Trust. The Queen's Redoubt trust formed in 1991. The land was excavated by archaeologist Dr Nigel Prickett in 1993

[375] Ward, https://www.waikatotimes.co.nz/nz-news/350033218/callshift-gun-turret-used-kill-our-people-eve-waikato-invasion-anniversary.
[376] Ward, https://www.waikatotimes.co.nz/nz-news/350033218/callshift-gun-turret-used-kill-our-people-eve-waikato-invasion-anniversary.
[377] 'Queen's Redoubt Trust': http://www.queensredoubt.co.nz/main.cfm?id=5.

which was followed by multiple excavations occurring in the years 2001, 2004 and 2007.[378] Interest in the redoubt from local, passionate individuals resulted in the 'Queen's Redoubt Trust' forming. The Trust formulates its mission in the following statement:

- To preserve and maintain for the benefit of the public the site of the Queen's Redoubt, Pokeno;
- To make Queen's Redoubt accessible to the public by development of the historic site as a major educational and visitor destination; and
- To promote knowledge and understanding of the 19th century New Zealand Wars between Maori and Europeans, and their consequences.[379]

As the Trust has identified, there is great value in understanding these landscapes and how these ambiguous spaces evolved. In their book, Neville and Barton explain 'The Trust (and its Māori partners) acknowledge the changing role of Queen's Redoubt- from a site of war to a place of learning and understanding, commemoration and peace.'[380] The Queen's Redoubt Trust sees great value in understanding our past through the reconstruction of Queen's Redoubt, part of which has been physically reshaped to mimic a wall of the redoubt.

Ian Barton and Neville Ritchie's account of Queen's Redoubt, where Māori reaction to the site is limited, states 'the Trust (and its Māori partners) acknowledge the changing role of Queen's Redoubt.'[381] Connections between local Māori with the Queen's Redoubt Trust have improved over the years.[382] As explained, Wallis and MacDonald are question the absence of Māori voices and perspectives in this centre. However, as admitted by Wallis and MacDonald, they were only able to see the outside of the centre and were not able to view the education centre inside. Therefore, their conclusions are somewhat limited. Initially, the

[378] 'Queen's Redoubt Trust': http://www.queensredoubt.co.nz/main.cfm?id=5.
[379] 'Queen's Redoubt Trust': http://www.queensredoubt.co.nz/main.cfm?id=5.
[380] Barton and Ritchie, p.242.
[381] Barton and Ritchie, p.242.
[382] Keziah Wallis and Liana MacDonald, 'Remembering the Past on the Road to War: Journeying Down the Great South Road', p.101.

Trust wanted to name the visitor centre 'The Barracks.'[383] However, this was met with accusations from individuals of Ngāti Tamaoho that the Trust was seeking to 'glorify the invasion and the war.'[384] However, this was not their intention, and the name changed to the 'Queen's Redoubt Visitors Centre.'[385]

Wallis and MacDonald have questioned the function of attempts, like Queen's Redoubt, to restore the past. In doing so, they argue the Māori history of the space has been neglected. Whilst there is more that can be done to acknowledge local iwi history and the history of the land of Queen's Redoubt in the centre, they are somewhat limited by external factors, such as financial means, which Wallis and MacDonald acknowledge in the footnotes of their chapter.[386] In this sense, some of the issues Wallis and MacDonald raise connected to the centre, represents a larger issue of government level. The trust does not make a profit and the centre is reliant on volunteers to remain open.

A discussion on the 'purpose' of the Queen's Redoubt education centre would be valuable in this context. Given the redoubt was built for British gain, and the intention of Māori defeat, one must question whether Queen's Redoubt is even the appropriate location to include Māori histories. Wallis and MacDonald state the centre, 'tells us nothing about the relationship Ngāti Tamaoho may have had with the area in the past or the ongoing connections they have with it today.'[387] Māori interaction with this land is incredibly important in the history of this landscape. Ultimately, this brings into question the future of the remembering of Pākehā relationships with the war, and Māori relationships with the war and if the two should be told together or separately. Furthermore, colonial fortifications intersected the space between military and war. Instead of experiencing conflict, they aided

[383] Scott Hamilton, *Ghost South Road*, Atuanui Press, Pōkeno, 2018, p.235.
[384] Hamilton, p.236.
[385] Hamilton, p.236.
[386] Wallis and MacDonald, p.172.
[387] Wallis and MacDonald, p.100.

the progression of the military forces. This has positioned them within in an interesting field of historical remembrance. Had these sites been spaces of direct violence and conflict, it would be difficult to recognise them in similar ways.

Comparing Ian Barton and Neville Ritchie's book *A History of the Queen's Redoubt and the Invasion of the Waikato* and Keziah Wallis and Liana MacDonald make the complex but necessary comparison to make when considering the legacy of Queen's Redoubt. As with many historical accounts and analysis, the difference comes down to perspective. Barton and Ritchie have written a history of Queen's Redoubt that highlights the experience of the colonial military and those in the surrounding area. On the other hand, MacDonald and Wallis question where the Māori voice and history are amongst this discussion. As MacDonald and Wallis acknowledge, Queen's Redoubt is only open on Sundays and at the time of their visit, the centre was looking to hire staff. Given the remote location of the centre, there is also the potential the centre is limited in resources. There is value in both histories. The Trust has faced some challenges connecting with the local community. Ian Barton admitted to Scott Hamilton that Māori have been suspicious of the Trust.[388] However, they have made strides in their relationship and Ngāti Tamaoho are represented on their Board through two members (at least by 2015).[389] However, Māori are not the only group that have displayed hesitance towards the work of the Trust.

Uncomfortable feelings towards the New Zealand Wars are an obstacle the Trust must overcome to reach Pākehā in the community. Barton explained to Scott Hamilton that for the older local Pākehā people in Pōkeno, some have ancestors that fought in the Waikato War and therefore, understanding what happened during this time is a sensitive subject, explaining

[388] Hamilton, p.235.
[389] Hamilton, p.235.

'Pākehā have a guilty conscience.'[390] Hamilton explains that the wider area, particularly Pukekohe, has a 'reputation for racism' exemplified by the White New Zealand League which began there.[391] However, in more recent times, Pōkeno has become a popular location for first-home buyers, given the rising price of homes in Auckland and appeals to those wanting to escape city life.[392] This potentially provide new opportunities to educate incoming residents. As Vincent O'Malley and Joanna Kidman explain, once the twentieth century narrative of Māori and Pākehā peace and harmony was repealed by social and academic shifts in the 1970s, as mentioned, an 'uncomfortable silence' emerged among Pākehā.[393] To overcome this, 'unsettling settler colonial narratives of the past, both within New Zealand and elsewhere, requires a 'deeper historical consciousness' that confronts those realities.'[394] Confronting these dark histories is incredibly difficult for some, such as those with ancestral connections to the nineteenth century conflicts, as displayed by some of those older Pākehā in Pōkeno, where the war is personal.[395] Remembering uncomfortable histories is complex. The remembrance of Fort Galatea was delayed due to the lack of Pākehā connection to the site. However, in the case of Queen's Redoubt, where those with ancestral connections to the war is a sensitive, potentially shameful topic, new settlers to the area may be key to keeping the memory of the site alive. This comes with its own complex set of challenges, of course. In the words of O'Malley, 'remembering does not require guilt or shame, but honesty and a willingness to confront difficult topics.'[396]

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[390] Hamilton, p.235.
[391] Hamilton, p.234.
[392] Hunter Calder, 'A local focus: Auckland's Urban Scrawl Gains pace south of the Bombays', *New Zealand Herald*, 2018, https://www.nzherald.co.nz/business/local-focus-aucklands-urban-sprawl-gains-pace-south-of-the-bombays/UX4GKYJGVS6PTFUHEOGM46MSOM/.
[393] Vincent O'Malley and Joanna Kidman, 'Settler colonial history, commemoration and white backlash', *Settler Colonial Studies*, 3, 8, 2018, p.305.
[394] O'Malley and Kidman, 'Settler colonial history, commemoration and white backlash', p.308.
[395] Hamilton, p.235.
[396] Vincent O'Malley, 'Recording the Incident with a Monument': The Waikato War in Historical Memory', p.80.

Whilst the Great South Road has been 'intimately entangled' with the colonisation of New Zealand, the site has taken on a life of its own. Maryam Lesan and Morten Gjerde state how the 'Great South Road succeeds in attracting people from some ethnic backgrounds to the footpaths and to support their various social and individual activities.'[397] To Lesan and Gjerde, the Great South Road has embraced a range of cultures.[398] The diverse uses for Great South Road in the present, reminds us that our history does not have to be stagnant in the past. Our relationships with historical landscapes and structures can be fluid and adaptable. Miranda Johnson explains that 'our entanglements through time, our relationships to historical events and their agents (some of whom are our ancestors), are not lived in ways they were by earlier generations.'[399] Johnson explains through this framework, the events of the past are not forgotten, rather experienced differently.[400] This allows for growth and change, alongside remembrance. To put this into the context of Queen's Redoubt, the site is no longer used for its military purposes, so remembrance of this site looks different.

Reconstructing, Recreating and Restoring the Past

The Queen's Redoubt Trust began the restoration of Queen's Redoubt in 2003.[401] In their book, Ian Barton and Neville Ritchie explain that this restoration of the site was the first step in a three-step plan for the trust. They intended to recreate 'the earthwork so it looked like a fortification again that visitors could relate to rather than a featureless flat paddock.'[402] Ultimately, this aligns with the mission statement set out by the Queen's Redoubt Trust. The notion of visitors 'relating' to the space, through the reconstructed redoubt, brings in to

[397] Maryam Lesan and Morten Gjerde, 'Street Design in a Different Cultural Context: The Case of Great South Road in Auckland, New Zealand', *Imaginable Futures: Design Thinking, and the Scientific Method. 54th International Conference of the Architectural Science Association 2020,* p.1014.
[398] Lesan and Gjerde, p.1014.
[399] Johnson, p.94.
[400] Johnson, p.94.
[401] Hamilton, p.227.
[402] Barton and Ritchie, p.240.

question the purpose of historical landscapes today. A physical restoration of a site can bring the site 'to life' for the viewer. On the other hand, the decision to recreate a European fortification, used as a tool for the colonial regime which ultimately led to brutal and long-lasting impacts for Māori comes with some heavy strings attached. This brings into question the value of restoring the past. In the public history sphere, there are many ways that history has been 'brought to life' for those in the present day. These modes of representation include historical reenactments, television/film recreations, digital histories and in the case of Queen's Redoubt, reconstructing landscapes. These forms of public history can be powerful and emotive for the viewer. Whilst written history is incredibly valuable it can be, at times, inaccessible. There can be financial and language barriers when accessing academic works, especially beyond the walls of a university or an education centre. Public history displays can break down these barriers and provide insight into the past, in an easier to consume format. In the case of Queen's Redoubt, by physically recreating the redoubt, the viewer can conceptualise one of the trenches. In turn, this breaks down the barriers between the present and past and fills in some of the 'absences.' However, can all viewers 'relate' to this earthwork fortification? For some Māori, colonial fortifications represent the injustice and crimes of the colonial regime and British government. As displayed through both Marsland Hill Stockade and Fort Galatea, colonial fortifications have historically reminded Māori of the unjust acts of the colonial forces as both sites were damaged as acts of retaliation. Amy M Tyson asserts that 'performing the past has often been a tool used to respond to needs in the present, rather than an earnest effort to interpret the past in all of its complexity.'[403] Tyson is referring to performance as an avenue for public history, but the notion of reimagining the

[403] Amy M. Tyson, 'Reenacting and Reimagining the Past', In David Dean, ed., *A Companion to Public History,* Wylie, New Jersey, 2018, p.362.

past to serve the needs of the present applies to the reconstruction of Queen's Redoubt. By physically reproducing the redoubt, the complexities of this history are potentially ignored.

Historian Jay Winter asserts that three key ways museums attract an audience is through sound, landscape and experience.[404] By reconstructing Queen's Redoubt, the Trust is utilising landscape to 'transport' their audience. However, as stated by Winter 'representations of landscapes in museums are very similar to sets in theatre or opera. They provide ambience, mood and (literally) a setting, not a kind of frozen reality.'[405] Ultimately, the recreation of redoubts can provide the viewer with a mood and 'setting,' to use the words of Winter, but it cannot transport the audience back in time. It should also be questioned whether today, we should be striving to achieve this recreation of a war experience. Winter believes that historical reenactment is 'dangerous' as it 'adds elements of excitement and adventure to contemporary notions of 'war."[406]

The same sentiment could be applied to Queen's Redoubt. Indeed, the landscape helps visitors understand the scale and size of a colonial fortification, which in the twenty-first century, can be a hard concept to truly grasp. However, a recreation of a colonial fortification cannot evoke the emotions attached to the wars, and nothing will. Winter also explains that 'whenever present-day products are used to imitate historical artefacts, then the game is up. We glide between the false and the true like politicians, and immediately lose any idea that what we see in a museum is real.'[407] The circumstances of which Queen's Redoubt was reconstructed were very different from the circumstances of which the original military base was formed, potentially giving visitors a wrong impression. In between the original, in use military site of Queen's Redoubt and the reconstructed version as part of the Queen's

[404] Jay Winter, 'Unfinished Business: Remembering The Great War Between Truth and Reenactment', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 30, Cambridge University Press, 2020, p.133.
[405] Winter, p.134.
[406] Winter, p.120.
[407] Winter, p.134.

Redoubt visitor and education centre, history becomes lost in the recreation as the true experience cannot be recreated.

Furthermore, as discussed, the partial intention behind the construction of colonial fortifications such as redoubts during the New Zealand Wars was to intimidate and act as a reminder of the colonial forces ability to assert power and force, as explored by Charlotte Macdonald.[408] Consequently, one could argue that by reconstructing a redoubt, the negative connotations are reimagined too. It is important to consider the surrounding community when engaging with public history and reconstructing the past. Barbara Franco asserts that 'communities have always had a stake in preserving their past and participate in a wide range of historical activities.'[409] In many ways, recognising local history is a collaboration between the community and the creators of the display. As established by MacDonald and Wallis, the local iwi Ngāti Tamaoho were initially concerned over the development of the redoubt and education centre.[410] Despite this relationship improving, MacDonald and Wallis have questioned whether the Queen's Redoubt education centre accurately represents this contested past. Specifically, they question the absences of Māori voices.[411] That being said, the Queen's Redoubt Trust may have found it more appropriate not to speak on behalf of Māori, for fear of misrepresenting their historical and ongoing experience. Ultimately, presenting the past to the public is no easy task, given historical understandings are evolving over time. The efforts of Barton and Ritchie, and the concerns of Wallis and MacDonald, highlight this ongoing complexity.

Conclusion

[408] Charlotte Macdonald, 'Woolwich to Wellington: From Settler Colony to Garrisoned Sovereignty', p.66.
[409] Barbara Franco, 'Decentralizing Culture: Public History and Communities', In Paula Hamilton and James B Gardner, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Public History*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2017, p.69.
[410] Wallis and MacDonald, p.101.
[411] Wallis and MacDonald, p.100.

Queen's Redoubt as a landscape has taken on many forms. As a military base, it was a busy and populated site which was essential to the Waikato invasion and supported the ongoing colonial campaign. When the military population dwindled, the sites were put up for auction, signalling a new era for Pōkeno, as a colonial settlement. As a growing township, the Pōkeno community began to combine the old with the new. Despite the very real realities of war being in their periphery, the community began to look towards their future in the 1860s. Settlers were keen to both establish the space as their own, by cutting back the natural environment and utilised the prior work of Mangatāwhiri Maori for use of their flax mill. The reflections of an individual in 1871, comparing the progression from 'bugle calls' to running flax-mills, roadworks and clearing of bush suggested that Pōkeno echoed settler signposts of modernity.[412] When sections in Pōkeno and Queen's Redoubt became available for purchase, the community entered a new phase as an up-and-coming settlement, deemed the 'city of the Waikato.' Indeed, changes in Pōkeno seemed very apparent as the community formed schools and churches. An evening soiree in 1872 allowed the community to reflect on their progress since the threat of war had subsided. Queen's Redoubt was still used as a place of refuge when rumours of threat emerged.[413] The days of Queen's Redoubt was on their minds, as signalled by Mr George Austen's speech at Queen's Redoubt school, but no formal remembrance developed. Rather, the war came up in discussions and reminiscences. The Queen's Redoubt School indicated that the community was growing and the demand for the school to reopen, upon its closure reflected community interest. As the environment was tamed, new business ventures were pursued, shaping the landscape of Pōkeno. During the late nineteenth century, I would argue Queen's Redoubt faded in to the background for this

[412] *Daily Southern Cross,* 10 March 1871, p.3.
[413] 'Historic Overview- Pokeno and District', *Waikato District Council District Plan Review Built Heritage Assessment,* https://www.waikatodistrict.govt.nz/docs/default-source/your-council/plans-policies-and-bylaws/plans/district-plan-review/section-32-reports/historic-heritage/appendix-10-4-1-2-historic-overview---2-pokeno.pdf?sfvrsn=fe2480c9_2 p.50.

community, brought up in discussion and moments of remembering when they remembered it was there. The Pōkeno War memorial acknowledged the graves of those who passed in warfare in the Pōkeno area, and following interest in the preservation of World War One memorials, there was a renewed recognition for the Pōkeno War memorial. Whilst overall interest in the redoubt appeared to decrease over the twentieth century, Queen's Redoubt, following its sale, became intertwined with Pākehā settlement. Whilst it was not remembered formally, it became a part of the fabric of the growing 'city of the Waikato.'

Under the ownership of the Queen's Redoubt Trust in 2001, the site has changed again. The Trust is determined to provide education on the Redoubt and the New Zealand Wars. However, they have a set of challenges before them that go beyond the financial limitations of government funding. In a sometimes acrimonious public debate about representations of the past, the Trust must overcome Pākehā neglect and Māori suspicion about the project.[414] As Barton admits, whilst relations have improved, underlying doubts from local Māori about the efficacy and longevity of the site remain.[415]

The work of the Trust suggests one future avenue for the preservation of colonial fortifications that dot the Waikato landscape. The heritage of a redoubt, given its colonial roots, was never going to be without controversy. Wallis and MacDonald question the telling of this history without substantial focus on the Māori engagement with the land. More recent conversations on the Mercer memorial also provokes discussion on the purpose of this historical landscape. Ultimately, Queen's Redoubt has a rich history. From its early settlement by Ngāti Tamaoho, to its integral position in a wider military system during the Waikato War, then as a 'background' site among a growing township and finally a commemorative and educational landscape, Queen's Redoubt reflects both the intentions of

[414] Hamilton, p.235.
[415] Hamilton, p.235.

the early colonists, as it became encompassed within settlement, and the intentions of the future as it has been developed in to a site of education. Queen's Redoubt suggests historical military sites have a place in modern day Aotearoa which can contribute positively to historic and public discussions. This chapter has considered some of the ways this site speaks to ongoing historical discourse- through the purpose of statues, the complications of restoring the past and the challenge of connecting with multiple communities.

Conclusion

Through examining colonial fortifications as a specific form of the commemorative landscape, this thesis complicates histories of national forgetting of the New Zealand Wars since the nineteenth century. As sites which existed in between military and settlement during the wars, Marsland Hill, Fort Galatea and Queen's Redoubt were not always necessarily remembered in connection to their military heritage; rather, they were intertwined with settlement, which resulted in a range of acts of remembering, spanning from reflections in conversation, to the building of material monuments, and to community centennial celebrations. I have placed the landscapes of colonial fortifications within current arguments on memory, war landscape and identity to suggest how these landscapes were not simply forgotten, but repurposed and reshaped.

Charlotte Macdonald established that 'the First World War has consistently made a claim on the present while the colonial conflicts of the nineteenth century exist where the clock has stopped.'[416] Through this study, I sought to determine what happened to three colonial fortifications after the 'clock stopped' and conflict had ended, in hopes that I would reveal a deeper understanding of colonial identity, memory and the impacts of the New Zealand Wars. I do not argue that these sites were consistently and actively forgotten or remembered by communities. Instead, I have focussed on how these sites were engaged with over time and how this relationship between the site and the community formed unique cultural landscapes.

During the New Zealand Wars, colonial fortifications were built as defensive positions for soldiers, places of refuge for Pākehā settlers, and as a platform to store military equipment

[416] Charlotte Macdonald, 'The First World War and the Making of Colonial Memory', *Journal of New Zealand Literature,* 33, part 2, 2015, p.17.

and support military campaigns. On a deeper level, colonial fortifications were part of the militarisation which represented fear and control; the colonial military's capacity to assert force, 'it was not just the battles fought in the mid-1840s and then again, on a larger, tragic scale in the 1860s, but the constant preparation and readiness to use force — the presence of troops and regular naval ship visits — which all amounted to a continuing show of force of arms' as Charlotte Macdonald suggests.[417] Following the wars and in to the twentieth century, the purpose and function of each site shifted. They were intertwined with land settlement and community development. A common thread among these forms of remembrance is the notion of progress. Each site became tools to mark achievement for the community. However, there was also notable diversity in the narratives which emerged on each landscape.

In chapter one, narratives of New Plymouth portrayed the township as a quintessential colonial settlement, grappling with their newfound identity as Pākehā settlers in New Zealand. During the late nineteenth century, Marsland Hill remained militarised and was often looked to for protection, if an attack was ever anticipated. Marsland Hill continued to provide accommodation for those who needed it, such as incoming Pākehā immigrants to New Plymouth. Through early accounts, it is evident the site was also utilised to acknowledge those who lost their lives in the wars and evoked strong emotion from some. In the early twentieth century, Marsland Hill was selected as the ideal location to install a monument in recognition of Pākehā and kūpapa who died in the wars. This reflected the communities desire to understand the wars and recognise those who passed, but it was also an opportunity to assert narratives of unity, as Māori were no longer considered a threat to Pākehā settlement.[418] The monument on Marsland Hill was constructed among a resurgence of New Zealand War memorials in the early twentieth century. The structure was in honour of all Pākehā who had

[417] Macdonald, 'Woolwich to Wellington', p.58.
[418] O'Malley, '"Recording the incident with a monument", p.79.

fallen, tying the landscape of Marsland Hill to a wider narrative of national Pākehā identity. However, the memorial was also underpinned by international connections, as it was originally linked to the memorial for the Second Boer War and they later shared the same landscape. The community had a wavering interest in the space as a natural environment over the twentieth century, and attempts were made to cover this ugly past. Culturally, Marsland Hill was looked to as part of a wider construction of Pākehā identity and once this had been recognised in the form of a stone monument, the New Plymouth community turned their attention to the land and shaped the site to suit their ongoing needs.

In chapter two, the isolated yet strategic location of Fort Galatea determined much of its use following the wars. In an effort to access the Māori of Te Urewera, the government used Fort Galatea for a native school. In the middle of the twentieth century, the Pākehā population in Galatea as a settlement significantly increased following the government attainment of Galatea Estate, which was divided and balloted to ex-servicemen of the First and Second World Wars. This transformed the social landscape of Galatea and prompted a centennial celebration. In 1969, the surrounding communities came together in recognition of a century since the construction of Fort Galatea, in many ways this was a local celebration and did not include national narratives. The event was a chance for the community to reflect on their progress, and Fort Galatea was marked as a beacon for education and a 'monument we should cherish' by Mayor of local township Murupara.[419] The 1969 centennial mobilised a spirit of community and unity. However, the site was also declared as a monument of injustice to Māori by a local individual who set fire to the original centennial exhibition. In this way, remembrance can be exclusionary and narrow. Fort Galatea once served the needs of Pākehā in war and re-emerged as a of monument of hope in 1969 (once again supporting Pākehā). Whilst Marsland Hill was used to build upon an existing Pākehā identity which connected to

[419] *Daily Post*, Fort Galatea Centenary, 1 May 1969, Whakatāne Museum, p.2.

Pākehā across regions who were doing the same, Fort Galatea served to create a new identity with a local focus, instigating remembrance of Fort Galatea.

Finally, in chapter three, Queen's Redoubt offers a more recent history of commemoration and suggests one direction for the preservation of future war sites. Following conflict, Pōkeno, including sections of Queen's Redoubt was divided and sold, adhering to the government's intention during war with Māori to claim the land. Pōkeno was initially a thriving new settlement with flour mills, schools and a hotel but this could not be sustained. The memory of Queen's Redoubt was revived in the 1990s through the work of the Queen's Redoubt Trust, which established an education and visitor centre on the former redoubt site. Moving into the present day, local Māori in Mercer have proposed a First World War memorial move to Queen's Redoubt, as its presence in the community is causing mamae (hurt). This suggestion sparks valuable discussion on the role of historic sites, like Queen's Redoubt. As discussed, during conflict, redoubts existed in the margin between war and settlement. Consequently, their remembrance occupies an interesting space among wider New Zealand Wars commemoration. Queen's Redoubt is an example of a site which bridges both sides of the memory of settlement and war. The commemoration of Queen's Redoubt has not been without controversy, reflecting the ongoing challenges associated with modern day interactions with historic colonial war landscapes.

Marsland Hill Stockade, Fort Galatea and Queen's Redoubt have revealed that communities have had complex relationships with their military past, on these 'in-between spaces.' In many ways, these sites were utilised for functional and commemorative purposes but in some ways, they have acted as reminders of a violent past. These sites cannot fit into a linear narrative of events, rather they have had a multifaceted relationship with identity and culture. They were identified by communities as monuments of hope and were used to signal and construct Pākehā identity. They were cherished but also contested. The discussion then

turns to how we can best move forward, recognising these dynamic sites and the narratives they were built upon, whilst acknowledging the mamae they have caused for Māori.

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