

# Unsettling the Colony

Gender, fear and settler colonialism during the evacuations  
of 'refugee' settler women from Land Wars conflicts at  
Taranaki (1860-1861) and Poverty Bay (1865, 1868)

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# Table of Contents

<b>Abstract.....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>List of abbreviations .....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>List of figures.....</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Chapter 1: 'New Plymouth is at present no place for helpless females' .....</b>	<b>15</b>
Leaving .....	15
Conditions at the Destination .....	20
Separation .....	24
Home.....	40
<b>Chapter 2: The rootless 'refugees + wanderers' of Poverty Bay .....</b>	<b>50</b>
Leaving .....	50
Separation .....	55
Home.....	63
<b>Chapter 3: 'Their case may be ours any day': assisting 'our fellow settlers at Taranaki' .....</b>	<b>74</b>
Emotive Responses .....	74
Practical Responses.....	83
<b>Chapter 4: Standing in solidarity with the Poverty Bay 'refugees' .....</b>	<b>101</b>
Emotive Responses .....	101
Practical Responses.....	118
<b>Conclusion.....</b>	<b>132</b>
<b>Bibliography.....</b>	<b>141</b>

# Abstract

Anxiety and fear were central to the condition of settler colonialism in 1860s New Zealand. The Land Wars of the 1860s in New Zealand provoked potent anxiety about the enemy, about loved ones' lives and about survival. The anxiety could transform into full-blown fear and panic with the onset of violence, or even the prospect or threat of violence. This thesis examines and compares evacuations of 'refugee' settler women and children from the sites of Land Wars conflicts in Taranaki (1860-61), and at Waerenga-a-hika (1865) and Matawhero (1868) in Poverty Bay. It explores the character and response to danger of what might be described as 'settler anxiety'. Settlers of the 1860s used the specific term 'refugee' to describe the displaced settler women and children. Māori also faced displacement during the wars, though their situation is not within the scope of this thesis. The story of the Land Wars thus far has focused mainly on the narrative of the military conflict and examines events primarily as a male-centric, racial conflict. However, the time has come to examine experiences off the battlefield – of non-combatants. Women and children in particular are far more central to the history of the wars than is currently acknowledged. The first part of the thesis explores how the Land Wars 'refugees' coped with separation from homes and family. The second part examines how settler society, both on a formal governmental basis and on a more informal community level, reacted to the presence of 'refugees' emotively and with practical assistance.

The research examines the language settlers used and the points they emphasised in their writing or speeches to reveal the frameworks of settler colonialism. Personal diaries, letters and memoirs are used to understand the settlers' situations. To understand the broader reaction of settler society the thesis draws on newspapers, provincial council correspondence and records, and general government debate and legislation.

This thesis argues that the existence of women and children settler 'refugees' during the Land Wars represented the settler colonial system in turmoil, providing evidence that the wars involved a conflict off the battlefield as well as on it. Colonists dreamed of creating a safe and secure colony where settlers could acquire land and make a livelihood to support a family. Consequently, attacks on family went to the heart of settler colonialism. The 'refugees' symbolised the 'unsettling' of settler colonialism, both literally by their locational displacement and figuratively by igniting fear about the stability of the settler colony. In response to the 'refugee' crisis settlers vehemently asserted their attachment to 'home', to prove their right to live in the colony, and promoted their solidarity with the 'refugees' and against enemy Māori, who they saw as threatening the settler dream. The evacuation of Land Wars 'refugees' is also considered for its similarities and differences to other 'refugee' situations internationally during the colonial era.

# List of Abbreviations

ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington
ANZ	Archives New Zealand, Wellington
CMS	Church Missionary Society
NZPD	New Zealand Parliamentary Debates
PA	Puke Ariki, New Plymouth

# List of Figures

Figure 1: New Plymouth women arguing with Colonel Carey, cartoon by Thomas Bent (Puke Ariki, ARC2002-702).....	26
Figure 2: The new transportation to the ships, cartoon by Thomas Bent (Puke Ariki, ARC2002-702) .....	26
Figure 3: Why People Go To Nelson, faking injury to leave New Plymouth, (Taranaki Punch, 27 February 1861) .....	31
Figure 4: social media promotion by Hurricanes Ltd for the 'Taranaki Land War' match against the Chiefs (Hurricanes Ltd 10 April 2018).....	139

# Introduction

'Some foolish person has stated that there is an intention to murder secretly all the white people in Taranaki; and so easily are the fears of some people worked upon, that many believe in the rumour. I saw one man yesterday who had provided himself with a new bolt for his door. I asked him why he had bought it just at this time. He replied, with the utmost seriousness, 'It's the dreadful massacre, I'm thinking about,' and, turning towards his only child, added, with a look of sorrow, 'I don't care so much about myself, but for that little one to fall into their hands would be horrible!'...I might as well have talked to the wind as have attempted to allay his fears.'<sup>1</sup>

The words of Sergeant Marjouram of the Royal Artillery, based in Taranaki, New Zealand during the 1860s, demonstrate the potency of settler anxieties. Central to the condition of settler colonialism, settler anxiety could generate an enemy to scapegoat and project worries onto, motivate a struggle for survival, necessitate the protection of threatened loved ones and possessions, or degenerate into full-blown fear and panic. Joanna Bourke has written about the distinction between anxiety and fear. She describes anxiety as an 'anticipated, subjective threat' which comes from 'within' the individual.<sup>2</sup> In cases of anxiety the object of threat is not obvious or observable and the individuals' beliefs may be irrational or have no real or truthful basis.<sup>3</sup> However, with fear the individual can identify an external 'immediate, objective threat' which is specific and easily observable.<sup>4</sup> Evacuations of 'refugees' during the Land Wars in nineteenth-century New Zealand reveal the expression of anxiety in the particular case of settler colonialism.

Land Wars conflicts broke out across the North Island during the 1860s between Māori, and British and colonial forces supported by certain iwi. Prior conflicts had occurred in Northland, Nelson, Whanganui and the lower North Island in the 1840s

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<sup>1</sup> William Marjouram, *Sergeant, Sinner, Saint, and Spy: The Taranaki War Diary of Sergeant William Marjouram, R.A.*, ed. Laurie Barber, Garry Clayton, and John Tonkin-Covell (Auckland: Random Century, 1990), p.37.

<sup>2</sup> Joanna Bourke, *Fear: A Cultural History* (London: Virago Press, 2005), p.187.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

and the fighting that broke out again in the 1860s also extended beyond that decade. Historians have variously put the end date of the wars at 1872 when the settler government stopped pursuing Te Kooti, 1881 with the invasion of Parihaka village or 1916 upon the raid of Rua Kenana's community at Maungapōhatu. Some even argue that the wars have never truly finished. The primary causes of the fighting are highly contested by historians, especially over whether the fighting emerged out of desire for land or a contest over sovereignty. The debate over causation has led to contest regarding the labelling of the wars. Many names have been used over time but the primary modern alternatives are the 'Land Wars' and the 'New Zealand Wars' – emphasising the higher importance of land and sovereignty respectively. To highlight the importance of land to settler colonialism and for means of consistency, within this thesis the term 'Land Wars' will be favoured.

This thesis examines and compares evacuations of women and children from sites of Land Wars conflict in Taranaki and Poverty Bay, exploring the character and response to danger of what might be described as 'settler anxiety'. War between Taranaki Māori and colonial and imperial troops, beginning on 17 March 1860 and continuing for one year, caused the compulsory evacuation of women and children from the town of New Plymouth and the surrounding area in Taranaki. In 1865 fighting occurred at Waerenga-a-hika, Poverty Bay between adherents of Pai Mārire, a Māori syncretic religion, and colonial troops supported by Māori allies. Three years later in 1868 violence again engulfed Poverty Bay when followers of Te Kooti Arikirangi te Turuki, a Māori prophet and military leader, launched an assault in the middle of the night, attacking European and Māori alike at the settlement of Matawhero. Following the Poverty Bay conflicts (Waerenga-a-hika in 1865 and Matawhero in 1868), women and children were also evacuated from the area by ship. In both Taranaki and Poverty Bay real and imagined threats of violence against non-combatant settlers meant that many people either departed the area of their own volition, received orders to evacuate or were forced by circumstance to leave. The individuals evacuated from Taranaki and Poverty Bay, primarily white women and children, became displaced 'refugees'.

'Refugee' was the term used to describe people relocated away from the 1860s Land Wars conflicts in Taranaki and Poverty Bay in the language used by New Zealand settler society. For instance, in May 1860 a Taranaki 'refugee' in Nelson advertised their services in the *Colonist* with the phrase 'A respectable Taranaki Refugee will be glad to receive FAMILY WASHING'.<sup>5</sup> By 1860 settlers had gained a permanent foothold in the colony but desired more land to call their own. Land became a point of tension with Māori, whom settlers commonly displaced in their hunger for a plot in the colony. Māori resisted the intrusions and, in places, disagreements spilled over into brutal and violent colonial conflict. Despite having only recently arrived in the colony, the conflicts 'unsettled' the settlers themselves turning them into so-called 'refugees'. However, the Land Wars displaced Māori across the North Island far more severely than any Pākehā. The Waikato Wars in particular resulted in a mass exodus of Waikato Māori south into Ngāti Maniapoto territory.

In current usage, the term 'refugee' is associated with the international movement of people across countries and borders. The United Nations Convention and Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees defines 'refugee' as an individual unable to return to their country of nationality because of persecution.<sup>6</sup> However, in nineteenth-century New Zealand the term encompassed those internally displaced, even if temporarily, and included both the perpetrators and victims of persecution. Settlers sometimes included Māori under the label 'refugee'. For instance, on various occasions Europeans living in Poverty Bay referred to Māori, both 'rebel' and 'loyalist', as 'refugees'.<sup>7</sup> Settler society used the label primarily to refer to women and children and employed the term specifically to emphasise their displacement and neediness. The term also had class connotations as some higher-class families refrained from identifying themselves as 'refugees'. This thesis will

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<sup>5</sup> "Washing", *The Colonist*, 4 May 1860, p. 4. Emphasis in original.

<sup>6</sup> UNHCR, "Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees" (Geneva: UNHCR, 2010), <http://www.unhcr.org/en-us/3b66c2aa10>.

<sup>7</sup> Leonard Williams to wife Sarah, 18 September 1865, Correspondence - Sarah Williams, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-058, ATL, Wellington; Jane Williams to Kate Heathcote, 29 September 1865, Jane Williams - outward correspondence to Kate Heathcote, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-021, ATL, Wellington; "Poverty Bay. From Our Own Correspondent," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 15 December 1868, p.2.

apply quotation marks around the term 'refugee' throughout to emphasise its particular connotations and meanings in the context of the 1860s Land Wars.

Settler colonialism is fundamental to understanding the 'refugee' displacements at Taranaki and Poverty Bay. Distinct from other forms of colonisation which aim to exploit natural resources or human labour, in settler colonialism the colonists 'come to stay'.<sup>8</sup> Settlers dreamed of creating a safe and secure colony where they could own land and make a livelihood to support a family. In practical terms, the creation of a settler colony necessitated the acquisition of land. To gain that land, displacement and marginalisation of the existing inhabitants was inherent to the process and provoked, sometimes violent, colonial conflict and indigenous resistance.<sup>9</sup> Migrants from the metropole would then settle on the land and form families to establish the population of the new settler colony through natural increase. Settler colonialism was premised on opportunities for every migrant settler to gain land and become part of the reproduction of society and economy through marriage and family. Therefore, families and land sat at the centre of the settler colonial project, including that of New Zealand.

Settler colonialism was inherently unstable. Any notion that the colony could grow unsafe spread anxiety and fear amongst settlers. The political context of the Land Wars exaggerated settlers' fears and anxieties and changed settler perceptions of the 'rebel' Māori, diametrically polarising the two groups. The 1860s Land Wars transformed Māori who fought against the British into non-white 'exotic natives' in the minds of settlers. The advent of a new form of fighting by Pai Mārire groups in the mid-1860s meant settler fears took on a heightened dimension. The presence of 'rebel' Māori actively working against settlers generated fears that the burgeoning settler colony would crumble. When protecting themselves against the enemy, New Zealand settlers not only worried about threats against their land, property and possessions but also the fate of their family and loved ones – especially women and children. By threatening families, enemy Māori undermined New Zealand settlers' dreams of a fresh start and livelihood in a colony that was

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<sup>8</sup> Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (London: Cassell, 1999), p.2.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., pp.1-2.

safe and secure. The risk of violence revealed the uncertainty and danger of living in New Zealand's North Island and made proximity to the battlefield an 'unsuitable' place for settler women and children. With families sitting at the centre of settler colonialism, due to their fundamental role in creating a new settler population, attacks on families went straight to the heart of settler colonialism. Consequently, in the minds of New Zealand settlers, 'rebel' Māori were attacking two of the fundamental dogmas of settler colonialism – land and family.

This thesis examines the nature of settler colonial anxiety and fear as triggered by 'refugee' displacements during the Land Wars. When looking at the 'refugees' on an individual level it seeks to understand how separation during war affected families – both practically and emotionally. It aims to uncover the value of family to settlers during the Land Wars and how threats in the course of conflict disrupted these ideals about family life. The thesis also aims to understand how and why 'home' became so important to individual settlers in the midst of the wars. It explores the various meanings 'home' had for settlers and how these altered with the disruptive events of displacement.

This thesis also examines the broader settler society (the general government, provincial governments, the press and the settler public) who heard about the 'refugees' from a distance, whether inside or outside New Zealand. Examining this diverse group, the thesis looks at how and why the 'refugees' triggered settler solidarity in the face of fear of and threat by Māori. It considers why settlers gave practical assistance to the 'refugees' and the extent to which it arose from charitable or other sympathies. The thesis also explores how settler solidarity activated across the webs of empire. Gender is a further important theme across this work. The thesis seeks to comprehend the ways settler society constructed the 'refugees' as a frail and dependent gendered group and reacted to events in gendered ways.

This thesis explores the concept of 'unsettlement' in relation to the 'refugee' evacuations. This includes the 'refugees' themselves who were literally 'unsettled' away from the conflict and who felt 'unsettled' by the loss of 'home' and separation from their families. However, this thesis also examines the emotive 'unsettlement'

of New Zealand settler society. To settlers, the lack of ascendancy in the war to suppress Māori resistance and the consequent 'refugee' displacements represented the halting of progress towards settling the New Zealand colony. As essential elements to settler colonialism, the lack of land and family unity resulting from Land Wars tensions meant an 'unsettling' rather than a 'settling' of the colony. Consequently, the 'refugees' reminded settler society of its fears for the future of the New Zealand colony. Overall, this thesis argues that the existence of women and children settler 'refugees' from the 1860s Land Wars in New Zealand represented an 'unsettling' of the settler colonial system, providing evidence that the wars involved a conflict off the battlefield as well as on it.

As military events, the Land Wars are by nature masculinised and, similarly to other colonial wars, the historical narrative so far portrays them as male-centric, racial conflicts. Despite extensive research on the Land Wars and on women in New Zealand, there is no dedicated and lengthy work focusing on gender and women during these events. Discussion exists only in short sections or as passing references to female protagonists. When women are mentioned, texts often portray them as victims or as romanticised Māori heroines. Consequently, as the current historiography stands, both women and the impact of gender remain on the edges of the written history of the Land Wars.

However, Philippa Levine has argued in *Gender and Empire* that the British Empire has always appeared as a 'deeply masculine space', a myth which 'tells only a fraction of the story'.<sup>10</sup> Though women were not necessarily always in the thick of physical fighting during the Land Wars, it is important to remember that women as well as men became entangled in conflict and war deeply affected their lives. Women were casualties of military action, whether through disease, loss of income or property, or deaths of loved ones. Contemporary ideas about gender could also exert influence over attitudes, decisions and actions taken. This thesis aims to provide an alternative reading of the history of the Land Wars which puts non-combatants and the power of gender at the centre.

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<sup>10</sup> Philippa Levine, "Introduction: Why Gender and Empire?," in *Gender and Empire*, ed. Philippa Levine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p.1.

New Zealand historians have studied the Land Wars extensively. While many people wrote about the wars between the 1860s and 1920s, it was not until James Cowan's government-commissioned work in 1922 that a substantial account of the conflicts was written.<sup>11</sup> Keith Sinclair then produced a further history in 1957 concerning the origins of the wars.<sup>12</sup> From the 1980s onwards more and more historians have revised the narrative of the wars as the field of New Zealand history developed. Important histories have been produced by James Belich, Judith Binney, Danny Keenan and others; the most notable recent work being *The Great War for New Zealand* in which Vincent O'Malley argues that the Waikato War was the most significant in New Zealand's history.<sup>13</sup> These historians have transformed previous understandings of the wars and in their work portray a more complex set of events. They have demonstrated the fighting strength and efficiency of Māori resistance, examined the political and military context of fighting, dissected the mutability and motivations of the warring groups, and explored the cultural understandings and misunderstandings during war. The wars, these historians argue, had a profound impact. They were not just 'storms in a teacup...but bitter and bloody struggles'.<sup>14</sup>

The 1860s conflicts at Taranaki and Poverty Bay have come under the focus of historical study. The essay collection *Contested Ground: The Taranaki Wars, 1860-1881* edited by Kelvin Day argues that deep social implications resulted from the First Taranaki War.<sup>15</sup> Discussions of women and gender are interweaved at many

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<sup>11</sup> William Swainson, *New Zealand and the War* (London: Smith Elder & Co, 1862); James Hawthorne, *A Dark Chapter from New Zealand History* (Napier: James Wood, 1869); John Featon, *The Waikato War 1863-4* (Auckland: John Henry Field, 1879); Morgan S. Grace, *A Sketch of the New Zealand War* (London: Horace Marshall and Son, 1899); Edward Gorton, *Some Home Truths Re the Maori War 1863 to 1869 on the West Coast of New Zealand* (London: Greening & Co, 1901); James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period* (Wellington: NZ Govt Printer, 1922).

<sup>12</sup> Keith Sinclair, *The Origins of the Māori Wars* (Wellington: New Zealand University Press, 1957).

<sup>13</sup> James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1986; James Belich, *I Shall Not Die Titokowaru's War, 1868-1869*, New ed. (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2010); Danny Keenan, *Wars without End: The Land Wars in Nineteenth Century New Zealand* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 2009); Judith Binney, *Redemption Songs: A Life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, Bridget Williams Books, 1995); Judith Binney, *Encircled Lands: Te Urewera, 1820-1921* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2009). Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand: Waikato 1800-2000* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016).

<sup>14</sup> Belich, *The New Zealand Wars*, p.15

<sup>15</sup> Kelvin Day, ed., *Contested Ground: The Taranaki Wars, 1860-1881 Te Whenua i Tohea* (Wellington: Huia, 2010).

points throughout the text, especially in chapters discussing the ‘refugees’ shipped to Nelson or the comparative absence of women and children in visual representations of the wars. Frances Porter has written about the prominent Richmond and Atkinson families and their views and movements during the wars.<sup>16</sup> She shows the central part they played in colonial society and politics, especially at Taranaki.

A third important work on Taranaki – and the only research specifically on the Taranaki ‘refugees’ – is Natasha Elliott-Hogg’s 1999 master’s thesis which examines the evacuation of the Taranaki settlers to Nelson.<sup>17</sup> Elliott-Hogg argues that the Taranaki political and military authorities demonstrated incompetent leadership by failing to manage the ‘refugees’ effectively. She remarks upon the reluctance of other provinces to provide assistance to the ‘refugees’ and shows how class differentiated the ‘refugee’ experience. Elliott-Hogg does not closely investigate the emotional experiences of the ‘refugees’, citing a lack of evidence.<sup>18</sup> Sources to explore this dimension do exist and this dissertation explores the full variety of the settlers’ emotions, especially in relation to family and ‘home’. Elliott-Hogg’s work also does not address ‘refugees’ who removed to Auckland at their own expense. The current thesis acknowledges their presence and seeks to include them in analysis. Elliott-Hogg asserts that the Taranaki ‘refugee crisis’ entailed the ‘first, and last, large group of settlers to be evacuated’ to another part of New Zealand during wartime.<sup>19</sup> However, the Poverty Bay ‘refugees’ demonstrate that other such evacuations occurred. As Elliott-Hogg herself suggests the value of comparisons, this thesis takes a comparative approach to the two locations.<sup>20</sup>

The Poverty Bay conflicts during the 1860s have also received particular attention from historians. However, although the Matawhero and Waerenga-a-hika fighting has been discussed, the subsequent ‘refugee’ evacuations have not. Judith Binney’s

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<sup>16</sup> Frances Porter, *Born to New Zealand: A Biography of Jane Maria Atkinson*, 2nd ed (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1995).

<sup>17</sup> Natasha Andrea Elliott-Hogg, “The Taranaki Refugees 1860” (MA thesis, University of Waikato, 1999), p.20

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p.60

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p.5

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p.85

examination of the life of Te Kooti Arikirangi te Turuki explains how culturally specific reasons lay behind his attack on Matawhero and that the attack was targeted at certain people. Joseph Angus Mackay's earlier works, *Historic Poverty Bay and the East Coast* and *Life in Early Poverty Bay*, have contributed comprehensively to the general history of the settler population in Poverty Bay.<sup>21</sup> Even though Mackay's works are written from an earlier moment in time they still provide valuable factual details about individuals and locations in Poverty Bay.

Histories of women in New Zealand have incorporated analysis of the wars into their works. *The Book of New Zealand Women*, the *Petticoat Pioneer* volumes and the *Lives of Pioneer Women* all contain biographical details about women who became caught up in the conflicts.<sup>22</sup> *My Hand Will Write What My Heart Dictates* was the first work to examine women and the Land Wars together and argues that, through personal writing, women's voices described the 'unsettlement' of conflict in addition to men's.<sup>23</sup> Angela Wanhalla has written about the experiences of Māori women during the wars. In *Matters of the Heart* and in *He Reo Wāhine* with Lachy Paterson, Wanhalla demonstrates how the Land Wars deeply impacted Māori women's lives.<sup>24</sup> *A History of New Zealand Women* by Barbara Brookes contains a first attempt to summarise the experiences of women within the Land Wars.<sup>25</sup> Brookes argues that the experience of the wars varied between Māori women, who sometimes fought on the battlefield, and Pākehā women, who were deliberately kept away from the fighting and expected to fulfil a supportive role. However, she

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<sup>21</sup> Joseph Angus Mackay, *Historic Poverty Bay and the East Coast* (Gisborne: Joseph Angus Mackay, 1949); Joseph Angus Mackay, *Life in Early Poverty Bay* (Gisborne: The Gisborne Publishing Company Ltd, 1927).

<sup>22</sup> Charlotte Macdonald, Merimeri Penfold, and Bridget Williams, eds., *The Book of New Zealand Women: Ko Kui Ma Te Kaupapa* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1991); Miriam Florence Macgregor, *Petticoat Pioneers: North Island Women of the Colonial Era* (Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1973); Miriam Florence Macgregor, *Petticoat Pioneers; North Island Women of the Colonial Era* (Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1975); Sarah Ell, *The Lives of Pioneer Women in New Zealand: From Their Letters, Diaries and Reminiscences* (Auckland: Bush Press, 1993).

<sup>23</sup> Frances Porter, Charlotte Macdonald, and Tui MacDonald, eds., *My Hand Will Write What My Heart Dictates: The Unsettled Lives of Women in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand as Revealed to Sisters, Family and Friends* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1996).

<sup>24</sup> Angela Wanhalla, *Matters of the Heart: A History of Interracial Marriage in New Zealand* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2013); Lachy Paterson and Angela Wanhalla, *He Reo Wāhine: Māori Women's Voices from the Nineteenth Century* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2017), p.115.

<sup>25</sup> Barbara Brookes, *A History of New Zealand Women* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2016), pp.82-111.

suggests that all women played an important part in rebuilding communities after the devastation of war. Historiography on women during the Land Wars period shows that the wars affected women strongly, both Māori and Pākehā, regardless of their proximity to the battlefields.

The experiences of evacuees from colonial conflicts in places beyond New Zealand reveal many similarities and differences to the Land Wars 'refugees'. Maya Jasanoff's work on the exodus of loyalists following the American Revolution especially demonstrates the specific anxiety and fear held by those fleeing colonial conflicts.<sup>26</sup> In this situation the term 'refugee' was used, in a similar way to its application in New Zealand. Though the American Revolution involved settler rather than indigenous resistance to the incursion of the British Empire, the 'refugees' in that setting felt anxious about their separation from loved ones and feared for their safety post-war. In both America and New Zealand 'refugees' faced a weighty decision over whether to uproot their lives and evacuate or remain where they were with the constant threat of danger.

An important framework for this thesis, as already signalled, is the process of settler colonialism. The sub-field of settler colonial studies has emerged over the past 30 years and, given New Zealand's beginnings as a settler colony from 1840, research in this area is highly applicable. As a founder of the sub-field, Patrick Wolfe defined the essential feature of settler colonialism as obtaining land in order to stay and replace, or even extinguish, the native population.<sup>27</sup> Wolfe considered settler colonialism distinct from other forms of colonialism where the invaders focus on exploiting labour or resources.<sup>28</sup> In settler colonialism, the 'frontier' between colonists and indigenous constantly changes and moves, increasingly closing in on the indigenous peoples.<sup>29</sup> Wolfe argued that the 'colonisers come to stay – invasion

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<sup>26</sup> Maya Jasanoff, *Liberty's Exiles: The Loss of America and the Remaking of the British Empire* (London: HarperPress, 2012).

<sup>27</sup> Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology*, p.163.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p.173.

is a structure, not an event'.<sup>30</sup> Settler colonialism persists in the fabric of a society long after Europeans 'discover' it.

Lorenzo Veracini has added to Wolfe's work with *Settler Colonialism: a Theoretical Overview*. In this text, he argues that settlers believe they have an 'inherent' sovereign right which 'travels with them' to new spaces.<sup>31</sup> As a result, Veracini suggests that settlers experience constant tension between a desire to indigenise themselves and wanting to create a 'civilised' 'neo-Europe': between indigenous and exogenous, the old 'home' and the new.<sup>32</sup> By indigenising, settlers aim to 'transform a historical tie ("we came here") into a natural one ("the land made us").'<sup>33</sup> Veracini's reasoning suggests that for settlers and settler colonial society the notion of 'home' was central – a theme which this thesis explores further. Veracini further argues that settler colonialism constantly anticipates its own 'supersession' and eventual demise but, as settler colonialism is an ingrained structure, this will never be complete and settler colonial society is always a 'society "to come"'.<sup>34</sup> He argues that settlers held a 'paranoid fear' of indigenous revenge and eventual decolonisation.<sup>35</sup>

European shock and anxiety can amplify and spread along imperial connections. Kim Wagner and Jill Bender have demonstrated this in the case of the 1857 Indian Rebellion and the violence against white women at siege of Cawnpore (Kanpur). Through his work Kim Wagner explored the correlation between knowledge and settler panic. Wagner's work reveals that by lacking knowledge of Indian actions European colonists acted instead on their anxieties and precipitated an 'information panic' which turned Indians into a threat.<sup>36</sup> He calls this the 'mutiny motif' whereby a settler-constructed, 'inherently reactionary' indigenous enemy full of racial loathing and superstition lacked 'political legitimacy' in the eyes of

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p.2.

<sup>31</sup> Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p.53.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., pp.20-22.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., pp.21-22.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p.23.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p.81.

<sup>36</sup> Kim A. Wagner, "'Treading upon Fires': The 'Mutiny'-Motif and Colonial Anxieties in British India," *Past & Present* 218, no. 1 (2013): pp.159–197.

colonists.<sup>37</sup> Fears and a sense of vulnerability arose out of ‘structural anxieties’ as opposed to any actual dangers, leading to a reliance on the mutiny motif to facilitate harsher retort.<sup>38</sup> These structural anxieties meant that Europeans continued to perceive Indians as a threat for a long time after the 1857 Rebellion itself. Jill Bender has examined the effects of the 1857 Indian Rebellion on the colonies of the British Empire.<sup>39</sup> She shows how anxieties in response to actions in one colony could influence perceptions and reactions to events in another. Both Wagner and Bender have demonstrated how easily imperial knowledge and anxieties spread across the Empire and have incorporated these ideas into the current academic conversation about settler colonialism. The operation of settler anxieties and fears within the British Empire is relevant to understanding how the New Zealand settler community reacted to the displacement of the Land Wars ‘refugees’.

As the present study involves emotive responses to war, the history of emotions is relevant, especially that of fear. Joanna Bourke has studied the history of fear, anxiety and pain. Her work is helpful in thinking about fear in a cultural historical context. Bourke states that it is difficult to know whether emotions in the past are the same as what is felt today.<sup>40</sup> She argues that the facial expressions of fear are not always recognisable and can easily be misread.<sup>41</sup> There can also be a thin line between fear and other emotions such as anger, jealousy, surprise or consternation.<sup>42</sup> Consequently, she states that the best way to study fear in the past is to look at the ‘texts’ that people leave behind in order to discover the nature of fear through ‘language and symbols’.<sup>43</sup> However, Bourke argues that ‘emotions are fundamentally *constituted*’ by the ‘self’ and as a result, ‘mediate between the individual and the social’.<sup>44</sup> She says that emotions ‘lead to a negotiation of the

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p.193.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p.194.

<sup>39</sup> Jill C Bender, *The 1857 Indian Uprising and the British Empire*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

<sup>40</sup> Bourke, *Fear: A Cultural History*, p.6.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., pp.6-7.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p.7.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., pp.8, 354. Italics in the original.

boundaries between Self and Other or One Community and Another'.<sup>45</sup> The emotion of fear, in particular, is essential to distributing power and maintaining the social hierarchy.<sup>46</sup>

The sources used in the course of this research form the materials for analysis of what Bourke refers to as 'language and symbols'. Although this thesis uses a variety of primary sources showing the different perspectives of 'refugee' settler women, there are limitations inherent in many of the sources that have survived. Women whose writing from the 1860s survives are predominantly educated and middle- or upper-class.<sup>47</sup> It is their writing that makes up the bulk of sources available in archived collections. Women in general were also less likely to have their own writing in public media, such as newspapers, which were usually dominated by men. These factors mean that non-textual sources, official governmental records, newspaper reports and sources written by men will be read against the grain to discover a fuller picture of women.

This thesis does not examine the experiences of Māori women and men. However, it is important to acknowledge that Māori experienced a far greater degree of displacement as refugees during the Land Wars – nowhere more so than Waikato. In Waikato groups of refugees moved south into Ngāti Maniapoto territory, where they more than doubled the population overnight.<sup>48</sup> This increased the spread of diseases and the demand on food production in the King Country. Work on Māori women displaced by the Land Wars has been undertaken by Judith Binney in *Redemption Songs* and *Stories without End*, and Angela Wanhalla and Lachy Paterson in *He Reo Wāhine* but more research remains to be done.<sup>49</sup>

Chapters one and two of this thesis analyse how individual settlers, at Taranaki and Poverty Bay respectively, handled the process of becoming 'refugees'. The chapters especially examine how the 'refugees' coped with separation from their loved ones

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., p.354

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., pp.354-356.

<sup>47</sup> Porter, Macdonald, and MacDonald, *My Hand Will Write What My Heart Dictates*, p.15.

<sup>48</sup> O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand*, p.386.

<sup>49</sup> Wanhalla, *Matters of the Heart*; Paterson and Wanhalla, *He Reo Wāhine*, pp.73, 82-85, 102-115; Binney, *Redemption Songs: A Life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki*; Judith Binney, *Stories Without End: Essays 1975-2010* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2010).

and how such a momentous event prompted articulation of what 'home' meant. Chapters three and four examine how settler society within and outside New Zealand reacted to the 'refugees' from Taranaki and Poverty Bay. These chapters look at feelings expressed in response to the 'refugee' crises and how these emotions prompted actions of practical assistance.

# Chapter 1: 'New Plymouth is at present no place for helpless females'

## Leaving

On 22 February 1860 martial law came into force in New Plymouth as tensions between Māori and settlers in Taranaki increased and the likelihood of military conflict grew. A steady stream of fearful settler families from outlying districts had made their way into the safety of the town from mid-February when preparations for war began. Sergeant Marjouram of the Royal Artillery wrote on 20 February 1860 that 'even at midnight, cart-loads of timid and trembling women and children may be seen making their way to some more secure abode'.

<sup>1</sup> Many people brought all their moveable property with them when they shifted. The Hirsts, a prominent Taranaki settler family, brought loads twice a day for various settlers and their horses grew tired.<sup>2</sup> Fears of Māori attack drove settlers into New Plymouth in search of security and protection.

Conditions in the town of New Plymouth began to worsen over the autumn and winter of 1860 as further settlers gathered there. Families crowded into houses, churches or tents within the town boundaries and multiple families often shared one house.<sup>3</sup> Alarms sounded if New Plymouth came under attack, at which the women and children climbed up Marsland hill to take refuge in the barracks; sometimes as many as 700 would squeeze into the space in the middle of the night.<sup>4</sup> Living in close quarters with other families could take its toll. The original occupants of houses often resented the nuisance of extra inhabitants living under their roof and craved their own space.<sup>5</sup> Crowding quickened the spread of diseases throughout New Plymouth. Poor hygiene and sanitation, high stress levels, rigorous

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<sup>1</sup> Marjouram, *Sergeant, Sinner, Saint, and Spy*, p.37.

<sup>2</sup> Grace Hirst to her sisters, 27 February 1860, Letters Vol 3, Hirst family: Letters, 1859-1862, MS-0996, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Marjouram, *Sergeant, Sinner, Saint, and Spy*, p.61; Grace Hirst to unknown, 1860, Letters Vol 3, Hirst family: Letters, 1859-1862, MS-0996, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>5</sup> Harriet Halse diary entry, 21 March 1860, ARC2010-225, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

night-time guard duty and changes in diet also exacerbated Taranaki settlers' ill-health. Outbreaks of cholera, influenza, dysentery, diphtheria and other diseases overwhelmed the town. The under-five year old child mortality rate soared to 16 deaths in 1860 – eight times 1859 levels.<sup>6</sup> The deaths of civilians from disease surpassed the number of soldiers killed in battle, only a small percentage of whom died in hostilities.<sup>7</sup> Sergeant Marjouram, writing in June 1860, observed that more than fifteen graves were added within three months when, ordinarily, a year would see at most four burials.<sup>8</sup> Prices of everyday goods also rose significantly, especially for flour and potatoes.<sup>9</sup>

Women's emotional responses to the presence of war at their doorstep varied greatly. Constant alarms wore down the nerves of New Plymouth's population, placing them on edge. Harriet Halse wrote that with each fresh alarm some women fell into 'helpless fits'.<sup>10</sup> However, for others the war produced less stress. Jane Maria Atkinson felt little perturbed when Taranaki fell into a state of war, perhaps not realising at the time just what a war would involve.<sup>11</sup> In early March 1860 she wrote that the rest of the family generally felt the same way, besides Aunt Helen Hursthouse who panicked and believed they all would die.<sup>12</sup> Emily Harris, similarly to Atkinson, appeared unfazed by the threat of war and secure in her belief that New Plymouth faced no danger. Emily, who remained in New Plymouth to work for the Des Voeux family, reassured her mother Sarah at Nelson in February 1861 that no one felt alarmed as, in her words, there was 'no real occasion to be'.<sup>13</sup> However, given that Māori had recently shot dead Emily's older brother Corbyn Harris on 28 July 1860 while he collected driftwood from the beach, Emily most likely used a

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<sup>6</sup> A.M. Dobbin, "New Plymouth Society during the Taranaki Land Wars 1849-1869" (MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1977), p.28.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., pp.28-29.

<sup>8</sup> Marjouram, *Sergeant, Sinner, Saint, and Spy*, p.52.

<sup>9</sup> Harriet Halse diary entry, 5 March 1860, ARC2010-225, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>10</sup> Harriet Halse diary entry, 18 August 1860, ARC2010-225, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>11</sup> Porter, *Born to New Zealand*, p.121.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Emily Cumming Harris to mother, 4 February 1861, Manuscript diary, box 1, folder 3, Harris, Emily Cumming Diary and Letters, ARC2002-190, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

comforting tone deliberately to minimise her mother's anxiety that another of her children might be killed at New Plymouth.<sup>14</sup>

The Taranaki Provincial Council, as the civil authority in Taranaki, organised the free passage of women and children to Nelson, beginning with the 28 March 1860 voyage of the *Airedale*.<sup>15</sup> Nelson was chosen as the destination for its willingness to accept the 'refugees' and its proximity by sea to New Plymouth. A proclamation on 17 July 1860 encouraged voluntary evacuations of families.<sup>16</sup> Charles Emilius Gold, colonel commanding the forces in New Zealand, insisted that the proclamation was meant to relieve the defensive burden on the town by decreasing the number of inhabitants who needed 'protection'.<sup>17</sup> However, Harriet Halse read other motives into Gold's actions and believed he had used the presence of women and children as an excuse for his lack of aggressive action towards Māori.<sup>18</sup>

The situation intensified on 27 July 1860 when a further proclamation by Gold commanded under martial law that all families with five or more children and receiving rations leave the province.<sup>19</sup> The operation of military force, as opposed to mere recommendations by civil authorities, met with criticism and resistance from settlers – particularly settler women in Taranaki. The women posed a significant challenge to the power of military and political authorities in Taranaki and public disagreements broke out. Despite the surge in death and disease and the deterioration of hygiene standards in New Plymouth over the winter of 1860, many Taranaki women refused to evacuate and took all available measures to stay. They used evasion, physical confrontation and brandished weapons against the authorities. That certain Taranaki women wanted to stay even in the face of serious danger, demonstrates that they were very reluctant to leave their home, and felt more afraid at the thought of separation from their spouses and male relatives than

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<sup>14</sup> "Continuation of Journal of Events.," *Taranaki Herald*, 4 August 1860, p.2.

<sup>15</sup> "Free Passage to Nelson per *Airedale*" 28 March 1860, Proclamations, ARC2001-540, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>16</sup> C. E. Gold, "Call for Voluntary Evacuation" 17 July 1860, folder 6, Proclamations, ARC2001-540, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>17</sup> Harriet Halse diary entry, 18 July 1860, ARC2010-225, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*; Harriet Halse diary entry, 6 September 1860, ARC2010-225, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>19</sup> Colonel C. E. Gold, "Proclamation for Civil Evacuation of New Plymouth during the New Zealand Wars" 27 July 1860, 1/2-024251-F, ATL, Wellington.

for their own safety. The Taranaki women wanted to stay and help protect their homes in any way they could. Though some women actively resisted leaving Taranaki rather than fleeing out of fear, in general the displaced women of Taranaki were still referred to as 'refugees'.

Distinct class differences influenced the evacuations. William Wakefield considered that people only started paying attention once 'removals' disturbed the 'A-r-i-s-t-o-c-r-a-c-y [*sic*]'.<sup>20</sup> His daughter, Olivia, herself refused to leave for Nelson despite advice to the contrary.<sup>21</sup> The Deputy Superintendent of Taranaki Edward Humphries calculated that because families forfeited their right to rations if they stayed in New Plymouth, 1,000 of the 1,250 women and children still in the town by September would be forced to leave.<sup>22</sup> The families able to stay mainly included those of officials, clergy, merchants or traders who did not depend on government assistance.<sup>23</sup> Humphries argued that the government should not force this self-supporting, upper-class group to leave as its social influence and ability to voice public objections meant it held sway over other settlers and could cause chaos and disorder amongst the community.<sup>24</sup> The Taranaki Superintendent George Cutfield considered that when members of the 'educated classes' and 'respectable families' did decide to leave they changed the minds of women previously insistent on remaining in New Plymouth.<sup>25</sup>

The class distinctions continued on the voyage to Nelson with steerage and cabin class tickets. Cabins were reserved for the self-supporting families while steerage was allocated to the 'poorer members of our community'.<sup>26</sup> The lure of cabin passages encouraged the upper classes to evacuate according to Cutfield.<sup>27</sup> The government paid the basic steerage fare of £2 10s and passengers had to pay the

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<sup>20</sup> William Wakefield to wife Mary, 12 September 1860, Wakefield, William King Letters, ARC 2001-391, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> E.L. Humphries Deputy Superintendent to William Gray, 1 September 1860, Letter book, box 2, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>23</sup> E.L. Humphries Deputy Superintendent to Lieutenant Colonel Carey, 6 September 1860, Letter book, box 2, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> George Cutfield, Superintendent to the Colonial Secretary, 12 May 1860, Colonial Secretary's Office, ACGO 8333 IA1 208/[35] 1860/929 (R24125617), ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

£1 10s difference if they desired a cabin.<sup>28</sup> Luggage allowances varied with the tickets. Cabin passengers were allowed a half ton of luggage, while steerage passengers had only a quarter ton.<sup>29</sup> The differentiation displayed in ticketing demonstrates that, even in times of emergency and evacuation, class structures were maintained.

By August 1860 Major General Pratt had taken over the Taranaki campaign following a winter of disease and death. Under his command evacuations increased. Believing that insufficient families had left the district, Deputy Adjutant-General Lieutenant-Colonel Carey issued a proclamation on 28 August under martial law which ordered *all* women and children to evacuate.<sup>30</sup> 'Disabled persons' and 'aged and infirm men' were also ordered to be removed from the town.<sup>31</sup> Deputy-Superintendent Humphries insisted that the evacuations were needed for public health and safety reasons due to the risk of disease from overcrowding as well as the need to maintain a larger defence force to protect the larger population in the town.<sup>32</sup> Governor Gore Browne considered that a besieged town was not a 'desirable residence for females' and believed that it would help the men to fight if they knew their families were safe.<sup>33</sup> Therefore, at the time, a variety of reasons were given for evacuating the 'refugees' including defence, reputation, economic efficiency and gender expectations.

Not all women and children who did eventually leave New Plymouth took passage to Nelson. A significant number of 'refugees' also travelled to Auckland at their own expense. Initially, at least, they had to find their own lodgings with family or friends

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<sup>28</sup> Henry John Tancred General Port Office Auckland to the manager J.C.R.M.Co, 6 May 1861, box 1, folder 4, Taranaki Provincial Council. ARC 2003-713, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>29</sup> William Gray, government agent at Nelson to the Taranaki Superintendent, 3 May 1861, box 1, folder 4, Taranaki Provincial Council. ARC 2003-713, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>30</sup> Lieut-Col. R. Carey, "Proclamation Ordering All Women and Children to Evacuate" 28 August 1860, Proclamations, ARC2001-540, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>31</sup> Harriet Halse diary entry, 24 March 1860, ARC2010-225, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth; Memorandum of George Cutfield, Superintendent to the Colonial Secretary, 17 September 1860, Entry book of letters to the general government, Taranaki Provincial Council, ADQW 17305 TP7 6 (R2588050) ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>32</sup> E.L. Humphries Deputy Superintendent to Lieutenant Colonel Carey, 6 September 1860, Letter book, box 2, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>33</sup> "Memorandum from the Superintendent of Taranaki to His Excellency Governor Browne, and His Excellency's Reply," *Taranaki Herald*, 31 March 1860, pp.3-4.

and were not entitled to receive rations like the ‘refugees’ at Nelson.<sup>34</sup> Others travelled beyond New Zealand, to Australia or England. For instance, in 1861 Emily Harris left for Australia where she eventually studied art in Tasmania. In the House of Representatives, the claims of other settlers who had applied for the cost of relocating to Sydney were debated but the significant expense meant that funding for them was declined.<sup>35</sup> Meanwhile, Grace and Thomas Hirst left for England, departing from Wellington in May 1860.<sup>36</sup> The Hirsts returned to New Plymouth in 1862, after the war, and remained living there for the rest of their lives.<sup>37</sup>

## Conditions at destination

At Nelson conditions were little better than at New Plymouth. Nelson became crowded with the arrival of more than half a dozen shiploads of ‘refugees’ between March and August 1860. In August 1860 the number of arrivals exceeded the available billet spaces and the town erected specially made buildings in which to house the families. The buildings, commonly called the ‘Taranaki buildings’ or ‘Taranaki barracks’, permitted little privacy and allocated only one room per family, no matter the number of members.<sup>38</sup> Inequity also occurred in the distribution of fuel and food rations, as regulations again stipulated equal allocation regardless of a family’s size.<sup>39</sup> Complaints arose over the lack of nutrition, the taste of the food served and the strict timing of meals at the buildings.<sup>40</sup> As a result, the buildings quickly gained a poor reputation.<sup>41</sup> The Taranaki Superintendent worried that through living in the barracks the women’s moral character could deteriorate. He considered that, as women and children entailed the ‘most fatal channel of

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<sup>34</sup> “Continuation of Journal of Events,” *Taranaki Herald*, 11 August 1860, p.2.

<sup>35</sup> Debate on the Relief of Taranaki Settlers, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates (NZPD)*, 1860, p.383.

<sup>36</sup> Grace Hirst to her sisters, 3 May 1860, Letters Vol 3, Hirst family: Letters, 1859-1862, MS-0996, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>37</sup> Raewyn Dalziel, “Grace Hirst,” *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, accessed 17 February 2018, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1h25/hirst-grace>.

<sup>38</sup> Thomas King to the Taranaki Superintendent, 22 December 1860, box 1, folder 6, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC 2003-713, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>39</sup> “The Taranaki Buildings in Nelson,” *Nelson Examiner*, 22 December 1860, p.3.

<sup>40</sup> Thomas King to the Taranaki Superintendent, 22 December 1860, box 1, folder 6, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC 2003-713, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.; W.H. Scott to the Superintendent, 3 November 1860, box 7, folder 10, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC 2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth; “The Taranaki Buildings in Nelson,” *Nelson Examiner*, 22 December 1860, p.3.

corruption', the barracks accommodation put the whole Taranaki population at risk.<sup>42</sup>

As the war continued, frictions grew between families living in such close quarters at Nelson. Mrs George was thrown out of a private billet house as her hosts found her 'exceedingly annoying and disagreeable'.<sup>43</sup> As at New Plymouth, food prices in Nelson rose – particularly potatoes, which at £7 per ton had to be sourced from outside the district.<sup>44</sup> Disease was rife, as it had been at New Plymouth, and with poor hygiene and sanitation dysentery, typhus, diarrhoea and other illnesses spread. Thomas King reported that disease in Nelson was 'all but universal'.<sup>45</sup>

Male settlers in Taranaki sent multiple letters of complaint to the Superintendent of Taranaki about the treatment of their families in Nelson under the watch of William Gray, the Taranaki government's agent at Nelson. W. H. Scott's wife had bad rheumatism and yet Gray placed her in draughty and damp barracks accommodation where her inability to climb from the top bunk meant she had to sleep on the floor.<sup>46</sup> Scott accused the authorities of acting inconsiderately but praised the attentions of his wife's neighbours in Nelson, who had assisted her greatly.<sup>47</sup> Thomas Shute also wrote to the Superintendent telling how Gray had moved his wife and daughters to Motueka without his knowledge on a stormy, cold night in an 'open boat'.<sup>48</sup> Shute believed that the journey had directly caused his youngest child's subsequent death.<sup>49</sup> He felt betrayed and demanded an

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<sup>42</sup> George Cutfield, Superintendent to the Colonial Secretary, 30 November 1860, Entry book of letters to the general government, Taranaki Provincial Council, ADQW 17305 TP7 6 (R2588050) ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>43</sup> William Gray, government agent at Nelson to the Taranaki Provincial Secretary, 19 May 1860, box 1, folder 6, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC 2003-713, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth; "The Taranaki Buildings in Nelson," *Nelson Examiner*, 22 December 1860, p.3.

<sup>44</sup> William Gray, government agent at Nelson to the Taranaki Superintendent, 13 April 1860, box 1, folder 6, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC 2003-713, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>45</sup> Thomas King to the Taranaki Superintendent, 22 December 1860, box 1, folder 6, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC 2003-713, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>46</sup> W.H. Scott to the Superintendent, 3 November 1860, box 7, folder 10, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC 2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Thomas William Shute to the Deputy Superintendent at Taranaki, 7 September 1860, box 7, folder 12, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

explanation for the tragedy from the Superintendent.<sup>50</sup> Many other additional complaints came in against Gray. General contempt for him seems widespread amongst the 'refugees'.<sup>51</sup> In response to each complaint, William Gray refuted the settlers' accusations and vigorously defended his decisions.<sup>52</sup>

The settlers who travelled to Auckland initially found themselves denied the same advantages as those in Nelson. 'Refugees' in Auckland needed to find their own accommodation and provisions, incurred freight charges for everything shipped north, could not obtain contract prices for goods as in Nelson and had no established committee to advocate for their interests.<sup>53</sup> Charles Autridge, Obah Silcock and Richard Langman had expected rations on arrival in Auckland but received none. The three only gained supplies after writing a letter of complaint to the Taranaki civil and military authorities in August 1860.<sup>54</sup> Eventually, intervention from Lieutenant-Colonel Gold and Premier Edward Stafford ensured that the Auckland 'refugees' received similar treatment to their Nelson counterparts. Gold and Stafford provided £200 for Taranaki Provincial Treasurer Thomas King to distribute to the 'refugees' there.<sup>55</sup> King was at that time auditing government accounts in Auckland.

The experiences and conditions of 'refugees' at their destination depended a great deal on their social class. Higher class families often rented their own accommodation or stayed with friends or acquaintances rather than being assigned accommodation. For instance, through their social connections, the Brown family from Omata and their governess were able to stay for over two months with the Bishop of Nelson (Edmund Hobhouse) and his wife Mary in far more pleasant

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> William Billing to Superintendent at Taranaki, 8 January 1861, box 1, folder 4, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC 2003-713, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>52</sup> William Gray, government agent at Nelson to the Taranaki Deputy Superintendent, 19 September 1860, box 7, folder 12, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth; William Gray, government agent at Nelson to the Taranaki Superintendent, 29 November 1860, box 7, folder 10, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC 2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>53</sup> Obah Silcock to George Cutfield Taranaki Superintendent, 13 November 1860, box 1, folder 6, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC 2003-713, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>54</sup> Charles Autridge, Obah Silcock, Richard Langman to Captain Paul, 28 August 1860, box 7, folder 12, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>55</sup> G. Cutfield to Deputy Superintendent at Taranaki, 7 September 1860, box 7, folder 12, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

circumstances than the other ‘refugees’ in the barracks.<sup>56</sup> The higher classes detested the Taranaki Buildings. William Wakefield went so far as to label them a ‘penitentiary’.<sup>57</sup> Wakefield told his wife Mary in November 1860, ‘don’t let them drive you into the Barracks. It will be time enough for that when all the more respectable go there.’<sup>58</sup>

Higher class families also had more disposable income to live on and provide comforts than other families. Lely Richmond, the aged matriarch of the prominent Richmond-Atkinson family in Taranaki, kept an account of all her spending over 1860. Her records reveal that, even when displaced from Taranaki, she could afford more comforts than many of the families forced to live in the Taranaki Buildings. Such comforts as a bonnet, boots, combs, a copy of *Jane Eyre*, toast racks and birthday parties, toys and presents for her grandchildren represented expenditure of a similar character to the period before she left New Plymouth.<sup>59</sup> William Wakefield could likewise afford extras for his family in Nelson, such as new boots and subscriptions to the Nelson Harmonic Society, which most families at that point in the war could not afford.<sup>60</sup> Overall, those in the middle and upper classes had more choice and opportunity to decide their own movements and trajectories when it came to leaving Taranaki.

Despite prominent class stratification, some cross-class connections and communications existed among the displaced families of Taranaki. Thomas King appears to have known many of the ‘refugees’ who travelled to Auckland. King’s task to distribute the £200 of ration money to the Auckland ‘refugees’ seems to have been carried out along informal networks.<sup>61</sup> Given the small population of Taranaki at the time, many of the Taranaki settlers in Auckland would have already

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<sup>56</sup> Maria Nicholson to Elizabeth Hall, 14 July 1860, Letters to Elizabeth Hall, MS-1717, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>57</sup> William Wakefield to wife Mary, 8 November 1860 - second letter, Wakefield, William King Letters, ARC 2001-391, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> “Lely Richmond Expenses 1860” 1860, Jane Maria Atkinson. Diary, ARC 2001-159, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>60</sup> William Wakefield to wife Mary, 8 February 1862, Wakefield, William King Letters, ARC 2001-391, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>61</sup> G. Cutfield to Deputy Superintendent at Taranaki, 7 September 1860, box 7, folder 12, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

known each other. That King knew how to contact those 'refugees' in Auckland who needed ration money suggests he had social connections with a variety of Taranaki people in Auckland.

## Separation

Every time a 'refugee' ship left Taranaki there were tearful scenes as wives and husbands, children and fathers parted. Sergeant Marjouram wrote in his diary on 6 September 1860 that the 'town presents a sad and sorrowful scene; husbands and wives being separated by the strong arm of authority, while tears, embraces, and loud lamentations abound'.<sup>62</sup> Schoolboy Robert Clinton Hughes likewise wrote his own account of the scenes at the departure of the *Wonga Wonga* and *Airedale* on 6 September 1860, noting that 'it was a heart rendering [sic] scene to see mothers clasping their husbands not knowing whether they would see each other again.'<sup>63</sup> On 24 July 1860 when Jane Maria Atkinson eventually left New Plymouth for Auckland (a change from her previous nonchalance about the threat of war) her husband Arthur felt distressed and referred to the time as 'My day of grief'.<sup>64</sup> Right from the start separation held significant pain and sorrow for the 'refugee' families. Many clearly did not wish to part.

Matthew Fitzpatrick of the 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment reflected on the sentiments felt by loved ones torn apart in his poem 'The Taranaki Refugee', published by the *Nelson Examiner*.<sup>65</sup> The poem describes a 'maiden' who is about to depart Taranaki on a ship for Nelson as a 'refugee'. She painfully farewells her soldier lover on the beach as they separate. The woman feels like her heart will break or that she could drown on the voyage never to see him again. The lover encourages her to have faith and tells her to remember the kiss he plants on her 'trembling hand'. As the surfboat is rowed out to sea the woman cries farewell, devoting the tears running down her cheeks to her lover. The poem is a work of romantic fiction employing literary

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<sup>62</sup> Marjouram, *Sergeant, Sinner, Saint, and Spy*, p.66.

<sup>63</sup> Robert Clinton Hughes diary entry, 6 September 1860, Robert Clinton Hughes Diary, ARC 2001-140, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>64</sup> Arthur Atkinson diary entry, 24 July 1860, Richmond-Atkinson family: papers, MSX-3045, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>65</sup> "Original Poetry. The Taranaki Refugee," *Nelson Examiner*, 24 October 1860, p.4.

conventions of the genre such as a 'maiden' and soldier lover. However, Fitzpatrick drew on the events of the Taranaki war occurring all around him – of the 'refugees' leaving on ships and of tearful separations of women from their lovers. Such a scene represents others which would have occurred between people separating along the shores of Taranaki during the war, often an even more painful experience for married couples with children.

The desire to remain with their spouses at their homes in Taranaki was so strong for some women that they actively resisted the evacuation orders. George Cutfield, the Taranaki Superintendent, wrote in May 1860 that he found it difficult getting the women 'to leave their husbands and sons in a time of trial'.<sup>66</sup> According to Sergeant Marjouram, the resistance transformed into a 'civil war' between the women and the authorities following the late August military order for families to leave.<sup>67</sup> In a sketch by Thomas Bent it certainly appears this way. In his drawing, an angry crowd of women with weapons, including a shotgun, axe and hand gun, face-off in argument against Colonel Carey as he tries and fails to forcibly remove them (see Figure 1).<sup>68</sup> Carey's short stature is also ridiculed as the angry women tower over him. Another satirical Bent cartoon depicts a 'new method' for moving the women and children onto the ships – men carrying them across the sand to the ships (see Figure 2).<sup>69</sup> Other women hid from the authorities in deserted houses outside the town, carrying rifles for protection.<sup>70</sup> The women wanted to be at Taranaki to stand firm and help the men defend 'home' from the threat of war.

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<sup>66</sup> George Cutfield, Superintendent to the Colonial Secretary, 12 May 1860, Colonial Secretary's Office, series 8333, record 1860/929, ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>67</sup> Marjouram, *Sergeant, Sinner, Saint, and Spy*, p.65.

<sup>68</sup> Mary Humphries, "Autograph Book" 1860-1869, ARC2002-702, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Marjouram, *Sergeant, Sinner, Saint, and Spy*, p.67; Francis Gledhill diary entry, 7 September 1860, Gledhill, Francis Ullathorne Diary, ARC2001-47; Robert Clinton Hughes diary entry, 7 September 1860, Robert Clinton Hughes Diary, ARC 2001-140, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.



Figure 1: New Plymouth women arguing with Colonel Carey, cartoon by Thomas Bent (Puke Ariki, ARC2002-702)



Figure 2: The new transportation to the ships, cartoon by Thomas Bent (Puke Ariki, ARC2002-702)

One instance of the deliberate flouting of military orders occurred when soldiers tried to force one woman, Mrs Andrews, to leave.<sup>71</sup> She resisted their orders, causing a great scene. Andrews' husband at first interceded on her behalf but soldiers restrained him in a guard-room. Colonel Carey then marched Mrs Andrews to the beach at bayonet-point. However, once there, the boatmen refused to transport any woman not willing to go, thwarting Carey's plans. Though Mrs Andrews eventually left willingly, the *Nelson Examiner* reported that the incident had encouraged more families to resist removal.<sup>72</sup>

The women's avoidance tactics had some success and encouraged more to resist. According to Robert Hughes the *Airedale* departed for Nelson on 7 September 1860 with only fifty out of the two hundred expected passengers aboard – indicating that as many as 75% of the travellers evaded compulsory removal.<sup>73</sup> Objections made by women due to leave on the *White Swan* on 6 September had empowered further families to resist evacuation on the *Airedale*.<sup>74</sup> Later passages of 'refugee' ships may have seen similar levels of default.

Even once the 'refugees' landed in Nelson they sought to return to Taranaki. Early on in the war, an impatient group of 'refugees', exasperated that the military had not swiftly overwhelmed the Māori fighters, had landed at Taranaki on 24 May 1860 from the *Airedale*.<sup>75</sup> Once martial law forbade return, some women eluded the authorities and landed illegally from boats headed to Taranaki. Women and children from the *Lord Ashley* managed to land on 29 January 1861, not long after the failed Māori attack on No. 3 redoubt at Huirangi.<sup>76</sup> After the 1861 landing, the Taranaki authorities immediately took action to ascertain the names of the 'refugees' and remove them again from the region.<sup>77</sup> Officials in Taranaki received

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<sup>71</sup> Harriet Halse diary entry, 6 September 1860, ARC2010-225, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth; "Latest Intelligence from the Seat of War," *Nelson Examiner*, 11 September 1860, p.4.

<sup>72</sup> "Latest Intelligence from the Seat of War," *Nelson Examiner*, 11 September 1860, p.4.

<sup>73</sup> Robert Clinton Hughes diary entry, 7 September 1860, Robert Clinton Hughes Diary, ARC 2001-140, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>74</sup> E. L. Humphries Deputy Superintendent to the Colonial Secretary in Auckland, 8 September 1860, Letter book, box 2, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC 2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>75</sup> Harriet Halse diary entry, 24 May 1860, ARC2010-225, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>76</sup> Colonel commanding the garrison to the Taranaki Superintendent, 30 January 1861, box 1, folder 3, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC 2003-713, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

strict instructions to prevent 'refugee' landings at all costs – which was considered a harsh but necessary measure to prevent overcrowding.<sup>78</sup> The Taranaki authorities also introduced measures to make travel without a signed order from Colonel Gold or the Provincial Superintendent more difficult and publicised the restrictions personally to the 'refugees' in Nelson.<sup>79</sup> The Taranaki Superintendent raised concerns that a successful landing would encourage further exoduses of 'refugees' from Nelson.<sup>80</sup> The settler families' desire to remain together was too strong for the authorities to fully succeed.

To some extent members of the Taranaki Provincial Government recognised how hard the women and men found separation from their families. By November 1860 Superintendent George Cutfield recognised that the 'refugees' had been 'deprived of the comforts of a home and separated from their husbands and brothers...their anxieties and cares are very great'.<sup>81</sup> Cutfield did all he could to obtain leave for militiamen to visit their families in Nelson, saying that the 'long compulsory separation' caused them significant hardship.<sup>82</sup> However, Cutfield also writes that 'mischief' had arisen amongst the colonial soldiers in Taranaki due to separation from their families.<sup>83</sup> Cutfield's concern about 'mischief' may suggest that his immediate motivations grew out of a desire to regulate soldiers' behaviour and increase their effectiveness rather than to unite families.

For all families a significant level of uncertainty, anxiety and insecurity stemmed from not knowing when and how the war would unfold. In late March 1860 Harriet Halse described the situation as a 'dreadful state of uncertainty'.<sup>84</sup> By December

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<sup>78</sup> "Nelson," *Lyttelton Times*, 27 June 1860, p.3.

<sup>79</sup> James Paul to Mr Waters Harbour Master, 29 October 1860, box 1, folder 2, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC2003-713, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth; Superintendent to commander of the garrison Lieutenant Colonel Silley, 30 January 1861, Letter book, box 2, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC 2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth; William Billing to Provincial Secretary at Taranaki, 20 June 1860, box 7, folder 12, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>80</sup> Superintendent to commander of the garrison Lieutenant Colonel Silley, 30 January 1861, Letter book, box 2, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC 2001-430.

<sup>81</sup> Taranaki Superintendent to John Glasston + Co London, 12 November 1860, Letter book, box 2, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC 2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>82</sup> George Cutfield, Superintendent to the Colonial Secretary, 28 November 1860, Entry book of letters to the general government, Taranaki Provincial Council, ADQW 17305 TP7 6 (R2588050) ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> Harriet Halse diary entry, 24 May 1860, ARC2010-225, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

1860 Emily Harris wrote that 'in war time we feel very acutely every thing [sic] is so uncertain...You go to Nelson leaving someone very dear to follow by the next vessel. and when hastening joyfully to the Port to receive her you are told that she is in her grave. Such things have hapened [sic] so often that we grow fearfully anxious about those we love.'<sup>85</sup> Dr T. E. Rawson, surgeon in the Taranaki Militia, wrote to his sister in early April 1861 complaining that they had endured enough alarms, anxieties and discomforts to last a 'life-time' and that no one could predict when they might end.<sup>86</sup> Travelling to Nelson induced fear in Mary Blaschke, for whom going to a 'strange place in a state of uncertainty' while unwell made her very afraid.<sup>87</sup> The constant threat of losing loved ones and of unknown futures placed Taranaki settlers on edge, making them increasingly concerned about safety and increasingly belligerent towards those who they believed eroded it.

In general, settler husbands (along with the military) wanted to keep their wives and children safe and feared that enemy Māori might harm their families if they remained in Taranaki. Tom King wrote to his wife Mary in October 1860: 'How long such a state of affairs is to continue I have no idea. I am very glad my darling and our little ones are in a place of safety. I should be anxious sweet one if you were in any part of this island for at any moment the war may spread.'<sup>88</sup> Sergeant Marjouram was also very anxious for his wife's safety. In August 1860 he considered that 'New Plymouth is at present no place for helpless females, unprotected, neglected, and constantly exposed to the tomahawk of the rebels'.<sup>89</sup> Safety could also mean morally safe from debauchery or horrific sights. Tom King considered it 'not only unwise but suicidal to expose [his wife Mary] and the

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<sup>85</sup> Emily Cumming Harris to Aunt Emma Hill in Liskerd, England, 8 December 1860, Manuscript diary, box 1, folder 3, Harris, Emily Cumming Diary and Letters, ARC2002-190, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>86</sup> Dr. T. E. Rawson to his sister Elizabeth, 4 April 1861, Rawson family letters, ARC 2001-99, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>87</sup> Mary Blaschke to the Superintendent, 13 July 1860, box 1, folder 4, Taranaki Provincial Council. ARC 2003-713, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>88</sup> Thomas King to wife Mary, 17 October 1860, Personal Correspondence, King Family: Papers, MS-Papers-5641-03, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>89</sup> Marjouram, *Sergeant, Sinner, Saint, and Spy*, p.63.

children to the charms of a savage war, and to the sights and sounds of a garrison town when fighting is taking place.’<sup>90</sup>

Settler men, and sometimes their wives, may have faked or exaggerated injuries to ensure their spouse could remain close by or to evade duty in the colonial militia service. Medical certificates for Mary Waller and Walter Bishop supplied to the Taranaki Superintendent asserted that the respective individuals suffered from fits and required their spouses to remain with them throughout the night.<sup>91</sup> Suspensions over the accuracy of these letters is roused by a *Taranaki Punch* magazine cartoon in which a soldier is leaving for Nelson with his family and though he has his arm in a sling he is uncovered for only having a boil (see Figure 3).<sup>92</sup> Although *Punch* was a satirical magazine the cartoon suggests that settlers in the militia not uncommonly exaggerated injuries in order to keep close to their family.

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<sup>90</sup> Thomas King to wife Mary, 17 May 1860, Personal Correspondence, King Family: Papers, MS-Papers-5641-03, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>91</sup> T. E. Rawson Surgeon in Taranaki Militia to Superintendent, 3 September 1860, box 1, folder 2, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC2003-713, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth; T. E. Rawson Surgeon in Taranaki Militia to Superintendent, 10 September 1860, box 1, folder 2, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC2003-713, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>92</sup> “Why People Go to Nelson,” *Taranaki Punch* 1, no. 10 (27 February 1861): p.6.

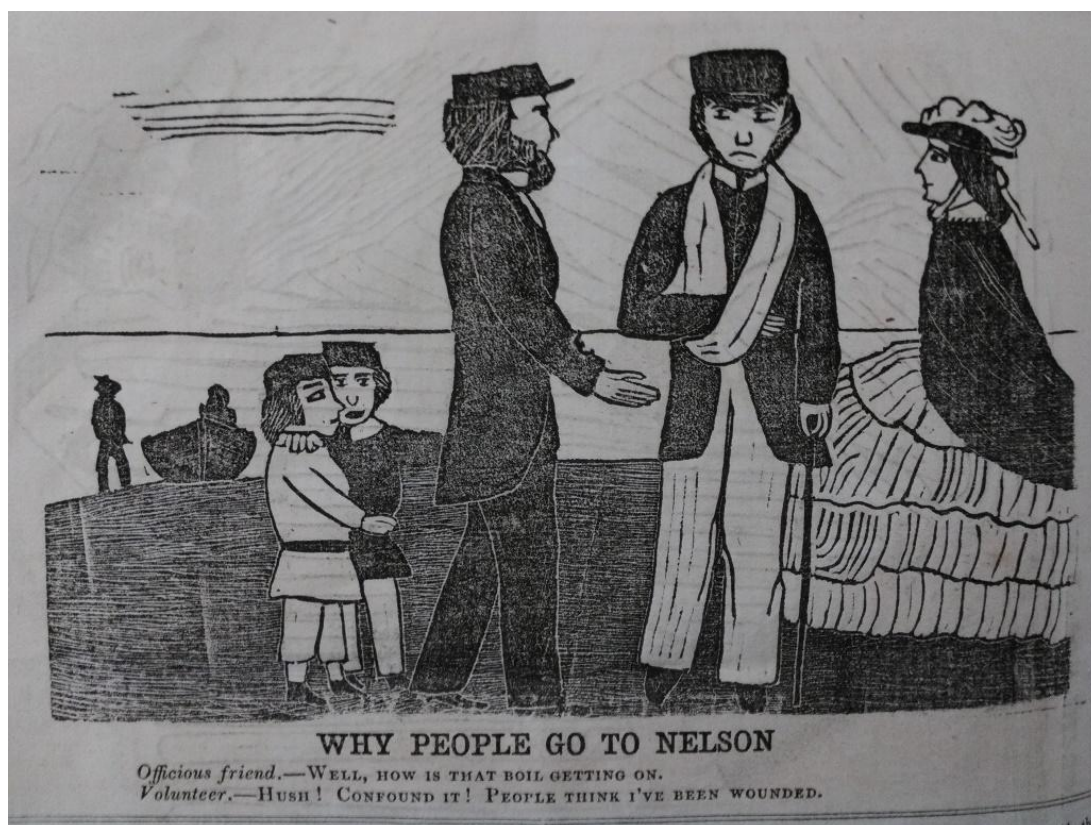


Figure 3: *Why People Go To Nelson, faking injury to leave New Plymouth, (Taranaki Punch, 27 February 1861)*

Many wives felt unable to cope without the stabilising presence of their husbands. They became overwhelmed with anxiety, only exacerbated by a lack of information about their spouse. Thomas King, as a government observer at Nelson in December 1860 and himself a 'refugee', noted that the women felt weary and 'anxious about the safety of their husbands', which was made worse by the long waits for news in the mail.<sup>93</sup> Harriet Halse wrote that with the company of her husband she would leave New Plymouth immediately but thought it 'would be impossible to leave him I should be so dreadfully anxious all the time.'<sup>94</sup> Harriet and many other women felt that separation from their husband would remove their sense of surety and stability. Separated from their husbands, women lost a person with whom they normally shared their burdens and stresses. A letter from Mrs Julian, a 'refugee' in Nelson, to the Taranaki Provincial Government requested that her husband be allowed passage to travel from New Plymouth to Nelson. Following the request,

<sup>93</sup> Thomas King to the Taranaki Superintendent, 22 December 1860, box 1, folder 6, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC 2003-713, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>94</sup> Harriet Halse diary entry, 6 April 1860, ARC2010-225, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

William Gray, the Taranaki agent at Nelson, wrote to Taranaki stating that, given the death of her child and illness of two others, Mrs Julian felt 'naturally very anxious for her husband's presence and sympathy.'<sup>95</sup> The Julians and Halses demonstrate how both husbands and wives relied on each other for emotional support.

For the women 'refugees' whose husbands and male relatives were fighting on the battlefields at Taranaki, there was an even greater level of stress with which to contend. A letter to the editor of the *Colonist* newspaper from Clara Fairly, a Taranaki 'refugee', thanked the paper for the battle accounts it had provided in the previous edition.<sup>96</sup> She, along with other 'refugee sisters in the Nelson Odd Fellow's Hall', read them intently.<sup>97</sup> The women's eagerness to read the accounts of their husbands and relatives on the battlefields suggests how they considered the information invaluable. In such an anxious and adverse situation, the women seem to have formed close bonds. Fairly's letter demonstrates how the links between the 'refugee sisters' became as close as family ties. The distance from loved ones, particularly those engaged on battlefields in Taranaki, exaggerated the women's concerns yet also drove them together into a tight group for comfort and support.

Even a small distance of separation caused distress to families. Sergeant Marjouram out on the battlefields around Taranaki worried greatly about his wife and child within New Plymouth, not knowing whether they were safe or if they had been removed from the town to Nelson or Auckland.<sup>98</sup> He did not hear from them for over a week when the two fell sick. During that time the tone of Marjouram's letters increases in anxiety, as he reassures himself that it must all be part of God's plans.<sup>99</sup> Harriet Halse likewise felt afraid for her husband when he was out on militia duty – in response to the threat from the enemy and the risk to his health and wellbeing. Halse often took food up to her husband at his posts, such as coffee,

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<sup>95</sup> William Gray, government agent at Nelson to the Taranaki Provincial Secretary, 20 June 1860, box 7, folder 12, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>96</sup> "Letters to the Editor," *The Colonist*, 28 September 1860, p.3.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Marjouram, *Sergeant, Sinner, Saint, and Spy*, p.62.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., p.74.

grapes, or bread and butter, and vented her anger over his lengthy and late-night duties.<sup>100</sup>

Letters between family members reveal the range of emotions which separation caused, particularly within the intense letters of Tom and Mary King. Loneliness and depression were a theme running through many of the Kings' letters. With Mary away in Nelson, Tom expressed his loneliness in Taranaki, writing 'I am at times depressed. I sometimes feel like one walking in the dark'.<sup>101</sup> Similarly, when Mary finds out Tom will no longer be coming to visit she is so depressed she cannot even continue writing to him.<sup>102</sup> Tom seems, in general, to have been more of an optimist whereas Mary appears more pessimistic and distressed by her circumstances. Tom constantly has to reassure and encourage her to feel hopeful and cheerful.

Opportunities to see each other again kept them going and were looked forward to with great anticipation. Margot Fry has analysed the Kings' writing during the Land Wars period in her book *Tom's Letters*. She similarly finds that the Kings' writing during this period reflects Tom's 'loneliness, his concern for his family, and the love for his wife' – only stronger after their fourteen years of marriage.<sup>103</sup>

Harriet Halse likewise dipped into a state of depression on 10 June 1860, six weeks after the British 'defeat' at Waireka and two months after the departure of her parents. She penned a frantic and miserable letter to her mother and father in which she fears for her health and doubts her own marriage. In the letter she exclaims in underlined writing – 'Oh my dear Father & Mother how wretched, miserable, hopelessly unhappy I am this night. I can do nothing but sit down and cry, cry till I am ill, it would be a relief to be really so. Where are you! Oh where are you at this moment? Oh! That I was with you, no ties, no affections! Why was I

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<sup>100</sup> Harriet Halse diary entry, 5 March 1860, ARC2010-225, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth; Harriet Halse diary entry, March 12, 1860, ARC2010-225, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>101</sup> Thomas King to wife Mary, 30 September 1860, Personal Correspondence, King Family: Papers, MS-Papers-5641-03, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>102</sup> Mary King to husband Thomas, 6 April 1860, Personal Correspondence, King Family: Papers, MS-Papers-5641-07, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>103</sup> Margot Fry, *Tom's Letters: The Private World of Thomas King, Victorian Gentleman* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2001), p.13.

[married?]...how long is this to last? I feel as if something is going to happen or I am in such frightfully low spirits as to feel alarmed myself.'<sup>104</sup>

Romance and passion had a place during wartime. They were constant throughout the Kings' letters more so than most. For example, Thomas wrote 'oh that I could clasp you in my arms. How I would smother you with kisses. My love, my life. Your presence is the source of all my happiness...In the long nights I often try to think I have my Polly in my arms'.<sup>105</sup> The Halses also found time for romance. The 24 July 1860 was the date of their fourth wedding anniversary and Harriet was determined to keep up celebrations for it despite the war.<sup>106</sup> Mr Turton, the celebrant at their wedding, happened to be in the town and he remarried them and drank to their good health.<sup>107</sup>

Separation of families in the circumstances of the Wars stimulated distinctive anxieties compared to family separation during peace time. During wartime, the family's level of comfort in their place of refuge was not assured and the husband did not always have the *option* of visiting or helping. When Thomas King had previously been away in Auckland, he knew Mary was comfortable and bore it well.<sup>108</sup> However, during the war in May 1860 he wrote to Mary 'now I think of the discomforts to which you and the little ones are condemned and know that I cannot go to you or bring you to me for a time.'<sup>109</sup> King's letter demonstrates how the presence of war had pushed the level of families' anxiety even higher. Men in the militia or volunteers could request a grant for leave to visit their family in Nelson but permission was at the discretion of the military and men could not leave as and when they wished. Manley Dixon notes that 40 men left on board the *Airedale* to visit their families on 6 December 1860.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Harriet Halse diary entry, 10 June 1860, ARC2010-225, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>105</sup> Thomas King to wife Mary, 12 May 1860, Personal Correspondence, King Family: Papers, MS-Papers-5641-03, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>106</sup> Harriet Halse diary entry, 24 July 1860, ARC2010-225, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> Thomas King to wife Mary, 12 May 1860, Personal Correspondence, King Family: Papers, MS-Papers-5641-03, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Manley Dixon diary entry, 6 December 1860, Dixon, Manley, ARC2001-65, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

Learning about the minute details of daily life helped to provide connection for spouses. For instance, William Wakefield seemed anxious to know about the Nelson house in which his wife Mary lived. At the end of his letter to her in September 1860 he asked her to 'describe the position of the house, with respect to the town, if on a hill or in a valley, &c. &c'.<sup>111</sup> Writing in such a manner suggests a desire by settlers to understand and picture the way their spouse lived in the new location to provide greater connection and feeling of closeness.

Similarly to marriages, the relationship between parents and children underwent strain during separation. Fathers writing to their children made an effort to remain a part of their child's upbringing. Samuel Scammell tried to encourage good character in his children, as when writing to daughter Ellen he told her to be good and 'help your mother all you can'.<sup>112</sup> During correspondence with his wife in Nelson, William Wakefield often checked in regarding the children's behaviour; asking whether Kit had been 'good & obedient' or telling Horace to 'do as you are bid, come when you are called & shut the door after you'.<sup>113</sup> He always sent through his love to them all and often wrote specifically to each one.

Education entailed another area in which parents displayed concern. Wakefield hoped that his children were making the best of their schooling by keeping track of how they are doing and asking whether Horace and Kit succeeded well in their spelling.<sup>114</sup> Wakefield's children wrote letters in reply, including son Horace's stories about the wild goats in the hills around their new house.<sup>115</sup> Samuel Scammell also encouraged his children in their learning; praising Ellen's writing, yet warning her to

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<sup>111</sup> William Wakefield to wife Mary, 12 September 1860, Wakefield, William King Letters, ARC 2001-391, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>112</sup> Samuel Scammell to daughter Ellen, 26 February 1861, Scammell, Samuel Letters, ARC 2003-807, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>113</sup> William Wakefield to wife Mary, 22 September 1860, Wakefield, William King Letters, ARC 2001-391, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>114</sup> William Wakefield to wife Mary, 21 April 1861, Wakefield, William King Letters, ARC 2001-391, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth; William Wakefield to wife Mary, 12 September 1860, Wakefield, William King Letters, ARC 2001-391, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>115</sup> William Wakefield to wife Mary, 22 September 1860, Wakefield, William King Letters, ARC 2001-391, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

take care with her spelling, and asking that daughters Jill and Anne also send him some of their writing for him to see.<sup>116</sup>

Many parents used objects to stay physically connected to their children, often by sending gifts to one another. Gifts gave children a physical object to provide a connection to their parents and act as a reminder that they still cared. During the war, William Wakefield sent a sticking plaster for Horace and one peppermint drop for Kitty, £3 for the girls to join the Harmonic Society and money for Kitty to buy new boots.<sup>117</sup> The children then sent their own gift in response, a pipe with an old man on it.<sup>118</sup> Samuel Scammell meanwhile created pictures in the bush for his children Dick and Emma to look over and also gave his daughter Ellen a scrap book and paper case to hold her paper and pens.<sup>119</sup> For Harriet Halse, her attachment to her children was so strong she collected locks of their hair to place in a locket, a common Victorian practice.<sup>120</sup> By holding on to a physical part of her children, Harriet kept them with her at all times, adding to her comfort and sense of safety.

For adults as well, the continued connection with parents remained an important relationship. Harriet Halse felt distraught when her parents left Taranaki for England at the very start of the wars. Harriet was desperate for letters from them and she wrote in March 1860 that having no news 'damps everything and makes me feel comparatively little for everything and anything'.<sup>121</sup> Following their departure, Harriet descended into a state of despair and depression making her situation unbearable. Emily Harris, who remained in New Plymouth to work for the Des Voeux family, likewise felt desolate when she missed her opportunity to farewell her father before he departed New Plymouth on the *Airedale*.<sup>122</sup> She

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<sup>116</sup> Samuel Scammell to daughter Ellen, 26 February 1861, Scammell, Samuel Letters, ARC 2003-807, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>117</sup> William Wakefield to wife Mary, 8 February 1862, Wakefield, William King Letters, ARC 2001-391, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth; William Wakefield to wife Mary, 22 September 1860, Wakefield, William King Letters, ARC 2001-391, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>118</sup> William Wakefield to wife Mary, 8 November 1860 - second letter, Wakefield, William King Letters, ARC 2001-391, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>119</sup> Samuel Scammell to daughter Ellen, 26 February 1861, Scammell, Samuel Letters, ARC 2003-807, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>120</sup> Harriet Halse diary entry, 2 July 1860, ARC2010-225, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>121</sup> Harriet Halse diary entry, 17 March 1860, ARC2010-225, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>122</sup> Emily Cumming Harris to Aunt Emma Hill in Liskerd, England, 8 December 1860 Manuscript diary, box 1, folder 3, Harris, Emily Cumming Diary and Letters, ARC2002-190, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

returned home with an indescribable feeling of 'disappointment [sic] and loneliness'.<sup>123</sup> Emily also felt cut off from her mother and sisters in Nelson, possibly exaggerated by the death of her brother. She begged her sister Frances to write to her as letters from family eased her loneliness.<sup>124</sup>

Photography helped to bridge the painful gap of separation. Mary Wakefield sent a likeness of herself to her husband William in New Plymouth, with which he was 'very pleased'.<sup>125</sup> However, her daughters also wanted the photograph for themselves and it began a process of moving around. That each family member wanted to possess Mary's image demonstrates the great value and importance of photographs to separated settler families. Mary King also sent through a photograph of herself to her husband, Tom – though initially he did not like it. However, the photograph grew more and more important to him and by February 1861 he wrote 'Your portrait Polly [Mary] is with me and I consult it every day. It seems to invite me to your side'.<sup>126</sup> The photograph therefore began to stand-in for Mary in his everyday life – it kept Mary's presence near him and had its own life. Frances Porter writes that, when separated from his wife Mary in November 1860, J. C. Richmond, of the Richmond-Atkinson 'mob', 'slept with his wife Mary's portrait under his pillow'.<sup>127</sup> In this case the portrait carried so much of the person that it provided emotional comfort in the middle of the night by keeping Mary close to him.

Money was a significant topic of correspondence during separation. Tom King constantly wanted to make sure that Mary was not living an uncomfortable life in order to save money. He frequently sent through money to her – £10, 15 or 20 at a time – and often reassured her that they were not by any means poor.<sup>128</sup> In a letter

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<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>124</sup> Emily Cumming Harris to her sister Frances, 3 January 1861, Manuscript diary, box 1, folder 3, Harris, Emily Cumming Diary and Letters, ARC2002-190, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>125</sup> William Wakefield to wife Mary, 8 August 1861, Wakefield, William King Letters, ARC 2001-391, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>126</sup> Thomas King to wife Mary, 1861, Personal Correspondence, King Family: Papers, MS-Papers-5641-05, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>127</sup> Porter, *Born to New Zealand*, p.148.

<sup>128</sup> Thomas King to wife Mary, 3 October 1860, Personal Correspondence, King Family: Papers, MS-Papers-5641-04, ATL, Wellington; Thomas King to wife Mary, n.d., Personal Correspondence, King

he tried to persuade Mary that 'we are not in want and that therefore you must not for mere economical reasons deprive yourself...of such comforts as are necessary. If you do I shall be very angry with you'.<sup>129</sup> William Wakefield also corresponded with his wife Mary regarding money and likewise wanted to ensure that she was comfortable and not struggling in any way. He wrote to her, asking 'How do you get on? Say if you require money. Do not go into the Barracks, we will pay rent for you if requisite'.<sup>130</sup> William sent a further £2 when their daughter Eleanor suggested that more money could be helpful and he resolved to continue out of suspicion that William Gray, Taranaki agent at Nelson, acted 'stingy' towards the 'refugees'.<sup>131</sup> Wakefield's acts show that he prioritised the health and comfort of his family above trying to cut costs or submit to the authorities' orders.

The characteristics of economy, thriftiness and a strong work ethic are often associated with settler wives and both Mary King and Mary Wakefield seem to have approached their displacement with such an attitude. William and Thomas also did not want to be seen as insufficiently providing for their families and wanted their families to uphold respectability and class appearances. The cost of maintaining two homes increased the financial pressure on families and in some circumstances necessitated compromise. Husbands decreased their own spending while separated from their family. Both Thomas King and William Wakefield wrote that they were trying to economise and live frugally to enable their wives to live more comfortably.<sup>132</sup>

Mothers became the sole parent present with the family once at Nelson.

Consequently, women had to take on even more work and, as it was difficult to confer with their absent spouse, they held immediate responsibility over important

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Family: Papers, MS-Papers-5641-03, ATL, Wellington; Thomas King to wife Mary, 27 April 1860, Personal Correspondence, King Family: Papers, MS-Papers-5641-03, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>129</sup> Thomas King to wife Mary, 8 August 1860, Personal Correspondence, King Family: Papers, MS-Papers-5641-03, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>130</sup> William Wakefield to wife Mary, 8 November 1860 - first letter, Wakefield, William King Letters, ARC 2001-391, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>131</sup> William Wakefield to wife Mary, 27 September 1861, Wakefield, William King Letters, ARC 2001-391, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth; William Wakefield to wife Mary, 21 April 1861, Wakefield, William King Letters, ARC 2001-391, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>132</sup> William Wakefield to wife Mary, 21 April 1861, Wakefield, William King Letters, ARC 2001-391, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth; Thomas King to wife Mary, 26 August 1860, Personal Correspondence, King Family: Papers, MS-Papers-5641-04, ATL, Wellington.

family decisions. Tom and Mary King negotiated over whether to baptise their children as Anglicans, important for her but not to him, and about whether to pay the high tuition rates to educate their daughter.<sup>133</sup> Mary also had to take on the responsibility of selling their unneeded possessions at a reasonable price once the goods had arrived in Nelson.<sup>134</sup> Not everything could be discussed in writing though. Mary wanted Tom to visit her and she complained in April 1860 there are 'so many points upon which we ought to be able to consult together which I cannot write about.'<sup>135</sup> Tom also wished Mary were nearer or that they could communicate more often during such a 'critical time'.<sup>136</sup>

Family occasions represented a time when separation hit home. James Richmond missed the birth of his child in Nelson in April 1860 and Jane Maria Atkinson suffered the absence of her husband Arthur at Christmas time in Auckland 1860.<sup>137</sup> For Emily Harris, Christmas Eve brought back memories of all the family celebrating together in previous years and made her feel even more alone. In a letter to her sister Frances Emily imagined what they would be doing at that very moment – eating supper together or listening to their father playing the harp.<sup>138</sup> Remembering the past pained Emily, yet to her the future seemed equally bleak.<sup>139</sup> She resolves that 'there is but one way to look and that is above'.<sup>140</sup>

However, not all of the family relationships were so warm and affectionate. For some 'refugee' women evacuation from New Plymouth represented an opportunity to escape family life. An undated letter from William Gray suggests that Mrs Perrott and her children, all receiving medical treatment for serious illnesses, had already

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<sup>133</sup> Thomas King to wife Mary, 17 September 1860, Personal Correspondence, King Family: Papers, MS-Papers-5641-04, ATL, Wellington; Thomas King to wife Mary, 24 August 1860, Personal Correspondence, King Family: Papers, MS-Papers-5641-04, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>134</sup> Thomas King to wife Mary, 30 September 1860, Personal Correspondence, King Family: Papers, MS-Papers-5641-03, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>135</sup> Mary King to husband Thomas, 6 April 1860, Personal Correspondence, King Family: Papers, MS-Papers-5641-07, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>136</sup> Thomas King to wife Mary, 7 April 1861, Personal Correspondence, King Family: Papers, MS-Papers-5641-05, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>137</sup> Porter, *Born to New Zealand*, pp.135, 151.

<sup>138</sup> Emily Cumming Harris to her sister Frances, 24 December 1861, box 2, folder 5, Harris, Emily Cumming Diary and Letters, ARC2002-190, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

suffered from mistreatment by her husband Mr Perrott before they had left New Plymouth.<sup>141</sup> Thus, for the Perrott family, removal to Nelson made their condition worse initially but soon gave them medical treatment which they may not have obtained otherwise. By evacuating to Nelson, Helen Hursthouse of the Hurworth 'mob' managed to escape her alcoholic husband John. According to Lely Richmond, her sister Helen looked much better away from her husband and Helen resolved never to live with John again unless he went sober.<sup>142</sup> However, the evacuations could also make family life worse for women 'refugees'. William Gray often complained about men who neglected their families and left the government to provide for them.<sup>143</sup>

During all the difficulties of war and their displacement from Taranaki, the 'refugees' looked to God and their Christian faith to find comfort. Grace Hirst wrote to her sisters stating that in the midst of war everyone kept forgetting that there is an overarching providence in God.<sup>144</sup> She continually prayed to the Lord for redemption.<sup>145</sup> Sergeant Marjouram too, when concerned over the course of the war, prayed that God would save his wife and child, and the New Plymouth residents.<sup>146</sup>

## Home

The very use of the label 'refugee' was predicated on the idea that Taranaki had become their 'home'. For those who became 'refugees', assertion of 'home' was closely tied to the lives and livelihoods they had formed. Such an attachment was strengthened by the memories they had made in Taranaki. Tom King wrote to his wife in June 1860, 'Whatever may befall the land Taranaki shall be our home my love. It is here we have spent together many happy years and I hope many more...I

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<sup>141</sup> William Gray, government agent at Nelson to unknown recipient, n.d, box 7, folder 12, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>142</sup> Porter, *Born to New Zealand*, p.134.

<sup>143</sup> William Gray, government agent at Nelson to the Taranaki Superintendent, 2 August 1860, box 7, folder 12, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth; William Gray, government agent at Nelson to the Taranaki Superintendent, 14 August 1860, box 7, folder 12, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>144</sup> Grace Hirst to unknown, 1860, Letters Vol 3, Hirst family: Letters, 1859-1862, MS-0996, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Marjouram, *Sergeant, Sinner, Saint, and Spy*, p.57.

know you would not be happy anywhere else for there is no place so agreeable as the dear country we have lived in. Be assured my darling that I will not condemn you to live in Nelson.<sup>147</sup> King's letters painted Taranaki as a paradise of comfort and Nelson as a prison of terror. King also complained that none of the South Island settlements were at all suitable – Canterbury was 'wretched', Otago too cold and Nelson unsuitable.<sup>148</sup> King emphasised that he felt a 'passion' for Taranaki and could not imagine settling anywhere else.<sup>149</sup> He told Mary that he would 'feel a deep pang if I thought we should never return.'<sup>150</sup> Thomas King had arrived in Taranaki on the *William Bryant* in 1841 aged twenty, so had lived there longer than some other settlers.

Other Taranaki settlers wrote affectionately about 'home'. Thomas King wrote about a fellow 'refugee' in Auckland, Miss Martha King, who similarly felt a 'passion' for Taranaki and deeply desired to return; there was nowhere else that she wanted to live.<sup>151</sup> None of the 'mob' wanted to abandon Taranaki. They told their children bedtime stories about their memories there and Kate Hursthouse wrote to her aunt Lely Richmond from Nelson saying: 'Poor dear old Taranaki...I cannot tell you how I sometimes long to be there again.'<sup>152</sup> Speaking in the House of Representatives, member J. C. Richmond, himself a 'refugee' and member of the 'mob', emphasised the strong connection between the settlers and the Taranaki region.<sup>153</sup>

Many settlers emphasised the environment and natural landscape when explaining their attachment to 'home' and the project of settlement. Thomas King praised the Taranaki climate and its importance for good health.<sup>154</sup> King felt a strong emotional connection to the very earth of the area. He had 'become attached to the soil which

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<sup>147</sup> Thomas King to wife Mary, 15 June 1860, Personal Correspondence, King Family: Papers, MS-Papers-5641-03, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>148</sup> Thomas King to wife Mary, 8 November 1860, Personal Correspondence, King Family: Papers, MS-Papers-5641-04, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>149</sup> Thomas King to wife Mary, 3 October 1860, Personal Correspondence, King Family: Papers, MS-Papers-5641-04, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> Porter, *Born to New Zealand*, p.151.

<sup>153</sup> J. C. Richmond, *NZPD*, 1860, pp.519-525.

<sup>154</sup> Thomas King to wife Mary, n.d., Personal Correspondence, King Family: Papers, MS-Papers-5641-04, ATL, Wellington.

is endeared by so many fond recollections.<sup>155</sup> Many settlers had planted gardens and mourned the destruction of them in the course of the war. William Wakefield felt relieved that his fruit trees survived the attacks undamaged, though Māori had destroyed or taken other plants like his cacti and Norfolk Island pine.<sup>156</sup> King briefly returned to check on his house in November 1860 and grieved for the state of his garden, which proved worse than he had imagined.<sup>157</sup> However, the sheep had kept down the weeds and his holly, walnuts and rhubarb would survive unscathed.<sup>158</sup> Upon visiting his Hurworth home in May 1860, Arthur Atkinson lamented the cotton blight attacking his apple trees.<sup>159</sup> Arthur relocated many of his fruit trees to New Plymouth in a successive trip two months later but by March 1861 the trees could barely 'boast a leaf among them'.<sup>160</sup> For settlers, gardens represented the time and labour they had invested in their property as they established their mark on the landscape. The plants settlers added made the land more familiar – like 'home' – and for them represented progress towards settlement. Gardens could additionally form an important source of survival by providing food for the household. Therefore, destruction of the family garden represented a further act of dislocation for the Taranaki 'refugees'.

Supporters of the Taranaki settlers could use the language of attachment and memory to justify their own ends, as evinced in the poem 'The Taranaki Refugee' by Matthew Fitzpatrick. The unnamed woman at the centre of the poem laments her imminent departure from Taranaki as a 'refugee'. In the poem, Fitzpatrick describes the woman looking back towards Taranaki before she departs:

*'Deep is her source of woe; she sees her native land  
Deserted, wasted, ruined, 'neath war's consuming hand!*

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<sup>155</sup> Thomas King to wife Mary, 3 October 1860, Personal Correspondence, King Family: Papers, MS-Papers-5641-04, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>156</sup> William Wakefield to wife Mary, 21 April 1861, Wakefield, William King Letters, ARC 2001-391, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>157</sup> Thomas King to wife Mary, 8 November 1860, Personal Correspondence, King Family: Papers, MS-Papers-5641-04, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

<sup>159</sup> Arthur Atkinson diary entry, 8 May 1860, Richmond-Atkinson family: papers, MSX-3045, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>160</sup> Arthur Atkinson diary entry, 17 July 1860, Richmond-Atkinson family: papers, MSX-3045, ATL, Wellington; Arthur Atkinson diary entry, 24 March 1861, Richmond-Atkinson family: papers, MSX-3045, ATL, Wellington.

Her childhood's happy home, where Eden's bliss she found'.<sup>161</sup>

Fitzpatrick's language demonstrates the deep connection the woman had for Taranaki. That the woman labels Taranaki her 'native land' suggests a kind of competition with Māori to demonstrate that she too had roots in the land as a 'native' and felt like she now belonged there. The 'superabundance of Edenic motifs', as Michele Leggott has termed it, reinforce the 'refugee's' inborn connection to the land, as if she were the first inhabitant.<sup>162</sup> At the end of the poem, as the woman departs out to sea, she cries farewell to 'my own beloved land', again asserting her right to ownership through language. Fitzpatrick cultivates the woman's deep attachment to the land as *her* place to justify settlers' right to wage war over it. As a work of literature, Matthew Fitzpatrick's poem met a readership who wanted to hear that settlers had a right to land in Taranaki and that their men had not needlessly fought to defend 'their' home and properties.

Home could furthermore mean attachment to a house or specific piece of land. The 'mob' had great affection for 'Hurworth' and their other properties where they had all lived together before the war. According to Tom King, Mrs Richmond (most likely Lely Richmond) became depressed at the thought of losing the family's home.<sup>163</sup> The Kings similarly felt concerned at the fate of their home. As a Consequence, Tom purposefully decided to emotionally 'divest' himself from any attachment to their house so that he would not feel the loss as deeply if it was destroyed.<sup>164</sup>

For many settlers, the presence of close family and friends embodied a sense of 'home'. For instance, the 'mob' in Taranaki held a tight bond and, following separation by the war, desperately wanted to reunite. Matriarch Lely Richmond mourned the break-up of her family, whose members by August 1860 had scattered across New Zealand.<sup>165</sup> Similarly, Taranaki was no home for Tom King without wife Mary: 'It is not the Taranaki it was once for you are away, but it is our home, and

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<sup>161</sup> Italics part of original prose

<sup>162</sup> Michele Leggott, "Touching the Taranaki Campaign: The Poems of Matthew Fitzpatrick," *Ka Mate Ka Ora: A New Zealand Journal of Poetry and Poetics*, no. 14 (July 2016): p.49.

<sup>163</sup> Thomas King to wife Mary, 14 August 1860, Personal Correspondence, King Family: Papers, MS-Papers-5641-04, ATL, Wellington. It is most likely Lely Richmond who King refers to but this cannot be determined from the context.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid.

<sup>165</sup> Porter, *Born to New Zealand*, p.163.

until we can return again we shall be exiles.’<sup>166</sup> The efforts of the ‘refugee’ women in Nelson to return to Taranaki also point towards home as family, and place rather than space. By surreptitiously escaping Nelson for Taranaki, the women’s main goal was to reunite with their husbands and male relatives – their home – many of whom had enlisted in the militia or volunteers. Although their family might have been separated, Taranaki settlers generally envisioned their future life as taking place in Taranaki.

Possessions, as objects, could become infused with memories of loved ones, and conjure a sense of homeliness. Tom King considered visiting his old house in Taranaki but decided that seeing it was ‘not necessary to call up the memory of the happy past for everything around me – the baby’s cradle – the looking glass – tell me of the time when I had a wife and children near me.’<sup>167</sup> In the same way as photographs created closeness with family members and reduced the effects of separation, objects and possessions such as a baby’s cradle or looking glass were imbued with memories of home and added to settlers’ comfort levels at a time of extreme crisis. However, in this way, home also became a time and place – a memory of the past rather than a current reality – and one to which King and others sought to return. For William Wakefield, possessions also held high importance. When visiting his ransacked Taranaki home, Wakefield focuses intently on the fate of his possessions. The plunderers smashed many of the crockery and kitchen items, including his jelly mould and strawberry cheese plate, and stole tools, such as hammers, axes, and a cross cut saw.<sup>168</sup> Wakefield recalls that the intruders had destroyed or taken all of his books, strewing them across the grass, and that many of their cattle had wandered off.<sup>169</sup> The destruction of valued possessions transgressed the warm memories of home.

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<sup>166</sup> Thomas King to wife Mary, n.d., Personal Correspondence, King Family: Papers, MS-Papers-5641-04, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>167</sup> Thomas King to wife Mary, n.d., Personal Correspondence, King Family: Papers, MS-Papers-5641-03, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>168</sup> William Wakefield to wife Mary, 21 April 1861, Wakefield, William King Letters, ARC 2001-391, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid.

For Taranaki settlers, 'home' also derived from the products of their labour.

Thomas King felt he had made an investment in his land and cringed at the thought of twenty years of work suddenly disappearing.<sup>170</sup> He felt distressed at the contrast with what they once had and the sudden alteration of their hopes for the future.<sup>171</sup>

William Wakefield likewise did not want to abandon the work on his Taranaki property yet still desired his investments to prosper and succeed. He wrote, 'it would be a sad thing to throw all these advantages away...Sometimes I have thought we must give all up sell the land & try & do something else. Then after doing so much on the place...I felt more than ever a desire to stick to the land in the confident belief of its increased value at some future time.'<sup>172</sup> Wakefield's writing demonstrates how investment of labour into the land caused settlers to attach to the place as 'home'. Having put so much time and hard work into his properties, Wakefield felt deeply anxious at the prospect of starting again if he lost his land during the war or had to abandon it. He also worried that leaving his land unattended to would soon reverse all the improvements he had made. The Taranaki settlers aimed to build on their accomplishments rather than give up the assets and property they had worked hard for to start over somewhere new.

William Billing in Nelson wrote on 6 June 1861 to the superintendent begging that he and his family be allowed to return to Taranaki.<sup>173</sup> Billing greatly regretted ever departing Taranaki and giving up the chance to save some of his goods and cattle. He was highly distressed that his land remained idle and 'unimproved' with stock and buildings destroyed.<sup>174</sup> If he could return, Billing wrote, he would plant enough corn and potatoes for his family to survive without government assistance.<sup>175</sup>

William Billing's statements demonstrate how the value of work put into his land at

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<sup>170</sup> Thomas King to wife Mary, 14 January 1861, Personal Correspondence, King Family: Papers, MS-Papers-5641-05, ATL, Wellington; Thomas King to wife Mary, 12 February 1861, Personal Correspondence, King Family: Papers, MS-Papers-5641-03, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>171</sup> Thomas King to wife Mary, 14 January 1861, Personal Correspondence, King Family: Papers, MS-Papers-5641-05, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>172</sup> William Wakefield to wife Mary, 21 April 1861, Wakefield, William King Letters, ARC 2001-391, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>173</sup> William Billing to Superintendent at Taranaki, 6 June 1861, box 1, folder 4, Taranaki Provincial Council. ARC 2003-713, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

Taranaki increased his attachment to it and the importance he placed on it. Labour and work invested into the land became intimately tied up with 'home' for Taranaki settlers. Wherever settlers devoted time and effort the value of that location as home increased in their estimations.

As migrants to the colony, the Taranaki settlers rapidly developed a strong attachment to Taranaki. More established settlers had lived in Taranaki since the 1840s. The first settlers from the New Zealand Company scheme arrived on the ship *William Bryan* in 1841. However, many had only recently immigrated to the country, like William Wakefield who sailed to New Zealand on the *John Taylor* in 1853 or governess Maria Nicholson who only arrived in 1859.<sup>176</sup> Consequently, most Taranaki settlers had begun life outside New Zealand and few were born in the colony. The long, treacherous journey to the other side of the world, the desperation and hope with which they aspired to a new living, and the 'undeveloped' colony they arrived in demanded that settlers make the best of their situation. These trials to realise a livelihood in the new province forged strong memories for settlers and attachment to the Taranaki land itself. Having abandoned their old lives for a new one halfway around the world, Taranaki settlers rapidly assumed Taranaki as their 'home' in order to fill the large void of rootlessness, isolation and alienation in a new place. Lorenzo Veracini describes this as settler 'indigenisation' – settlers' need to 'transform a historical tie ("we came here") into a natural one ("the land made us")' – while simultaneously retaining their exogenous status.<sup>177</sup> Veracini argues that settlers felt they had an 'inherent sovereign claim that travel[ed] with them'.<sup>178</sup>

The Taranaki settlers' emphasis on home also formed in the face of Taranaki Māori's strong connection with their lands. Māori had inhabited Taranaki for hundreds of years by the time settlers began displacing them from the land. Māori, on the whole, felt a deep spiritual connection to their whenua and believed that

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<sup>176</sup> Maria Nicholson to Elizabeth Hall, 5 March 1859, Letters to Elizabeth Hall, MS - 1717, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>177</sup> Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, pp.21-22.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, p.53.

they had originated from the earth-mother Papatūānuku. Such a deep, long-lasting, spiritual connection with the land contrasted with the new settler arrivals.

The Taranaki settlers viewed Māori connection to the land, assertion of rangatiratanga over it and reluctance to sell it as a threat to their new homes and livelihoods. In response to Māori interests, and for their own sense of self-entitlement and self-belonging, settlers fortified their emotional attachment to Taranaki as 'home' and emphasised their sovereign right to reside and own land there. Once the Land Wars began, settlers' articulations of 'home' intensified. In the face of a force reminding settlers of their exogeneity, the Taranaki settlers asserted their indigeneity by espousing that Taranaki was their 'home'. Therefore, Taranaki settlers' sense of connection to the region and their homes increased as war put it into question. By asserting affection for Taranaki as their 'home', settlers could feel justified in fighting Māori and consciously and deliberately claim Māori land.

Following the conclusion of the First Taranaki War in April 1861, Taranaki families desperately wanted to return to their properties once it was safe to do so. William Wakefield's neighbour William Tatton told Wakefield he would 'lose [sic] no time in getting back to his place' and Wakefield came to think the same.<sup>179</sup> Such eagerness to return shows the close connection settlers had formed with Taranaki. Immediately after the parties had signed the truce, requests for return passages flooded in to Superintendent Cutfield at Taranaki.<sup>180</sup> He granted permission only for families who could support themselves both for accommodation and living expenses.<sup>181</sup> Families wrote letters to Cutfield, trying to prove that they could support themselves.<sup>182</sup> By 28 September 1861 Benjamin Wells resorted to petitioning the provincial council to return his wife and children to their 'home' in Taranaki.<sup>183</sup> That Wells used the word 'home' demonstrates that, despite the passage of time, the trials of war and the separation from Taranaki, settler families

<sup>179</sup> William Wakefield to wife Mary, 21 April 1861, Wakefield, William King Letters, ARC 2001-391, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>180</sup> "Letter Book" 1861, box 2, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC 2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>181</sup> Charles Brown Superintendent to Mr Pote, 22 July 1861, Letter book, box 2, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC 2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>182</sup> "'Refugees 1861' Inwards Correspondence" 1861, box 1, folder 4, Taranaki Provincial Council. ARC 2003-713, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>183</sup> "Provincial Council," *Taranaki Herald*, 28 September 1861, p.3.

had established a connection with the area that prompted urgency when the potential for return arose.

Families returned to Taranaki only gradually after the war but felt overjoyed when the opportunity finally arrived. Robert Clinton Hughes observed the first families to return to Taranaki on the *Airedale* at the end of April and noted that they 'seemed to be glad to get back to their homes. The meeting of friends was more happier than the parting last year.'<sup>184</sup> The slow removal of restrictions, the lack of accommodation in New Plymouth, and the residual air of uncertainty and anxiety within the district prevented families from returning any faster. The *New Zealander* reported that by May 1861 uneasiness and uncertainty still prevailed amongst settlers over the possibility of returning to their farms in Taranaki.<sup>185</sup> However, in a diary entry on 8 May 1861 Robert Clinton Hughes suggests that although three ships of 'refugees' had already returned 'there are many that will settle down in Nelson'.<sup>186</sup> Charles Brown wrote on 27 May 1861 that 200-300 women and children had returned from Nelson with support through the War loan and that all housing in New Plymouth was full.<sup>187</sup>

Statistics suggest that, despite rhetoric expressing Taranaki as home, many families still had not returned, even by 1863. Provincial council records dated 20 March 1863 which list families driven from their homes in Taranaki show that only 36 families out of 244 (around 15%) had returned to their farms by that time.<sup>188</sup> Eighteen families were still in Nelson, two families had members leave for England and members from fourteen families had vacated Taranaki.<sup>189</sup> The remaining 174 families' whereabouts are unlisted.<sup>190</sup> However, these records disagree with other lists kept by the Provincial Council which record upwards of one hundred family

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<sup>184</sup> Robert Clinton Hughes diary entry, 26 April 1861, Robert Clinton Hughes Diary, ARC 2001-140, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>185</sup> "Recent Intelligence Not Reassuring," *New Zealander*, 15 May 1861, p.2.

<sup>186</sup> Robert Clinton Hughes diary entry, 8 May 1861, Robert Clinton Hughes Diary, ARC 2001-140, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>187</sup> Charles Brown Superintendent to the Colonial Secretary, 27 May 1861, Entry book of letters to the general government, Taranaki Provincial Council, ADQW 17305 TP7 6 (R2588050) ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>188</sup> "List of Names of Settlers Driven from Their Homes in the Country" 31 March 1863, box 7, folder 9, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid.

groups as having returned to Taranaki.<sup>191</sup> The discrepancy could arise from the former records focusing on those living on farms outside the town, whereas the latter records also include those living within New Plymouth itself. The number of families returning to Taranaki could consequently be estimated much higher than the figure of 36. The numbers still suggest that not all families did return to the province; though, given the ruined state of the district following war, many more families returned than might be expected.

Regardless of the statistics, it is apparent that the people of Taranaki felt an intense bond with 'home'. Captain Charles Brown, a future superintendent of Taranaki, proclaimed that many settlers, including himself, had adopted Taranaki as their home. At a public meeting in mid-May 1861, he said that by returning to Taranaki 'the refugees proved that our affections are linked with the land.'<sup>192</sup> Taranaki only became a settler colonial town in 1841, so the vast majority of Taranaki's settler population by 1860 had begun life outside of the region. Therefore, the Taranaki settlers' zealous articulation of 'home' grew in a relatively short time period. The rapid growth of feeling towards 'home' aided the settlers in attaching themselves to a new and unfamiliar environment. For the settlers who did return to Taranaki, it was the pull of 'home' which brought them back.

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<sup>191</sup> "Applications for Families to Return to New Plymouth" 1860-1861, box 1, folder 1, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC2003-713, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>192</sup> "Public Meeting," *The Colonist*, 14 May 1861, p.3.

## Chapter 2: The rootless ‘refugees + wanderers’ of Poverty Bay

### Leaving

Fighting at Waerenga-a-hika, Poverty Bay in mid-November 1865 had resulted from a build-up of tensions inflamed by the Pai Mārire movement and followed large-scale warfare in Taranaki, Waikato and other parts of the North Island. The Pai Mārire (or Hauhau) religious movement began in Taranaki after a vision by the prophet Te Ua Haumēne in 1862. Te Ua preached goodness and peace, with a call to empower Māori unity at a time of Pākehā oppression. However, some adherents of the movement became militaristic and claimed the need for Māori to remove Europeans from the land. In 1865 the movement began spreading to New Zealand’s East Coast. The hanging of missionary Carl Völkner by Pai Mārire at Ōpōtiki, on 2 March 1865, especially raised anxieties amongst Europeans about the character and spread of the new religion. When the movement began gaining traction in Poverty Bay, the European population there grew increasingly concerned.

The Williams family was one of the earliest to leave Poverty Bay in April 1865. As Church Missionary Society (CMS) missionaries Jane and William Williams and their children arrived in Poverty Bay from the Bay of Islands in 1840 and, determined to create an East Coast mission station, they built up a strong presence in the area. The family had first landed in New Zealand at Paihia in 1826 where they worked for the CMS alongside William’s brother Henry Williams. The Williamses’ successful mission on the East Coast meant they became particular targets of Pai Mārire ire, including threats on Bishop of Waiapu, William Williams’, life.<sup>1</sup> The growing Hauhau conversions amongst Māori in Poverty Bay and the lasting terror of Völkner’s murder in the Bay of Plenty meant that many Europeans, including the Williamses, left Poverty Bay in early April 1865 long before widespread physical fighting began

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<sup>1</sup> “Bishop Williams’ Departure from Poverty Bay,” *Wellington Independent*, 20 April 1865, p.5.

there.<sup>2</sup> Before he and his family departed, Bishop Williams sent out a circular letter to the settlers of Poverty Bay recommending that they also consider leaving the area.<sup>3</sup> William Williams, his wife Jane, daughter Kate and daughter-in-law Sarah, went to stay with William's brother Henry and wife Marianne in the Bay of Islands, while William's daughter Mary and her husband Samuel shifted to Napier.<sup>4</sup> William's son William Leonard Williams (Leonard Williams), Archdeacon of Waiapu, stayed behind in Poverty Bay, along with students from the mission's school. After much indecision, the Williamses eventually sent the 37 young Māori school students north on the *Tawera* in mid-August 1865 to Governor Grey's Kawau Island, redirecting them at the last minute to the CMS buildings at Horotutu in the Bay of Islands.<sup>5</sup> On the same voyage, other Poverty Bay 'refugees' left for Auckland and the Bay of Islands to avoid the threat of Pai Mārire violence.<sup>6</sup>

On 1 November 1865 tensions grew enough for the influential Poverty Bay trader and early settler John Harris to recommend that all women and children move into Tūranga (Tūranganui, modern day Gisborne) for safety.<sup>7</sup> Women and children came from the Poverty Bay flats in their 'drayloads' and nearly everyone shifted from Makaraka into Tūranga.<sup>8</sup> By 3 November Captain Charles La Serre of the Napier Militia instructed that all sledge houses be brought across the river for safety, as well as to provide accommodation.<sup>9</sup> Sledge houses were typically one or two

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<sup>2</sup> "Later from Poverty Bay. Increasing Influence of the Hauhau. Exodus of the Settlers," *Daily Southern Cross*, 10 April 1865, p.5; "Bishop Williams' Departure from Poverty Bay," *Wellington Independent*, 20 April 1865, p.5.

<sup>3</sup> Bishop William Williams, "Circular Letter" 27 March 1865, Williams family: Correspondence, 77-198-07, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>4</sup> Sarah Williams diary entry, 15 March 1865, Jane Williams Journals, MS-Papers-1527-8, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>5</sup> "Arrival of the Schooner Tawera," *Daily Southern Cross*, 2 September 1865, p.4; Jane Williams to Kate Heathcote, 1 June 1865, Jane Williams - outward correspondence to Kate Heathcote, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-021, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>6</sup> "Arrival of the Schooner Tawera," *Daily Southern Cross*, 2 September 1865, p.4; "Latest from the East Coast," *New Zealander*, August 21, 1865, p.2.

<sup>7</sup> Leonard Williams to wife Sarah, 1 November 1865, Correspondence - Sarah Williams, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-058, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>8</sup> Frederic Wanklyn Williams, *Through Ninety Years, 1826-1916: Life and Work among the Maoris in New Zealand: Notes of the Lives of William and William Leonard Williams, First and Third Bishops of Waiapu* (Auckland: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1938), p.212; Leonard Williams to wife Sarah, 1 November 1865, Correspondence - Sarah Williams, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-058, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>9</sup> Williams, *Through Ninety Years*, p.212; "Local Intelligence," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 1 October 1864, p.3.

roomed wooden structures, ninety to five-hundred square feet and moveable by a team of oxen. The buildings were particularly prominent in the Poverty Bay district and occasionally were made more permanent with a fireplace or porch. Tūranganui had become a 'sledge town' according to Leonard Williams.<sup>10</sup> Leonard Williams himself left Poverty Bay for Auckland on 13 November 1865 on board the *HMS Esk*.<sup>11</sup> Fighting eventually broke out between the Hauhau adherents, who enclosed themselves in Waerenga-a-hika pā, and colonial forces together with Māori allies. The conflict began on 16 November and continued until 22 November 1865.

The Matawhero conflict in November 1868 was different in nature to both Waerenga-a-hika and Taranaki and this impacted on the evacuations. Unlike the latter two locations, the complete surprise and immediacy of the Matawhero attacks meant that no evacuations had been possible. Those in command of the district had dismissed and ignored prior warnings over the likely direction of an attack, and consequently considered any evacuation unnecessary.<sup>12</sup> However, orders in late August 1868 preventing men eligible for militia-service from leaving Poverty Bay meant that upwards of thirty settlers pre-emptively sailed for Auckland on the *Tawera* to avoid enlistment.<sup>13</sup> Leonard Williams' family, having returned since their 1865 departure, likewise left in late September 1868 on the *Moudewai* for Napier.<sup>14</sup>

In the early hours of the morning on 10 November 1868 Te Kooti and his followers attacked Poverty Bay at the settlement of Matawhero killing 30 Europeans and part-Māori, and approximately 22 Māori.<sup>15</sup> Over one hundred more died in the following weeks at the hands of Te Kooti and his followers, or colonial troops and their Māori allies. Settlers escaped across the Poverty Bay flats to the safety of Tūranganui as they had three years previously. However, unlike the Waerenga-a-hika departures in this case settlers fled in a state of terror, disorder and chaos. A

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<sup>10</sup> Leonard Williams to wife Sarah, 1 November 1865, Correspondence - Sarah Williams, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-058, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>11</sup> "The War on the East Coast," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 5 December 1865, p.4.

<sup>12</sup> Hawthorne, *A Dark Chapter from New Zealand History*, p.28; "Jottings in Poverty Bay - VI," *Otago Witness*, 8 August 1874, p.4.

<sup>13</sup> "Poverty Bay - the Militia Enrolled," *Daily Southern Cross*, 28 August 1868, p.2.

<sup>14</sup> "Shipping Intelligence," *Hawke's Bay Weekly Times*, 21 September 1868, p.229.

<sup>15</sup> Binney, *Redemption Songs: A Life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki*, p.121, 586 n18.

further group of men, women and children fled south to Wairoa, half on foot and half, mainly women and children, in a row boat.<sup>16</sup> William Green, whose wife was with the group, chartered the *Eagle* to search for them and they were eventually picked up at Mahia and taken to Napier.<sup>17</sup> Women and children were evacuated from Tūranganui the following morning on 10 November. Thirty-six sailed on the *Success* for Auckland and another thirty-six on the *Tawera* for Napier, seven of whom transferred to the Auckland bound *Lord Ashley* part-way.<sup>18</sup> Thirty to thirty-five more people arrived in Auckland off the steamer *St Kilda* on 6 December 1868.<sup>19</sup>

As at Taranaki, the evacuations were primarily of women and children. On the night of the Matawhero attack, the postmaster at Poverty Bay, John Steddy, wrote a short but anxious letter describing how the women and children were pouring into Tūranganui 'bare headed bare footed and some of the children just as they were taken from their beds'.<sup>20</sup> His letter emphasises, not only the preponderance of women and children entering the settlement, but also the great urgency and confusion with which the 'refugees' arrived, with not even time to organise shoes, hats or proper clothing. Shipping records of the passengers arriving in Napier and Auckland show many groups made up of single women or one adult woman and one or more children.<sup>21</sup> Sometimes children were listed by themselves, without an adult.<sup>22</sup> Such a listing suggests that sometimes families thought it safer to send their children out of the area of conflict, even if it meant risking them travelling alone.

In men's minds, women and danger did not mix well. Leonard Williams wrote that it was a great relief to 'dispos[e] of the women + children satisfactorily' on the ships following the Matawhero attack and in May 1865, after the Williamses evacuated, he felt relieved that everyone had left because he no longer had to worry about

<sup>16</sup> "By Electric Telegraph," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 14 November 1868, p.2.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> "News from Poverty Bay," *New Zealand Herald*, 25 November 1868, p.4; "Awful Catastrophe at Poverty Bay," *New Zealand Herald*, 14 November 1868, p.5.

<sup>19</sup> "Shipping Intelligence," *New Zealand Herald*, 25 November 1868, p.4; "Shipping Intelligence. Port of Auckland," *Daily Southern Cross*, 7 December 1868, p.2.

<sup>20</sup> John Steddy, "Letter from John Steddy Postmaster at Gisborne Giving News of the Poverty Bay Massacre" 1868, MS-Papers-3508, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>21</sup> "Shipping Intelligence. Port of Auckland," *Daily Southern Cross*, 7 December 1868, p.2.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

taking responsibility for anyone else's life, health or safety.<sup>23</sup> Leonard told his wife Sarah that it had taken a 'considerable load off [his] mind' to have her evacuate as he considered that, given the situation, ladies would only get in the way.<sup>24</sup> As at Taranaki, the presence of European women and children added considerably to men's worries. The European men in Poverty Bay considered non-combatants a defensive burden and an impediment to be hastily removed to safety. By evacuating nearly all the European women and children, men freed up manpower to confront the enemy and felt that they could act without emotional distractions or concerns.

As in Taranaki the process of departure was an emotionally difficult one for Poverty Bay families. Sarah Williams wrote in her journal, before her 1865 departure from the area, that they all felt great anxiety and an 'insecurity such as we have never felt before'.<sup>25</sup> Some women desired to stay behind following the Matawhero conflict and resisted trader and businessman Captain George Read's plans to remove all settler women and children. According to James Hawthorne's memoir of the Matawhero conflict, Read managed to evacuate all the women and children 'but a few, who would not leave their friends'.<sup>26</sup> This displays how the attacks and following evacuation were double-edged emotional events for those involved. The thought of separation from loved ones was so great that some could not bear to leave, and those staying had no idea when they would see their friends and family again. Hawthorne avowed that the settlers of Poverty Bay would never forget such a day, and described 'pensive settlers' watching as boats departed the harbour 'carrying away those loved ones they might see no more'.<sup>27</sup> Hawthorne's words show how final the evacuations felt at the time, with the possibility that many settlers might not return to the district after such an episode.

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<sup>23</sup> Leonard Williams diary entry, 10 November 1868, William Leonard Williams and Sarah Williams miscellaneous papers, series 4, no. 2, Williams Gray papers, Tairāwhiti Museum, Gisborne; Leonard Williams to wife Sarah, 3 May 1865, Correspondence - Sarah Williams, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-058, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>24</sup> Leonard Williams to wife Sarah, 7 April 1865, Correspondence - Sarah Williams, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-058, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>25</sup> Sarah Williams diary entry, 15 March 1865, Jane Williams Journals, MS-Papers-1527-8, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>26</sup> Hawthorne, *A Dark Chapter from New Zealand History*, p.27.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

Immediately following the Matawhero conflict some male Poverty Bay settlers accompanied their family to the safety of Napier.<sup>28</sup> A number of these husbands and male relatives then returned to Poverty Bay on the *Ahuriri* to volunteer their time and effort wherever needed.<sup>29</sup> That males felt it necessary to accompany the women and children ‘refugees’ demonstrates the influence of gender in the evacuations. The men clearly felt it of the utmost importance to firstly ensure that their family left the district for a place of refuge. Once the family’s safety was assured, the next obligation for the men became ensuring the security of Poverty Bay by returning to fight Te Kooti and his followers. Consequently, in the minds of the male Poverty Bay settlers, removing their families meant they could then fulfil their duty to the colony. They could only concentrate on fighting once assured that their wives and children were in a safe place.

## Separation

The separation caused by the wars was difficult in many different ways but especially emotionally. Most husbands and wives expressed their concern for the other in their letters. Sarah Williams missed the daily contact she had with her husband and knowing details about his life – how he was feeling and what he was doing. She was desperate for him to write a journal about ‘private matters’ and everyday happenings, ‘who does this + that + the other’, so she could learn what his days were like and that he was keeping well.<sup>30</sup> In another letter, Sarah wants to know how Leonard entertains himself, the books he reads, how he is eating and who is caring for him.<sup>31</sup> She was concerned over who was cooking his meals, where he was living and that he had company. Sarah’s concerns and worries suggest the anxiety that separation caused her but also how deeply she cared for Leonard and his well-being. Kate Williams described Sarah in a letter to Leonard as a ‘most

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<sup>28</sup> “By Electric Telegraph,” *Hawke’s Bay Herald*, 14 November 1868, p.2.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Sarah Williams to husband Leonard, 1865, Williams family: Correspondence, MS-Papers-2445-2, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>31</sup> Sarah Williams to husband Leonard, n.d., Williams family: Correspondence, MS-Papers-2445-2, ATL, Wellington.

affectionate wife' who thought him perfect.<sup>32</sup> Though the Williams' letters were more emotionally restrained than the Kings' this does not mean a lack of love in their relationship; that Sarah asks intently after Leonard's health and routines suggests she missed their everyday contact and conversations.

The separation and lack of information about her husband, along with the threat of imminent danger, wore on Sarah. She described not knowing when she might see Leonard again as the 'greatest trial' she had to endure and the uncertainty put her on edge.<sup>33</sup> Every increase in distance from Leonard felt magnified to her.<sup>34</sup> In their letters Leonard and Sarah constantly discussed whether the mood in Poverty Bay had changed enough for the family to return.<sup>35</sup> Jane Williams wrote in September 1865 that Sarah had dealt with the 'long + trying' separation brilliantly but also noticed how Sarah busied herself with the mission school to bury her worries and desperation to see Leonard.<sup>36</sup> Leonard's sister Kate Williams wrote that Sarah sometimes went into 'meditative moods' of deep introspective thought.<sup>37</sup>

The biggest pressure for Sarah was deciding whether to stay with Leonard in Poverty Bay or go with her children to the Bay of Islands. Kate Williams scrutinised Leonard and Sarah's situation in a letter to their sibling Mary Williams. Kate wrote in September 1865 that Sarah was 'undergoing the painful operation of being drawn two ways. L is at one end of the machine and the 7 [children] at the other it remains to be see [*sic*] which pulls strongest.'<sup>38</sup> Sarah's dilemma is evident in May 1865 when she told Leonard that she wished 'so very very much' that she could be there with him and would leave immediately if the children did not need her.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Lydia Catherine Williams to her brother Leonard, 9 May 1865, Williams family: Correspondence, MS-Papers-2445-2, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>33</sup> Sarah Williams to husband Leonard, 22 May 1865, Williams family: Correspondence, MS-Papers-2445-2, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> Leonard Williams to wife Sarah, 5 May 1865, Correspondence - Sarah Williams, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-058, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>36</sup> Jane Williams to son Leonard, 30 September 1865, Jane Williams - outward correspondence to Leonard and Sarah Williams, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-026, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>37</sup> Lydia Catherine Williams to her brother Leonard, 5 May 1865, Williams family: Correspondence, MS-Papers-2445-2, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>38</sup> Lydia Catherine Williams to her sister Mary, 1 September 1865, Letters between Mary and Maria Williams and other family members, Williams family: Correspondence, 77-198-11, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>39</sup> Sarah Williams to husband Leonard, May 1865, Williams family: Correspondence, MS-Papers-2445-2, ATL, Wellington.

However, with the difficulties and risks of shifting seven children Sarah decided it best to wait until the tensions at Poverty Bay had fully settled before they returned.<sup>40</sup> Sarah's dilemma demonstrates how the Land Wars forced women into making difficult decisions over their family and movements.

Not only was separation difficult between husbands and wives but also between children and their parents. Leonard's mother Jane Williams felt extremely concerned for her son at Poverty Bay. She felt relieved when he, Sarah and the children finally left the area in September 1868 for safety with her and William in Hawke's Bay.<sup>41</sup> However, she despaired when Leonard soon returned to live alone at Waikahua cottage, Poverty Bay and wished he would avoid the dangers engulfing the Bay.<sup>42</sup> Special occasions were particular times when distance became apparent. For instance, Leonard missed significant milestones in his children's lives. During the family's separation in 1865, Leonard's baby grew three teeth and began to stand independently, soon to walk Sarah predicted.<sup>43</sup> On the occasion of his son's and wife's birthdays, Leonard felt like he had to compose a letter that very night to wish them happy birthday. He told Sarah, 'I should not mind if I were able to expect my wishes in person' but due to the intervening distance he had to leave his birthday wishes to the mercy of the postal system.<sup>44</sup> The emptiness of the occasion also hit Sarah, who wished that they could have all spent the day together as a family.<sup>45</sup> When reunited with Leonard at the Bay of Islands after Waerenga-a-hika,

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<sup>40</sup> Sarah Williams to husband Leonard, 11 May 1865, Williams family: Correspondence, MS-Papers-2445-2, ATL, Wellington; Sarah Williams to husband Leonard, 22 May 1865, Williams family: Correspondence, MS-Papers-2445-2, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>41</sup> Jane Williams to Kate Heathcote, 31 August 1868, Jane Williams - outward correspondence to Kate Heathcote, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-022, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>42</sup> Maria Williams to her sister Mary, 21 September 1865, Letters between Mary and Maria Williams and other family, Williams family: Correspondence, 77-198-11, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>43</sup> Sarah Williams to husband Leonard, 22 May 1865, Williams family: Correspondence, MS-Papers-2445-2, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>44</sup> Leonard Williams to wife Sarah, 9 May 1865, Correspondence - Sarah Williams, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-058, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>45</sup> Sarah Williams to husband Leonard, May 1865, Williams family: Correspondence, MS-Papers-2445-2, ATL, Wellington.

his children Herbert and Alfred ran out to meet him.<sup>46</sup> However, at first Alfred had forgotten who Leonard was and had to be reminded.<sup>47</sup>

Sometimes the period of separation felt endless. By August 1866 Sarah and Jane worried that the disjointedness of the family might still continue for some time yet.<sup>48</sup> The whole Williams family felt extremely concerned at the thought of Leonard living alone at Poverty Bay. Sarah often worried that he might feel desolate at Tūranga with few friends or family around.<sup>49</sup> She wished that she could go to him and ease his loneliness.<sup>50</sup> Leonard's sister Kate worried that he must be 'dreadfully lonely' while his sister Maria hoped he wouldn't have to endure solitude for too long.<sup>51</sup> Jane could not stand the uncertainty of the conflicts and wrote that sometimes she could 'scarcely look the future in the face'.<sup>52</sup> Jane's raw and anguished statement reflects the importance she put on keeping the family together – more so at a time of violence and the fearful unknown. Life without family could feel unbearable and endless.

The ability to communicate during conflict eased settlers' worries and anxieties and consequently was of the utmost importance to them. Only ten days after departing Poverty Bay in April 1865, Sarah Williams' desperation for a letter from her husband made time pass slowly.<sup>53</sup> She decided to stay in Auckland so she could receive any letters from Leonard immediately.<sup>54</sup> Disappointment hit Sarah each time a ship

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<sup>46</sup> Sarah Williams to son Freddy, 30 November 1865, Letters to Frederick Williams at School, Correspondence: Wanklyn, Williams, Volkner and others, Series 3, No. 14, Williams Gray papers, Tairāwhiti Museum, Gisborne.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Jane Williams to daughter-in-law Sarah, 17 August 1866, Jane Williams - outward correspondence to Leonard and Sarah Williams, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-026, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>49</sup> Sarah Williams to husband Leonard, 17 April 1865, Williams family: Correspondence, MS-Papers-2445-2, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>50</sup> Sarah Williams to husband Leonard, May 1865, Williams family: Correspondence, MS-Papers-2445-2, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>51</sup> Maria Williams to her brother Leonard, 23 May 1865, Williams family: Correspondence, MS-Papers-2445-2, ATL, Wellington; Lydia Catherine Williams to her brother Leonard, 30 May 1865, Williams family: Correspondence, MS-Papers-2445-2, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>52</sup> Jane Williams to daughter-in-law Sarah, 17 August 1866, Jane Williams - outward correspondence to Leonard and Sarah Williams, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-026, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>53</sup> Sarah Williams to husband Leonard, 17 April 1865, Williams family: Correspondence, MS-Papers-2445-2, ATL, Wellington

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

berthed with no word of either Leonard or Tūranga.<sup>55</sup> She felt immediate 'comfort and relief' when in May 1865 she finally heard of Leonard's good health and the increased safety of Poverty Bay.<sup>56</sup> Once in contact, Sarah and Leonard sent each other sections of journal to stay updated on one other's lives. In the evenings, Leonard's journal would get read aloud and passed around the family.<sup>57</sup> However, delays and uncertainties in communication over long distances, already unreliable, had grown worse with the onset of war. Sarah recognised this and did not trust sending her letters on the overland mail service through such uncertain terrain.<sup>58</sup> In their letters, Sarah and Leonard frequently discussed the passage of their mail: why letters had not arrived or which letters they had received from the other.<sup>59</sup> Through communication the distance from family and friends felt less oppressive. Contact with loved ones gave 'refugees' reassurance and removed doubts, uncertainties, rumours and imaginings. However, as Sarah Williams wrote, nothing could 'satisfy' like a good conversation with a loved one.<sup>60</sup>

Friends too felt the strain of poor communication. In March 1866 Emma Espie wrote from Poverty Bay to one of the Williams sisters at the Bay of Islands that getting mail from them made her feel like 'you were not so far away as you really [*sic*] are and that I may see you all again some day.'<sup>61</sup> Between friends there was a connection which distance did not sever. The exchange of mail between friends, as with family, lessened the intervening distance and retained the feeling of closeness.

Photographs could also serve as an important means of easing the burden of separation. They helped to maintain a connection with family and friends despite

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<sup>55</sup> Sarah Williams to husband Leonard, April 21, 1865, Williams family: Correspondence, MS-Papers-2445-2, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>56</sup> Sarah Williams to husband Leonard, May 1865, Williams family: Correspondence, MS-Papers-2445-2, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>57</sup> Sarah Williams, "Pages of a Journal Kept of Sarah Williams," 1865, More Pages of the Journal, Correspondence: Wanklyn, Williams, Volkner and others, Series 3, No. 25, Williams Gray papers, Tairāwhiti Museum, Gisborne.

<sup>58</sup> Sarah Williams to husband Leonard, 22 May 1865, Williams family: Correspondence, MS-Papers-2445-2, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>59</sup> Sarah Williams and Leonard Williams, "Correspondence - Sarah Williams" 1865, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-058, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>60</sup> Sarah Williams to husband Leonard, n.d., Williams family: Correspondence, MS-Papers-2445-2, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>61</sup> Emma Espie to Miss Williams, 23 March 1866, Espie family: Letters, qMS-0687, ATL, Wellington.

distance. Both Sarah and Leonard wished to have likenesses of the other to keep with them during the separation.<sup>62</sup> When Leonard first received a copy of Sarah's likeness he did not like it and thought his wife looked different from how he remembered. He described Sarah's expression as 'altogether to [*sic*] much of the refugee', that it resembled a 'refugee expression about the mouth' and made it look like she was 'about to do great execution upon somebody'.<sup>63</sup> The 'refugee look' of consternation and anger was not how Leonard wanted to recall his wife when he viewed her likeness. However, at the same time, he appreciated getting the image and could still recognise Sarah in the photograph.<sup>64</sup> Although Leonard looked critically at each family member's likeness sent to him, he did not refer to any others as 'refugees'.<sup>65</sup>

A photograph could stand in for the presence of a loved one in the house they once inhabited, as if they had never left. For instance, Leonard Williams placed the likeness of Sarah in his living room. He wrote in his journal of May 1865 that he had framed and glazed the photograph so that 'she may be looked at without being soiled and she now hangs over the dining room fireplace'.<sup>66</sup> As more and more callers came to view the photograph Leonard had to 'put it under glass' so it would not be damaged by 'people's great affection'.<sup>67</sup> He wrote to Sarah that 'Your likeness has been much admired + has had a great-number of callers' and he was 'obliged on Sunday afternoon to put it up at the window that people might look at it from the outside'.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Sarah Williams to husband Leonard, 17 April 1865, Williams family: Correspondence, MS-Papers-2445-2, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>63</sup> Leonard Williams to wife Sarah, 3 May 1865, Correspondence - Sarah Williams, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-058, ATL, Wellington; Leonard Williams to wife Sarah, 29 June 1865, Correspondence - Sarah Williams, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-058, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>64</sup> Leonard Williams to wife Sarah, 3 May 1865, Correspondence - Sarah Williams, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-058, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>65</sup> Leonard Williams to wife Sarah, 29 June 1865, Correspondence - Sarah Williams, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-058, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>66</sup> Leonard Williams diary entry, 6 May 1865, William Leonard Williams and Sarah Williams miscellaneous papers, Series 4 No. 6, Williams Gray papers, Tairawhiti Museum, Gisborne.

<sup>67</sup> Leonard Williams to wife Sarah, 9 May 1865, Correspondence - Sarah Williams, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-058, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

That Leonard initially displayed Sarah's likeness over the living room fireplace holds strong symbolism. Placing the photograph in a central public space of the family home shows that Sarah was still part of his everyday life and routine. Like fire, Sarah's presence could provide warmth, life, survival, homeliness and comfort. She kept the 'home fires' burning. Leonard's writing shows how deliberately friends and family used photographs as substitutes for a real life person. A likeness could have its own callers, as if seeing the photograph forged a connection with the missing loved one. Taking photographs as soon as the family arrived in Auckland seems to have been important. Given that Sarah sent the images to Leonard this perhaps represents a means of maintaining the sense of family connection and togetherness at a moment of crisis, abrupt change and uncertainty.

Being apart from their husbands also put extra responsibility onto the Poverty Bay women. They now acted as the primary and immediate decision maker for the family. They had to take care of the children and undertake domestic duties as usual but also arrange where to live, provide final discipline, decide what to do with the family possessions, and make important family decisions alone. For instance, Sarah wrote to Leonard on 21 April 1865 that she was sending Freddie to a school for the month they were in Auckland and she thought he wouldn't mind.<sup>69</sup> Leonard, on 3 May, expressed his approval of the teacher Mrs Kinder who 'has a good way with young people' though he had not contributed to the final decision.<sup>70</sup> The time taken for letters to reach their destination and the irregularity of mail meant that if husbands and wives were consulting on a particular issue it could take significant time to arrange.

Locating and arranging possessions also proved a challenge for couples across long distances. Leonard and Sarah wrote each other many letters discussing whether certain items lay in boxes at Poverty Bay or the Bay of Islands or were still in transit aboard a ship.<sup>71</sup> For instance, Sarah realises on arrival in Auckland in 1865 that their

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<sup>69</sup> Sarah Williams to husband Leonard, 21 April 1865, Williams family: Correspondence, MS-Papers-2445-2, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>70</sup> Leonard Williams to wife Sarah, 3 May 1865, Correspondence - Sarah Williams, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-058, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>71</sup> Sarah Williams to husband Leonard, 4 June 1865, Williams family: Correspondence, MS-Papers-2445-2, ATL, Wellington.

piano is on a later ship and will need to be stored with friends there.<sup>72</sup> When Sarah requests that Leonard send up her sewing machine and table, he has to figure out who packed them to locate the correct box.<sup>73</sup> Sarah also sent down items to Leonard, such as his gloves, a straw mattress and the latest newspapers.<sup>74</sup>

Money was often a problem amongst 'refugees'. If not provided for by the government or community, settlers needed to procure necessities after fleeing from conflict. Families had to find accommodation, food, clothing, storage for their possessions (if they had managed to take any with them), schools for their children and other urgent needs. The establishment and maintenance of two households instead of one ate into family finances quickly. Communication between husbands and wives shows the strain that financial difficulty put on 'refugee' families and particularly women, who had immediate responsibility for the family finances.

Sarah Williams faced financial strain when living in Auckland. She had to purchase many items with what money she had and quickly plunged into debt over which she grew anxious and remorseful. Sarah wrote to Leonard in May 1865: 'Now I want to ask you about money matters I fear I am getting sadly into debt; it is dreadful living in Auckland one wants so many things. I am really quite alarmed at the amount of money that has gone through my hands since I came to Auckland. Father left me 40£, and there [*sic*] since had 20£ from Mrs Kipling + 20£ from Edmonds and all this has gone and there is still much to pay...but still I want to know if you can let me have some...I fear I have been rather extravagant but there have been so many things which were wanted. I feel quite frightened about this money business, there are still all the likenesses to pay for. I think it will be well when we are all at the Bay'.<sup>75</sup>

This state of affairs is confirmed by Kate Williams, Leonard's sister, who giped that she and Sarah were 'going to jail' for the amount of money they had spent since

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Leonard Williams to wife Sarah, 3 May 1865, Correspondence - Sarah Williams, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-058, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>74</sup> Sarah Williams to husband Leonard, 1865, Williams family: Correspondence, MS-Papers-2445-2, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>75</sup> Sarah Williams to husband Leonard, May 1865, Williams family: Correspondence, MS-Papers-2445-2, ATL, Wellington.

they arrived.<sup>76</sup> In a letter to Leonard Kate advises him ‘to live economically down there for you know we must spend money in Auckland even if we have prison bars staring us in the face.’<sup>77</sup> Women ‘refugees’ faced far higher and sometimes unanticipated costs when in the expensive town of Auckland. Maintaining two households – Sarah and the children in Auckland and Leonard at Poverty Bay – meant that, like most ‘refugee’ families, costs had doubled for the Williamses and negotiation over family finances grew more complicated with the intervening distance. However, Kate also commented later in the letter that her sister-in-law had a hot-headedness which required Leonard’s cool deliberation.<sup>78</sup> The observation suggests that Sarah may have had an impulsive streak and made judgements hastily.

Sometimes ‘refugee’ women set out to support themselves by going without. Not long after arrival in Auckland in April 1865, Sarah informed Leonard that she would begin housekeeping and imagined he might be surprised.<sup>79</sup> Her aim in doing so was presumably to save money to provide for herself whilst separated from Leonard. Her comment, that Leonard might find the change surprising, demonstrates that housekeeping (by which Sarah probably meant managing the household tasks without paid help) was out of the ordinary for a woman of her standing. However, Sarah’s actions reflect industriousness and a determination to support herself in the expensive town of Auckland, common traits of many colonial wives.

## Home

The ‘refugees’ of Waerenga-a-hika and Matawhero had to reconsider their position once their homes and possessions were destroyed or under threat. As a consequence, their relationship with ‘home’ changed. Evacuation meant that the ‘refugees’ no longer had a permanent base. Jane Williams reflected, following her 1865 evacuation from Poverty Bay, that departing their ‘happy home’ and mission

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<sup>76</sup> Lydia Catherine Williams to her brother Leonard, 9 May 1865, Williams family: Correspondence, MS-Papers-2445-2, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Sarah Williams to husband Leonard, 21 April 1865, Williams family: Correspondence, MS-Papers-2445-2, ATL, Wellington.

work to become rootless ‘refugees + wanderers’ had come as a complete shock.<sup>80</sup> She demonstrates an utter lack of will to leave Tūranga, their home, their people or their twenty five years of mission work. Her writing reflects how undesirable Jane found her new circumstances. Being a ‘refugee’ was not something the Williamses had anticipated, nor desired, but had fallen into through force of circumstance.

Some ‘refugees’ retained a strong connection to the region of Poverty Bay as a whole. For instance, Kate, Leonard’s sister, especially felt a deep nostalgia and longing to be back at Waerenga-a-hika once she had moved with the rest of the Williamses to the Bay of Islands. Kate wrote to Leonard in May 1865 saying ‘you cant think how I long to be back again at Turanga but we should have to work so hard to get it the house I mean into order again.’<sup>81</sup> By September she wrote that she longed to be ‘home’ again and ‘had no idea [she] cared for Turanga so much’.<sup>82</sup> In another letter on 10 October 1865 she wrote longingly – ‘Poor dear old Waerengaahika I should so like to take one peep at it just to see what it looks like. It is better not though perhaps it would be too affecting altogether. I felt such a horrible sinking in the regions of my heart when the news came that very likely there would be fighting in the neighbourhood.’<sup>83</sup> Kate had formed an attachment to Poverty Bay and its people, causing her to long to return there. As a younger child of the William Williams family, Kate had spent her whole life in the area so knew nothing else. However, her oldest siblings, including Leonard, had moved to Poverty Bay when they were children or adolescents and had memories of life elsewhere. This may explain Kate’s particular attachment and longing for Poverty Bay.

Sarah Williams, though not as emotionally expressive about ‘home’ as Kate, also longed to return. By early May 1865 Sarah wrote saying that she thought she and the children should stay in the Bay of Islands until it was safe enough for them to

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<sup>80</sup> Jane Williams to Kate Heathcote, 18 March 1865, Jane Williams - outward correspondence to Kate Heathcote, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-021, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>81</sup> Lydia Catherine Williams to her brother Leonard, 9 May 1865, Williams family: Correspondence, MS-Papers-2445-2, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>82</sup> Lydia Catherine Williams to her sister Mary, 1 September 1865, Letters between Mary and Maria Williams and other family members, Williams family: Correspondence, 77-198-11, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>83</sup> Lydia Catherine Williams to her brother Leonard, 10 October 1865, Jane Williams - Outward correspondence to Leonard and Sarah Williams, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-026, ATL, Wellington.

return to 'home sweet home'.<sup>84</sup> Sarah's use of the phrase 'home sweet home' suggests that, despite leaving Poverty Bay, she had not severed emotional attachments to the area. For Sarah, Poverty Bay still felt like home and, in anticipation of returning one day, she had not emotionally invested herself in the Bay of Islands. Still, in June 1867 Sarah wrote that she wished Leonard was preparing for their going home.<sup>85</sup> By this time Sarah had lived in New Zealand for nearly fifteen years, having migrated from England. Her reference to Tūranga as home as late as 1867 shows that, even with conflict, her attachment to Poverty Bay did not dissipate.

However, for some who lived in Tūranga home had become a time and place and things had changed too much to go back. For instance, Emma Espie, who was later a casualty of Matawhero, wrote to one of the Williams daughters in 1866: 'every thing is so changed now compared with what it was when you were here that really I feel as if I lived in some strange place and would like to go home to Turanga again. I have only been up once to our poor Kainga and it looks so miserable that it is quite impossible to give a discription [sic] of et [sic] indeed I could hardly make myself believe that it was the same place. I inclose [sic] a flower for you out of the poor garden to laugh over.'<sup>86</sup>

Emma reveals that the attachment to home was more about a time and place than about the area itself. Once the moment passed and the familiar people had gone Poverty Bay was no longer 'home' in the same way it had been. It had become somewhere alien and unfamiliar. Emma's laughter at the flower demonstrates her unease at the strange and dramatic changes which had occurred and how different the place had become. Whereas once the house and land had been well kept in good repair, the dilapidated condition following the fighting destroyed all sense of 'home'. The sense of invasion and transgression by the intrusion of unwelcome parties had ruined any vestige of familiarity and comfort and altered 'home' into a

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<sup>84</sup> Sarah Williams to husband Leonard, 11 May 1865, Williams family: Correspondence, MS-Papers-2445-2, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>85</sup> Sarah Williams to husband Leonard, 1 June 1867, Inward correspondence - Sarah Williams, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-062, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>86</sup> Emma Espie to Miss Williams, 23 March 1866, Espie family: Letters, qMS-0687, ATL, Wellington.

strange and unfamiliar place. James Hawthorne too remarked that the district seemed almost entirely changed as a result of the Matawhero conflict.<sup>87</sup> Nearly all houses had been ransacked or burnt to the ground, gardens, fences and livestock destroyed and the productive land lay fallow.<sup>88</sup> He felt that any visitors now would 'scarcely recognize the district.'<sup>89</sup>

The flower also reflects Emma's desire to retain and savour a piece of the 'home' which had gone. A flower, as a symbol, denotes growth, newness, joy and vitality and by sending the flower Emma endeavoured to reconnect her absent friend with her 'home'. By physically conveying a part of home to the Williamses, Emma acted as if to prove that the friends' home and life in Poverty Bay had not been imagined and still existed. The flower acted as a token of a place and time, to show that although the Williamses had left Poverty Bay there was still life in their memories of home. Emma's letter demonstrates that for settlers 'home' in 1860s New Zealand comprised more than the physical land. It included the people who provided connection, memories and meaning to the land, turning it from 'space' into 'place'. Emma's actions reflect a nostalgic desire to retain the 'home' which could no longer be regained as it was a moment in time.

Emma Espie's letter reveals the part that possessions played in creating a sense of 'home'. Espie wrote about how empty her (temporary) house felt with windows still broken from the Waerenga-a-hika fighting and many items around the place taken by intruders.<sup>90</sup> The sense of emptiness shows how for Espie, and other 'refugees', possessions within a house formed an important part of creating a comfortable feeling of 'home'. Jane Williams' reaction to the Waerenga-a-hika fighting focused on the 'great and very wanton destruction of property' at their home and the mission school.<sup>91</sup> The intruders took most of the furniture but Jane felt relieved that the new bread making machine and some valuable books had survived.<sup>92</sup> Jane's

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<sup>87</sup> Hawthorne, *A Dark Chapter from New Zealand History*, p.28.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Emma Espie to Miss Williams, 23 March 1866, Espie family: Letters, qMS-0687, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>91</sup> Jane Williams to Kate Heathcote, 2 January 1866, Jane Williams - outward correspondence to Kate Heathcote, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-022, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

attachment to possessions comes through in her remorse at the loss of many irreplaceable items given to them out of love by close friends.<sup>93</sup> James Hawthorne stated that the purpose of writing his remembrances of Matawhero was not only to share his experiences with friends but also to chronicle the 'wholesale destruction of property'.<sup>94</sup> Hawthorne's emphasis on property suggests that physical items held importance for the Poverty Bay settlers and their loss had import in monetary and other terms. Possessions acted as markers of destruction and tumult and could symbolise close personal connections.

Some Poverty Bay 'refugees' had also grown attached to their specific plot of land and house. After evacuating from her home in April 1865, Jane Williams wrote that she never could have imagined being forced to leave their 'happy and peaceful home' which they farewelled 'with 'heavy hearts'.<sup>95</sup> Upon hearing about the Waerenga-a-hika fighting in November, Jane Williams wrote that she had not realised that it would occur 'so near our loved home' and she felt very 'pouri' (sad and depressed) at the idea.<sup>96</sup> Jane's wording shows that, despite shifting away, she still considered their old homestead (which the military had used for a base) as 'home'. Her attachment to the place continued though separated by distance.

The development of the 'sledge town' at Tūranganui, in the month preceding the Waerenga-a-hika siege, indicates the meaning of 'home' to those settlers.<sup>97</sup> That the settlers could relocate their houses, suggests that unlike Jane Williams, many Poverty Bay settlers in 1865 did not have such a strong attachment to one particular plot of land but rather to the district as a whole and to the wooden sledge house they had created. The sledge houses were required for safety as well as accommodation.<sup>98</sup> Captain La Serre asserted that if the settlers did not cross the

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> Hawthorne, *A Dark Chapter from New Zealand History*, p.3.

<sup>95</sup> Jane Williams to Kate Heathcote, 18 March 1865, Jane Williams - outward correspondence to Kate Heathcote, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-021, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>96</sup> Jane Williams to daughter Mary, 16 December 1865, Letters from Jane Williams to her daughter Mary and her son Samuel, Williams family: Correspondence, 77-198-05, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>97</sup> Leonard Williams diary entry, 3 November 1865, William Leonard Williams and Sarah Williams miscellaneous papers, series 4, No. 16, Williams Gray papers, Tairāwhiti Museum, Gisborne; Leonard Williams to wife Sarah, 1 November 1865, Correspondence - Sarah Williams, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-058, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>98</sup> Williams, *Through Ninety Years*, p.212.

river to Tūranganui then he could not protect them. Therefore, in this situation 'home' also included the safety provided by having a roof to shelter under.

For Leonard Williams, 'home' did not just mean a house or plot of land but family as well. Once all his family had evacuated in April 1865, before any fighting had occurred, Leonard returned to the Waerenga-a-hika house with hopes of relieving his loneliness.<sup>99</sup> However, his emotional distress only deepened upon arrival and his immediate reaction was to cry. Leonard felt 'oppressed' by the 'sight of the empty + desolate place' and the question of whether its inhabitants might ever return.<sup>100</sup> He had to exit onto the veranda to get some reprieve.<sup>101</sup> Leonard had expected that entering the house would still feel like 'home' and provide comfort during the distressing separation from his family. However, without his loved ones and the possessions which signified their presence, the house instead served as a reminder of his solitude and only exaggerated his anguish and heightened his emotions. 'Home' for Leonard could not exist without family and the empty homestead felt incomplete without them.

For the 'refugees', home was also where their labour was. In Poverty Bay most male settlers undertook land based occupations, like agriculture, or owned a business such as a general store or shoe repair. The work involved was therefore closely tied to their land and home or, in the case of the Williams family, their fundamental beliefs about the world. Women also worked hard to ensure their house was clean, presentable and well-furnished. Both men and women worked vigorously, albeit in different forms, to develop their land or business and house. Following Waerenga-a-hika and Matawhero, settlers and commentators lamented the loss of the rewards of hard work put into their properties. When war destroyed the fruits of their labour the 'refugees' felt devastated. Nearly all the settler homes at Matawhero and Makaraka were burned during the Matawhero attacks. At the sight of the fires burning settlers felt the impact of their hard work and livelihood

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<sup>99</sup> Leonard Williams to wife Sarah, 7 April 1865, Correspondence - Sarah Williams, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-058, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.; Leonard Williams diary entry, 4 April 1865, William Leonard Williams and Sarah Williams miscellaneous papers, series 4, no. 2, Williams Gray papers, Tairāwhiti Museum, Gisborne.

<sup>101</sup> Leonard Williams to wife Sarah, 7 April 1865, Correspondence - Sarah Williams, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-058, ATL, Wellington.

going up in flames. Like the Taranaki 'refugees', they then had a choice – to begin anew elsewhere or to re-forge the connection of home and labour in Poverty Bay.

Several newspapers mourned the fact that the 'refugees' had lost years of hard work and labour after Matawhero. The Matawhero attacks decimated herds and flocks, destroyed houses and devastated the district.<sup>102</sup> A correspondent for the *Hawke's Bay Herald* described an older couple returning to their home to see whether anything had survived.<sup>103</sup> Nothing at all remained intact and 'the result of many years unwearied toil was destroyed in a few hours'.<sup>104</sup> The *Herald* wrote that the family would consequently live out their lives in hardship.<sup>105</sup> The *New Zealand Herald* noted how the Poverty Bay settlers had seen the 'fruits of the years of toil and labour' destroyed by the surprise attacks at Matawhero.<sup>106</sup> The newspaper recorded the extensive losses that had been incurred throughout the district. It particularly dwelt on the Bloomfields' house, which they had insured with the New Zealand Insurance Company for £1200.<sup>107</sup> However, as the insurance contract excluded damage in course of war the family could not claim compensation for anything.<sup>108</sup> The labour put into building a livelihood at Poverty Bay represented settlers' hopes and dreams for their future in the area and a creation of 'home'.

All of the Williamses felt devastated at the thought of the labour put into their mission work going to waste. After evacuating Poverty Bay Jane Williams dwelt on the growing Pai Mārire-ism in the district and how it had caused a very sad end to the 'efforts of 25 years'.<sup>109</sup> With the events of 1865 suddenly Jane felt the 'foundations...trembling under us'.<sup>110</sup> When leaving, Jane wrote that their home had been the place of 'many years labour and anxious efforts'.<sup>111</sup> The couple's work in fostering Christianity on the East Coast over twenty-five years and their nearly forty

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<sup>102</sup> "Further Attacks Threatened," *Daily Southern Cross*, 21 November 1868, p.7.

<sup>103</sup> "Poverty Bay," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 28 November 1868, p.2.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>106</sup> "Awful Catastrophe at Poverty Bay," *New Zealand Herald*, 14 November 1868, p.5.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>109</sup> Jane Williams to daughter Mary, 11 July 1865, Letters from Jane Williams to her daughter Mary and her son Samuel, Williams family: Correspondence, 77-198-05, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>110</sup> Jane Williams to Kate Heathcote, 18 March 1865, Jane Williams - outward correspondence to Kate Heathcote, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-021, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*

years building up the faith in New Zealand – their congregation of believers, trained Māori ministers, mission school and relationships with many of the local Māori – had swiftly begun eroding in the space of less than a year.

However, Leonard Williams decided to remain in Poverty Bay and determinedly cobble together the school again.<sup>112</sup> He felt that while the school remained viable his place was there with the students.<sup>113</sup> The Williams' plans in September 1865 of taking their missionary school north to the Bay of Islands suggests an attempt to salvage the time and effort put in to building up the institution. Leonard thought it would be a great achievement if the school could be continued up north, even if it meant being away from Waerenga-a-hika.<sup>114</sup> Relocating the school may have been an attempt by the Williamses to bring with them an extension of their family and labour – relocating aspects of their 'home' to the Bay of Islands. By November 1866 Jane had still not given up on her work and held ambitions to begin a native girls' school in Hawkes' Bay.<sup>115</sup> All the Williamses point to the importance of the mission school at their Waerenga-a-hika home and their desire to prevent the futility of hard labour put into establishing it.

High economic and physical losses after the Waerenga-a-hika fighting also entailed a loss of the products of labour. Between 300 and 400 sheep were either killed or taken during the conflict and settlers made do shearing those they could.<sup>116</sup> The Williams' house was completely trashed with books torn and thrown around, wallpaper ripped from the walls and windows smashed.<sup>117</sup> During the Waerenga-a-hika conflict, all the houses at the settlement were razed, except the Bishop's house whose structure remained intact.<sup>118</sup> Zinc was taken from the roofs of many houses

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<sup>112</sup> Leonard Williams to wife Sarah, 22 April 1865, Correspondence - Sarah Williams, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-058, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>113</sup> Leonard Williams to wife Sarah, 3 May 1865, Correspondence - Sarah Williams, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-058, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>114</sup> Leonard Williams to wife Sarah, 1 August 1865, Correspondence - Sarah Williams, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-058, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>115</sup> Jane Williams to daughter-in-law Sarah, 6 November 1866, Jane Williams - outward correspondence to Leonard and Sarah Williams, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-026, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>116</sup> "Poverty Bay," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 19 December 1865, p.3.

<sup>117</sup> "The Hauhaus Defeated at Poverty Bay," *Otago Daily Times*, 4 December 1865, p.5.

<sup>118</sup> "The War on the East Coast," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 5 December 1865, p.4.

to form bullets.<sup>119</sup> Sometimes it was not the settlers' enemies but friendly soldiers who caused destruction to settler property, purposefully pillaging what they could following the fighting.<sup>120</sup> Both settlers and Māori abandoned most kumara, wheat and maize plantings though the *Hawke's Bay Herald* considered that potato crops would provide a limited harvest.<sup>121</sup> Most domestic and farm animals across the Poverty Bay flats were killed though settlers' orchards remained largely intact.<sup>122</sup> Such extensive economic and property losses reveal the time and effort that the settlers and missionaries had put in to establishing themselves in Poverty Bay and demonstrate the emotional tangibility this work had for them.

After evacuating, some 'refugees' began to form a connection with their new location. In mid-1865 Jane Williams reflected on their family's shift to the Bay of Islands. She felt grateful to have a place to stay and reflected that 'tho' it is not home it is more like home than any other place'.<sup>123</sup> She considered it 'strange' that after 'thirty years' they had returned to their 'first New Zealand home'.<sup>124</sup> Jane's writing suggests that the Bay of Islands could not regenerate itself as her principal home. Though Jane felt great fondness for the place, Pakaraka represented a past home where memories lay but not where she wanted to be – her heart no longer lay there. As 'home is where the heart is', Jane still desired to live at Tūranga and she could not fully devote herself and her plans for the future to a new location. However, given her past connections to the Bay of Islands and the presence of her family, Jane could still feel comfortable at Pakaraka as if it were home.<sup>125</sup>

Freddy Williams, the son of Leonard and Sarah, wrote to his father in June 1865 at age eleven, having left Poverty Bay three months earlier. In the letter Freddy describes the patch of ground in which he is growing a garden and how they had named some of the large rocks sticking up after English Hills – 'one is Crossfell...and

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<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> "Poverty Bay," *Wellington Independent*, 19 December 1865, p.6.

<sup>121</sup> "Poverty Bay," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 30 December 1865, p.3.

<sup>122</sup> "Poverty Bay," *Wellington Independent*, 19 December 1865, p.6.

<sup>123</sup> Jane Williams to Kate Heathcote, 29 July 1865, Jane Williams - outward correspondence to Kate Heathcote, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-021, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>124</sup> Jane Williams to Kate Heathcote, 30 October 1865, Jane Williams - outward correspondence to Kate Heathcote, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-021, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>125</sup> Jane Williams to Kate Heathcote, 29 July 1865, Jane Williams - outward correspondence to Kate Heathcote, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-021, ATL, Wellington.

there are Saddleback, Skiddaw & Helvelyn'.<sup>126</sup> Freddy had never been to England and at age eleven had spent his whole life in Poverty Bay. However, his knowledge of English hill names indicates that he would have read or heard stories told about England. Consequently, England would have been another location with which Freddy was familiar. When confronted by somewhere which was not Poverty Bay, Freddy referred to England to make the new place at the Bay of Islands more familiar. Freddy used what he knew to develop connection and comfort in the unfamiliar. These methods aided the transition of turning a new location into home. Although he had never been to England, the knowledge Freddy had gained and stories he heard or read, by age eleven, had already created a more than significant emotional link to England.

Though comments and stories suggest that the Europeans of Poverty Bay were attached to the area, how many actually returned following the conflicts? From 4 December 1865 families evacuated after Waerenga-a-hika had begun to move back into their homes.<sup>127</sup> Leonard Williams seems to have been eager to return to Tūranga as quickly as possible once the danger subsided.<sup>128</sup> He wrote that shortly after the cessation of danger on 22 November the European residents began repairing damage and putting their homes in order again.<sup>129</sup> A comment in the *Hawke's Bay Herald* suggests that by 13 December 1865 nearly all the families had returned to their homes.<sup>130</sup> Emma Espie wrote that by 27 December everyone had returned with little damage done to most houses.<sup>131</sup> Over the three months after the Matawhero attack the lack of work available in Poverty Bay meant settlers began leaving.<sup>132</sup> However, by 1871 the area had fully recovered from the Matawhero attack and its future was no longer in question.<sup>133</sup> The Refugee Fund

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<sup>126</sup> Freddy Williams to his father Leonard, 23 June 1865, Letters from the Williams Children to their Parents, Correspondence: Wanklyn, Williams, Volkner and others, Series 3, No. 31, Williams Gray Papers, Tairāwhiti Museum, Gisborne.

<sup>127</sup> "Poverty Bay," *Wellington Independent*, 19 December 1865, p.6.

<sup>128</sup> Jane Williams to daughter Mary, 16 December 1865, Letters from Jane Williams to her daughter Mary and her son Samuel, Williams family: Correspondence, 77-198-05, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>129</sup> Williams, *Through Ninety Years*, p.221.

<sup>130</sup> "Poverty Bay," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 30 December 1865, p.3.

<sup>131</sup> Emma Espie to Sarah Williams, 27 December 1865, Correspondence - Sarah and Jane Williams, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-064, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>132</sup> "Poverty Bay," *Otago Witness*, 6 March 1869, p.6.

<sup>133</sup> "Poverty Bay," *Wanganui Herald*, 5 August 1871, p.2.

distributed subscriptions to the 'refugees' in January 1870 and in September 1869 settlers erected a memorial to the Matawhero victims.<sup>134</sup> Over these years the European population of the Bay had more than doubled, from approximately 245 people to over 500.<sup>135</sup> Unlike the Taranaki war, the limited damage and short but intense period of actual physical fighting at Poverty Bay in 1865 encouraged settlers to return to the region more rapidly. However, three years later in 1868 the extensive damage made rapid recovery more difficult.

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<sup>134</sup> "Poverty Bay Refugee Fund," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 25 March 1870, p.2; "Monument to the Memory of the Unfortunate Victims," *Evening Post*, 23 September 1869, p.2.

<sup>135</sup> "Poverty Bay," *Wanganui Herald*, 5 August 1871, p.2.

# Chapter 3: 'Their case may be ours any day': assisting 'our fellow settlers at Taranaki'

## Emotive Responses

Settlers across the British Empire responded to the wars in Taranaki with a toxic combination of emotions, influenced by the circumstances of war and settler colonialism. This chapter will explore these emotions and how they prompted practical responses to the 'refugees'. In response to the Taranaki conflicts, Fear gripped the settler community at the violent fighting and assaults on settler homes. Anxiety simmered over whether the fighting would spread to other provinces or colonies and whether Māori could win. Anger fumed that settlers' way of life had come under attack. Frustration that soldiers could not win the war more quickly swamped New Zealand settlers. Sadness and sympathy grew for the settlers who had lost loved ones and livelihoods. The desire for revenge increased in bellicosity and spread across settler society like a disease. These powerful emotions were felt at a collective level, across settler society, and by individuals.

Settlers outside Taranaki initially reacted to the presence of 'refugees' from the Taranaki conflicts with emotional relief; relief that they did not have to suffer from what was their worst nightmare. The loss of so many labour hours, of homes, of possessions, and the potential for injury or death represented the worst fate that the settlers could imagine for their new lives in the colonies. The Taranaki settlers remembered the fighting of the 1840s in Wairau, Whanganui, Northland and the lower North Island, and realised that a war against Māori was possible in the 1860s. However, Taranaki settlers had an expectation that the British military would rapidly crush any resistance. Although the settlers anxiously anticipated conflict during 1860, they had no concept of how long or terrifying the war would be.

To New Zealand settlers, the Taranaki people's descent from prosperity and security to war and uncertainty demonstrated a shocking reversal of fortunes. They

considered the Taranaki settlers' decline from an affluent and settled lifestyle to one of desperation and destitution neither justified nor acceptable. Many believed that the 'refugees' had simply suffered from 'misfortune' rather than playing any part in their own fate.<sup>1</sup> Such sentiments imply that the 'refugees' had contributed in no way to their situation and consequently did not deserve to be deprived of their previous way of life. The very use of the term 'refugee' was employed to indicate that the group deserved pity and assistance because of their displacement and standing as settlers rather than because of their destitution.

Settlers within and outside New Zealand felt they shared a common cause and mutual social status with the 'refugees', yet feared that they could soon find themselves in the same position. This dynamic is expressed most clearly in a statement by the correspondent 'X.Y.Z.' for the *Taranaki Herald*, writing about the Taranaki evacuations. 'X.Y.Z.' wrote that he did not want readers to think he was advocating "'Charity'" – a giving to the "poor" – but rather demonstrating unity and solidarity with the 'refugees'.<sup>2</sup> He continued – 'Believe me we don't look upon anything we are doing as being done for "poor" persons. We only know that there are families of settlers like ourselves - many of them who were in affluence, all of them who were in every way as prosperous and deserving as we are - who by the sad realities of war are destitute of almost everything but what they stand upright in; that their case may be ours any day, and that it is our duty to give of that which we are enjoying quietly for the help of those who have borne the brunt for us and the whole Island.'<sup>3</sup>

'X.Y.Z.'s statement demonstrates how the Taranaki 'refugees' were not viewed as being poor and in need of assistance or of lower class status because of their new circumstances. Before the war many of the Taranaki settlers had owned lands or businesses and engaged in self-help to support themselves without becoming a burden on the colony. Most New Zealand settlers still saw the Taranaki people as upstanding and hardworking subjects of empire who had 'earned' their property,

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<sup>1</sup> "Taranaki Aid from Wellington and Canterbury," *The Colonist*, 24 August 1860, p.2.

<sup>2</sup> "Wellington. From Our Own Correspondent.," *Taranaki Herald*, 1 September 1860, p.3.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

even though the land was frequently acquired illegitimately from Māori.<sup>4</sup> Given this, New Zealand settlers thought the 'refugees' did not deserve to suffer the misfortune of warfare that endangered their lives and ruined their livelihoods. Settlers across the colony approached the process of giving assistance with 'delicacy'.<sup>5</sup> They recognised that the 'refugees' not long ago would have felt accepting relief beneath them and only for poorer persons.<sup>6</sup> New Zealand settlers did not consider the 'refugees' 'poor' and consequently felt they did not deserve the stigma which went with receiving 'charity'. The 'refugees' did not consider themselves of a lower class as a result of their reduced circumstances.

The letter by 'X.Y.Z' also demonstrates how New Zealand settlers' drive to assist the 'refugees' emerged out of a recognition of the similarities between their own lives and situations and those now designated 'refugees'. Settlers outside of Taranaki considered the 'refugees' moral and upstanding, and prosperous, independent and self-supporting (or ambitious to be so), like themselves. In a letter expressing sympathy with the Taranaki settlers the Marlborough Provincial Council representatives called them 'our fellow settlers at Taranaki'.<sup>7</sup> The organisers of the Taranaki Aid Bazaar and Concert in Nelson also used that phrase while Oswald Curtis of the Nelson Taranaki Aid Committee labelled them 'our distressed fellow-settlers from Taranaki'.<sup>8</sup> The frequent use of the phrase 'our fellow settlers' reinforces how settlers across the country identified with the 'refugees' as their social equals, on the same standing as themselves, and as partners united against a common threat. Therefore, it was easy for New Zealand settlers to imagine that they could themselves face the same plight.

Settlers across the colony felt indebted to the Taranaki settlers because they had 'borne the brunt' of the war despite playing 'no part' in its beginnings. As 'X.Y.Z's' comment shows, though themselves shaken by war, settlers outside Taranaki felt

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<sup>4</sup> "Correspondence," *Nelson Examiner*, 5 May 1860, p.3.

<sup>5</sup> J. Logan Campbell Auckland chairman Taranaki relief fund to the Superintendent at Taranaki, 7 April 1860, box 7, folder 12, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Superintendent at Marlborough to the Taranaki Superintendent, 9 August 1860, box 7, folder 12, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>8</sup> "Nelson," *Lyttelton Times*, 27 June 1860, p.3; "Taranaki Relief Fund," *Otago Witness*, 22 December 1860, p.47311.

blessed to have relative safety and security, undisturbed possessions and property. However, they also recognised that the 'refugees' had suffered extreme distress and faced a huge burden through displacement from their homes, through the loss of family, friends, possessions and property, and through the constant struggle to keep themselves and their families in good health and morale. New Zealand settlers believed that, without the sacrifices of settlers in Taranaki, war might spread within the colony – as later proved to be the case in 1863. Across the colony settlers considered that, by suffering through violence and disruption, to prevent war spreading and to assert settler colonial rights and governance, the Taranaki people had done something that needed doing for the good of the whole colony. New Zealand settlers considered that the people of Taranaki had made a sacrifice for the benefit of the rest of the colony and felt indebted to them.

Public debates amongst Europeans stressed the innocence of the Taranaki settlers and the sacrifices they had made in the course of the war. In the House of Representatives in particular, arguments over who should take financial responsibility for the losses of the 'refugees' grew heated. Speaking in the House, Henry Sewell held that the Taranaki settlers had done nothing to encourage the war, yet had fought on behalf of the rest of the colony.<sup>9</sup> Member for Omata, James Richmond, who acknowledged his connections to Taranaki in the House, passionately advocated for Taranaki interests in the discussions.<sup>10</sup> He agreed with Sewell that the settlers' losses occurred during a war which was colonial and national in nature and asserted that, as Taranaki settlers were not solely to blame, the whole colony should bear any losses.<sup>11</sup> While other members argued that compensation for the Taranaki settlers should come from other sources, none explicitly accused the Taranaki settlers of provoking war. The House eventually concluded that the Taranaki settlers had not prompted the war and had been prevented from saving their homes due to government orders.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Henry Sewell, *NZPD*, 1860, pp.394-399.

<sup>10</sup> J. C. Richmond, *NZPD*, 1860, p.395.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p.396.

<sup>12</sup> Debate on the report of the Select Committee on the Taranaki settlers, *NZPD*, 1860, p.735-737.

The indebtedness that many New Zealand settlers felt towards the 'refugees' who had 'borne the brunt' for the colony, created a powerful sense of duty to provide for and assist them. 'X.Y.Z''s comment again shows how the people in other parts of the colony considered it their role, as those unaffected by attacks, to provide for others. Nelson settlers felt that they ought to make sacrifices given the situation and bear their 'share of duty'.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, at a Wellington Taranaki Aid Committee meeting in August 1860, members articulated that 'duty and charity require this community at once to come to the relief and support' of the Taranaki people.<sup>14</sup> Thomas Gilbert, in his letter to the editor of the *Colonist*, explicitly stated that helping the 'refugees' entailed something more than charity work. He wrote that the government had given rations 'as a *duty*, and not as mere *charity*'.<sup>15</sup> The supposed sacrifices that the Taranaki settlers made had created an obligation in New Zealand settlers' minds to support the 'refugees'.

The relief settlers outside Taranaki felt at avoiding the fate of the Taranaki 'refugees' reinforced this sense of duty to provide assistance. A member of the Nelson Ladies' Taranaki Aid Committee wrote to the editor of the *Nelson Examiner* complaining about settlers there, who claimed they could not afford to put out work for the Taranaki 'refugees'.<sup>16</sup> The writer asked whether any of the settlers could have "'afforded" to be turned out of our hard earned homes, to have left our property, our all, to be carried away, destroyed, or burnt by a savage foe?'.<sup>17</sup> If the answer was 'No' then they should out of 'gratitude for our exemption from such an evil, afford to pinch ourselves a little for the benefit of those who have had to grapple with so fearful a calamity?'.<sup>18</sup> As the writer demonstrates, settlers all over the colony felt relieved to avoid their greatest fears. This relief strengthened their sense of duty to support the 'refugees' who had suffered through such a nightmare.

Consequently, the main emotional response that the mass departure of people from Taranaki provoked was fear. New Zealand settlers feared especially that the

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<sup>13</sup> "Arrival of the 'Airedale' with Taranaki News," *Wellington Independent*, 10 August 1860, p.3.

<sup>14</sup> "Aid for Taranaki," *Wellington Independent*, 31 August 1860, p.4.

<sup>15</sup> Thomas Gilbert, "Taranaki Aid Committee - Letter to the Editor," *The Colonist*, 31 August 1860.

<sup>16</sup> "Correspondence," *Nelson Examiner*, 5 May 1860, p.3.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

war could spread and one day place them in need of assistance. The dramatic reversal of fortunes that the Taranaki ‘refugees’ had suffered represented the worst possible fate for settlers elsewhere in the colony. The months or years of labour and exertion to establish a livelihood embodied the greatest hopes and dreams of settler men and women – of a prosperous life in the new colony through which they could support their family. Seeing others lose everything they had strived for reminded settlers elsewhere about the risks of life in the colonies and the vulnerability of their achievements. As correspondent ‘X.Y.Z.’ wrote, settlers outside Taranaki worried that at any point they could find themselves in the same position as the ‘refugees’.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, the settler response was not one of selfless charity, as the *Taranaki Herald* correspondent ‘X.Y.Z.’ makes clear, it was inherently self-interested and driven by fear.

Not only did a sense of fear stem from actual and threatened death or the destruction and denial of property and livelihood but from the people who committed such damage – ‘rebel’ Māori. In the minds of most Europeans Māori ‘rebels’ had refused to sell land and had then engaged in conflict aimed at attacking European settlements. This struck a nerve about the safety of the settler position in the colony. From the viewpoint of New Zealand settlers, enemy Māori threatened settlers’ ability to establish themselves in a new world – the land they developed, the buildings they erected, the emotional hurdles they overcame, the family they raised and their own lives. Therefore, ‘rebel’ Māori, in settlers’ eyes, were a legitimate target of military aggression.

In showing solidarity with the ‘refugees’, settlers within and outside New Zealand drew a boundary between themselves, as settlers, and enemy Māori – motivated by fear. When ‘X.Y.Z.’ used words such as ‘us’, ‘our’ and ‘ourselves’ in his letter, he unified the settler cause but concomitantly alienated ‘rebel’ Māori. Patrick Wolfe argues that in opposition to the ‘Other’ is the ‘self’.<sup>20</sup> Consequently, he asserts that, in creating the ‘Other’, settlers defined themselves so that the ‘two categories

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<sup>19</sup> “Wellington. From Our Own Correspondent.,” *Taranaki Herald*, 1 September 1860, p.3.

<sup>20</sup> Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology*, p.165.

mutually constructed each other'.<sup>21</sup> In settler colonialism the boundary or 'frontier' between the invading settlers and indigenous people could shift and change depending on context so that the 'Other' was 'always elsewhere'.<sup>22</sup> In doing so the 'frontier' 'b[ound] together a divided colonial fragment in common opposition to the natives on the other side'.<sup>23</sup> Patrick Wolfe's comments fit the Taranaki scenario where, by uniting behind the 'refugees', settlers across the colony strengthened the frontier and the barrier against the Māori 'Other'.

One group did not easily fit into the 'us' and 'them' dichotomy. A vocal and forceful minority spoke out against the war in opposition to the general government and New Zealand settlers, primarily from religious circles. The prime critics included Archdeacon of Kapiti Octavius Hadfield, Bishop of New Zealand George Selwyn, and former Chief Justice William Martin. Frances Porter, amongst many others, has identified the group's views that Taranaki settlers' selfish land-hungry ambition had ignited fighting and that the governor and settler government had not protected Māori as required by the Treaty of Waitangi.<sup>24</sup> The whole war, the critics argued, was unjust, illegal and wrong. The group's forceful views raised the ire of settler society and put them at odds with those who spoke fervently for settler interests, such as J. C. Richmond.

However, most New Zealand settlers wanted to demonstrate, through their actions, their clear solidarity against the 'rebel' Māori, whom they felt threatened their homes, families and opportunities to own land in the colony. By putting on events, taking subscriptions and making statements of support, settlers across the colony publicly expressed sympathy for the 'refugees'. In doing so these settlers overtly picked a side to support and shored up their own position. For instance, the organisers of the Nelson bazaar held in June 1860 in aid of the Taranaki 'refugees' acted with anticipation that a successful event could demonstrate their sympathy with the Taranaki 'refugees'.<sup>25</sup> Some New Zealand settlers, and the settler press in

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid., pp.165, 179.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., pp.165, 173.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p.165.

<sup>24</sup> Porter, *Born to New Zealand*, pp.132-133, 145-146.

<sup>25</sup> "Nelson," *Lyttelton Times*, 27 June 1860, p.3.

particular, also called loudly for a greater show of force and extra defence by imperial forces.

Statements of sympathy were one way in which settlers and settler governments firmly established their loyalties. Sometimes expressions of sympathy took the form of resolutions, voted on in the course of a meeting. At other times sympathy was expressed by written letter to the Taranaki superintendent. For instance, in August 1860 the Provincial Government in Marlborough wrote a letter of condolence to the superintendent at Taranaki and sent their sympathy to the Taranaki settlers for the conditions and difficulties they faced.<sup>26</sup> Likewise, the same month, amidst a winter of disease, death and dwindling military victories, the superintendent of Nelson wrote a letter of condolence expressing sympathy with the Taranaki settlers.<sup>27</sup> Messages of support for the Taranaki settlers flooded in from across New Zealand and the British Empire.

Expressions of sympathy for the Taranaki settlers' plight were also conveyed through published songs and poetry. Matthew Fitzpatrick and Clara Fairly's compositions appeared in the newspapers. Matthew Fitzpatrick used his poem about the separation of a 'refugee' from her soldier lover to highlight the desperation of love disrupted by war and the assertion of 'home' by Taranaki settlers.<sup>28</sup> The poem emphasised the difficulties war presented for colonists. In doing so, the poem showed support for the settlers at Taranaki and their right to own land there. Clara Fairly sent her piece, *A Song for our Redoubtable Soldiers*, to the *Colonist* in September 1860.<sup>29</sup> The work mocked the imperial and local militia's retreat from battle under Māori fire, despite vastly outnumbering their opponents. In response to her writing, Clara suffered fierce criticism in the letters to the editor for daring to make colonial troops look cowardly.<sup>30</sup> The condemnation that Clara attracted reflects Sam Hutchinson's argument that any disparagement of or misgivings about settler societies, and the colonial military campaigns to preserve

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<sup>26</sup> Superintendent at Marlborough to the Taranaki Superintendent, 9 August 1860, box 7, folder 12, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>27</sup> "Aid to Taranaki Refugees in Nelson," *The Colonist*, 14 August 1860, p.2.

<sup>28</sup> "Original Poetry. The Taranaki Refugee," *Nelson Examiner*, 24 October 1860, p.4.

<sup>29</sup> "Letters to the Editor," *The Colonist*, 28 September 1860, p.3.

<sup>30</sup> "Miss Amelia Brady, Letter to the Editor," *Nelson Examiner*, 3 October 1860, p.2.

them, were vigorously and passionately quashed, especially through newspapers.<sup>31</sup> He contends that censure only served to bind settlers together in defence against 'potential dissolution of the sustaining fantasy of settler societies', an emotional rather than a bodily threat.<sup>32</sup> The response to Clara's writing demonstrates how the imperial machine worked to prop up the fiction of community cohesion and loyalty.

Gender greatly affected the emotional response to the 'refugees'. As Phillippa Levine has argued in *Gender and Empire*, the work and experiences of empire was 'always and everywhere gendered'.<sup>33</sup> Settlers across the New Zealand colony primarily understood the 'refugees' to be women and children and as such the group became a nucleus for society's belief that women were weak and vulnerable. The women and children in the Taranaki Buildings at Nelson were considered the most susceptible to moral corruption and presented a gateway for the deterioration of the 'character of [the] population'.<sup>34</sup> Settlers, in general, considered men the natural protectors of women and knew what was best for them. For instance, a letter to the editor of the *Nelson Examiner* by 'A Refugee' on 18 May 1860 criticised officials for separating women from their 'natural protectors' (men) who would have advocated for the 'weak women and children' against the unfair treatment of unscrupulous officials.<sup>35</sup> Any separation of wives and husbands, especially by government or military compulsion, drew significant anger and complaint from settler society that the 'natural' order of the family had been disrupted.

The language used by military officials to remove the 'refugees' from Taranaki further demonstrates gendered notions of women as weak and vulnerable. A proclamation under martial law by Colonel Gold on 17 July 1860 called for voluntary applications to vacate the province.<sup>36</sup> The language of the proclamation shows how the military considered women and children a nuisance, that would get in the way

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<sup>31</sup> Sam Hutchinson, *Settlers, War, and Empire in the Press: Unsettling News in Australia and Britain, 1863-1902*, (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp.79-80.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Levine, "Introduction: Why Gender and Empire?," p.2.

<sup>34</sup> "The Taranaki Buildings in Nelson," *Nelson Examiner*, 22 December 1860, p.3.

<sup>35</sup> "To the Ladies of the Taranaki Aid Committee," *Nelson Examiner*, 19 May 1860, p.3.

<sup>36</sup> C. E. Gold, "Call for Voluntary Evacuation," 17 July 1860, folder 6, Proclamations, ARC2001-540, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

and reduce the strength of defences. In it, Gold stated that women and children would 'add nothing to [New Plymouth's] strength as a military post' and might 'materially cripple [New Plymouth's] means of defence' by staying.<sup>37</sup> In addition, Governor Gore Browne recognised the anxiety the men felt over their families and thought they would fight better if assured of their families' safety out of the province.<sup>38</sup> It was consequent on such defensive concerns that evacuations of women and children began from March 1860. Thus, to the military strategists weak, vulnerable women and children added to the defensive burden of New Plymouth and, in their view, crippled any opportunity to win the Taranaki war.

## Practical Responses

A drive towards practical assistance emerged out of the emotive reactions to the 'refugees'. Assistance for the Taranaki women and children included a combination of both government and community help. In terms of government assistance, the Provincial Government at Taranaki worked with the Nelson Provincial Government to provide for the 'refugees' arriving in Nelson. The Nelson Government gave their ship for use in conveying people from Taranaki to Nelson and accommodated the 'refugees' once they had arrived. It emerged in August 1860 that around 700 'refugees' would arrive in Nelson in addition to the more than 500 already there – far more than first anticipated.<sup>39</sup> The Taranaki Refugee Aid Committee in Nelson estimated that only 200 spaces remained in housing across the Nelson and Marlborough districts, including capacity for 100 at Motueka.<sup>40</sup> The Nelson Oddfellows Hall could accommodate a further 200 in temporary lodgings.<sup>41</sup>

The Nelson Provincial Government provided materials and built barrack-style accommodation for the extra 'refugees' after agitation by the Nelson committee.<sup>42</sup> However, as already established in chapter 1, the barrack accommodation proved

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> "Memorandum from the Superintendent of Taranaki to His Excellency Governor Browne, and His Excellency's Reply," *Taranaki Herald*, 31 March 1860, pp.3-4.

<sup>39</sup> "Taranaki Aid Committee," *Nelson Examiner*, 11 August 1860, p.2; Natasha Andrea Elliot-Hogg, "The Taranaki Refugees 1860", p.20.

<sup>40</sup> "Taranaki Aid Committee," *Nelson Examiner*, 11 August 1860, p.2.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

inadequate and became a source of frequent and numerous complaints by the Taranaki settlers at Nelson. As a result, a letter from the Superintendent at Taranaki to the Colonial Secretary in Auckland dated 30 November 1860 recommended subdividing the Taranaki barracks in Nelson and erecting further cottages for the 'refugees'.<sup>43</sup> The Taranaki Superintendent concluded that no blame could be assigned for the poor conditions in the barracks, as the government and provincial council had done what they could in the situation.<sup>44</sup> The general government eventually reimbursed the Nelson province for its expenses incurred while assisting the Taranaki settlers, with the final total reimbursement of £1839 9s being transferred to the province in 1862.<sup>45</sup>

The provincial governments also supplied rations for the Taranaki 'refugees'. Although rations became available from May 1860, initially only a limited number of people applied to receive them.<sup>46</sup> However, significantly more individuals were added to the application list from 10 August onwards and the numbers continued to rise for the rest of 1860.<sup>47</sup> Nearly all families received under £2 per week for their ration allowance on a scale where a household with one adult received one shilling per diem.<sup>48</sup> The adult ration allowance decreased with each additional adult in the household.<sup>49</sup> An incidental expenses list was also kept by the Provincial Government at Taranaki and reveals what necessities fell beyond the purchasing power of a standard ration allowance. The most common items expended were firewood, rent, carting and labour, with funeral expenses, carpentering, clothing, cooking utensils and education expenses proving the most expensive.<sup>50</sup> Other items of expenditure included medical comforts, meat, bread, repairs and building materials.<sup>51</sup> As with ration payments, incidental expenses began with a smaller list in April 1860 that

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<sup>43</sup> "The Taranaki Buildings in Nelson," *Nelson Examiner*, 22 December 1860, p.3.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> "Receipts and Disbursements of the Provincial Treasurer," *The Colonist*, 23 May 1862, p.2.

<sup>46</sup> "Ration Lists" 1860, box 7, folder 9, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.; "The Taranaki Herald," *Taranaki Herald*, 21 July 1860.

<sup>49</sup> "Ration Lists" 1860, box 7, folder 9, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.; "The Taranaki Herald," *Taranaki Herald*, 21 July 1860.

<sup>50</sup> "Incidental Expenses" 1860, box 7, folder 9, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

grew over the course of the year, particularly from July to August.<sup>52</sup> The claims show that the 'refugees' required mainly basic necessities and received significant government assistance.

Extensive debates occurred in the House of Representatives over who ought to take responsibility for the cost of the 'refugees' – the result of a settler colonial war. Some speakers considered that the imperial government should take care of the expense, while others argued that it was a matter for private subscriptions rather than the public purse.<sup>53</sup> During these discussions members constantly drew links to other cases of assistance for settlers in war-torn colonies of the British Empire. The conflict at Kororāreka in 1845, several members agreed, was dissimilar to the Taranaki case.<sup>54</sup> However, members considered the 1837-1838 Canadian Rebellion analogous and believed that the Canadian colonies' slowness to compensate loyalist settlers there had compounded the overall costs.<sup>55</sup> Colonel Haultain viewed the Indian Rebellion as the closest case to Taranaki and, consequently, asserted that the House should similarly rely on private subscriptions only.<sup>56</sup> The 1840s conflicts in the Hutt Valley, Porirua, Wellington and Wanganui were also mentioned in the course of debates.<sup>57</sup> However, a select committee formed to enquire into the matter of compensation decided that in none of the cases discussed had compensation been awarded as a legal right but instead granted on moral grounds.<sup>58</sup> The contentions over the 'refugees' in the House reveal how members considered the solidarity and unity of the settler cause against the enemy extremely important. The debates also demonstrate how colonial conflicts across the British Empire informed compensation given at Taranaki.

Eventually the House of Representatives concluded that the costs of the 'refugees' should form an expense against the colony as a whole, with any outlay by the

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Debate on the Relief of Taranaki Settlers, *NZPD*, 1860, pp.394-99.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., pp.395, 396.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., pp.395, 396-7.

<sup>56</sup> Colonel Haultain, *NZPD*, 1860, p.398.

<sup>57</sup> Report of the Select Committee on the Taranaki settlers read, *NZPD*, 1860, p.735; Memorandum by Mr. Renall, *NZPD*, 1860, p.736.

<sup>58</sup> Report of the Select Committee on the Taranaki settlers read, *NZPD*, 1860, p.735.

provincial councils to be reimbursed.<sup>59</sup> The Select Committee advised £25,000 as the full compensation fund which the House confirmed in a vote.<sup>60</sup> The general government also established an opportunity for Taranaki settlers willing to shift to another province. These settlers would receive a land grant to the value of £40 from the 'Waste Lands of the Crown', with title transfer after five years.<sup>61</sup> The House's decision to provide for the 'refugees' had also been an economic one. To have the men of Taranaki fighting meant that their families became a 'burden on the colony', whereas granting a plot of land elsewhere in New Zealand meant that the families could provide for themselves.<sup>62</sup> The help eventually given by the general government shows how the burden of the Taranaki 'refugees' became a burden on the colony – both literally as an economic impact and emotionally through the perceived need to band together against threat.

Provincial governments across New Zealand also provided monetary assistance for the 'refugees'. For instance, Marlborough Provincial Council voted £250 for the Taranaki people.<sup>63</sup> The Taranaki Provincial Council thanked the Marlborough council for 'proof of the sympathy felt for our misfortunes'.<sup>64</sup> The Wellington Provincial Council voted £1000 for the Taranaki Council to support the 'refugees', which they transferred in two £500 instalments.<sup>65</sup> Meanwhile, Otago, as a far wealthier province, contributed £1000 in a lump sum.<sup>66</sup> However, as long as the general government reimbursed the Nelson Provincial Government for the expense of maintaining the 'refugees', the Taranaki Provincial Council wanted to delay most of the subscriptions until the war ended.<sup>67</sup> It considered that, by this stage, returning

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<sup>59</sup> Debate on the report of the Select Committee to the House on the relief of Taranaki settlers, *NZPD*, 1860, pp.519, 525.

<sup>60</sup> Report of the Select Committee on the Taranaki settlers read, *NZPD*, 1860, p.737.

<sup>61</sup> "Taranaki Settlers' Relief Act" 1860, s.3, 6.

<sup>62</sup> J. C. Richmond, *NZPD*, 1860, p.397.

<sup>63</sup> Superintendent at Marlborough to the Taranaki Superintendent, 9 August 1860, box 7, folder 12, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>64</sup> Taranaki Deputy Superintendent to the Marlborough Superintendent, 31 August 1860, Letter book, box 2, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC 2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>65</sup> Wellington Deputy Superintendent to the Taranaki Deputy Superintendent, 18 August 1860, box 7, folder 12, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>66</sup> "Response to Letter to the Editor of the Nelson Examiner," *Lyttelton Times*, 23 June 1860, p.4.

<sup>67</sup> "Aid for Taranaki," *Wellington Independent*, 31 August 1860, p.4.

Taranaki settlers would sorely need financial assistance to rebuild their lives in New Plymouth.<sup>68</sup>

Provincial governments within New Zealand also offered to accommodate Taranaki settlers temporarily until they could safely return. Nelson took the bulk of the 'refugees' due to the province's physical proximity and accessibility by sea from Taranaki, yet its distance from the wars in the north, and its willingness to assist.<sup>69</sup> Canterbury was also eager to provide for 'refugee' families. The province offered to subsidise the difference in cost between a passage to Nelson and passage to Christchurch.<sup>70</sup> However, despite their willingness to help, no one made the trip to Canterbury and the funds raised for the shift had to be reallocated.<sup>71</sup> Dunedin offered to receive families provided they met certain requirements. These included being of 'good character, sound health, and...belong[ing] to those trades that are common in a new country'.<sup>72</sup> Families would need to repay their passage within one year of landing and anyone over age 45 had to pay for themselves.<sup>73</sup> The Otago Provincial Government offered to charter a vessel if enough people took up the agreement.<sup>74</sup>

The provinces of New Zealand engaged in extensive debate before they decided on the level and nature of assistance to give. An article printed by the *Wellington Independent* reported that the Wellington Deputy Superintendent had been petitioned about the possibility of accommodating the 'refugees' in Wellington.<sup>75</sup> The writer, 'X.Y.Z', thought that the northern provinces should contribute clothing and monetary assistance while the burden of accommodation should be borne by the South Island provinces.<sup>76</sup> He considered the North Island too dangerous for the Taranaki 'refugees' and wrote that inviting them to Wellington would be 'impolitic',

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Taranaki Superintendent to John Glasston + Co London, 12 November 1860, Letter book, box 2, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC 2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>70</sup> Canterbury Provincial Secretary to the Taranaki Superintendent, 18 August 1860, box 1, folder 4, Taranaki Provincial Council. ARC 2003-713, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>71</sup> Canterbury Provincial Secretary to the Taranaki Superintendent, 18 March 1861, box 1, folder 4, Taranaki Provincial Council. ARC 2003-713, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>72</sup> "Taranaki Refugees," *Nelson Examiner*, 8 September 1860.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> "Taranaki Refugees," *Wellington Independent*, 14 August 1860, p.2.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

‘cruel’ and ‘unwise’ when the town still required a stockade for protection.<sup>77</sup> ‘X.Y.Z’ argued that Nelson had given more than its share of aid, Christchurch had offered to take people despite its own issues with housing and firewood, and that Otago would also provide substantial contributions in time.<sup>78</sup>

There was an expectation to provide for the ‘refugees’ and if a province could not assist it had to justify its actions. A letter to the *Nelson Examiner* by ‘A Friend to Taranaki’ pointed out the slowness of Canterbury to help. It complained that, in the province of the ‘high and wealthy’, affluent individuals should contribute even if the Canterbury Provincial Government could not afford to.<sup>79</sup> The writer felt that as Canterbury residents sat in a far better position than the Taranaki ‘refugees’, they could afford to provide them with at least the bare minimum.<sup>80</sup> The *Lyttelton Times* published an opposing article that justified Canterbury’s lack of contribution to the ‘refugees’. The reporter argued that the Canterbury Provincial Government suffered greater financial difficulty than most provinces and deemed it unfair if the government denied public necessities in order to contribute.<sup>81</sup> The reporter also claimed that the distance from Taranaki and the irregular meetings of the Canterbury Provincial Council made offering assistance considerably more difficult.<sup>82</sup> However, the *Lyttelton Times* reporter agreed with the *Nelson Examiner* that the public apathy towards the ‘refugee’ fund was unacceptable and they needed to demonstrate more generosity.<sup>83</sup> Competition between different provinces to provide for the Taranaki ‘refugees’, demonstrates the level of social currency that the act of practical assistance had within the colony. By showing support for the ‘refugees’, provinces showed their support for settler colonialism and their belief that settlers’ presence in the colony was justified.

In addition to official government sources, community efforts to collect money and goods engaged the sympathy of the population. Margaret Tennant has written

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> “Aid to Taranaki,” *Nelson Examiner*, 30 May 1860, p.3.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> “Response to Letter to the Editor of the Nelson Examiner,” *Lyttelton Times*, 23 June 1860, p.4.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

about the nature of government relief and community-based assistance in New Zealand in *The Fabric of Welfare* and elsewhere.<sup>84</sup> Tennant's work shows that the welfare institutions common in the late nineteenth century were still developing in the 1860s. The first benevolent society, the Auckland Ladies' Benevolent Society, began in 1857 while the longest lasting, the Onehunga Benevolent Society, itself began as a response to the evacuation of settler 'refugees' from Manukau harbour in 1863.<sup>85</sup> Since 1846 the Destitute Persons Ordinance had put the burden of looking after destitute persons onto their relatives – a version of the British Poor Laws.<sup>86</sup> However, Tennant argues that 'neighbourly cooperation and small scale community effort among Pakeha were in evidence from the early settlement period'.<sup>87</sup> Times of 'immediate misfortune' and emergency – sickness, acts of God or colonial war – prompted more organised aid such as subscriptions.<sup>88</sup> In these situations, Tennant states, newspapers had an important role in publicising the disaster and the need for assistance.<sup>89</sup> Unreciprocated 'charity' towards strangers, according to Tennant, was 'slower to develop' in New Zealand.<sup>90</sup> Given this, the practical assistance towards 'refugees' at Taranaki and Poverty Bay is all the more interesting.

Community meetings, held to help the Taranaki people, defined their cause as the need of 'refugees'. The meetings, in towns across New Zealand, stimulated the formation of committees to raise, manage and distribute money and goods. For instance, the Wellington committee originated following a public meeting at the Wellington Athenaeum on 9 August 1860.<sup>91</sup> At the gathering clothing and donations were collected.<sup>92</sup> In total the meeting accrued £492, of which £200 in money and clothing went to the Taranaki settlers at Nelson.<sup>93</sup> Public meetings aimed to both

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<sup>84</sup> Margaret Tennant, *The Fabric of Welfare: Voluntary Organisations, Government and Welfare in New Zealand, 1840-2005* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2007).

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.21, 24.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.28-30.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p.32.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.32-33.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p.33.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup> "Aid for Taranaki," *Wellington Independent*, 14 August 1860, p.2.

<sup>92</sup> Wellington Deputy Superintendent to the Taranaki Deputy Superintendent, 18 August 1860, box 7, folder 12, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>93</sup> "Wellington. From Our Own Correspondent.," *Taranaki Herald*, 1 September 1860, p.3.

raise money and demonstrate solidarity. These dual intentions are evident at an Auckland meeting convened by John Logan Campbell, which intended to both demonstrate sympathy and gather aid.<sup>94</sup> The public nature of these fundraising meetings reflect the real objective of growing public support for the settler colonial project by a hardening of lines between 'them' and 'us'. Through the public meetings settlers proclaimed the Taranaki 'refugees' to be part of the 'us'.

The Taranaki Relief Committees spread throughout New Zealand: Motueka, Richmond, Nelson, Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, Lyttelton, Whanganui, Dunedin and other locations.<sup>95</sup> By 1862 the Lyttelton committee had collected £751 16s 2d, while the Christchurch committee had raised the substantial sum of £1,263 14s 5d.<sup>96</sup> The Otago committee had raised a total of £1,317 in subscriptions by mid-1861 and by mid-1860 Auckland, as the capital city, had already subscribed £835 18s 6d.<sup>97</sup> The Nelson committee, in particular, began activity right from the start of the wars. It formed subsequent to a meeting at the Nelson courthouse on 24 March 1860, only a week after the first armed conflict in Taranaki at Te Kohia Pa, and immediately busied itself by pushing the Nelson Provincial Government to formulate plans in case Taranaki women and children came to Nelson.<sup>98</sup> Most of the representatives on the fundraising committees came from the higher classes of colonial society, especially from the circles of politics, religion and business. For instance, the Wellington committee included the Bishop of Wellington as chair, eight clergy, the Deputy Superintendent of Wellington William Waring Taylor, Wellington businessman and politician Jonas Woodward, and artist and pharmacist Charles Barraud.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> J. Logan Campbell Auckland chairman Taranaki relief fund to the Superintendent at Taranaki, 7 April 1860, box 7, folder 12, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>95</sup> "Correspondence," *Nelson Examiner*, 24 August 1861, p.3; "Taranaki Aid Committee," *Nelson Examiner*, 14 April 1860, p.3; "Wanganui. Taranaki Aid Fund," *Taranaki Herald*, 20 October 1860, p.3.

<sup>96</sup> "Taranaki Relief Committee," *Lyttelton Times*, 8 November 1862, p.5; J G Fife Secretary of the Lyttelton Taranaki Relief Fund Committee to the Taranaki Superintendent, 6 August 1861, box 1, folder 4, Taranaki Provincial Council. ARC 2003-713, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>97</sup> "Taranaki Relief Fund," *Otago Witness*, 22 December 1860, p.47311; "Auckland," *Nelson Examiner*, 14 July 1860, p.3.

<sup>98</sup> "Taranaki Aid Committee," *The Colonist*, 27 March 1860, p.2.

<sup>99</sup> "Aid for Taranaki," 31 August 1860, p.4; Robin Kay, "Charles Decimus Barraud," *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, accessed 20 January 2018, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1b8/barraud-charles-decimus>.

Donations came in from locations across New Zealand and were published as subscription lists in the newspapers. Unlike the fundraising committees, subscription lists show a cross-section of colonial society. The top and bottom contributors in the lists display a stark contrast. Businesses, military officers and leading public figures commonly appeared amongst the top contributors, while women and young boys and girls featured more heavily at the bottom.<sup>100</sup> For instance, a Wellington subscription list included Messrs Bethune and Hunter, Right Rev Bishop Viard and William Waring Taylor amongst its top contributors.<sup>101</sup> Four Armstrong children round out the bottom of the list with Miss M. A. and Master R. contributing 2s 6d each and Master P. and Master C. contributing 5s each.<sup>102</sup> Over three times more women donated below the median contribution of £1 on this list than donated above it.<sup>103</sup> Generally donations by individuals amounted to less than £1, though the number of contributors was large.<sup>104</sup> Nearly all donors had Anglo names but there are two instances of donations by persons with Māori names to the Refugee Fund. A donation of £1 by Raniera Te Iho and 10s by Attarita Te Iho was collected by Messrs Russell at Wangamoana.<sup>105</sup> The Te Ihos had led the sale of Māori land within the Wairarapa, defying kaumātua.<sup>106</sup> Māori fighting against the crown, unsurprisingly, did not support Taranaki settlers with subscriptions. Collectors included clergy, doctors, military officers and landowners as well as

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<sup>100</sup> "Taranaki Aid Fund," *Wellington Independent*, 16 October 1860, p.6; "Taranaki Aid Fund. Subscriptions Obtained by the Committee to Date," *Wellington Independent*, 24 August 1860, p.2.

<sup>101</sup> "Taranaki Aid Fund. Subscriptions Obtained by the Committee to Date," *Wellington Independent*, 24 August 1860, p.2.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>104</sup> "Taranaki Aid Fund," *Wellington Independent*, 16 October 1860, p.6; "Taranaki Aid Fund. Subscriptions Obtained to Date," *Wellington Independent*, 2 November 1860, p.2; "Taranaki Aid Fund. Subscriptions Obtained by the Committee to Date," *Wellington Independent*, 24 August 1860, p.2.

<sup>105</sup> "Taranaki Aid Fund. Subscriptions Obtained to Date," *Wellington Independent*, 2 November 1860, p.2.

<sup>106</sup> Angela Ballara and Mita Carter, "Te Hiko Piata Tama-i-Hikoia," *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, accessed 20 January 2018, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t33/te-hiko-piata-tama-i-hikoia>.

women.<sup>107</sup> The lists show that women collectors tended to receive a greater number of donations from other women than male collectors.<sup>108</sup>

Publication of the subscription lists provided an incentive for settlers, within and outside the colony, to publicly demonstrate loyalty and solidarity with the Taranaki 'refugees'. As the subscriptions sometimes appeared on the lists in descending numerical order, big donors had the honour and satisfaction of seeing their name at the top. A reporter for the *Lyttelton Times* reflected on how influential the subscription lists could prove. They wrote that any 'imputation of niggardliness' would quickly embarrass Britons and that subscription lists drove competition between neighbours to appear the most generous.<sup>109</sup> The fear of social disparagement impelled subscribers to give more than they could ordinarily afford and, according to the reporter, their intentions could sometimes be quite separate from the aims of the subscription appeal.<sup>110</sup> Therefore, the greater the perceived importance of the object behind subscriptions, the stronger the social enforcement so that settlers felt a duty to fulfil public expectations.

Forms of entertainment represented a popular and profitable means of raising money for the 'refugees'. In Wellington, some theatres gifted the profits of concerts, benefits or performances. The Lyceum Theatre held a concert and entertainment in aid of those suffering from the war while the Olympic Theatre gave £10 9s raised from the Wellington Dramatic Corps Benefit to the Taranaki Relief Fund.<sup>111</sup> In Nelson, a bazaar and concert for the benefit of the Taranaki settlers occurred on 20-21 June 1860.<sup>112</sup> As well as a fundraising opportunity, the bazaar also provided a novel social occasion, being the first bazaar held in the district, and organisers anticipated that curiosity alone would increase the attendance.<sup>113</sup> A reviewer of the concert in the *Colonist* proclaimed it 'one of the

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<sup>107</sup> "Taranaki Aid Fund," *Wellington Independent*, 16 October 1860, p.6; "Taranaki Aid Fund. Subscriptions Obtained to Date," *Wellington Independent*, 24 August 1860, p.2.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>109</sup> "Response to Letter to the Editor of the Nelson Examiner," *Lyttelton Times*, 23 June 1860, p.4.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>111</sup> "Taranaki Relief Fund," *Wellington Independent*, 14 August 1860, p.2; "Return of Benefit in Aid of the Taranaki Relief Fund," *Wellington Independent*, 14 August 1860, p.2.

<sup>112</sup> "Taranaki Aid Bazaar and Concert," *Nelson Examiner*, 16 June 1860, p.1.

<sup>113</sup> "Nelson," *Lyttelton Times*, 27 June 1860, p.3.

pleasantest evenings we have spent for some time' and labelled the event a 'decided success'.<sup>114</sup> The bazaar also gained favourable reviews as far away as Canterbury with the *Lyttelton Times* writing that it was a spirited couple of days which measured up well with the organisers' anticipations.<sup>115</sup> The Christchurch Ladies Taranaki Aid Committee likewise held a bazaar which raised a total of £750.<sup>116</sup> Further donations to the Nelson Ladies' Taranaki Aid Committee came from sales of a sermon by the Bishop of Nelson entitled 'A sermon on the Moral Dangers of a Time of Excitement' at a cost of 1s per copy.<sup>117</sup> These examples support Margaret Tennant's argument that fundraising in nineteenth-century New Zealand could involve fun, creativity, entertainment, competition and recreation in addition to the aim of raising money.<sup>118</sup>

Higher class Taranaki settlers assisted their fellow 'refugees' yet, at the same time, refrained from referring to themselves by the term. In Auckland, Tom King took charge of the 'refugees' and planned to ensure that they received the same treatment as the people at Nelson.<sup>119</sup> King wrote to his wife from Auckland that he tried to 'look after our poor Taranaki people as well as I can'.<sup>120</sup> The Richmond-Atkinsons assisted by attending public fundraising events for the cause, even though they were 'refugees' themselves. Lely Richmond attended the Nelson bazaar and, when in Auckland, received a ticket from daughter-in-law Emily to a theatre fundraiser for the 'refugees'.<sup>121</sup> Meanwhile, during April 1860 Lely's sister Helen Hursthouse had been 'running about & fatigue[d] looking after the refugees' in Nelson.<sup>122</sup> These events suggest that well-off Taranaki settlers distanced

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<sup>114</sup> "Taranaki Aid Concert," *The Colonist*, 26 June 1860, p.2.

<sup>115</sup> "Nelson," *Lyttelton Times*, 21 July 1860, p.5.

<sup>116</sup> "Taranaki Relief Committee," *Lyttelton Times*, 8 November 1862, p.5.

<sup>117</sup> "Now Published, a Sermon on the Moral Dangers of a Time of Excitement," *Nelson Examiner*, 9 May 1860, p.2.

<sup>118</sup> Tennant, *The Fabric of Welfare*, p.42.

<sup>119</sup> Thomas King to wife Mary, 26 August 1860, Personal Correspondence, King Family: Papers, MS-Papers-5641-04, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>120</sup> Thomas King to wife Mary, 20 September 1860, Personal Correspondence, King Family: Papers, MS-Papers-5641-04, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>121</sup> Lely Richmond diary entry, 20 June 1860, Jane Maria Atkinson. Diary, ARC 2001-159, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth; Lely Richmond diary entry, 7 September 1860, Jane Maria Atkinson. Diary, ARC 2001-159, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>122</sup> Lely Richmond diary entry, 13 April 1860, Jane Maria Atkinson. Diary, ARC 2001-159, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

themselves from the term 'refugee' and from being considered part of the group. By becoming the provider rather than receiver of aid, upper class Taranaki settlers negated their own status as 'refugees'. They could live comfortably off their own resources and, in general, left the public assistance to those without other means who genuinely needed it. This provides another shade of meaning to the term as it came to refer primarily to the people who needed assistance.

Women, in particular, were centrally involved in fundraising efforts for the 'refugees'. In Wellington Mary Waring Taylor, wife of the Deputy Superintendent William Waring Taylor, spearheaded the sewing of clothing for the 'refugees' amongst her friends, which soon spread into wider Wellington circles.<sup>123</sup> In Nelson the Ladies Taranaki Aid Committee formed to assist the 'refugees' and met for two hours twice a week.<sup>124</sup> The committee sought needlework from women in the community to provide employment for the 'refugees' who wanted it. They also requested families needing domestic servants alert the committee and stated that any 'refugees' requiring aid or any particular items should approach them.<sup>125</sup> A letter to the *Nelson Examiner* from 'A Refugee' emphatically thanked the women for their work and said that the 'refugees' now owed them a 'debt of gratitude'.<sup>126</sup> However, the writer felt that the Nelson women's hospitality and generosity had been taken advantage of by the government, putting an excessive burden on them.<sup>127</sup> A Ladies' Committee also began in Christchurch, and was extremely successful in the staging of its own 'Fancy Bazaar' to raise money for the 'refugees'.<sup>128</sup>

Despite the numerous avenues of support for the Taranaki 'refugees', many opted to assist themselves. 'Refugees' in Nelson, in particular, showed their industriousness by trying to find work. An advertisement in *The Colonist* by a Taranaki 'refugee' offered her services as a washerwoman who took in family

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<sup>123</sup> "Wellington. From Our Own Correspondent.," *Taranaki Herald*, 1 September 1860, p.3.

<sup>124</sup> "Ladies' Taranaki Aid Committee," *Nelson Examiner*, 2 May 1860, p.1.

<sup>125</sup> "To the Taranaki Refugees," *Nelson Examiner*, 2 May 1860, p.1.

<sup>126</sup> "To the Ladies of the Taranaki Aid Committee," *Nelson Examiner*, 19 May 1860, p.3.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> "Local Intelligence," *Lyttelton Times*, 24 October 1860, p.4.

washing.<sup>129</sup> Another 'refugee' placed an advertisement in the *New Zealander* seeking a variety of artistic labour as a herald, painter, glazier, house decorator or writer.<sup>130</sup> The work of these individuals demonstrates the entrepreneurial nature of some 'refugees'.

Those aiming to assist the 'refugees' in many cases gave them the opportunity to help themselves. Through their advertisement for needlework and domestic service positions for the 'refugees', the Ladies Taranaki Aid Committee enabled the 'refugees' who desired it to work. The Taranaki Aid Committee in the town of Richmond also tried to create work for the 'refugees'. In a letter to the Taranaki Aid Committee in Nelson the Richmond committee secretary wrote that there were positions for women over age 14 and any women with sewing and dressmaking skills could find accommodation in private lodgings.<sup>131</sup> The secretary also wrote that any hard-working women who had less than three children and familiar with dairying could also be sure to find work.<sup>132</sup> Debate over the Taranaki Settlers' Relief Act 1860 suggests that one of the intentions behind giving the land to the 'refugees' was to remove the burden on the Taranaki Provincial Government, caused by Taranaki settler families who claimed assistance.<sup>133</sup> Women's skills were in demand and providers of practical assistance made sure to create employment opportunities for the 'refugees'.

Such an attitude towards the displaced settlers exemplifies a self-help approach. Manifested by the British workhouses and Poor Laws of the 1830s, self-help emerged as a social principle in the Victorian era.<sup>134</sup> The principle proliferated with the publication of *Self-help with illustrations of character and conduct* by Samuel Smiles in 1859.<sup>135</sup> Smiles' extremely popular philosophy advocated that 'heaven

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<sup>129</sup> "Washing," *The Colonist*, 4 May 1860, p.4.

<sup>130</sup> "A Taranaki Refugee Respectfully Solicits a Share of Public Favour," *New Zealander*, 25 August 1860, p.1.

<sup>131</sup> "Taranaki Aid Committee," *Nelson Examiner*, April 14, 1860, p.3.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

<sup>133</sup> J. C. Richmond, *NZPD*, 1860, p.397.

<sup>134</sup> Tennant, *The Fabric of Welfare*, pp.23, 25.

<sup>135</sup> Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help; with Illustrations of Character and Conduct*, 1st ed. (London: John Murray, 1859).

helps those who help themselves'.<sup>136</sup> Smiles thought that individuals should support themselves and not rely on the public for assistance. He wrote that 'help from without is often enfeebling in its effects, but help from within invariably invigorates.'<sup>137</sup> He considered that individuals needed to cultivate industriousness, persistence and self-control in order to support themselves and if they did so the nation, as the sum of all individuals, would grow in strength and vitality.<sup>138</sup> Colonists were meant to stand on their own two feet rather than relying on the government or fellow colonists to assist them. That the Ladies Taranaki Aid Committee aimed to find the 'refugees' needlework and positions as domestic servants rather than simply directly giving them money or goods, demonstrates a form of self-help. The ladies' actions reflect settler society's perception that Europeans should earn their own livelihood and even with setbacks, such as displacement due to war, they should constantly aim to become self-supporting again.

Relief was also provided for the Taranaki settlers from locations outside New Zealand. Committees to assist the Taranaki 'refugees' were established in both Sydney and Melbourne, and in Nelson a committee was formed to correspond with them.<sup>139</sup> The Victorian Government gave £1000 towards the Taranaki Relief Fund.<sup>140</sup> The police force in Victoria also gave a substantial sum. Each member contributed one day's pay amounting to £500-600 in total.<sup>141</sup> The *Taranaki Herald* reported that 'such a generous proceeding on the part of [police]men, who have large demands upon them in many ways, is deserving of the highest praise'.<sup>142</sup> Half-way across the world a New Zealand Relief Committee in London began to raise subscriptions for those suffering from the war.<sup>143</sup> Communications from the Nelson Taranaki Relief Committee had advised them that subscriptions were needed to reduce unequal

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<sup>136</sup> Ibid., p.1.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., p.23.

<sup>139</sup> "Taranaki Relief Fund Committee," *The Colonist*, 13 November 1860, p.1; John Russell Melbourne Exchange to the Superintendent at Taranaki, 10 September 1860, box 7, folder 12, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>140</sup> "Provincial Council," *Taranaki Herald*, 28 September 1861, p.3.

<sup>141</sup> "Continuation of Journal," *Taranaki Herald*, 8 December 1860, p.3.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

<sup>143</sup> "Monthly Summary of Events," *Nelson Examiner*, 11 April 1861, p.1; E.D. Sweet New Zealand relief fund chair to the Taranaki Superintendent, 24 January 1861, box 1, folder 4, Taranaki Provincial Council. ARC 2003-713, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

aid distribution, particularly due to family size, life habits, the age and sex of individuals, and health status.<sup>144</sup>

An unfortunate dispute between the community-based Nelson Taranaki Aid Committee led by Messrs Nash and Scaife, and the Taranaki Provincial Council emerged out of the question of need for and deployment of international financial assistance. The provincial council considered that the Nelson committee was ill-informed and unnecessarily raising money which, while the general government was still supporting the 'refugees', would only serve to subsidise the government rather than helping the 'refugees' themselves.<sup>145</sup> The council considered that the best tactic was to reserve all subscriptions until peace came and the 'refugees' returned to reconstruct their livelihoods in Taranaki.<sup>146</sup> The council endeavoured to block Nash and Scaife as they tried to raise subscriptions in London, Australia and New Zealand, requesting that donors place money with the more appropriate official fund where it could do the most good for the 'refugees'.<sup>147</sup> Following a reaction from Nash and Scaife to the interventions, the Taranaki Provincial Treasurer Thomas King had to write a soothing reply disclaiming that the council did not want to control their funds or muffle their voice.<sup>148</sup>

In response to the inflow of international assistance, the Taranaki Provincial Government drafted a resolution they would send to governments across Victoria, New South Wales and New Zealand. The resolution thanked their 'countrymen and fellow Colonists' for the 'sympathy and aid' given to relieve their losses from the 'Maori insurrection'.<sup>149</sup> It stated that the gestures had 'cheered' the Taranaki people

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<sup>144</sup> "Monthly Summary of Events," *Nelson Examiner*, 11 April 1861, p.1; Oswald Curtis Secretary Taranaki Aid Committee to Thomas King Provincial Treasurer Taranaki, 8 April 1861, box 1, folder 4, Taranaki Provincial Council. ARC 2003-713, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>145</sup> Taranaki Superintendent to John Glasston + Co London, 12 November 1860, Letter book, box 2, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC 2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth; Cutfield Superintendent to Sweet Hon Sec Taranaki Aid Committee London, 15 April 1861, Letter book, box 2, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC 2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>146</sup> Cutfield Superintendent to Sweet Hon Sec Taranaki Aid Committee London, 15 April 1861, Letter book, box 2, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC 2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*; Taranaki Superintendent to John Glasston + Co London, 12 November 1860, Letter book, box 2, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC 2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>148</sup> Thomas King to Scaife Secretary of the Taranaki relief committee Nelson, 2 March 1861, Letter book, box 2, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC 2001-430, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

<sup>149</sup> "Taranaki Provincial Council Minutes 1859-1864" 26 November 1860, box 2, Taranaki Provincial Council, ARC2003-713, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth.

who felt 'heartily grateful'.<sup>150</sup> Sympathy and aid were tied up together as expressions of support, with aid reinforcing sentiments. This is clear from the language in the resolution. The phrase 'countrymen and fellow Colonists' suggests a high level of unity and mutual support amongst allies while 'Maori insurrection' suggests a dangerous oppositional and disruptive force acting against the provincial government and their allies. Language used around the exchange of international, as well as local, practical assistance worked to reinforce emotional responses.

The search for assistance from outside New Zealand spread along informal links, as well as through formal political connections. A Nelson public meeting in May 1861 established a committee that would correspond with 'friends of the colony overseas' willing to provide assistance.<sup>151</sup> The committee encouraged everyone to write to their English friends and correct any rumours about the situation in the colony, which the committee hoped would inspire practical assistance.<sup>152</sup> The provision of relief by individuals, institutions and governments outside of New Zealand demonstrates the wide impact and influence that the Land Wars, and in particular the Taranaki 'refugees', had outside the colony. From the bottom of the South Island to the Australian colonies to the metropole in Britain the plight of the Taranaki 'refugees' found a wide audience.

The places outside New Zealand that did react to the effects of the Land Wars formed part of the British Empire and the individuals responding comprised primarily white settlers. Those who cared most strongly about the effects of Taranaki were those who shared New Zealand settlers' fears. In Australia white settlers held concerns that Aborigines there could, like Māori in New Zealand, turn against them and threaten their livelihoods, families and homes. That the Victoria police force, in particular, collected donations shows that the situation in New Zealand concerned those in charge of law and order. Sam Hutchinson has looked at Australian reactions to the Land Wars and argues that the wars 'reverberated around the British Empire and...the newspaper press reported [them] at length.'<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> Ibid.

<sup>151</sup> "Public Meeting," *The Colonist*, 14 May 1861, p.3.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

<sup>153</sup> Hutchinson, *Settlers, War, and Empire in the Press*, p.4.

Angela Woollacott argues in *Settler Society in the Australian Colonies* that Australians, despite recognising Māori fighting strength, firmly supported the British and believed British victory to be inevitable.<sup>154</sup> She further suggests that given Australians' own understanding of frontier violence they could empathise with New Zealand settlers and imagine their suffering.<sup>155</sup> The Australian colonies' reactions to the Taranaki Wars demonstrate evidence of a close trans-Tasman bond through which the Tasman colonies assisted one another in the face of disorder. Consequently, the assistance and support provided by the Australian colonies for the 'refugees' displays what Phillippa Mein Smith and others have termed a 'Tasman World' – a common history and movement of ideas, people and objects connecting Australia and New Zealand.<sup>156</sup>

British concerns over the fate of New Zealand settlers during the wars also grew out of the connections of empire. To keep the empire strong the British needed to vanquish any threats to the stability of governance in the colonies. One threat to the reputation of the New Zealand colony included the 'refugee' women and families of the Taranaki Wars. The presence of settler 'refugees' provided a lingering reminder of how Māori had challenged the power of the empire and how imperial and colonial troops could not vanquish them. Ensuring that 'refugee' women and children were provided for proved that Māori attacks could not harm the British Empire. The vocal minority who questioned the necessity and morality of the wars extended to England where the debate for or against the war also raged. International connections during the Taranaki War resemble the 1857 Indian Rebellion which, as Jill Bender has shown, reverberated throughout the British Empire and affected debates and conflicts in other colonies.<sup>157</sup> Across what Tony Ballantyne has termed the 'webs of empire', that stretched both to the metropole and between the colonies of the empire, the plight of white, settler, 'refugee'

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<sup>154</sup> Angela Woollacott, *Settler Society in the Australian Colonies: Self-Government and Imperial Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp.199-203.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., p.202.

<sup>156</sup> Phillippa Mein Smith, Peter Hempenstall, and Shaun Goldfinch, *Remaking the Tasman World* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2008).

<sup>157</sup> Bender, *The 1857 Indian Uprising and the British Empire*.

women and children, in addition to the colonial warfare, threatened the stability of the empire.<sup>158</sup>

Practical assistance towards the 'refugees' reinforced settlers' emotional sentiments by publically supporting the participants they wished to win the war. The forceful emotive responses of settlers across New Zealand and the British Empire on a personal and political level, as well as their provision of funds and goods, demonstrate a high level of support for the 'refugees' which went beyond the superficial. Assistance was given because of *who* the 'refugees' were – settlers – not just because they were in want, as innumerable Māori were across Te Ika-a-Māui. Settler and government argument and investment in the comfort and safety of the Taranaki 'refugees' represented another front within the war itself, off the physical battlefield.

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<sup>158</sup> Tony Ballantyne, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2012).

## Chapter 4: Standing in solidarity with the Poverty Bay ‘refugees’

### Emotive Responses

Initial reactions to the Matawhero attack on Poverty Bay settlers in November 1868 demonstrated the absolute shock and sadness that it left throughout New Zealand. The general response in the columns of the press was surprise, horror and indignation.<sup>1</sup> The news ‘fell like the explosion of a bombshell in the Town of Auckland’, creating a ‘fearful sensation’ and ‘painful impression’ throughout the population there.<sup>2</sup> The *Daily Southern Cross* reported that the ‘shock is as yet exercising its full influence over our minds, and we are too full of horror at the occurrences’.<sup>3</sup> In the lower North Island the reaction was one of sadness. In Wellington the news emerged on 13 November and the ‘deepest gloom’ descended on the town.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, when Hawke’s Bay heard on 11 November, ‘deep gloom overspread the district’, with a ‘feeling of the most profound sorrow and deep regret’.<sup>5</sup> A ‘universal cry of horror’ went up when the news reached a new corner of the colony.<sup>6</sup> The settler press expressed a sense of indignation that such barbarities could occur in New Zealand and shaped settlers responses by labelling the events ‘atrocities’ or ‘massacres’ rather than a ‘war’.<sup>7</sup> Wherever the news spread people reacted with surprise, disbelief, and sadness.

Given the vicious and sudden nature of the violence at Matawhero, the events generated an explosive reaction. Waerenga-a-hika received a comparatively less

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<sup>1</sup> “The Poverty Bay Atrocities,” *Hawke’s Bay Weekly Times*, 23 November 1868, p.283; “The Late Massacres,” *The Colonist*, 13 November 1868, p.2.

<sup>2</sup> “The Poverty Bay Atrocities,” *Hawke’s Bay Weekly Times*, 23 November 1868, p.283; “Fearful Sensation at Auckland,” *Wellington Independent*, 19 November 1868, p.3; “Further Attacks Threatened,” *Daily Southern Cross*, 21 November 1868, p.7.

<sup>3</sup> “Opinions of the Press,” *Taranaki Herald*, 21 November 1868, p.3.

<sup>4</sup> “By Electric Telegraph,” *Hawke’s Bay Herald*, 14 November 1868, p.2.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*; “The Sad Intelligence from Poverty Bay,” *Hawke’s Bay Herald*, 14 November 1868, p.2.

<sup>6</sup> “General Summary,” *Wellington Independent*, 8 December 1868, p.6.

<sup>7</sup> “The Poverty Bay Atrocities,” *Hawke’s Bay Weekly Times*, 23 November 1868, p.283; “Telegraphic Items,” *Otago Witness*, 28 November 1868, p.10.

startling and less publicised response amongst settler society. Consequently, this chapter will draw mostly on the responses to Matawhero.

The initial shock at the Matawhero events turned to alarm and the belief that nowhere felt safe anymore – indiscriminate violent attacks could occur anywhere.<sup>8</sup> The Matawhero attacks stoked growing fears amongst New Zealand settlers that they were being ‘beaten...by the savage’.<sup>9</sup> Given the parallel success of Māori leader Titokowaru against colonial soldiers at Te Ngutu-o-te-Manu on the North Island’s West Coast in August and September 1868 the possibility felt very real. The *Nelson Examiner* feared that North Island settlers could be ‘surprised and butchered’ as had happened Matawhero.<sup>10</sup> The *Colonist* warned that Matawhero had caused a ‘re-awaken[ing]’ of Māori ‘cannibals’, while the *Wanganui Chronicle* declared that the ‘ruthless barbarians’ would soon start using terrific violence, akin to Matawhero, against settlers in the west.<sup>11</sup> The seemingly indiscriminate nature of the attack, which killed men and women of all ages, both Māori and Pākehā, caused settler panic that Hauhau would come after anyone regardless of fighting ability or demographic. The belief that Hauhau liked to attack by surprise further worried settlers that anywhere at any time could be next.<sup>12</sup> Such sentiments demonstrate settler anxieties that the Māori threat could ‘infect’ any part of the North Island, and put them constantly on edge.

Those responding to the attacks felt concerned by the settlers’ lack of power and control. The story of a father and husband seeing his wife and child killed in front of him without any recourse to prevent their death embodied the feeling of powerlessness that other settlers worried about.<sup>13</sup> Settlers across New Zealand, influenced by press reports, believed they could imagine and understand what that sense of powerlessness and helplessness might feel like.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> “The Poverty Bay Atrocities,” *Hawke’s Bay Weekly Times*, 23 November 1868, p.283.

<sup>9</sup> “The Late Massacres,” *The Colonist*, 13 November 1868, p.2.

<sup>10</sup> “Bad News from Poverty Bay,” *Nelson Examiner*, 14 November 1868, p.2.

<sup>11</sup> “The Late Massacres,” *The Colonist*, 13 November 1868, p.2. “Opinions of the Press,” *Taranaki Herald*, 21 November 1868, p.3.

<sup>12</sup> “Awful Catastrophe at Poverty Bay,” *New Zealand Herald*, 14 November 1868, p.5.

<sup>13</sup> “Great Destruction of Property by the Natives,” *Daily Southern Cross*, 21 November 1868, p.7.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

An article printed in the *Taranaki Herald* on 21 November 1868 prescribed the ways in which men and women ought to react to the Matawhero attacks. The article suggested that in response to the news of Poverty Bay men would feel an innate desire for vengeance.<sup>15</sup> Women, on the other hand, should weep in distress for their 'common sisters' in Poverty Bay and the slaughtered families.<sup>16</sup> The prescribed reactions for each gender speak of the range of feelings expected in males and females. Settler society expected males to react with anger, roused for combat, and women to display visible grief for the Poverty Bay women and their children, even though they were strangers.

The Matawhero attack greatly increased anxiety at Napier in particular. Jane Williams wrote that Napier fell into an 'intense state of excitement' for days following the attacks.<sup>17</sup> As inhabitants of the nearest large settlement to Poverty Bay, the settlers there felt increasingly worried that fighting could extend further south to their district.<sup>18</sup> Napier settlers' fears meant that armed patrols kept watch in the town and outer suburbs.<sup>19</sup> Anxiety peaked during two false alarms in late November 1868. In panic, the women and children of the Meanee flats near Napier flooded into the Meanee Hotel for protection.<sup>20</sup> Reports described how nearly one hundred women and children streamed in 'half-dressed', 'in the wildest excitement' and 'helpless confusion'.<sup>21</sup> The false alarms spurred calls for greater protections and plans in case of an attack on the area. As a result, Meanee gained a picket system, nightly volunteer patrol, evacuation plan and a stockade which could house 300 and be defended by 30-40 men.<sup>22</sup> The false alarms and security measures show how on-edge the residents of Hawke's Bay had become in the wake of Matawhero. Any small action could transform mere anxieties into active terror and crowd panic. One

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<sup>15</sup> "Massacre at Poverty Bay," *Taranaki Herald*, 21 November 1868, p.3.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Jane Williams to Kate Heathcote, 27 November 1868, Jane Williams - outward correspondence to Kate Heathcote, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-022, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>18</sup> "Latest News. Further Destruction. Great Alarm in Napier," *Daily Southern Cross*, 19 November 1868, p.5.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.; "Letters to the Editor," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 24 November 1868, p.2.

<sup>21</sup> "Letters to the Editor," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 24 November 1868, p.2; "Meanee," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 17 November 1868, p.3.

<sup>22</sup> "Meanee," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 24 November 1868, p.2; "Meanee," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 23 November 1868, p.1; "Meanee," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 17 November 1868, p.3.

Meanees resident remarked that, following Matawhero, word of an attack could 'terrify the whole district' even if it was completely untrue.<sup>23</sup>

A happy family and a happy home represented success for settlers. At a public meeting in Otago the Reverend D.M. Stuart proclaimed that families and 'happy and prosperous homes' had sacred value.<sup>24</sup> He viewed the Poverty Bay settlers as exemplifying the 'true purposes of colonisation', their homes and families representing 'a step in the prosperity and happiness of the colony realised.'<sup>25</sup> However, the attacks had destroyed everything, with the settlers' homesteads turned into 'blackened ruins'.<sup>26</sup> The utter destruction of the progress towards established European settlement in Poverty Bay added to the sorrow the settlers felt. Disintegration of happy families and homes during the conflicts destroyed any ideas of success settlers had for the future.

As Reverend Stuart's comments show, at the heart of settlers' anxiety and fear lay the fates of families, many of whom were killed in their homes. The Matawhero attacks were seen to target the family and thus struck at the core of settler colonialism – to enable European families to settle on the land and live off agriculture-based family economies. Reports of the moment of attack described children shrieking out in fear and women who 'cower in corners'.<sup>27</sup> The *Hawke's Bay Herald* emphasised that the 'blow' had especially come for 'helpless wives mothers, and children.'<sup>28</sup> Settler society believed strongly in the protection of women and children and considered that the injury and pain caused to non-combatants at Poverty Bay breached all moral standards and contravened the custom that physical conflict should only occur between acknowledged fighters.

Settlers across the colony viewed the Poverty Bay families as hard-working agents of settler colonialism who supported themselves through self-help and who did not deserve their deprivation. The complete reversal in the people's circumstances struck commentators. Jane Williams, in Napier during the Matawhero attacks, felt

<sup>23</sup> "Letters to the Editor," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 24 November 1868, p.2.

<sup>24</sup> "The Crisis in the North. Public Meeting," *Otago Witness*, 28 November 1868, p.3.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> "Opinions of the Press," *Taranaki Herald*, 21 November 1868, p.3.

<sup>28</sup> "Wairoa," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 21 November 1868, p.3.

extremely distressed at the idea that the 'refugees' had lost absolutely everything, their houses along with the contents, and had turned up in Napier with nothing but the clothes on their backs.<sup>29</sup> Consequently, settlers assigned the 'refugees' a higher meaning and value than the average poor or needy person. The *New Zealand Herald* considered that they deserved more than the 'ordinary casual poor'.<sup>30</sup> The 'refugees' took on symbolic significance in the challenge of maintaining the safety of the colony.

Settlers across New Zealand identified with the 'refugees' as their own. Reverend D. M. Stuart's speech in late November 1868 at an Otago public meeting particularly exhibits New Zealand settlers' thoughts and feelings. The Otago settlers had convened the meeting to discuss Matawhero and 'express [their] deepest sympathy with the unfortunate sufferers'.<sup>31</sup> In the meeting, Reverend Stuart declared 'Such is my feeling that the miseries of my unfortunate brethren in the North Island are my own...I hope it will give us an opportunity of showing the deepest concern and sympathy...We are bound to think of our brethren as fellow colonists as we would think of ourselves.'<sup>32</sup> He continued later in the speech: 'This is the time to exemplify that rare excellence of humanity - the fidelity of man to man, telling them that sooner shall the sky fall down than we desert them (loud and continued cheering); and this is the time to send assistance, that their hearts may be comforted and their wants relieved. (Renewed cheers.)'.<sup>33</sup> The loud cheers from the crowd indicate that Stuart's sentiments did not represent a lone voice but carried wide support within the community. Reverend Stuart's words show how the attacks in Poverty Bay felt like an attack on all colonials. Settlers across New Zealand felt such a strong sense of solidarity with the Matawhero settlers that the desire to support them became highly emotive. Therefore, settlers did not give to the Poverty Bay 'refugees' purely

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<sup>29</sup> Jane Williams to Kate Heathcote, 27 November 1868, Jane Williams - outward correspondence to Kate Heathcote, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-022, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>30</sup> "The Poverty Bay Relief Fund," *Hawke's Bay Weekly Times*, 21 December 1868, p.308.

<sup>31</sup> "The Crisis in the North. Public Meeting," *Otago Witness*, 28 November 1868, p.3.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

out of charity or selflessness. They felt a duty to provide for the 'refugees' and to demonstrate their 'practical sympathy'.<sup>34</sup>

The insecurity and anxiety settlers felt regarding their position in the colony meant that they advocated harsher and stricter punishments of Māori challenges to settler colonialism in the wake of Matawhero. Colonists were told through the press that wrath and revenge rather than sorrow or kindness should motivate their choices.<sup>35</sup> At a by-election meeting for the City of Nelson General Assembly seat, candidate Joseph Shephard (former editor of the *Colonist*) declared that Poverty Bay had unearthed the 'venomous reptiles' inhabiting the country.<sup>36</sup> When he announced that they should be 'crushed and stamped out' he received loud cheers of support from the crowd.<sup>37</sup> The *New Zealand Herald* likewise believed that 'rebel' Māori presented such a danger that they ought to be treated like a wild animal.<sup>38</sup> Looking to the future, the *Nelson Examiner* argued that the perpetrators needed punishing to prevent a repetition of such acts.<sup>39</sup> The paper considered punishment necessary to make Māori respect settlers and to fear targeting colonial settlements.<sup>40</sup>

However, a wider range of opinion presented itself at the 1868 public meeting in Otago. There, in response to a proposed motion that the government take a firmer response in the wars, one speaker stated that a harsher response than necessary could result in vengeance by Māori and further ruin the economy.<sup>41</sup> Therefore, in balance to the view that Māori deserved harsher punishment some settlers cringed at the potential for further damage.

Expressions of solidarity with the Poverty Bay settlers poured in from across New Zealand after the Matawhero attacks. Meetings of sympathy were held in Dunedin,

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<sup>34</sup> "The Poverty Bay Relief Fund," *Hawke's Bay Weekly Times*, 21 December 1868, p.308.

<sup>35</sup> "Wairoa," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 21 November 1868, p.3; "Our Colonial Forces," *Daily Southern Cross*, 4 December 1868, p.3; "Mr Shephard's Meeting," *Nelson Evening Mail*, 16 December 1868, p.2.

<sup>36</sup> "Mr Shephard's Meeting," *Nelson Evening Mail*, 16 December 1868, p.2.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> "Awful Catastrophe at Poverty Bay," *New Zealand Herald*, 14 November 1868, p.5.

<sup>39</sup> "Bad News from Poverty Bay," *Nelson Examiner*, 14 November 1868, p.2.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> "The Crisis in the North. Public Meeting," *Otago Witness*, 28 November 1868, p.3.

Christchurch, Westport, Nelson, Auckland and Wellington amongst other places.<sup>42</sup> Even miners on the Thames goldfields held a meeting where they moved a motion expressing their sincere sympathy with the settlers at Poverty Bay.<sup>43</sup> Lyttelton went further by flying the flags on vessels in the harbour at half-mast.<sup>44</sup> Taranaki's message held special pertinence, given its own experience of war. The message concluded that having lost some of their 'bravest and best' during their own conflicts, Taranaki settlers wanted to convey their sympathy with Poverty Bay.<sup>45</sup> The public statement of support from Taranaki demonstrates how experience of conflict, ingrained in a region's institutions and government, created the ability to express genuine sympathy and understanding. That such an active response to the tragedy manifested itself as far away as the South Island, shows the powerful impact that Matawhero had upon settlers throughout New Zealand.

The strong show of solidarity in Napier went beyond a simple written statement of support. Once the news of the attacks reached Napier, banks, public offices, businesses and shops throughout the district closed for the day on 12 November and a Philharmonic Society concert planned for that day was postponed to 17 November.<sup>46</sup> Bishop of Waiapu William Williams also held a special church service on Wednesday 2 December 1868 at St John's church, during which he preached from Jeremiah 14:7-9.<sup>47</sup> Jane Williams wrote that a large number attended, including many Presbyterians, and the *Hawke's Bay Herald* reported that the Bishop's 'impressive' and emotive sermon had helped people to deal with the catastrophe of Poverty Bay.<sup>48</sup> During the service an offertory was collected for the relief of the Poverty Bay 'refugees'.<sup>49</sup> Following the delayed death of one of the Matawhero victims, Alice Wilson in December, the ships in port at Napier flew their

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<sup>42</sup> "The Maori Massacre," *Hawke's Bay Weekly Times*, 7 December 1868, p.295.

<sup>43</sup> "The Poverty Bay Massacre," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 28 November 1868, p.3.

<sup>44</sup> "News of the Week," *Otago Witness*, 28 November 1868, p.13.

<sup>45</sup> "Sympathy with the Survivors from the Massacre at Poverty Bay," *New Zealand Herald*, 26 November 1868, p.7.

<sup>46</sup> "By Electric Telegraph," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 14 November 1868, p.2; "Bad News from Poverty Bay," *Nelson Examiner*, 14 November 1868, p.2.

<sup>47</sup> "The Present Crisis," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 24 November 1868, p.2.

<sup>48</sup> Jane Williams to Kate Heathcote, 27 November 1868, Jane Williams - outward correspondence to Kate Heathcote, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-022, ATL, Wellington; "The Serious Times," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 28 November 1868, p.2.

<sup>49</sup> "The Present Crisis," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 24 November 1868, p.2.

flags at half-mast out of respect.<sup>50</sup> Her funeral on 19 December 1868 drew in a large crowd.<sup>51</sup> These marks of respect by Napier settlers reflected not only a show of sadness and tribute for the dead but, more importantly, demonstrated solidarity and sympathy to say 'we are in this together'.

James Hawthorne, in his memoir *A Dark Chapter from New Zealand History*, written shortly after Matawhero, suggested that for such a small area Hawke's Bay had 'exerted herself to relieve so much distress with a benevolence and energy rarely seen'.<sup>52</sup> Hawthorne puts this down to the locational proximity of the district to Poverty Bay, enabling people there to witness the effects of the brutality close up.<sup>53</sup> Many of those killed at Matawhero had friends and family living in Hawke's Bay for whom the news caused great pain.<sup>54</sup> The tight social connections between the two districts, in addition to proximity to violence, contributed to the significant impact of the news on Napier.

Another example of solidarity with the Matawhero 'refugees' comes from honouring the 'heroes' of the Poverty Bay attacks. For instance, Minnie Parker had, at only age 14, carried her baby brother away from the attacks to the beach from where they made their way to the fort in Tūranga. At a function to recognise her bravery, held in Napier, Major Charles Heaphy presented Parker with a replica of his Victoria Cross (the first for New Zealand).<sup>55</sup> Newspaper reports in 1872 stated that Parker had also been recommended for a New Zealand Medal and after her death in 1875 her obituary reported that she had received the New Zealand Cross.<sup>56</sup> However, usually only soldiers received these medals and there is no additional evidence that any medal was actually awarded. Charlie James, the Biggs' servant boy who had awoken many Matawhero settlers during the attacks also received a reward. For his bravery Auckland settlers set aside a large investment on his

<sup>50</sup> "Shipping Intelligence," *Hawke's Bay Weekly Times*, 21 December 1868, p.307.

<sup>51</sup> Leonard Williams diary entry, 19 December 1868, William Leonard Williams and Sarah Williams miscellaneous papers, series 4, no. 6, Williams Gray papers, Tairāwhiti Museum, Gisborne.

<sup>52</sup> Hawthorne, *A Dark Chapter from New Zealand History*, p.29.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> "Further Particulars," *Daily Southern Cross*, 21 November 1868, p.7.

<sup>55</sup> Mackay, *Historic Poverty Bay and the East Coast*, p.260; Mary Ramsay Ellen Blair, "Reminiscences of Poverty Bay in 1868" 1941, Blair, Mary: Papers, MS-Papers-0014-09/2, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>56</sup> "Napier - New Zealand Medal," *New Zealand Herald*, 5 December 1872, p.3; "Poverty Bay Massacre - Death of Minnie Parker," *Wairarapa Standard*, 4 May 1875, p.2.

behalf.<sup>57</sup> Another young boy, James Wilson, would receive a £50 per annum annuity and a plot of 100 acres in Hawke's Bay under the Walsh and Others Pension Act 1869.<sup>58</sup> Wilson had helped his severely wounded mother Alice by bringing her food and water and finding his own way to Tūranganui to alert others. By recognising the young 'heroes' of Matawhero settlers acknowledged the youthful innocence which the attacks had swept away. The settler community purposefully found heroes to exalt in opposition to the villainous character of Te Kooti.

Expressions of support from other areas of New Zealand reflect an 'us' versus 'them' mentality. By showing solidarity with the Poverty Bay settlers, settler towns across New Zealand recognised that an enemy existed and this enemy denoted a significant and concerning threat. Support for the 'refugees' concomitantly created a feared 'other'. Fear consequently motivated the sympathetic declarations made. By saying *I am on your side* the statements of support created further division in the already polarised circumstances of war.

The press amplified and shaped New Zealand settlers' feelings of fear, alarm, anger and vengeance by accentuating and dramatising the brutality of the attacks. Jane Williams, who read the press reports in Napier said that the newspapers were 'so far from giving a correct account of things. There is no need to exaggerate such dreadful narratives but they have done so with an idea I suppose of making a more sensational story.'<sup>59</sup> Leonard Williams too criticised the sensational accounts in the press, saying he had 'no patience with people who draw on their imagination in such a way.'<sup>60</sup> The bloody details were indeed exploited and dramatised in the reports. Heads and thighs are 'chopped', bowels are 'ripped up', and 'tattooed men eagerly drink the blood from the palpitating corpses'.<sup>61</sup> The crescendo to such a scene was the burning of a woman's body.<sup>62</sup> Reports often graphically described the killing of Alice Wilson's baby. The *Nelson Examiner* wrote that the attackers 'dashed

<sup>57</sup> Hawthorne, *A Dark Chapter from New Zealand History*, p.24.

<sup>58</sup> "The Heroic Boy James Wilson," *Hawkes Bay Times*, December 27, 1869, p.2.

<sup>59</sup> Jane Williams to Kate Heathcote, 27 November 1868, Jane Williams - outward correspondence to Kate Heathcote, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-022, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>60</sup> Leonard Williams to wife Sarah, 25 November 1868, Correspondence - Sarah Williams, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-058, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>61</sup> "Opinions of the Press," *Taranaki Herald*, 21 November 1868, p.3.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

out the [baby's] brains' until its head turned into a 'pulpy mass' and then replaced it in Mrs Wilson's arms.<sup>63</sup> Other reports described how bodies had been fed to the pigs.<sup>64</sup> Such 'cruel butcheries and burnings' added to the 'dark catalogue' of fiendishness and bloodshed Māori had amassed in the eyes of settlers.<sup>65</sup>

Sometimes reporters would simply state that the facts were far too gruesome and disturbing for them to write or publish. The technique suggested at the extremity of violence but left the reader's imagination in freefall to concoct the horrific details. For instance, the *Wellington Independent* correspondent stated that they could not 'dwell over the details'.<sup>66</sup> A lack of specifics did as much work towards persuading the reader of the terrifying nature of events as describing every gruesome detail. However, a reporter from the *Hawke's Bay Herald* argued the need to use such language and imagery to display the terror of the attack.<sup>67</sup> They claimed that the public really wanted 'accurate and full information' and that he would do so without censorship.<sup>68</sup>

The press also emphasised the innocence, peace and security in which the settlers lived before the surprise attacks. Reporters wrote that settlers were 'wrapped in slumber', with children asleep in their cots and mothers and fathers safely sleeping and unaware.<sup>69</sup> The *New Zealand Herald* wrote about how the attacks were completely unprovoked, and had struck a peaceful settlement with complete surprise.<sup>70</sup> Animals too, often considered innocent and peaceful, were described as turning vicious. A reporter looking through the area following the attacks remarked on a dog which had become dangerous and distrustful of humans after the attacks.<sup>71</sup> Such writing enabled the press to create a dramatic contrast with the violence which then enveloped the town, and emphasise the absolute surprise with which the attacks occurred.

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<sup>63</sup> "Further Incidents," *Nelson Examiner*, 5 December 1868, p.2.

<sup>64</sup> "The Election for the City. Mr Shephard and the Electors," *The Colonist*, 18 December 1868, p.3; "Horrible News from the East Coast. Dreadful Atrocities," *Evening Post*, 12 November 1868, p.2.

<sup>65</sup> "The Late Massacres," *The Colonist*, 13 November 1868, p.2.

<sup>66</sup> "Opinions of the Press," *Taranaki Herald*, 21 November 1868, p.3.

<sup>67</sup> "Poverty Bay," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 24 November 1868, p.3.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> "Opinions of the Press," *Taranaki Herald*, 21 November 1868, p.3.

<sup>70</sup> "Awful Catastrophe at Poverty Bay," *New Zealand Herald*, 14 November 1868, p.5.

<sup>71</sup> "Poverty Bay," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 28 November 1868, p.2.

The press especially highlighted the violence against women and children to demonstrate the brutality of Māori. Articles depicted women with new-borns at their breast and young children clinging to their skirts before being ‘mercilessly tomahawked’.<sup>72</sup> Orphaned children represented an attempted destruction of the family unit. A correspondent for the *Hawke’s Bay Herald* wrote that ‘children continue to arrive whose parents are no more’ and arrive without proper clothing.<sup>73</sup> The press employed women and children’s injured and butchered bodies to amplify readers’ disturbance and horror.<sup>74</sup> The *New Zealand Herald* described the Hauhau assault on Emma Mann in great detail – dragging her by her hair, hitting her and setting her on fire.<sup>75</sup> Any mentions of burning or mutilation in press reports are against women and children when in fact many men were treated in the same way.<sup>76</sup> The press used the news of Poverty Bay, particularly the involvement of women and children, to remind settlers that ‘savages’ could attack the most vulnerable and prized amongst them. Ultimately, these reports were designed to incite abhorrence of Te Kooti and his followers, and provoke violent action against them.

Press reports, though extremely exaggerated, were based on information obtained directly from witnesses to the conflict. As soon as the ‘refugees’ arrived off the ships in Auckland, reporters spoke to them and recorded their stories. One was the young boy Charlie James – a ‘hero’ of Matawhero; another Samuel Tarr, the young brother of Jane McCulloch, who survived when the rest of his family died.<sup>77</sup>

Newspapers also quoted Sarah Ross, a ‘refugee’ passenger on the *Lord Ashley*, in several articles.<sup>78</sup> They used correspondence from relations in Auckland with those in Poverty Bay, like S. Kempthorne in Auckland writing to his son Arthur

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<sup>72</sup> “Massacre at Poverty Bay,” *Taranaki Herald*, 21 November 1868, p.3.

<sup>73</sup> “The Poverty Bay Massacre,” *Hawke’s Bay Herald*, 14 November 1868, p.2.

<sup>74</sup> “The Election for the City. Mr Shephard and the Electors,” *The Colonist*, 18 December 1868, p.3; “Massacre at Poverty Bay,” *Taranaki Herald*, 21 November 1868, p.3.

<sup>75</sup> “Awful Catastrophe at Poverty Bay,” *New Zealand Herald*, 14 November 1868, p.5.

<sup>76</sup> “Horrible News from the East Coast. Dreadful Atrocities,” *Evening Post*, 12 November 1868, p.2; “Massacre at Poverty Bay,” *Taranaki Herald*, 21 November 1868, p.3.

<sup>77</sup> “Awful Catastrophe at Poverty Bay,” *New Zealand Herald*, 14 November 1868, p.5.

<sup>78</sup> “Great Destruction of Property by the Natives,” *Daily Southern Cross*, 21 November 1868, p.7; “Letters to the Editor,” *Hawke’s Bay Herald*, 15 December 1868, p.2.

Kempthorne at Poverty Bay.<sup>79</sup> Such eye-witness accounts gave press articles an air of authenticity though they inflated and embellished the details in the way they framed the Matawhero events.

Various historians have written about the settler press during the Land Wars. In his book *Settlers, War, and Empire in the Press*, Sam Hutchinson has looked at how the Australian settler press reported on colonial wars, including the Land Wars. He writes that the disruption of war heightened emotions and elicited 'more bellicose' rhetoric which 'freeze-framed' settlers' true sensibilities.<sup>80</sup> He argues that, in vigorously defending settlers, newspapers also revealed the complete instability of the settler colonial project.<sup>81</sup> A recent master's thesis by Matthew Nickless has also highlighted how a small group of businessmen in Auckland used the press as a tool to advocate a rabid pro-war stance.<sup>82</sup> Both the *New Zealand Herald* and *Daily Southern Cross* were owned by members of the 'Limited Circle' of businessmen who influenced newspaper content to portray Māori as a 'savage' and dangerous 'martial race'.<sup>83</sup> The Limited Circle influenced public opinion in the hopes of profiting from sale of confiscated Māori land.<sup>84</sup>

The expressions of sympathy from across New Zealand suggest that supportive feelings towards the 'refugees' were widespread and not solely held by the press. However, newspaper reports did animate, exaggerate and dramatise events and paint 'rebel' Māori as inherently dangerous. The press shaped and amplified the responses of settlers within and outside New Zealand but could not fully dictate the way people felt. The extensive press coverage of Matawhero and the remembrances of local settlers show how the attacks lived on in reputation through print, paper and oral tradition. Despite the extremely small population of approximately 245 Europeans at Poverty Bay in 1868, through press reports the

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<sup>79</sup> "The Massacre at Poverty Bay," *New Zealand Herald*, 2 December 1868, p.7.

<sup>80</sup> Hutchinson, *Settlers, War, and Empire in the Press*, p.9.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p.2.

<sup>82</sup> Matthew Nickless, "Through the Red Lens: Constructed Perceptions of Māori as a Violent Race, 1857-1873" (MA thesis, University of Auckland, 2018).

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

story of the Matawhero attack grew in significance beyond the confines of the settlement itself.

There were numerous links made, by both the press and settlers, between the attacks at Poverty Bay and the 1857 Indian Rebellion, particularly the siege of Cawnpore (Kanpur). The siege by Sepoy fighters occurred within the British garrison town of Cawnpore. As the British account had it, when Sepoys learned British reinforcements were coming they killed nearly all the European men, and threw the dead bodies of 200 British women and children in the settlement down a well.<sup>85</sup> This event caused shock amongst the Europeans in India and news of the events spread throughout the British Empire.<sup>86</sup> The British subsequently worried their Indian subjects were conspiring against them and tightened control over the Indian population.<sup>87</sup> Urbanites of the British Empire had limited knowledge of the violence at the frontiers of the empire.<sup>88</sup> Consequently, they reacted with outrage to Cawnpore and called for more troops, horses and donations for the British families to be sent to India.<sup>89</sup>

Jill Bender's work *The 1857 Indian Uprising and the British Empire* has shown how Cawnpore informed internal politics and events in colonies of the British Empire, including the Land Wars in New Zealand. She writes that news of Cawnpore rapidly circulated around the British Empire, stoked by rumours and exaggerations.<sup>90</sup> The siege spread lasting suspicion and fear that indigenous people across the empire might find common ground and unite against their oppressors.<sup>91</sup> European imperial subjects started to second-guess the empire's infallibility and to realise that they did not know the minds of the colonised as well as they thought.<sup>92</sup> In the wake of the Indian Rebellion, British subjects understood their empire with new meanings

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<sup>85</sup> Bender, *The 1857 Indian Uprising and the British Empire*.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Wagner, "Treading Upon Fires."

<sup>88</sup> Craig Wilcox, *Red Coat Dreaming: How Colonial Australia Embraced the British Army* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p.55.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Bender, *The 1857 Indian Uprising and the British Empire*, pp.28, 57.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., p.26.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., p.7.

and grew uncomfortable with its perceived fragility.<sup>93</sup> This developed into calls for a strict regime of control and surveillance over the colonised and harsh punishments against them.

Commentators in New Zealand drew on Cawnpore as a point of comparison by which to appreciate the magnitude and brutality of violence occurring in Poverty Bay. The parallels between Cawnpore and Matawhero presented themselves to many people.<sup>94</sup> Many felt that nothing so shocking had occurred since the Sepoys' actions at Cawnpore.<sup>95</sup> A *New Zealand Herald* article printed only four days after the attack argued that 'such horrible accompaniments of cruelty and treachery, has perhaps not been equalled since some of the worst episodes in the Sepoy mutiny in Bengal curdled the blood of Europe with their unheard-of atrocities.'<sup>96</sup> A few even believed events in the North Island had exceeded the brutality of Cawnpore. For instance, the *Wanganui Chronicle* reported that 'The wild beasts of an Indian jungle are gentle when compared with them'.<sup>97</sup> Leonard Williams, who was present on the critical night at Matawhero, made immediate links to scenes in India.<sup>98</sup>

Many believed that the Matawhero attacks would stand the test of time to serve as a cautionary tale like Cawnpore. Commentators commonly referred to Matawhero as the 'second Cawnpore' or the Cawnpore of New Zealand.<sup>99</sup> The *Hawke's Bay Herald* espoused exactly this view when it reported that 'Poverty Bay will be a name in history and will stand with Cawnpore, a bye-word that will send a thrill of horror through the hearts of those who recal [*sic*] its hideous story for long ages.'<sup>100</sup>

Reporters believed that the terrible acts perpetrated at Matawhero would make

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid., pp.176, 180.

<sup>94</sup> "The Poverty Bay Atrocities," *Hawke's Bay Weekly Times*, 23 November 1868, p.283.

<sup>95</sup> "Awful Catastrophe at Poverty Bay," *New Zealand Herald*, 14 November 1868, p.5; "The Atrocities Committed in Poverty Bay," *Nelson Examiner*, 5 December 1868, p.7; "Sir G.F. Bowen on the Employment of Imperial Troops," *Wellington Independent*, 14 September 1869, p.3; "The Sad Intelligence from Poverty Bay," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 14 November 1868, p.2.

<sup>96</sup> "Awful Catastrophe at Poverty Bay," *New Zealand Herald*, 14 November 1868, p.5.

<sup>97</sup> "Opinions of the Press," *Taranaki Herald*, 21 November 1868, p.3; "The Election for the City. Mr Shephard and the Electors," *The Colonist*, 18 December 1868, p.3.

<sup>98</sup> Leonard Williams diary entry, 10 November 1868, William Leonard Williams and Sarah Williams miscellaneous papers, series 4, no. 2, Williams Gray papers, Tairāwhiti Museum, Gisborne.

<sup>99</sup> "Our Colonial Forces," *Daily Southern Cross*, 4 December 1868, p.3; "Wairoa," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 21 November 1868, p.3; "The Timaru Election," *Timaru Herald*, 21 November 1868, p.2.

<sup>100</sup> "Wairoa," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 21 November 1868, p.3.

‘the ears of...descendants tingle’ for many generations to come.<sup>101</sup> Matawhero could teach New Zealand not to ignore a warning again as they had that time.<sup>102</sup> Matawhero accordingly grew in mythical power as a narrative to reinforce fear of enemy Māori and the significant threat settlers considered they could pose.

As a consequence of the fear stimulated by the Matawhero massacre, settlers harnessed Cawnpore to advocate a similarly harsh response to the ‘rebel’ Māori. As at Cawnpore, the responses included harsher policies to combat rebellion and increases in security and surveillance. Settlers argued that if the destruction caused by Māori was the same as Cawnpore then the punishments should be just as harsh.<sup>103</sup> Therefore, settlers employed Matawhero as an excuse and rallying cry for more draconian punishments against the ‘rebels’, and for settlers to express their ‘wrath’ and ‘revenge’.<sup>104</sup> Cawnpore represented a well of fear which the press, politicians and other settlers could tap into to influence current debates about the extent of violence used against Māori.<sup>105</sup> During an election meeting in Timaru discussion turned to the wars in the North, with Richard Turnbull stating ‘What Cawnpore was to the British in India, so Poverty Bay must be to New Zealand, it must be their watchword and battle cry. It would serve to nerve the arm and steal the heart in every conflict. There must be no pitying of the eye or sparing of the hand. There must be no truce, it must be a war of extermination.’<sup>106</sup> In the minds of settlers, Matawhero, like Cawnpore, represented a step too far that justified all reactions, and suspended any consideration of the legality or the rights and status of Māori. Settlers consciously decided to set aside any remaining pity and sympathy, drawing motivation from both New Zealand and India.

Contemporary analysts considered both Cawnpore and Matawhero to have struck at the empire, at Christianity and at humanity and to have threatened the stability of imperial authority in the colonies – turning the empire itself into a threat.

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<sup>101</sup> “Poverty Bay,” *Hawke’s Bay Herald*, 28 November 1868, p.2.

<sup>102</sup> “The Sad Intelligence from Poverty Bay,” *Hawke’s Bay Herald*, 14 November 1868, p.2.

<sup>103</sup> “The Massacres by the Hauhaus,” *West Coast Times*, 23 December 1868, p.3.

<sup>104</sup> Bender, *The 1857 Indian Uprising and the British Empire*.; “Wairoa,” *Hawke’s Bay Herald*, 21 November 1868, p.3.

<sup>105</sup> Bender, *The 1857 Indian Uprising and the British Empire*.

<sup>106</sup> “The Timaru Election,” *Timaru Herald*, 21 November 1868, p.2.

Governor Bowen linked the withdrawal of imperial troops in India with proposals to withdraw imperial troops from New Zealand. He argued that when Māori thought the colonists were being abandoned 'there would be massacres like those of Poverty Bay and Cawnpore all over the East and West Coasts of the North Island'.<sup>107</sup> There were also hopes that when the British learned of the extent and brutality of the killings in New Zealand, it would awaken British sympathy and assistance for the colony.<sup>108</sup>

The common comparisons made between Cawnpore and Matawhero show a collective understanding held by subjects of the British Empire. Experiences in one colonial periphery could inform events in another and employment of Cawnpore as a tool provided a means to broach distance.<sup>109</sup> As inhabitants of a colony of the British Empire, New Zealand settlers were invested in the Empire's success and there were common feelings of dismay if colonists experienced set-backs.<sup>110</sup> The Poverty Bay attacks were felt to degrade the empire and induced shame and indignation that 'savages' could commit such brutal acts in a British colony.<sup>111</sup> For New Zealand settlers, Matawhero brought into force the shared frame of understanding formed following the actions of the Sepoys at Cawnpore and the fear it had induced.<sup>112</sup> With no New Zealand equivalent, when Matawhero occurred commentators drew on the knowledge they held as subjects of empire by relating it to the only other similar experience they knew of, Cawnpore. This 'transposed' the fear of the Indian rebels at Cawnpore onto some Māori in New Zealand.<sup>113</sup>

Furthermore, settlers drew links with the 1692 Glencoe massacre in the Scottish Highlands. At an Otago meeting in November 1868, convened to discuss the wars, J. G. S. Grant exclaimed 'Do we not find that 54 of our sisters and brethren have been cruelly massacred like the poor Highlanders of Glencoe? Their bodies were literally

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<sup>107</sup> Mackay, *Historic Poverty Bay and the East Coast*, p.287; "Sir G.F. Bowen on the Employment of Imperial Troops," *Wellington Independent*, 14 September 1869, p.3.

<sup>108</sup> "The Late Massacres," *The Colonist*, 13 November 1868, p.2.

<sup>109</sup> Bender, *The 1857 Indian Uprising and the British Empire*.

<sup>110</sup> "The Maori Massacre," *Hawke's Bay Weekly Times*, 7 December 1868, p.295; "Opinions of the Press," *Taranaki Herald*, 21 November 1868, p.3.

<sup>111</sup> "The Maori Massacre," *Hawke's Bay Weekly Times*, 7 December 1868, p.295.

<sup>112</sup> Bender, *The 1857 Indian Uprising and the British Empire*.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p.11.

thrown to the dogs'.<sup>114</sup> At Glencoe red coat soldiers had killed over thirty-eight men and an unknown number of women and children of the MacDonald clan and burned their houses.<sup>115</sup> Those who escaped fled up the valley through thick snow, causing many more men, women and children to die of exposure.<sup>116</sup> Over time Glencoe attained legendary status as a story of horrific violence. Though centred in Scotland rather than the colonies, Glencoe involved the requisite level of horrific violence, surreptitiousness, shock and surprise to place it on par with Cawnpore and Matawhero. Grant harnessed the legend of Glencoe to invest the Poverty Bay events with greater significance.

Cawnpore had also been in the minds of those facing the Taranaki Wars in 1860. One of the Hirst children wrote to their parents in August 1860 recounting the deaths and killing occurring throughout Taranaki and wondering whether it would take another Cawnpore to enliven the Government.<sup>117</sup> Sergeant Marjouram in Taranaki commented that many settlers in New Plymouth feared another Cawnpore and suspected an imminent revolt amongst Māori.<sup>118</sup> The opening quote of this thesis shows how some settlers became so tense after hearing rumours of a Cawnpore-like attack, that they installed bolts on the doors of their houses for security.<sup>119</sup> In doing so, settlers acted out of concern that Māori could attack their families.<sup>120</sup> Given that the nature of the conflict in Taranaki did not involve surprise attack on civilians, in general references to Cawnpore were far less frequent than during the Poverty Bay conflicts. However, the invocation of Cawnpore in Taranaki as well as Poverty Bay demonstrates the event's legacy throughout the empire and how settlers utilised it as a tool for expressing their trepidation at what could come.

The linkages made with similar events throughout the empire invoked fear and dread that the colonised could strike back at any time. It reminded the imperialists

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<sup>114</sup> "The Crisis in the North. Public Meeting," Otago Witness, 28 November 1868, p.3.

<sup>115</sup> Paul Hopkins, *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War* (Edinburgh: J. Donald Publishers, 1986), pp.336-337.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, p.337.

<sup>117</sup> Unknown to "My dear Papa and Mama," 28 August 1860, Letters Vol 3, Hirst family: Letters, 1859-1862, MS-0996, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>118</sup> Marjouram, *Sergeant, Sinner, Saint, and Spy*, p.37.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*

of the fragility of their standing in the colonies and the instability of settler colonialism. As a consequence, the events provided a rationale for a harsher response towards 'rebel' Māori.

## Practical Responses

Along with the emotive reactions of settlers across the colony, practical assistance flooded in for 'refugees' of the Poverty Bay conflicts. Following the Matawhero attacks, neighbourly assistance was provided to those who fled their homes. After Te Kooti's followers stabbed Alice Wilson and left her bleeding, fellow settlers found her and brought her to Tūranga. Alice Wilson soon settled at Leonard Williams' Waikahua cottage where Mrs Jennings nursed her until Alice gained enough strength for the journey by ship to Napier.<sup>121</sup> James Wilson, Alice's eight year old son, also gained significant assistance from those in the community. Leonard wrote to his wife Sarah, saying that people had found James some clothes from what they had - Mr Mill gave a jacket, waistcoat and trousers from his son's clothes, Leonard had given a pair of socks and they had bought boots and a cap from the store.<sup>122</sup> Then Mrs Goldsmith 'took him in hand and gave him a good wash for which he seemed very grateful'.<sup>123</sup> The practical response to Mrs Wilson and her son by settlers in Poverty Bay demonstrates the community spirit that tragedy created. However, 'community' did not encompass everyone. Many settler narratives of the conflict do not record assistance given to 'loyalist' Māori after Matawhero, though they too, 'trembling' and 'frightened out of their very wits', sought shelter in Wilson's redoubt at Tūranganui.<sup>124</sup>

The ships that removed the 'refugees' also did so out of their own pocket. In particular the master of the schooner *Success* John Trimmer, having departed Poverty Bay shortly before the attacks at Matawhero, returned his ship to evacuate

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<sup>121</sup> "Journals of William Leonard Williams 06 Nov-30 Nov 1868. East Coast Campaign 1868" 1868, William Leonard Williams and Sarah Williams miscellaneous papers, series 4, no. 2, Williams Gray papers, Tairāwhiti Museum, Gisborne.

<sup>122</sup> Leonard Williams to wife Sarah, 16 November 1868, Correspondence - Sarah Williams, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-058, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> "Massacre at Poverty Bay," *Taranaki Herald*, 21 November 1868, p.3; "Jottings in Poverty Bay - VI," *Otago Witness*, 8 August 1874, p.4.

settlers. The 'refugees' evacuated on the *Success* stayed on board for approximately fifteen days and used up £40 worth of provisions, costing Trimmer £90 in total.<sup>125</sup> However, upon applying to the 'Resident Minister' in Auckland for compensation Trimmer was told he should look to public subscriptions for recompense. In a letter to the editor of the *Daily Southern Cross* Trimmer said he did not regret helping the 'refugees' but had expected reimbursement for his losses.<sup>126</sup> Another individual out-of-pocket was J. W. Johnson, whose whaleboat splintered into pieces after conveying some of the 'refugees' to Mahia.<sup>127</sup> However, unlike Trimmer, Johnson received £30 of compensation for loss of his property.

During evacuations from Poverty Bay in 1865 the 'refugees' were also well-cared for. Once the Williams family arrived in Auckland that year the inhabitants there took care of them. Jane Williams records how people seemed to compete to help them and had shown great hospitality during their time in the town.<sup>128</sup> The group distributed themselves around friends willing to provide them accommodation.<sup>129</sup>

When 'refugees' from the Matawhero attack arrived in Auckland and Napier in 1868, their needs were quickly provided for. In Auckland the Relieving Officer John King provided assistance with accommodation. With the approval of Daniel Pollen MP, King had rooms at the Freeman's Bay Blockhouse prepared for a total of three women and ten children.<sup>130</sup> King also obtained iron bedsteads from the Newton Immigration Barracks and acquired further furniture and items like bedding and cooking utensils for the 'refugees'.<sup>131</sup> The Blockhouse had a few years earlier operated as part of the ring defence of Auckland but by April 1865, with the end of

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<sup>125</sup> "The Poverty Bay Sufferers per 'Success,'" *Daily Southern Cross*, 28 November 1868, p.5.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

<sup>127</sup> "17 October 1860 Major Westrup, Forwarding Voucher," 1860. Army Department, AAYS 8638 AD1 103/bh CD1870/3405 (R24175225) ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>128</sup> Jane Williams to Kate Heathcote, 18 March 1865, Jane Williams - outward correspondence to Kate Heathcote, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-021, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>129</sup> Jane Williams to Kate Heathcote, 15 May 1865, Jane Williams - outward correspondence to Kate Heathcote, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-021, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>130</sup> "The Poverty Bay Refugees," *New Zealand Herald*, 26 November 1868, p.5.

<sup>131</sup> "Poverty Bay Refugees," *Daily Southern Cross*, 21 December 1868, p.3; "The Refugees from Poverty Bay," *Daily Southern Cross*, 26 November 1868, p.5; "The Poverty Bay Refugees," *New Zealand Herald*, 26 November 1868, p.5.

threats, it was hired out for lease.<sup>132</sup> Before the shift, Mrs James, Mrs Lake, Mrs Cook and the 10 children had been housed at Mrs Senior's boarding-house in Shortland Street.<sup>133</sup> The blockhouse was ready for occupation by late November 1868.<sup>134</sup> An inspection by a *New Zealand Herald* reporter found the 'refugees' comfortable and provided for to the reporter's satisfaction.<sup>135</sup> The *New Zealand Herald* characterised the arrangements as only 'temporary provision', suggesting an intention that the women and children would soon support themselves again.<sup>136</sup> The 'refugees' were not envisioned to remain permanently in a state of desperation.

Individuals in Newton and Parnell took in further women and families. One woman and four children stayed at Mrs Griffin's home in Newton and Mrs Wood looked after two women one child at Parnell.<sup>137</sup> However, the shipping records and newspaper reports suggest that more people arrived in Auckland than were accommodated by Mrs Griffin, Mrs Wood and the blockhouse. Nine women and twenty three children arrived in Auckland from Poverty Bay leaving three women and eight children unaccounted for in accommodation statistics at Auckland.<sup>138</sup> Therefore, further 'refugees' must have found accommodation independently in lodging houses or with acquaintances.

Few sources discuss the accommodation for the 'refugees' in Napier. However, the information that does exist suggests a hospitable welcome. James Hawthorne argued that Hawke's Bay, though being a small province, had displayed a 'benevolence and energy rarely seen' towards fundraising and caring for the Poverty Bay 'refugees'.<sup>139</sup> Donald McLean and Mrs Tiffen, Hawthorne wrote, acted

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<sup>132</sup> New Zealand Transport Association, "Additional Waitemata Harbour Crossing," Historic Heritage Assessment, Engineering Planning Reports, Vol 3: Supporting Assessments (Auckland: New Zealand Transport Association, October 2010); "Tenders for Blockhouses," *New Zealand Herald*, 8 April 1865, p.1.

<sup>133</sup> "The Poverty Bay Refugees," *New Zealand Herald*, 26 November 1868, p.5; "News from Poverty Bay," *New Zealand Herald*, 25 November 1868, p.4.

<sup>134</sup> "The Refugees from Poverty Bay," *Daily Southern Cross*, 26 November 1868, p.5.

<sup>135</sup> "Poverty Bay Refugees," *New Zealand Herald*, 21 December 1868, p.3.

<sup>136</sup> "The Poverty Bay Massacre. Subscriptions for the Refugees," *New Zealand Herald*, 2 December 1868, p.4.

<sup>137</sup> "The Refugees from Poverty Bay," *Daily Southern Cross*, 1 December 1868, p.3.

<sup>138</sup> "Poverty Bay Refugees," *New Zealand Herald*, 21 December 1868, p.3.

<sup>139</sup> Hawthorne, *A Dark Chapter from New Zealand History*, p.29.

immediately to provide for the 'refugees'.<sup>140</sup> Hawthorne considered this normal given the province's proximity to Poverty Bay, which had caused inhabitants to witness the full effects of the conflict and to fear it could spread to Hawke's Bay.<sup>141</sup> Jane Williams reported that the 'refugees' flooding into Napier were 'kindly cared for by the people here', especially through a generous donation of clothing.<sup>142</sup> Jane's daughter-in-law Sarah channelled her own distress into looking after the 'refugees', including the ailing attack survivor Alice Wilson.<sup>143</sup> Jane believed the work had been good for Sarah as she (Sarah) knew everyone from the Bay and was close to many of the people.<sup>144</sup>

In addition to community help, the government at the time provided assistance immediately after the event. The government granted the 'refugees' who fled overland to Mahia in 1868 accommodation at the Sea View Hotel in Napier and provided for all their needs.<sup>145</sup> Rations were allotted by the Government for the Poverty Bay 'refugees' in Auckland, Poverty Bay and Napier, which Jane Williams records included all necessary food and bedding.<sup>146</sup> However, the rations did not always get distributed effectively. Two weeks after the attacks Leonard Williams complained that the Jennings, living with him at Waikahua, had not received their rations regularly.<sup>147</sup>

However, the official assistance quickly reached its limit and, overall, the colonial government was not very active or forthcoming towards the Poverty Bay settlers. A telegram from Wellington to Donald McLean stated that colonial funds could not

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<sup>140</sup> Ibid., p.30.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., p.29.

<sup>142</sup> Jane Williams to Kate Heathcote, 27 November 1868, Jane Williams - outward correspondence to Kate Heathcote, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-022, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.; Leonard Williams diary entry, 17 December 1868, William Leonard Williams and Sarah Williams miscellaneous papers, Series 4 No. 6, Williams Gray papers, Tairāwhiti Museum, Gisborne.

<sup>144</sup> Jane Williams to Kate Heathcote, 27 November 1868, Jane Williams - outward correspondence to Kate Heathcote, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-022, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>145</sup> "By Electric Telegraph," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 14 November 1868, p.2.

<sup>146</sup> "The Refugees from Poverty Bay," *Daily Southern Cross*, 1 December 1868, p.3; Jane Williams to Kate Heathcote, 27 November 1868, Jane Williams - outward correspondence to Kate Heathcote, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-022, ATL, Wellington.

<sup>147</sup> Leonard Williams to wife Sarah, 24 November 1868, Correspondence - Sarah Williams, Williams family: papers, MS-Papers-0069-058, ATL, Wellington.

provide for the 'refugees' because military pay absorbed all revenue.<sup>148</sup>

Consequently, the telegram suggested that McLean accept assistance from the community and other provincial governments.<sup>149</sup> The supply of rations ceased in late December 1868 and made more active distribution of community assistance a necessity.<sup>150</sup> This demonstrates that government help had limits and when assistance ceased community practical assistance necessarily filled the gap. The Poverty Bay attacks occurred after eight years of spasmodic fighting had drained the government's finances. Therefore, the New Zealand General Government's willingness to provide for the Poverty Bay 'refugees' had decreased compared to the start of the war when they had covered the expenses of the Taranaki 'refugees' and compensated them for lost assets and labour.

Assistance ultimately aimed to return the 'refugees' to the same self-supporting status they had held prior to the attacks. The telegram to McLean had suggested that the 'refugees' ought to start providing for themselves, as community or provincial council funding would not last for long.<sup>151</sup> The *New Zealand Herald* thought that any assistance should not merely maintain the 'refugees' with basic necessities but should enable them to 'earn their own bread'.<sup>152</sup> Behind both statements lies Samuel Smiles' popular Victorian philosophy of self-help, which encouraged settlers to support themselves and not rely on public assistance.<sup>153</sup> Enabling the 'refugees' to help themselves would, settlers considered, restore the dignity which went with fully supporting a family. The 'refugees' sold their own possessions to help themselves. In December 1868 the *Daily Southern Cross* advertised '30 hams and 30 sides of bacon, of superior quality and flavour' for purchase from Mrs Senior's boarding-house – the property of Poverty Bay

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<sup>148</sup> Telegram from Station G. B. to Donald McLean, 25 November 1868, Army Department, AAYS 8638 AD1 72/er CD1868/4242 (R24139932) ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

<sup>150</sup> "The Native War. The East Coast," *The Colonist*, 25 December 1868, p.3; "The Late Engagements in Poverty Bay," *The Colonist*, 5 January 1869, p.6.

<sup>151</sup> Telegram from Station G. B. to Donald McLean, 25 November 1868, Army Department, AAYS 8638 AD1 72/er CD1868/4242 (R24139932) ANZ, Wellington.

<sup>152</sup> "The Poverty Bay Relief Fund," *Hawke's Bay Weekly Times*, 21 December 1868, p.308.

<sup>153</sup> Smiles, *Self-Help*.

settlers.<sup>154</sup> The 'refugees' made what effort they could to provide for themselves without assistance.

Provincial governments from across the country offered up grants of money and services for the 'refugees'. James Hawthorne wrote that Auckland 'subscribed munificently' – they gave £500 towards the 'refugees'.<sup>155</sup> Taranaki offered a subscription as well. The residents of Poverty Bay decided to refuse the offer because Taranaki itself still faced lasting effects of warfare.<sup>156</sup> James Hawthorne wrote that 'Taranaki the ruined' sent its sympathies and offered assistance.<sup>157</sup> The kindness of their act 'was keenly felt' by Poverty Bay settlers.<sup>158</sup> Natasha Elliot-Hogg argues that a connection formed during the 1860 evacuations between Nelson, which had experienced the Wairau affray in 1843, and Taranaki.<sup>159</sup> She asserts that this manifested due to a shared understanding of the impact of conflict – of empathy rather than sympathy.<sup>160</sup> Similarly, experiences of dislocation and loss of life, home, health and property at Taranaki deepened the Taranaki settlers' sympathy for the Poverty Bay 'refugees'. The wide geographical spread of assistance from the provincial councils demonstrates the material manifestation of solidarity with the Poverty Bay settlers.

Settlements further afield offered practical assistance beyond just monetary grants. Otago offered up ten hospital bed spaces for any 'refugees' requiring medical treatment.<sup>161</sup> The province also offered to take fifty of the 'refugees' and provide for them over three months, unless they obtained employment in the meantime.<sup>162</sup> Napier in particular felt grateful for such an offer which would relieve some of the burden of caring for the 'refugees'.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> "On Sale, 30 Hams and 30 Sides of Bacon," *Daily Southern Cross*, 17 December 1868, p.5.

<sup>155</sup> Hawthorne, *A Dark Chapter from New Zealand History*, p.29; "Estimates of the Provinces of Auckland," *Daily Southern Cross*, 16 December 1868, p.3.

<sup>156</sup> Hawthorne, *A Dark Chapter from New Zealand History*, p.29.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>159</sup> Elliot-Hogg, "The Taranaki Refugees 1860."

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>161</sup> "Middle Island Generosity," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 24 November 1868, p.2.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>163</sup> "Napier, November 20th," *Otago Witness*, 28 November 1868, p.11; "Telegraphic Items," *Otago Witness*, 28 November 1868, p.10.

The provinces engaged in rivalry over the extent of their generosity towards the 'refugees'. An article published in the *New Zealand Herald* reflects the imperative of the Auckland province to pull its weight like other provinces. The article complained that Auckland had done virtually nothing to aid the 'refugees', while the South Island provinces had made numerous offers of help.<sup>164</sup> Napier, the article noted, had done a great deal for its size and wealth and had raised over £100 in one day alone.<sup>165</sup> Given the 'refugees' originated from the Auckland province, the reporter reasoned that the province ought to take more responsibility.<sup>166</sup> However, other reports suggest that Auckland had a record for contributing to those in need. In a letter to the editor of the *Herald* the writer suggests that Auckland inhabitants should 'do as they have always done' and relieve the suffering of those in distress.<sup>167</sup> Fierce competition commonly occurred between provinces in the era of provincial government and in 1868 the provinces' pride prompted competition to provide for the 'refugees'. For New Zealand settlers, as subjects of the colony, the 'refugee' crisis demanded their contribution and to prove their province's standing.

Along with government efforts, the general public also played an active part in assisting the 'refugees'. Many concerts and forms of entertainment were held with the aim of raising money. In Napier, amateur musicians the Christy Minstrels held an extremely successful concert on 10 December 1868, which raised £10 for the 'refugees'.<sup>168</sup> The *Hawke's Bay Herald* also advertised a raffle of paintings depicting Hot Springs and the Auckland Saw Mill plus coral specimens, with the proceeds to go towards the Poverty Bay 'refugees'.<sup>169</sup> In Auckland, a display of 'dissolving views' painted by prominent artist John Hoyte, appeared at the Oddfellows Hall on 17 December 1868.<sup>170</sup> Images included the falls at Whangārei, the Bay of Islands and the *Siam* pulling into port in Auckland amongst others and were accompanied by

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<sup>164</sup> "The Poverty Bay Relief Fund," *Hawke's Bay Weekly Times*, 21 December 1868, p.308.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>167</sup> "The Poverty Bay Sufferers," *New Zealand Herald*, 26 November 1868, p.7.

<sup>168</sup> "Poverty Bay Refugee Fund," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 28 November 1868, p.2; "Poverty Bay Refugee Fund," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 8 December 1868, p.2; "The Christy Minstrels," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 12 December 1868, p.2; "Subscriptions to the Refugee Fund," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 24 November 1868, p.2.

<sup>169</sup> "Refugee Fund," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 30 January 1869, p.1.

<sup>170</sup> "Monthly Summary for the December English Mail," *New Zealand Herald*, 24 December 1868, p.5.

violin and piano music throughout the evening.<sup>171</sup> The entry fees raised a total of £2 7s 6d for the Poverty Bay Relief Fund.<sup>172</sup> In the lead up to Christmas, 'Montague's monster Christmas tree' in Auckland sold tickets for the opportunity to select a gift under the tree and also donated its profits to the fund.<sup>173</sup> Smaller settlements, likewise, held fundraising events, such as a ball at Masterton from which all proceeds went to the 'refugees'.<sup>174</sup> As with community assistance for Taranaki in 1860, fundraising events for the Poverty Bay 'refugees' involved frivolity and entertainment.

Businesses, in particular, contributed towards the funds for the 'refugees'. For instance, in Auckland, the drapery and clothing businesses Messrs Keesing, Doitsh and Keesing, Messrs Vaile, Mr W. Rattray, and Messrs Clark and Son supplied clothing for the 'refugees'.<sup>175</sup> That businesses wanted to attach their names to assistance for the 'refugees' suggests that their target customer base would not disapprove of such acts. Furthermore, it provided a means of advertising the business to the public. Auckland businessmen also sat on committees for the Poverty Bay Relief Fund. For instance, in Auckland Thomas Russell chaired a committee to distribute subscriptions.<sup>176</sup> Russell was a leader in the Auckland business community, a lawyer, financier, land speculator, politician, and founder of the Bank of New Zealand.<sup>177</sup> That one of the most powerful men in Auckland wanted to head a committee for the 'refugees' suggests that the position could bolster one's reputation in Auckland society. The committee meetings took place at the Royal Insurance Company offices on Shortland Street and other leading merchants and figures in Auckland took part.<sup>178</sup> For example, another committee member, John Sangster Macfarlane, was an influential shipping merchant and the Member for Waitemata. Figures in the business world therefore, may have held

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<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid.

<sup>173</sup> "Montague's Monster Christmas Tree," *Daily Southern Cross*, 22 December 1868, p.1.

<sup>174</sup> "Masterton Ball," *Wairarapa Standard*, 19 December 1868, p.2.

<sup>175</sup> "The Refugees from Poverty Bay," *Daily Southern Cross*, 1 December 1868, p.3; "The Poverty Bay Refugees," *New Zealand Herald*, 26 November 1868, p.5.

<sup>176</sup> "The Poverty Bay Relief Fund," *Daily Southern Cross*, 15 December 1868, p.3.

<sup>177</sup> R. C. J. Stone, *Logan Campbell's Auckland: Tales from the Early Years* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2007), p.8.

<sup>178</sup> "The Poverty Bay Relief Fund," *Daily Southern Cross*, 15 December 1868, p.3; "Monthly Summary for the December English Mail," *New Zealand Herald*, 24 December 1868, p.5.

different motives for providing practical assistance, such as using it as an advertising opportunity or to improve public perception. However, the fact that such prominent figures involved themselves suggests that the majority of Auckland society considered the 'refugees' an important cause.

Subscriptions were collected from communities across the country but especially in Napier and Auckland where the 'refugees' had fled. In Napier the total subscriptions raised amounted to £400 3s 9d.<sup>179</sup> Auckland raised more money than needed for the comfortable provision of the Poverty Bay 'refugees' there. As a consequence, the Auckland committee sent the excess funds, a sum of £250, to Donald McLean in Napier, with more to come if required.<sup>180</sup>

The individuals subscribing money for the 'refugees' covered a wide cross-section of settler society. School children from Mrs Lewis's school on Shortland Street subscribed £3 10s for the 'refugees'.<sup>181</sup> Community and political leaders donated to the Poverty Bay 'refugees'. The Bishop of Waiapu, the Superintendent, the district's judge, Native Minister J. C. Richmond and the officer commanding the militia (G. G. Carlyon) all donated to the 'refugees' during 1868.<sup>182</sup> Community groups, from the Wellington Choral Society to the Wellington Caledonian Games society, from shearing gangs to the officers and men of the 18<sup>th</sup> Regiment, also made contributions.<sup>183</sup> For instance, £7 7s came in from the crew of steamer *Star of the South*, docked in Auckland.<sup>184</sup> The variety of donations suggests that not only the affluent contributed to the Poverty Bay cause but working class members of society as well.

Trustees of the 'refugee' fund spent the subscription money on a variety of different things. Items purchased included water, firewood, blankets and rations –

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<sup>179</sup> "Poverty Bay Refugee Fund," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 5 December 1868, p.2.

<sup>180</sup> "The Poverty Bay Relief Fund," *Daily Southern Cross*, 15 December 1868, p.3; "Monthly Summary for the December English Mail," *New Zealand Herald*, 24 December 1868, p.5.

<sup>181</sup> "The Refugees from Poverty Bay," *Daily Southern Cross*, 1 December 1868, p.3.

<sup>182</sup> "Subscriptions to the Refugee Fund," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 24 November 1868, p.2; "Refugee Fund," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 28 November 1868, p.2.

<sup>183</sup> "Refugee Fund. List of Subscriptions," *Hawkes Bay Herald*, 12 December 1868, p.2; "Refugee Fund. List of Subscriptions," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 30 January 1869, p.4; "Subscriptions to the Refugee Fund," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 24 November 1868, p.2.

<sup>184</sup> "Poverty Bay Refugees," *Daily Southern Cross*, 21 December 1868, p.3.

of which milk and meat are especially mentioned.<sup>185</sup> Also listed is cleaning, fence repairs, passages by the *Star of the South* and cartages.<sup>186</sup> The latter entries suggest that the 'refugees' did not abandon their Poverty Bay properties after the attacks but stayed to return their land to its former state. Numerous gifts of cash out of the fund, some at substantial amounts of up to £60 also imply that 'refugees' remained interested in their Poverty Bay properties.<sup>187</sup> Therefore, not only did subscriptions intend to provide immediate relief such as food and warmth but also assist the 'refugees' to re-establish their place in Poverty Bay.

Several key women in Auckland played a prominent part in raising money. Marianne Macfarlane, the wife of shipping merchant and member of the House of Representatives J.S Macfarlane, led the collections. She distributed subscription lists throughout the city and suburbs of Auckland and by 24 December 1868 she had reportedly collected £91 1s 2d herself.<sup>188</sup> Marianne Macfarlane called on the 'refugee' women to find out what they needed. Then, from the amount collected she spent £90 11s 3d on clothing, bedding and other items.<sup>189</sup> The papers lauded the determination and resolve Macfarlane displayed in her collecting efforts. An article published in the *Daily Southern Cross* on 21 December 1868 stated that she deserved the 'highest praise', represented a 'pattern to her sex' and stood at the forefront of many charitable works.<sup>190</sup> A similar article published the same day in the *New Zealand Herald* deemed Macfarlane's work 'highly commendable' and thought she 'deserve[d] the best thanks of the whole community'.<sup>191</sup> The government also especially thanked Marianne Macfarlane and the other women who worked with her for their time, labour and dedication.<sup>192</sup> That the government thanked the Auckland women for their collection work demonstrates the scale and impact of their efforts. The support of both major Auckland papers at the time

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<sup>185</sup> "Poverty Bay Refugee Fund," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 25 March 1870.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>188</sup> "Poverty Bay Refugees," *Daily Southern Cross*, 24 December 1868, p.7; "The Refugees from Poverty Bay," *Daily Southern Cross*, 26 November 1868, p.5.

<sup>189</sup> "Poverty Bay Refugees," *Daily Southern Cross*, 21 December 1868, p.3.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>191</sup> "Poverty Bay Refugees," *New Zealand Herald*, 21 December 1868, p.3.

<sup>192</sup> "Poverty Bay Refugees," *Daily Southern Cross*, 21 December 1868, p.3; "Poverty Bay Refugees," *New Zealand Herald*, 21 December 1868, p.3.

suggests public interest in the women's work. However, given that the government and papers strongly supported the war, their praise for the Auckland women could also have been intended to highlight New Zealand settler solidarity in the face of the indigenous threat.

Both articles expressly noted that Macfarlane's receipts had been checked and everything was in order. The *Daily Southern Cross* stated that 'from a perusal of a detailed statement of the receipts and expenditure we are enabled to vouch that the money has been judiciously expended'; while the *New Zealand Herald* reported that 'Having seen the vouchers, and also a detailed statement of the receipts and expenditure, we can assure the public that the money has been well and judiciously expended.'<sup>193</sup> Behind the two articles therefore, lay the belief that Marianne Macfarlane could not be trusted to spend money herself, even if she gained high praise for her ability to collect money. This dichotomy is most likely to do with gender; settler society considered women competent at collecting money but incompetent at spending it. Therefore, when Macfarlane began expending rather than accruing money the (presumably) male reporters felt a duty to assure readers and donors of her good management and prudence in distribution of the funds.

Further assistance came from the ladies of Onehunga. The group of women established the Onehunga Refugee Fund to raise money for the Poverty Bay 'refugees' in Auckland.<sup>194</sup> The group were likewise praised by the *Daily Southern Cross* and *New Zealand Herald* for the large donations of clothing they collected for the fund.<sup>195</sup> In a report to the refugee fund's contributors the women stated that in total the committee had collected clothing materials valued at £3 8s and £15 11s in cash.<sup>196</sup> The women purchased further material worth £3 8s 10d and deposited the rest of the money into a bank account for the use of the Poverty Bay 'refugees' or another worthy cause.<sup>197</sup> The group created garments for the Poverty Bay

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<sup>193</sup> "Poverty Bay Refugees," *Daily Southern Cross*, 21 December 1868, p.3; "Poverty Bay Refugees," *New Zealand Herald*, 21 December 1868, p.3.

<sup>194</sup> "Onehunga Refugee Fund," *Daily Southern Cross*, 12 December 1868, p.5.

<sup>195</sup> "Poverty Bay Refugees," *Daily Southern Cross*, 21 December 1868, p.3; "Poverty Bay Refugees," *New Zealand Herald*, 21 December 1868, p.3.

<sup>196</sup> "Onehunga Refugee Fund," *Daily Southern Cross*, December 12, 1868, p.5.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*

'refugees' with the extra material.<sup>198</sup> The newspapers particularly mention Mrs G. H. Cheeseman and Mrs Williams for their leadership of the group.<sup>199</sup> It is likely that this group may be the Onehunga Ladies Benevolent Society, formed in 1863 and one of the earliest benevolent societies in New Zealand.<sup>200</sup> The group represented an early forerunner to the greater commonality of benevolent societies from the 1880s onwards.<sup>201</sup> The many efforts of Auckland women to collect money and items demonstrates vital role women played in assisting the Poverty Bay 'refugees'.

Mrs Tiffen was the main force behind collecting subscriptions in Napier.<sup>202</sup> In only one day she collected £120 for the 'refugees'.<sup>203</sup> She also formed a ladies committee in the town to raise money and collect clothing.<sup>204</sup> By 1869 Tiffen and her committee had raised £418 9s 3d for the Poverty Bay Refugee Fund.<sup>205</sup> Mrs Tiffen gained a praiseworthy reputation as a result of her fundraising work for the 'refugees'.

However, although women played an essential part in collecting money for the 'refugees', once they had done so a committee of men commonly took over the administration and distribution of funds. In Napier, Mrs Tiffen handed over the £418 9s 3d to a committee of men that comprised Hawke's Bay Superintendent Donald MacLean, Archdeacon of Waiapu Leonard Williams and surveyor and Hawke's Bay Provincial Councillor Henry Tiffen.<sup>206</sup> Likewise, in Auckland, Marianne Macfarlane and others handed over their money to John King (Relieving Officer in Auckland).<sup>207</sup> It was considered that King would administer the funds more

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<sup>198</sup> Ibid.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid.

<sup>200</sup> Tennant, *The Fabric of Welfare*, p.36.

<sup>201</sup> Tennant, *The Fabric of Welfare*.

<sup>202</sup> Despite extensive research Mrs Tiffen's first name remains elusive. She is most likely Louisa Tiffen, the wife of provincial councillor Henry Tiffen but could also be a wife of Henry's brother Frederick Tiffen.

<sup>203</sup> "By Electric Telegraph," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 14 November 1868, p.2.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid.

<sup>205</sup> "The Late Engagements in Poverty Bay," *The Colonist*, 5 January 1869, p.6.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid.

<sup>207</sup> "The Poverty Bay Relief Fund," *Daily Southern Cross*, 15 December 1868, p.3.

‘judiciously’ than the women, who the *Daily Southern Cross* reported had ‘little practical knowledge’ of how to spend the funds competently.’<sup>208</sup>

The women’s experiences demonstrate how gendered social structures and beliefs about what typified masculine or feminine qualities affected settler society’s views about women’s capabilities. The *Daily Southern Cross* considered women suited to collecting money as they were ‘humble, earnest and self-sacrificing’, qualities which the paper suggested could be greater exhibited in males.<sup>209</sup> The paper suggests that more women needed to ‘shame men out of that cold unthinking callousness, or lukewarmness, which a too-close application of commercial pursuits is calculated to produce’.<sup>210</sup> In the course of collecting for the Poverty Bay ‘refugees’ gender characteristics were defined and mediated the actions of men and women involved.

As with the ‘refugees’ from Taranaki, assistance for the Poverty Bay ‘refugees’ emerged out of a combination of both government and community help. However, for the Poverty Bay ‘refugees’ the government provided significantly less. This difference is, in part, affected by the magnitude of each event. The evacuation of Taranaki involved over 1000 women and children, while only approximately 245 people made up the extremely small European population of Poverty Bay by the late 1860s. The timing of the evacuations within the context of the Land Wars is another important factor. Taking place early in the Land Wars, the settlers, soldiers and politicians at Taranaki could not know the extent of battles to come or the expense required to win them, and instead believed that the British Empire would easily defeat any Māori force. However, by the time of the Poverty Bay conflicts, after a number of years of war, the expenses of prior battles had swelled, reducing the government’s willingness to provide financial assistance. In addition, the close proximity of Taranaki to the South Island by boat enabled evacuation to an area not in immediate danger. Comparatively, Auckland and Napier had both recently come under threat from the wars and uncertainty they caused. Auckland and Napier, consequently, held a less secure position from which to give substantial help to the ‘refugees’.

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<sup>208</sup> Ibid.

<sup>209</sup> “Poverty Bay Refugees,” 24 December 1868, p.7.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid.

By 1868 the practical and emotive responses to 'refugee' crises during the Land Wars had an established pattern. Settler women and children were immediately removed from the area in conflict. Expressions of solidarity then poured in from other provinces, and sometimes locations outside the colony, along with money and offers of help. For individual settlers, the practical assistance became a matter of pride and duty to the colony. Newspapers especially provided a tool through which to support the 'refugees' and reassert settler colonialism. These patterns grew even stronger depending on the brutality of violence. The more callous, unexpected or inhumane the conflict, the greater the outcry in support of the 'refugees' and demand for the settler community to provide practical assistance. Cries for harsher punishments and a hardening of views against the perpetrators could also emerge depending on the extremity of the conflict. These factors explain the lesser practical response to the Waerenga-a-hika 'refugees' in 1865 than that provided for the Matawhero 'refugees' in 1868.

# Conclusion

The Land Wars conflicts at Taranaki and Poverty Bay, which caused the evacuations of 'refugees' provoked strong emotive responses and experiences. These incorporated a wide variety of emotional states – primarily fear and anxiety but also anger, vengeance, shock, horror, sadness, depression and even love in the midst of war. A heightened atmosphere of tense settler anxiety and fear 'unsettled' the whole colony. Settler colonialism is inherently unstable – the slightest challenge presents a threat to the whole system and the individuals within it. It requires constant maintenance and assertion to quell settler anxieties. 'Rebel' Māori resistance to settler encroachment on tribal land, represented the greatest danger to the colony in settlers' minds and ignited fears that indigenous peoples could rise up and cause the collapse of the empire. As a group, the 'refugees' symbolised the 'unsettling' of settler colonialism, both literally by their locational displacement and figuratively by reminding settlers of the precarious position of the colony and the instability of settler colonialism. Overall, the 'refugee' crises during the Land Wars caused turmoil in the settler colonial system and minds of settlers across the British Empire.

The 'refugees' themselves experienced this emotional predicament. The displaced people of Taranaki and Poverty Bay slipped into emotional turmoil when separated from their family and friends. They faced great uncertainty over when they would see their loved ones again and what would happen to their homes and possessions. The 'refugees' desperately wanted safety and comfort for their family but faced emotional strain and an increased burden of responsibility without them. In the midst of war, separation, confusion and limited communication strained relationships within families. Separation also caused practical difficulties. It made communication over complicated decisions more difficult, stretched finances through incidental expenses and the upkeep of two households, and made the woman of the household a sole parent in practical terms.

The 'unsettling' of settlers from Poverty Bay and Taranaki forced them to articulate fiercely what 'home' meant to them as they contemplated losing it. 'Home' had

various associations for the 'refugees' it could mean family and friends, a house, a plot of land, a region or area, possessions, or property. It could be 'where the heart is'; it could be where one's labour was. Settlers vigorously voiced their love of home to justify their perceived right to remain on their land. Māori resistance to settler presence, sometimes violent, and their deep-rooted connection to the whenua called into question settlers' right to live on the land at Taranaki and Poverty Bay. Settlers' anxieties took over as the dream of successful settler colonialism projects came under threat. Consequently, in the face of Māori challenge, settlers asserted their perceived rights to the land by magnifying the importance of home. Despite having arrived in the colony relatively recently, settlers indigenised themselves and supposedly 'settled' on the land. The settlers then became 'unsettled' 'refugees' from an area they had only just arrived in. All use of the concept 'home' aimed to reinforce settlers' place and consequently the aims of settler colonisation.

In response to the conflicts, New Zealand settler society (the general government, provincial governments, the press and the settler public) reacted emotively to the wars and resulting 'refugees' with a potent concoction of anxiety, sadness, shock, horror, anger, indignation, vengeance and alarm. Settlers across the colony recognised the 'refugees' as fellow hard-working settlers who, before the war, had aimed to help themselves without relying on public assistance. Settlers within and outside New Zealand felt relieved that they had not suffered the fate of the 'refugees'; they felt grateful for the sacrifices of life, livelihood, health and assets that the 'refugees' had made to prevent the wars potentially spreading to the rest of the colony and empire. Seeing the similarities between themselves and the 'refugees', upon the news of the conflicts and subsequent evacuations settlers framed the situation as if they were 'all in it together' and drove together in solidarity with the 'refugees'. By uniting with the 'refugees', settlers simultaneously and deliberately denounced 'rebel' Māori whom they believed threatened the colony. Settler society felt indebted to the people of Taranaki and Poverty Bay and enforced upon itself a duty to demonstrate support for the 'refugees' – fellow settlers – whether through statements of support or practical assistance.

Practical assistance flooded in for the Poverty Bay and Taranaki 'refugees' both on a formal governmental basis and a more informal community level. However, during the earlier Taranaki conflicts the general government had been more willing to provide compensation and support compared with the Poverty Bay conflicts later in the Land Wars. By this point the wars had stretched government finances so far that the Poverty Bay 'refugees' could only receive limited assistance and compensation. Despite this, provincial councils across New Zealand offered grants of money, accommodation or goods to the 'refugees' in both locations, which fuelled pre-existing agitation between the provinces. Settlers across the colony also formed committees, which collected subscriptions and clothing for the 'refugees'. The subscribers covered a broad cross-section of settler society, though the committee members themselves primarily comprised high-profile white males. Publication of the subscription lists provided an incentive for settlers and businesses to demonstrate publicly their commitment to the settler community. The fundraising activities occurred at a time when welfare institutions were scarce and consequently any assistance aimed to eventually make the 'refugees' self-supporting once again.

Despite the many similarities between Taranaki and Poverty Bay, the distinct nature of conflict in each location affected the emotive and practical responses of settlers. At Taranaki the violence did not actually enter the military town of New Plymouth, where many non-combatant settlers had sought refuge, but in general stayed around the fringes. During Waerenga-a-hika fighting took place a little closer to the town and settler homes. However, at Matawhero the conflict entailed a direct and purposeful attack on Māori and Pākehā alike in their homes with what the settlers regarded as a vicious kind of violence. The nature of the Matawhero conflict prompted a greater outcry than to the New Plymouth or Waerenga-a-hika fighting due to the involvement of non-combatants and the direct and surprise nature of the attack.

The 'refugees' of the Land Wars particularly reveal the characteristics and ambitions of settler colonialism behind the fighting. Settlers desired land in a peaceful, stable and secure colony on which to settle their family and provide for

them. Land and family consequently sat at the centre of settler colonialism. The wars aimed to secure settler families' physical safety, land and livelihood from threats by 'rebel' Māori. Settlers believed that enemy Māori jeopardised the New Zealand settler colonial project by preventing settlers from acquiring land, impeding the survey of land for sale and making the colony unattractive to future settlers. For destroying settlers' aspirations, the New Zealand Government and settlers across the colony called for war against 'rebel' Māori and harsh punishment of those who got caught. These cries only grew louder and more zealous when the effects of conflict touched the heart of settler colonial society by displacing settler families.

Study of the Taranaki and Poverty Bay 'refugees' reveals the connection of ideas and sentiments across empire, especially settler fear and anxieties. Outside New Zealand, the localities that showed active support for the 'refugees' comprised other connections in the web of the British Empire. Emotive and practical responses came from the Australian colonies and the metropole in Britain. In these locations white imperial subjects feared that the wars could inspire indigenous peoples across the empire to unite together against them. Events in New Zealand especially disconcerted Australian settlers who had known frontier violence themselves. Those reacting to Matawhero, particularly the press, drew links with the Indian Rebellion. They transposed the outrage at the killing of white women at the Siege of Cawnpore in India onto the Poverty Bay conflict. These connections show how news circulated through imperial connections and how sentiments, ideas and reactions could be shared across the empire.

Gender especially coloured the settlers' experiences of displacement and the reactions of settler society. Family lay at the heart of settler colonialism and settler men in the militia and volunteers fought to secure livelihoods that would support their wives and children. Any sense that the gendered order of families could be disrupted or that families could be harmed distressed settlers. Settler society considered white women and children innocent, weak and vulnerable – in need of male protection as part of a family. Newspapers especially employed the image of helpless, innocent settler women and children to contrast with the violent conflicts. Consequently, the evacuations primarily involved the removal of white women and

children from proximity to the physical combat. Settler society also prescribed how gender ought to affect settlers' emotive reactions to the conflicts and 'refugee' evacuations. Women were expected to show grief and sorrow, while men had to show anger and a desire for revenge. A further gendered dichotomy existed in the practical assistance for the 'refugees'. Women were considered only suited to collecting funds but not spending the money raised. When it came time to distribute subscriptions of money and goods a committee of men commonly took over the task.

This thesis demonstrates that the labelling of the displaced Taranaki and Poverty Bay settlers as 'refugees' was extremely distinctive, evoked a powerful reaction and commenced immediately after the events. The Land Wars shows that settlers' use of the term in the 1860s was primarily understood to refer to women and children. Gender therefore shaped who became a 'refugee'. The term was also employed to indicate the dispossession of settlers from 'their' land and to emphasise their need for assistance. The label 'refugee' was less commonly used by the displaced settlers to define themselves – especially amongst the higher classes. In many settings the term had a highly specific and sometimes political meaning.

In other scenarios of settler evacuation or displacement during the era of empire the term 'refugee' has been employed, showing that the 'refugees' of the Land Wars in New Zealand were not an isolated group. One such instance is explored by Maya Jasanoff, who looks at the loyalist 'refugees' that dispersed to locations across the British Empire following the American Revolution. These evacuations occurred on a far larger scale than the Land Wars and resulted out of settler-metropole rather than settler-indigenous conflict, but there are points of similarity between the two scenarios. Jasanoff argues that the American Revolution was not primarily about 'taxation and representation' but about land – settlers' desire to expand onto Indian land in the West against British stipulations – similarly to the Land Wars.<sup>1</sup> Like the New Zealand 'refugees' the loyalists faced the harsh decision of whether to separate from their families, homes and way of life, and suffered significant anxiety when they did so. The loyalists similarly pleaded for every detail

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<sup>1</sup> Jasanoff, *Liberty's Exiles*, pp.36-38.

about the daily lives of their spouses when separated from them.<sup>2</sup> In both locations the 'refugees' felt a sense of dislocation and detachment upon leaving and had to reshape what home meant to them.<sup>3</sup> After the war, both groups of 'refugees' aimed to resurrect their 'family fortunes' and maintain their social standing.<sup>4</sup> Some of the key practical responses to the loyalists resembled those towards the Land Wars 'refugees', such as provision of supplies, land or free passages away from the conflict.<sup>5</sup>

Other settler evacuation scenarios – such as those triggered by natural disaster – suggest similarities. For instance, the 1932 eruption of Vulcan and Tavorvur volcanoes near the town of Rabaul, New Britain, resulted in widespread evacuations, mainly of the settler population and particularly women and children, to Australia and other parts of New Guinea. In Rabaul, as in New York City and Taranaki, evacuations resulted in a similar sense of dislocation and settler anxiety and a similar focus on settler women and families requiring evacuation to safety. However, as a more purposeful directed attack on fellow human-beings, human-triggered evacuations induce heightened panic and fear when compared to the unpredictable and uncontrollable nature of natural disasters. In situations of imminent or active threat against a settler population individuals face a choice between 'emigration and endangerment' – whatever the source of that danger may be.<sup>6</sup> The nature of settler evacuations therefore, can vary by location, length or triggering event but commonalities exist across time and locations. The study of settler evacuations can indicate the nature of colonialism in a society, the level of social cohesion or the means of expressing fear and anxiety. Therefore, further research into settler evacuations would be valuable for gaining a more nuanced understanding of settler colonialism.

Studies could expand in many other directions. Further work needs to look at women's actions and reactions during the wars, and the extent to which wives,

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp.6, 124.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p.15.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p.16.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p.88.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p.91.

mothers, sisters and families shaped men's actions. Māori women have not been examined in this thesis but further work also needs to examine their experiences of the wars and how this differs from Pākehā, particularly regarding displacement. Such studies would provide further understanding of the nature of fear felt by non-combatants during the Wars and the tenets of settler colonialism. Telling the Land Wars story from different perspectives provides a fuller spectrum of experience and allows New Zealanders today to see people like themselves within that story.

In keeping with the argument that settler colonialism is a structure, not an event, settler anxiety lives on in today's society. The Land Wars remain only partially understood by the Pākehā general public in New Zealand. This is clear from a social media advertisement posted on 10 April 2018 by the Hurricanes Super Rugby team.<sup>7</sup> The advertisement used the phrase 'Taranaki Land War' to promote a match against the Chiefs rugby team at Westpac Stadium in Wellington (see Figure 4). Significant backlash to the post occurred on social media where people drew connections with New Zealand director Taika Waititi's public comments on 5 April 2018 that, as a country, New Zealand is 'racist as f\*\*\*' and needs to change.<sup>8</sup> While the Hurricanes franchise quickly took down the original post and apologised to Taranaki Whānui and Waikato Tainui iwi, the blunder reveals the endemic lack of understanding of the significance of the wars for Māori and their place in New Zealand history.<sup>9</sup> Responses on social media to the Hurricanes' apology showed that the franchise's acknowledgement of the wars triggered settler anxiety, making some people uncomfortable enough to retort that anyone offended by the phrase was 'overly sensitive', too 'PC' (politically correct) or 'snowflakes'.

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<sup>7</sup> Hurricanes Ltd. "Taranaki Land War Facebook post", 10 April 2018. Accessed 13 April 2018 via Stuff.co.nz. <https://www.stuff.co.nz/sport/rugby/103006117/hurricanes-apologise-for-using-taranaki-land-wars-to-promote-chiefs-match>

<sup>8</sup> "Taika Waititi Calls New Zealand 'Racist as f\*\*\*'," 9 April 2018, New Zealand Herald, [http://www.nzherald.co.nz/entertainment/news/article.cfm?c\\_id=1501119&objectid=12028961](http://www.nzherald.co.nz/entertainment/news/article.cfm?c_id=1501119&objectid=12028961)

<sup>9</sup> Hurricanes Ltd, "Hurricanes formal apology," 11 April 2018, accessed 13 April 2018, <https://www.hurricanes.co.nz/news/article/hurricanes-formal-apology/>



Figure 4: social media promotion by Hurricanes Ltd for the 'Taranaki Land War' match against the Chiefs (Hurricanes Ltd 10 April 2018)

Although the wars continue to be events which generate settler colonial anxiety, in other parts of New Zealand society there are efforts to bring this history to light and public attention. Students from Ōtorohanga College presented a petition of 12,000 signatures to parliament in 2015 asking for a national day to commemorate the wars and for the topic to be included in the New Zealand secondary school curriculum.<sup>10</sup> In response to the petition and other community group actions the government eventually declared its support for an official day of remembrance.<sup>11</sup> The first Rā Maumahara national day of commemoration for the Land Wars was held on 28 October 2017, the same day that the Declaration of Independence of

<sup>10</sup> Te Puni Kōkiri, "Rā Maumahara – the journey to a national commemoration," accessed 13 April 2018, <http://www.tpk.govt.nz/en/whakamahia/te-putake-o-te-riri-wars-and-conflicts-in-new-zeal/ra-maumahara-the-journey-to-a-national-commemorati>

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

New Zealand was signed in 1835.<sup>12</sup> The legacy of settler colonial anxiety means that the Land Wars continue to be an awkward subject for New Zealanders to discuss. They 'unsettle' many Pākehā in New Zealand society by reminding them of the country's uncomfortable history.

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<sup>12</sup> Ministry of Culture and Heritage, "Date set to commemorate Land Wars," 17 October 2017, accessed 13 April 2018, <https://mch.govt.nz/date-set-commemorate-land-wars>

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