Reference Guide

New Zealand Wars Sources at the Hocken Collections

Part 2 – 1860s and 1870s

Henry Jame Warre. Camp at Poutoko (1863). Watercolour on paper: 254 x 353mm.
Accession no.: 8,610.
Nau Mai Haere Mai ki Te Uare Taoka o Hākena:
Welcome to the Hocken Collections

He mihi nui tēnei ki a koutou
kā uri o kā hau e whā arā, kā mātāwaka o te motu, o te ao whānui hoki.
Nau mai, haere mai ki te taumata.

As you arrive
We seek to preserve all the taoka we hold for future generations. So that all taoka are properly protected, we ask that you:

• place your bags (including computer bags and sleeves) in the lockers provided
• leave all food and drink including water bottles in the lockers (we have a researcher lounge off the foyer which everyone is welcome to use)
• bring any materials you need for research and some ID in with you
• sign the Readers’ Register each day
• enquire at the reference desk first if you wish to take digital photographs

Beginning your research
This guide gives examples of the types of material relating to the New Zealand Wars in the 1860s and 1870s held at the Hocken. All items must be used within the library. As the collection is large and constantly growing not every item is listed here, but you can search for other material on our Online Public Access Catalogues:

• for books, theses, journals, magazines, newspapers, maps, and audiovisual material, use Library Search | Ketu. The advanced search - https://goo.gl/HVNTqH gives you several search options, and you can refine your results to the Hocken Library on the left side of the screen.
  The Library Search Guide https://otago.libguides.com/ketuhelp contains helpful tips and assistance for using Library Search | Ketu;

• for pictures, photographs and archives and manuscripts, use Hākena -
  https://hakena.otago.ac.nz
  The Hākena Search Help Guide https://otago.libguides.com/hakena contains helpful tips and assistance for using Hākena;
some of the photographs from the Pictorial Collections are available for viewing online via Hocken Snapshop at https://hocken.recollect.co.nz/. Some other photographs and artworks can be viewed at http://otago.ourheritage.ac.nz/.

If you have any enquiries about ordering or other research questions please ask the reference desk staff – they will be happy to assist you.
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Introduction

This guide covers all the campaigns of the 1860s and 1870s. War broke out in Taranaki in 1860 and in the Waikato in 1863. The emergence of the Pai Mārire prophetic movement later resulted in warfare in the Bay of Plenty, Whanganui, south Taranaki and on the East Coast. A new campaign known as Titokowaru’s War took place in Taranaki in the late 1860s. Around the same time a campaign against Te Kooti took place on the East Coast, Taupo and the Urewera. Maori fought on both sides of the various campaigns – those fighting alongside the British were known as kūpapa. For a helpful overview of the wars, including a timeline, see the Ministry of Culture and Heritage’s history website – https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war-and-society

Material relating to the wars appears on our catalogues under a variety of subject headings, for example,

- *New Zealand – History – New Zealand Wars, 1860-1872*
- *Māori (New Zealand people) – Wars*
- *Great Britain. Army*

Individual battles are catalogued by name, for example,

- *Gate Pa (N.Z.), Battle of, 1864*

Check also under the names of individual regions or people, for example,

- *Taranaki (N.Z.) – History – 19th century*
- *Titokowaru, 1823?-1888*

Some of the publications listed in this guide have been digitised and are available via the New Zealand Electronic Text Centre http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/ (indicated by (NZETC)), or Early New Zealand Books http://www.enzb.auckland.ac.nz/ (indicated by (ENZB)).

Official records

Publications

*British Parliamentary Papers.* These are available on the ready reference shelves, and include various official government reports and despatches relating to the war. Check the Australia New Zealand Index under the heading ‘Maori Wars’. References to some of the leading Māori participants can be found in the index under ‘Maoris, Individuals’
while leading Britons are simply indexed under their names. Some reports are available at https://www.waitako.ac.nz/library/resources/digital-collections.

Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR or A to Js). These were published each year and contain official reports on a wide variety of subjects, as presented to the New Zealand parliament. There is an index (available on the ready reference shelves) covering the period 1854-1913. There are numerous references to the New Zealand Wars. Check the index under the names of individual places and prominent people. Other relevant headings include Armed Constabulary, Imperial Troops, Land, Military, Militia, Native Affairs, Navy, Volunteers, War. The A to Js for the 1860s and 1870s are available online at https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/parliamentary.

The Native Minister’s Interview with Tamati Ngapora, Rewi, and Other Leading Chiefs of Waikato, November 9th, 1869 (1869). Auckland: William Chisholm Wilson. Hocken Pamphlets Vol 41 No 11. (ENZB). An account of the meeting between Donald McLean, Rewi Maniopoto and other Kingitanga leaders, shortly after Te Kooti’s defeat at Te Porere. Rewi declares he will cease fighting.


Archives

Army papers relating to the New Zealand Wars (Misc-MS-0391). A collection of correspondence and official documents relating to the Waikato War – see Hākena for further details.

Māori perspectives

Books and pamphlets

Description of the Battle of Orakau, as Given by the Native Chief Hitiri Te Paerata of the Ngatiraukawa Tribe, At the Parliamentary Buildings, 4th August, 1888. (1888). Wellington: Government Printer. (ENZB). Hitiri Te Paerata’s account was translated by Gilbert Mair.


Reihana Kiriwi [1864]. Account of a journey up Waikato /by Reihana Kiriwi, a chief of the Rarawas; from Mangonui, in the month of February, 1864. Bound together with other items by Dr Hocken in Reports of Native Districts &c. Reihana Kiriwi travelled with several other Māori leaders and W. B. White, Resident Magistrate, up the Waikato River. This
report, in both Māori and English versions, gives his account of the devastation caused by the war. He also mentions the Battle of Orakau, which he witnessed.

Gilbert Mair (1926). *The Story of Gate Pa April 29th, 1864*. Tauranga: Bay of Plenty Times. Along with a narrative of the battle, includes the official report and correspondence relating to the battle, a list of government troops killed and wounded, and “A Maori Survivor’s Story,” related by Hori Ngatai of Ngaiterangi to a group of Europeans in Wellington, translated by Gilbert Mair.


Archives

Papers relating to Maori (MS-0152). A collection of manuscripts, mostly in Māori, written during 1863-1864. Many relate to people and events of the Waikato war. See Hākena for further details.

George Grey: Nga Tuhituhinga Maori / Grey Collection New Zealand Māori Manuscripts (MS-1841). Governor Grey’s collection of Māori manuscripts includes various items relating to the Kingitanga and the New Zealand Wars – check Hākena for details (these are copies of the originals, which are held at the Auckland Public Library).

Edward Shortland papers (ARC-0020). Edward Shortland was appointed civil commissioner for Waihou in 1862, and became native secretary, the principal government post dealing with Māori issues, in 1863. Item MS-0385/002 in this collection includes copies of correspondence (in Māori) between the government and various Māori leaders. Many of the letters relate to land issues and events of the Waikato war. See Hākena for a list of the letters and summary of their contents. Item MS-0385/001 also includes correspondence relating to land issues and the Kingitanga, in both English and Māori.

Newspapers

The Hocken has several nineteenth-century Māori language newspapers, which include items relating to land issues and the wars. Many of these were published by the government, missionaries or Pākehā philanthropists, but others were published by Māori. A notable example is *Te Hokioi o Niu-Tireni, e rere atuna*, published in Ngaruawahia by the Kingitanga in 1863. For a useful guide to these newspapers, see Jenifer Curnow, “A Brief History of Maori-Language Newspapers,” in Jenifer Curnow, Ngapare Hopa and Jane

Check Library Search | Ketu under particular titles, or under the subject heading

- *Maori* (New Zealand people) – Periodicals.

Many of the Māori language newspapers (some of them are bilingual) are also available on microfiche or via the website *Niupeva: Māori newspapers*, hosted by the University of Waikato- https://goo.gl/p1WTC1 or try PapersPast at https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/.

**Soldiers’ accounts**

**Books and pamphlets**


James Alexander (1873). *Bush Fighting Illustrated by Remarkable Actions and Incidents of the Maori War in New Zealand*. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low and Searle. (ENZB). Alexander was commander of the 14th (Buckinghamshire) Regiment, which served in New Zealand from 1860-66 and participated in the wars in Taranaki and Waikato. This book covers the period of the Waikato and Pai Mārire campaigns. James Belich notes (in an essay on “The New Zealand Wars in memory” in *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History*) that in this work Alexander was defending the performance of imperial troops in opposition to William Fox’s argument that amateur New Zealanders made better troops than British professionals.

E. Bezar (1891). *Some Reminiscences of the ‘Die Hards’ (57th West Middlesex Regiment)*. Dunedin: Mills Dick. (ENZB). Bezar served with the 57th (West Middlesex) Regiment throughout it’s time in New Zealand, from 1861-67. The regiment was based in Taranaki and Whanganui until 1866, when it moved to the Waikato and Auckland, and Bezar provides a lively account of its activities.

Andrew Hope Black [1909]. *Sixty Years in New Zealand: Stories of Peace and War*. Wellington: Gordon & Gotch. (ENZB). Black lived in the Hawkes Bay, where he served in the volunteers and took part in various expeditions against Te Kooti. The book also includes reminiscences of various British soldiers and incidents of the New Zealand Wars.

*A Campaign on the West Coast of New Zealand Comprising the Western Portion of the Provinces of Wellington and Taranaki by European and Colonial Forces, Under the Command of Major-General Chute During the Months of January and February, 1866* (1866). Wanganui:
Times Office. Chapman Pamphlets Vol 9 No 10. (ENZB). This includes a narrative of events along with copies of despatches. Chute became commander of the imperial forces in New Zealand in 1865. When fighting broke out in south Taranaki he led a 620-strong force to attempt to stamp out Māori resistance, capturing a large number of pā and villages and then marching inland from Patea to New Plymouth. (See also the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography entry on Trevor Chute).


James Cowan (1911). *The Adventures of Kimble Bent: A Story of Wild Life in the New Zealand Bush*. London: Whitcombe and Tombs. (NZETC). In 1865 Kimble Bent deserted his British Regiment and began living with Taranaki Māori. He lived with followers of Pai Mārire and later of Titokowaru and became caught up in their war efforts. Cowan wrote his biography after interviewing Bent and other survivors of the wars many years later. See also the entry on Bent in the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography.

Russell Duncan (1939). *The Fight at Ruakituri*. Wellington: Reed. An account of Duncan’s search for the site of this battle between colonial troops under Colonel Whitmore and Te Kooti and his supporters. Includes details of the battle and reminiscences of one of the soldiers involved.

Cecil Foljambe (Earl of Liverpool) (1868). *Three Years on the Australian Station*. London: Hatchard & Co. (ENZB). Foljambe was an officer on HMS Curacoa from 1860-63. Crew from this ship formed part of the Naval Brigade involved in the battle of Rangiriri and other events of the Waikato War. The book is in diary form and includes maps and sketches.

Edmund Fremantle (1904). *The Navy as I Have Known It 1849-1899*. London: Cassell. Fremantle commanded the HMS Eclipse in New Zealand from 1864-1866. The vessel was kept busy transporting troops, despatches and the Governor around various parts of the North Island. Fremantle’s autobiography includes a chapter on his New Zealand experience. See also Ann Parry (1971). *The Admirals Fremantle 1788-1920*. London: Chatto & Windus. The chapter on Edmund Fremantle includes excerpts from his letters and diaries.

Frederick Gascoyne (1916). *Soldiering in New Zealand Being Reminiscences of a Veteran*. London: Guilford. (ENZB). Gascoyne joined the newly-formed Colonial Defence Force as a lieutenant in 1863 and was based on the East Coast, taking part in various military actions, until the company was disbanded in 1867. Later that year, following Te Kooti’s escape from the Chatham Islands, the forces regathered and Gascoyne took part in the campaigns against Te Kooti and later Te Whiti (including Parihaka).
Edward Gorton (1901). *Some Home Truths Re. the Maori War 1863-1869 on the West Coast of New Zealand*. London: Greening, (ENZB). Gorton was an officer in the 57th Regiment serving in New Zealand from 1861-1863. He then resigned to settle in New Zealand, but on the outbreak of further war joined the colonial forces, serving as commander of the Wellington Militia from July 1863; and of the Whanganui district from 1865. The book, which is highly critical of Governor Grey, includes his reminiscences while serving in the 57th Regiment and then in the colonial forces, including the war with Titikowaru.


Thomas Gudgeon (1887). *The Defenders of New Zealand Being a Short Biography of Colonists who Distinguished Themselves in Upholding Her Majesty's Supremacy in These Islands*. Auckland: Brett. (ENZB). Bound together with McDonnell’s *Maori History and Incidents of the War* … This book includes biographies and anecdotes relating to various colonial soldiers and their war experiences. A few kūpapa Māori are included. At the back is an alphabetical list of Volunteers and Militia who received the New Zealand Medal, and of men of the Colonial Force killed in action during the period 1860-70. The book is bound together with the two works by Thomas McDonnell (see below). For more about Gudgeon, see his *Reminiscences of the War in New Zealand* (listed below).

Thomas Gudgeon (1879). *Reminiscences of the War in New Zealand*. London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington. (ENZB). Gudgeon was a settler in Taranaki and later in Whanganui. When war broke out at Whanganui in 1864 he joined the Wanganui Militia; in 1869 he left for Thames, later settling in Auckland. The book incorporates Gudgeon’s own military experiences along with a more general history of war events from 1865 onwards.

Isaac Kent [1907]. *The East Coast Maori War, by an Old Veteran*. Napier: Cooke. Kent had been in the South Island mining gold and then working on sheep stations. He intended to return to Australia but when war broke out in Hawke’s Bay in 1865 he travelled there to join the colonial defence forces, in which he served for four years.

Thomas McDonnell (1887). *Maori History Being a Native Account of the Pakeha-Maori Wars in New Zealand and Incidents of the War: Tales of Maori Character and Customs &c.* Auckland: Brett. (ENZB). Bound together with Gudgeon’s *The Defenders of New Zealand*. McDonnell migrated to New Zealand around 1840. He received his first commission in the New Zealand Defence Service in 1863 and served in numerous engagements in the Waikato, Whanganui, Taranaki and East Coast. In 1869 he commanded the government forces against Te Kooti. His *Maori History* is supposedly based on information “gathered from a Maori chief,” Kowhai Ngutu Kaka. His *Incidents of the War* is based on his own
experiences. For further details regarding McDonnell and his career and writings, see his entry in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*.

Thomas McDonnell (1869). *An Explanation of the Principal Causes Which Led to the Present War on the West Coast of New Zealand; In Defence of the Action Taken by Lieut.-Col. Thos. McDonnell, Whilst Commanding the Patea Field Force, With a Suggestion as to Future Operations*. Wanganui: Times Office. Hocken Pamphlets Vol 2 No 16. (ENZB). McDonnell joined the Colonial Defence Force in 1863 and served in various campaigns in the Waikato War and the war against Pai Mārire forces. He commanded forces in the Patea district during the campaign against Titikowaru until his resignation early in 1869. For details of his career, see his entry in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*.

Ebenezer Maxwell (1935). *Recollections and Reflections of an old New Zealander*. Dunedin: Reed. Maxwell was for seven years in the “Old Force” (either the Colonial Defence Force or Armed Constabulary), spending four years in service in Taranaki.

Charles Money (1871). *Knocking About in New Zealand*. Melbourne: Samuel Mullen. (ENZB). Money arrived in New Zealand in 1861 and spent seven years in a wide variety of pursuits, including gold prospecting and agricultural work. He spent brief periods in the Colonial Defence Force and Waikato Militia, then a longer spell in the Wanganui Yeomanry Cavalry, participating in McDonnell’s campaigns against Pai Mārire in Taranaki.

Thomas Mould (1861). *Sketch of Military Proceedings in New Zealand From the Termination of the Waitara Campaign, March, 1861*. London, Thomas Rawlings. Mould was commander of the Royal Engineers in New Zealand. This item is available on microfilm – the same film includes Mould’s paper *On the Engineer Operations Carried on in New Zealand During the War in 1860-61* (London, 1862). This was extracted from reports and journals sent to his superior.

Captain Pasley (1863). *The War in New Zealand*. (ENZB). This is an extract from the Journal of the Royal United Service Institution, v. VI, no. XXV, March 1863, with the text of two talks given in 1862. Captain Pasley, who was in the Royal Engineers, served (and was wounded) in the war in Taranaki.

T. W. R. Porter, (1897). *Major Ropata Wahawaha: The Story of His Life and Times*. Gisborne: Poverty Bay Herald. Ropata Wahawaha of Ngāti Porou served in the kūpapa forces of the East Coast against Pai Mārire and Te Kooti. He was awarded the New Zealand Cross for his actions. The author, Lieut.-Colonel Porter, served with him in the wars, and includes detailed accounts of various campaigns.

H. B. Stoney (1861). Taranaki: A Tale of the War. With A Description of the Province Previous to and During the War; Also an Account (Chiefly Taken from the Despatches) of the Principal Contests with the Natives During that Eventful Period. Auckland: W. C. Wilson. According to Hocken’s bibliography, this is “a wearisome attempt to weave together the official despatches of the war, which are interesting, with a vapid love story.” It is recognised by some literary historians as the first ‘novel’ published in New Zealand. The author, Major Henry Butler Stoney, was paymaster of the 40th Regiment.

William White (Ed.) (1862). Memorials of Sergeant William Marjouram, Royal Artillery, Including Six Years’ Service in New Zealand, During the Late Maori War. London: James Nisbet. Marjouram, of the Royal Artillery, arrived in New Zealand during the 1850s. He was stationed in Taranaki and served in the war there. The book is based largely on his diary, which concentrates heavily on his religious life. There is also a modern edited version of the diary, including introduction and explanatory text – Laurie Barber, Garry Clayton and John Tonkin-Covell (Eds.) (1990). Sergeant, Sinner, Saint & Spy: The Taranaki War Diary of Sergeant William Marjouram, R.A. Auckland: Random Century.

George S. Whitmore (1902). The Last Maori War in New Zealand Under the Self-Reliant Policy. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co. (ENZB). Whitmore commanded the Colonial Defence Force during the campaign against Te Kooti. See also the entry about him in the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography.


Archives

Lieutenant Bouverie F. Clark: Logbook of HMS Esk (MS-0391). HMS Esk was a twenty-one gun corvette which made up part of the Australasian Squadron transporting troops around the upper North Island and providing members of the Naval Brigade who fought in various actions, including the Battle of Gate Pa, where the Esk’s captain, John Hamilton, was killed. This is a transcript of the original log.

Robert Harding: Journal (Misc-MS-0387). Harding was assistant surgeon on HMS Miranda, which served in New Zealand and Australia during the 1860s. His journal describes the Miranda’s involvement in various troop movements around the North Island and the Battle of Gate Pa.

Thomas McDonnell papers (MS-0396). Typescript copies of McDonnell’s papers, consisting largely of correspondence from political and military figures involved in the wars. He joined the New Zealand Defence Service in 1863 and served in numerous engagements in the Waikato, Whanganui, Taranaki and East Coast. In 1869 he commanded the government forces against Te Kooti.
James Mellsop: The Fight at Ti-Ti, 23rd of October, 1863 (MS-0220). Mellsop was a Captain in the Forest Rifles, who recorded his reminiscences of the engagement at Titi Hill, Mauku, for the Mangere Mutual Improvement Society Magazine. This manuscript also includes Mellsop’s coloured map of the scene of the fight and its locality.

Gustavus Ferdinand von Tempsky: Papers (ARC-0410). Von Tempsky served in the Forest Rangers during the Waikato War. He later joined the Armed Constabulary and was killed during the campaign against Titikowaru. These papers include a transcript of his account of the war in Waikato, and a testimonial he wrote for one of his fellow Forest Rangers.

Lieutenant Colonel Edward Arthur Williams: Sketches on the Waikato (Misc-MS-1085). Williams served as commander of the Royal Artillery in the Waikato 1864-1866. This is an account of his military service, to accompany his watercolour sketches of the war. There is a transcript with explanatory introduction available (Misc-MS-1143) and the original journal and sketches are in the Hocken pictorial collections (upstairs).

**Regimental histories**

John Bilcliffe (1995). *Well Done the 68th: The Durhams in the Crimea and New Zealand 1854-1866*. Chippenham, Wiltshire: Picton Publishing. The 68th Regiment was in New Zealand from January 1864 to March 1866. It was originally based at Te Papa, Tauranga and fought at Gate Pa. In 1865 it went on an expedition to Whanganui and Taranaki, participating in action at Kakaramea. The book includes extracts from the diaries of several members of the regiment.

Philip Booth (1971). *The Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry (The 43rd/52nd Regiment of Foot)*. London: Leo Cooper. The 43rd Light Infantry (known as the Monmouthshire from 1872) was in New Zealand from 1863-66. This book includes a very brief account of their service in New Zealand, where they were involved in battle at Gate Pa and Te Ranga.


George Gretton (1911). *The Campaigns and History of the Royal Irish Regiment From 1684 to 1902*. Edinburgh: Blackwood. The 18th (Royal Irish) Regiment was in New Zealand from 1863-70 and fought initially in the Waikato War. From 1865 the regiment was stationed in the Patea and Whanganui districts, but shifted to Auckland in 1867, with smaller detachments remaining in Taranaki and at Napier. This book includes a chapter detailing the regiment’s activities in New Zealand.

Richard S. Hill (1989). *The Colonial Frontier Tamed: New Zealand Policing in Transition, 1867-1886*. [Wellington]: Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs. This history of policing in New Zealand includes discussion of the Armed Constabulary, which
replaced the Colonial Defence Force as New Zealand’s standing armed force in 1867. It was actively involved in warfare in Taranaki.

Michael Langley (1972). *The East Surrey Regiment (The 31st and 70th Regiments of Foot)*. London: Cooper. The 70th (Surrey) Regiment was in New Zealand from 1861-66 and was chiefly involved in the Waikato War. This history of the regiment includes a very brief account of its service in New Zealand.


W. J. Penn (1909). *The Taranaki Rifle Volunteers: A Corps with a History*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery. This is “a chronicle of the formation and achievements of the First British Volunteer Corps to become engaged with an enemy in the field; from 1859 to 1909.” Incorporates some official records of the time.

Raymond Smythies (1894). *Historical Records of the 40th (2nd Somersetshire) Regiment, Now 1st Battalion, the Prince of Wales’s Volunteers (South Lancashire Regiment), From its Foundation in 1717 to 1893*. Devonport: A. W. Swiss. 2 vols. The 40th (Somersetshire) Regiment was in New Zealand from 1860-66 and fought in Taranaki and the Waikato. This work includes (in volume 2) a detailed account of the regiment’s activities in New Zealand.


H. J. Warre (Ed.) (1878). *Historical Records of the Fifty-Seventh, or, West Middlesex Regiment of Foot*. London: W. Mitchell. The 57th Regiment was in New Zealand from 1861 to 1867 and served chiefly in Taranaki and Whanganui. This history of the regiment by its former commander provides many details of its activities in New Zealand.

**Settler accounts**

Books and pamphlets

John Featon (1879). *The Waikato War, 1863-4*. Auckland: John Henry Field. (ENZB). Featon was a journalist who covered the war. In a new edition, published in 1923, details of the campaign against Te Kooti were substantially revised and re-written by Gilbert Mair.
John Featon (1923). *The Waikato War Together With Some Account of Te Kooti Rikirangi*. Auckland: Brett. This is a revised edition of Featon’s book on the Waikato War, originally published in 1879. The section on Te Kooti was revised and rewritten by Gilbert Mair. Mair joined the Waikato Militia in 1867 and later led a force of Te Arawa kūpapa in the campaigns against Te Kooti.

Thomas Gilbert (1861). *New Zealand Settlers and Soldiers; or, The War in Taranaki: Being Incidents in the Life of a Settler*. London: A. W. Bennett. (ENZB). Gilbert was a Baptist minister who migrated to Taranaki with his family in 1851. They farmed at Omata and were caught up in the events of the war and witnessed the fighting at Waireka. They later fled to Nelson. Gilbert’s book covers the early period of the war with an appendix incorporating newspaper accounts.

John Gorst (1864). *The Maori King or the Story of our Quarrel with the Natives of New Zealand*. London: Macmillan. (ENZB). Also available in modern editions – the 1959 edition, edited and with a useful introduction by historian Keith Sinclair, is available online (NZETC). Gorst lived in the Waikato as a teacher, Resident Magistrate and Civil Commissioner, and his book records his experiences there in the period leading up to the Waikato War.

Thomas Lambert (1925). *The Story of Old Wairoa and the East Coast District*. Dunedin: Coulls Somerville Wilkie. Includes detailed accounts of military events on the East Coast from a colonial perspective. The author was a local journalist.

Guy H. Scholefield (Ed.) (1960). *The Richmond-Atkinson Papers*. Wellington: Government Printer. 2 vols. The Richmonds and Atkinsons were part of a large extended family living in Taranaki. This collection of extracts from journals and correspondence includes material relating to their experiences of the wars in Taranaki. Some of the men served in the Taranaki Rifle Volunteers and played a prominent part in local politics.


**Archives**

Elizabeth Hall: Letters from Maria Nicholson, New Plymouth and Nelson (MS-0292). Maria Nicholson migrated to Taranaki as governess to the Brown family – Henry Brown was Anglican minister at Omata, where he also owned a farm. The family moved to New
Plymouth after war broke out and in June 1860 the women and children moved to Nelson. This transcript of Nicholson’s letters to her cousin includes her account of the early part of the war.

Rev. Robert Ward papers (MS-0893). Ward was a Primitive Methodist preacher who established a church and school at Henui, Taranaki, in 1844. After spending some years in Auckland, he returned to New Plymouth in 1859, shortly before the outbreak of war. His two sons served as volunteers and his diaries include many references to the war. (Transcripts of the diaries are also available – see ARC-0398).

Newspapers
The Hocken has a good collection of New Zealand newspapers covering the period of the wars and these give a colonial perspective of events.

Of particular relevance are the New Zealand Herald (Auckland) and Taranaki Herald – there was no Waikato paper until the 1870s. The New Zealand Herald, Taranaki Herald and Hawkes Bay Herald are, along with some other nineteenth-century newspapers, available via the National Library’s Papers Past website - https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/.

Flotsam & Jetsam
These are scrapbooks of items relating to New Zealand history (mostly newspaper clippings) compiled by Dr Hocken. These can be ordered via Häkena, the pictures, photographs, archives and manuscripts catalogue. Items of interest include –

Volume 11
- pp.102-3 - Various late March 1860 newspaper reports relating to the Taranaki war.
- p. 38 1883 New Zealand Herald article giving Potatau’s account of “the Rangiaohia affair.”
- p. 34-5 - F. G. Moore’s account of “the summary closing of Sir George Grey’s newspaper, ‘Te Pihohoi Moke Moke’ (‘The Lonely Sparrow’) at Te Awamutu, by the King Natives under Rewi Maniapoto, in the stirring scenes immediately preceding the Waikato War in 1863.” Published in the Dominion Journal, 4 August 1908.
- p. 48 - Letter dated 31 December 1861 to the editor of the New Zealand Spectator from Octavius Hadfield, concerning the history of the Taranaki war.
- p. 70 Article by Lt Col Thomas McDonnell, in command of the Patea district in 1868, concerning Poro’s account of the fight at Kakaramea in 1864.
Missionaries

Missionaries frequently became caught up in the wars, sometimes as advocates of Māori, and sometimes as supporters of settlers. See also our separate reference guide to missionary sources at the Hocken https://www.otago.ac.nz/library/hocken/otago038951.html.

Books and pamphlets

Extracts of Letters from New Zealand on the War Question. (1861). London: F. J. Wilson. Hocken Pamphlets Vol 24 No 7. Includes letters from various people, most of them clergy and clergy wives. Also includes extracts from newspapers and a copy of the Native Offenders’ Bill.

Memorial to His Grace the Secretary of State for the Colonies Together With a Memorandum on New Zealand Affairs. (1861). London: Church Missionary House. Hocken Pamphlets Vol 24 No 10. This gives the Church Missionary Society’s perspective on various issues relating to the war in Taranaki.

S. J. Brittan, G. F., C. W., and A. V. Grace (Eds.) [1928]. A Pioneer Missionary Among the Maoris 1850-1879: Being Letters and Journals of Thomas Samuel Grace. Palmerston North: Bennett. (ENZB). Grace was an Anglican missionary at Turanga (Gisborne) and then Pukawa (Taupo). From 1863 he served as an itinerant missionary among the Māori. He had various dealings with the Kingitanga and Pai Mārire and was one of Te Kooti’s teachers. He was captured, along with Carl Volkner, by Pai Mārire in 1865 but managed to escape (Volkner was killed). See Grace’s entry in the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography.


Octavius Hadfield (1860). Recent Outbreak at Taranaki, New Zealand. London?: T.C. Johns? Hocken Pamphlets Vol 82, No 1. This publishes two letters written by Hadfield to Henry Venn, secretary of the CMS, in March and April 1860, criticising the government’s actions in Taranaki. Includes the text of a petition signed by 500 Māori protesting against the war. This pamphlet is bound together with two others published by the CMS in response to events in New Zealand: New Zealand. Memorial to His Grace the Secretary of State for the Colonies Together with a Memorandum on New Zealand Affairs (1861) and New Zealand. Further Remarks on New Zealand Affairs (1861). Both pamphlets protest government treatment of Māori land rights; the second publishes a translation of a
speech by Ngāti Kahungunu leader Renata Tama-ki-Hikurangi Kawepo, made at Ahuriri in November 1860, concerning government actions in Taranaki and on the East Coast (see also the separate pamphlet devoted to Renata).

C. J. Wilson (Ed.) (1889). Missionary Life and Work in New Zealand, 1833-1862. Being the Private Journal of the Late Rev. John Alexander Wilson. Auckland: Star Office. (ENZB). John Alexander Wilson was a CMS missionary serving in New Zealand from 1833. He was working amongst Māori in the Auckland district when war broke out in Taranaki, and proceeded to Waikato and then Taranaki in an attempt to bring about peace. He witnessed several battles and was involved in the negotiations which brought an end to the first Taranaki War. See also his papers in the Hocken archives (listed below).

Archives

Benjamin Yate Ashwell: Letters and journals (MS-0860). Ashwell was a CMS missionary who ran the mission station at Taupiri, on the Waikato River. He left for Auckland in May 1863 due to the war, though he continued to make regular visits to the Waikato. These transcripts of his letters and journals, sent to the CMS in London, include his account of political and military events in the district.

Church Missionary Society, London: Records relating to the New Zealand mission (MS-0498). This collection includes various items relating to the New Zealand Wars, including letters from missionaries serving in New Zealand and journals of Thomas Grace (see also his published journals, listed above). Further CMS records are available on microfilm (Micro 121/1-71). The 71 reels include minute books, reports and correspondence. There are guides to the microfilms available on the archives reference shelves.

Rev. John Alexander Wilson letters (MS-0584). Wilson was a CMS missionary who became caught up in the Taranaki wars (see also his published journal, listed above). These transcripts of his letters (probably written to the CMS) outline some of his war experiences.

Political pamphlets and books


William Fox (1866). The War in New Zealand. London: Smith, Elder. (ENZB). Fox was a colonial lawyer, journalist and politician, at one time Premier of New Zealand (see his entry in Dictionary of New Zealand Biography). His book focuses on the Taranaki, Waikato, Bay of Plenty and Pai Mārire campaigns of the wars. He disapproved of the Taranaki War but supported the invasion of Waikato and later outbreaks. Hocken, in his
Bibliography of New Zealand Literature, suggests Fox wrote this book “to allay the great outcry of the [British] public against the expense incurred in sending troops to New Zealand.”


*In Memoriam. Isaac Earle Featherston, Died June 20th, 1876.* (1876). Wanganui: Chronicle Office. This memorial pamphlet to long-time politician and Wellington superintendent Isaac Featherston includes a letter he wrote to a friend in 1860, expressing his opposition to the Taranaki War. Featherston later participated in the West Coast campaign of 1865-6 – for further details see his entry in the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography.


Charles Partridge (1864). *Calumny Refuted, the Colonists Vindicated, and the Right Horse Saddled: or a Brief Review of Mis-Government in New Zealand the Cause of the Native Rebellion*. Auckland: Creighton & Scales. Hocken Pamphlets, Vol 54 No 12. (ENZB). Partridge, “a settler of over twenty-five years standing,” in the words of Hocken’s bibliography “accuses, in unmeasured terms, a band of philo-Maori conspirators, with Governor Grey at the head, as the cause of the colony’s misfortunes …”


William Swainson (1862). *New Zealand and the War*. London: Smith, Elder. (ENZB). Swainson was the former Attorney-General for New Zealand. He believed the Taranaki War, which this book discusses, was unjust. See the entry on Swainson in the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography.

**The Taranaki Question and responses**


See also the *Friends of the Hocken Collections Bulletin*, No 12 (1995) for a list of 19th Century Views and Accounts of the New Zealand Wars (including some newspaper articles). This is available electronically —


**Maps and plans**

Hocken has a number of maps relating to the wars. For details, check Library Search|Ketu under the subject heading

- *New Zealand – History – New Zealand Wars, 1860-1872 – Maps*

Some are facsimiles, published by the Irish Academic Press in 1977 from originals in the British Parliamentary Papers. Others are originals, for example –

*Map Shewing Military Operations in the North East Coast of the North Island 1864-1872* (c. 1872).


The archives collection have a large folder of pā plans (MS-4248), generally drawn by military personnel (some of the plans are originals, but most are facsimiles or published
versions). Included are plans of Rangiriri, Gate (Pukehinahina), Ngatapa and Taurangaika pā.

Some historical maps of Waikato relating to the wars can be found online via the University of Waikato Library database Historical Maps of the Waikato region

**Modern studies**

**General**

James Belich (1986). *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict.* Auckland: Auckland University Press. Belich later wrote and presented a television series based on this book – *The New Zealand Wars: Nga Pakanga Nunui o Aotearoa*. We have this available on videotape – please give at least 24 hours’ notice, as the tapes require acclimatisation.

James Cowan (1922-1923). *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period.* Wellington: W.A.G. Skinner. 2 vols. Also available online at the at the New Zealand Electronic Text Centre, [http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/](http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/) This work, now a classic, is a lively account of all the major engagements of the wars. Cowan, whose father fought in the wars, interviewed participants from both sides. The 1983 edition includes a helpful introduction by Michael King.


*Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* This is available on the ready reference shelves or online - [https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies](https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies). It includes biographies of many people involved in the wars. Search by name or, on the website, try an advanced search under “occupation/activity“ using “armed forces“.


**Taranaki**


**Parihaka**


**Pai Mārire**


**Waikato**

Maurice Lennard [1986]. *The Road to War: The Great South Road 1862-64*. [Whakatane: Whakatane & District Historical Society]. “A narrative of the making of the Great South Road to the Waikato River and the establishment of the Redoubts and Military strong points protecting it; and of the conflicts between Pakeha and Maori culminating at the end of the Road in the Battle of Rangiriri.”

**Te Kooti**

Judith Binney (1995). *Redemption Songs: A Life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. This highly acclaimed biography of Te Kooti has a useful bibliography leading to other works on the man and his military experiences.

**Tūhoe**


**Photographs and artworks**

We have a large collection (126 items) of Edward Arthur Williams’ watercolour sketches, which include images of soldiers, camps and military constructions in the Waikato and Taranaki. Williams was a commander of the Royal Artillery who served in New Zealand from 1864 to 1866. You are able to view many of these sketches online via Hākena. There is also a diary of Williams [Misc-MS-1085] describing, possibly in an exaggerated or fictional style, a colonel’s journey through the Waikato in 1864.

Henry James Warre painted two watercolours of interest, showing Katikara (11,326 a) and a camp at Poutoko (8,610) (both in 1863). We also have his sketchbook (11,326) with many Taranaki landscapes, some featuring stockades or military constructions. Warre was an officer in the 57th Regiment. The Godward collection in pictorial collections includes some sketches relating to the Waikato Wars which appeared in the *Illustrated London News* – some of these may be found online via the University of Waikato Library database *Illustrated*.

Other individual artworks relating to the wars can be found on Hākena and include –

Artist unknown (c.1860). “New Plymouth during the war…”

Artist unknown “Engagement at Okutuku [Okotuku], 1868.”

Artist unknown “Ake! Ake! Ake! Rewi defying the British troops at Orakau. The fighting Chief of the Ngatimaniapoto refusing terms of surrender, offered through Major Mair. An incident in the Waikato war, being the last gallant stand made by the Maoris.” Supplement to the *Auckland Weekly News*, Saturday December 16 1893.

Artist unknown “For his enemy, an episode of the Maori War.” Supplement to the *Auckland Weekly News* Christmas number, December 14 1895.


James Ingram McDonald “Sketch of Sentry Hill Redoubt, from sketch by S. Percy Smith in June 1865 (10 months after the attack by Hauhaus).”

John Elder Moultray “Battle of Te Ngutu O Te Haru [Manu?]”

The reader access files contain a number of photographs and drawings relating to the wars, including soldiers, war memorials and battle scenes. Check the following folders –

- *Haerehuka*
- *Katikara*
- *Koru Pa*
- *Land Wars – Hauhau (Pai Marire) Movement*
- *Land Wars – Miscellaneous*
- *Land Wars – Rangiriri*
- *Land Wars – Ruapekapeka*
- *Maketu*
- *New Plymouth*
- *Opotiki*
- *Parihaka*
- *Pukehinahina (Gate Pa)*
- *Taranaki*
- Waihi Redoubt
- Waikaremoana
- Waikato
- Wereroa

These photographs can also be viewed on Hocken Snapshop at [https://hocken.recollect.co.nz/](https://hocken.recollect.co.nz/). See Hākena for details.

Please talk to desk staff if you wish to consult the pictorial collections.
Websites and further information

**New Zealand History online** - [https://nzhistory.govt.nz/](https://nzhistory.govt.nz/) The Ministry of Culture and Heritage’s history website includes several essays on the New Zealand Wars. Take the links to ‘New Zealand at War’, then ‘New Zealand’s internal wars’.


**Auckland Museum** - [http://www.aucklandmuseum.com/](http://www.aucklandmuseum.com/) Includes an online database, Cenotaph, of New Zealand servicemen and women who died at war, including the New Zealand Wars. Follow the links to ‘War Memorial’, then ‘Online Cenotaph’.


**Army Museum** - [https://www.armymuseum.co.nz](https://www.armymuseum.co.nz) State Highway One / PO Box 45, Waiouru - enquiries@armymuseum.co.nz A specialist military museum.

**University of Waikato** - [https://www.waikato.ac.nz/library/resources/digital-collections](https://www.waikato.ac.nz/library/resources/digital-collections) This digital collection includes historical maps relating to the wars, and *Illustrated London News* material relating to New Zealand, incorporating the war period.

**DigitalNZ** - [https://digitalnz.org/](https://digitalnz.org/) This website incorporates digital collections from various archives and libraries and includes considerable material relating to the wars. Try a search which incorporates a date, for example ‘New Zealand Wars 1860s’.
