



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Research Commons

<http://researchcommons.waikato.ac.nz/>

Research Commons at the University of Waikato

Copyright Statement:

The digital copy of this thesis is protected by the Copyright Act 1994 (New Zealand).

The thesis may be consulted by you, provided you comply with the provisions of the Act and the following conditions of use:

- Any use you make of these documents or images must be for research or private study purposes only, and you may not make them available to any other person.
- Authors control the copyright of their thesis. You will recognise the author's right to be identified as the author of the thesis, and due acknowledgement will be made to the author where appropriate.
- You will obtain the author's permission before publishing any material from the thesis.

THE TARANAKI REFUGEES 1860.

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree
of
Master of Arts in History
at the University of Waikato
by
Natasha Andrea Elliot-Hogg

University of Waikato

1999.

ABSTRACT.

This thesis investigates a previously unexplored aspect of the Taranaki wars by examining the circumstances surrounding the evacuation of refugees to Nelson, from New Plymouth, in 1860. Most of the data has been gained from official sources, although personal diaries and letters and contemporary newspapers have also been used. Because of the absence of a precedent in New Zealand history, no analytical model has been used in this research.

It is argued that when war broke out, the provincial authorities had little support in the community to force the removal of women and children, and that, for a time, the military authorities were also uninterested in evacuating the non-combatants. The management and distribution of donations given to the refugees is assessed, as well as the response to their plight, by other provinces, and the effect parochialism might have had on the aid they gave. Attention has been given to the different refugee experiences in Nelson and how they coped with their situation. The General Government's method in determining if, and how, compensation should be awarded is examined, as is their disbursement of the funds.

This was the first, and last time, that half the civilian population of a New Zealand province had been evacuated during a time of crisis. The purpose of this thesis is to explore the refugee experience, and their responses to their evacuation and eventual return to Taranaki to rebuild their homes and livelihoods once fighting had ceased.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

I would like to thank Dr Philip Hart, and Dr Simon Burrows for supervising my thesis. Special thanks go to Dr Jeanine Graham for also assisting in this, and for providing the idea of researching the Taranaki refugees. To Dr Ken Coates, Dean of Arts at the University of New Brunswick-Saint John, Canada, I extend gratitude for encouraging me to complete an MA in the first place.

I am also grateful to the staff of the Alexander Turnbull Library, and National Library, Wellington, for their assistance and guidance. I am particularly appreciative of all the time and help given by Mary Donald, at the Taranaki Museum, New Plymouth.

Thanks go to Jennifer Lowe, my partner in crime for the last three years, who has given good advice and provided light relief when needed.

Last, but definitely not least, I would like to acknowledge my parents and grandparents for their financial support, encouragement, and interest in this project.

CONTENTS.

	page
ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
CONTENTS	iv
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	v
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	v
INTRODUCTION	1
Chapter 1 DISRUPTION IN TARANAKI	9
Chapter 2 NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL AID	28
Chapter 3 THE REFUGEE EXPERIENCE	44
Chapter 4 COMPENSATION AND RECONSTRUCTION	65
CONCLUSION	80
APPENDICES	86
BIBLIOGRAPHY	97

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

illustration	page
Map of Taranaki Province, 1860	10
Thomas King, 1860	15
Proclamation Under Martial Law, New Plymouth	23
Mary King, a refugee at Nelson	49
Refugee Barracks, Nelson	57
John Jury and his wife Sophia, a refugee at Nelson, 1851	63

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

WNA - National Archives, Wellington.

TM - Taranaki Museum, New Plymouth.

WTU - Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

NP - Nelson Province.

TP - Taranaki Province.

IA - Internal Affairs.

All original spelling, in the historical documents used, has been retained throughout this thesis.

INTRODUCTION.

When war broke out in Taranaki in March 1860, 1500 women and children, who were collectively known as the ‘Taranaki refugees’, were evacuated to Nelson.¹ These disturbances were the culmination of tensions between Te Atiawa and Pakeha, which had festered ever since the first settlers arrived in the area.

The colonisation of New Plymouth was organised by the Plymouth Company in 1840 to enable residents of the southwest counties in England to emigrate to New Zealand. Six ships left England, with a total of 1012 passengers, between 19 November 1840 and 3 September 1842 carrying passengers mainly from Cornwall and Devon.² Many of these colonists were agricultural labourers, or involved in related industries in England, and had skills which would stand them in good stead for establishing their new colonial homes. The emigrants who made the decision to endure a long and potentially dangerous journey to New Zealand were eager for better economic opportunities and particularly the chance to purchase their own land.

From the outset New Plymouth was an agricultural settlement, and ‘most of the thirty or so professional men in New Plymouth who practised as lawyers, doctors, or ministers could also be described as part-time farmers’.³ Many of the settlers had no capital and were relying on an income from farming to provide for their living. Charles Hursthouse, a resident of New Plymouth, commented in 1849 that ‘almost every man is a “freeholder”, possessing a house, some stock, and a few acres of land’.⁴ By the late 1850s, the Taranaki colonists were beginning to see the

¹ *Nelson Examiner (NE)*, 12 September 1860, p. 2.

² Raewyn Dalziel, ‘Emigration and Kinship: Migrants to New Plymouth 1840-1843’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 25 (October 1991), p.115.

³ Frances Porter, *Born to New Zealand: A Biography of Jane Maria Atkinson* (Wellington, 1989), p.54.

⁴ Charles Hursthouse Jnr., *An Account of the Settlement of New Plymouth*

rewards of their exertions. Replacing the raupo huts which housed the first settlers were ‘homesteads’, some of which had 12 rooms.⁵ Grace Hirst, who lived in Bell Block, wrote to her sister in 1858 that ‘If I could for years before we left England have pictured our present situation I should have thought I should have nothing more to wish for’.⁶

Taranaki had few Maori when New Plymouth was first chosen as a place of settlement by the New Zealand Company. In c.1821, the Te Atiawa tribe united with Te Rauparaha and the Ngati Toa to fight the Waikato confederation, but when Waikato invaded Taranaki, Te Atiawa left the region in search of guns and supplies. Many went south with Te Rauparaha, settling on the Kapiti Coast. Those who chose to remain in Taranaki were severely defeated by the Waikato, who seized their pa of Pukerangiora in 1831, causing the remaining members of the tribe to join their fellow Te Atiawa in Kapiti. A few survived the attacks from the Waikato confederation and lived on land at Nga Motu, near the future town of New Plymouth, as their enemies never occupied the land they overran. Others were captured by their victors to be used as slaves further north.⁷

By the time the New Zealand Company had chosen Taranaki as an ideal site for a new township, large groups of Te Atiawa had begun to return to their ancestral lands from Kapiti and the Waikato. They were not prepared for the revelation that the few Te Atiawa who had remained at Nga Motu had sold their land to agents of the Company. In 1839 one of these land purchasing agents, Colonel Wakefield, ‘bought’, with some guns and blankets, approximately 20 million acres of land from

(Christchurch, 1975; first printed in London, 1849), p.149.

⁵ Fred B. Butler, *Early Days in Taranaki* (New Plymouth, 1942), p.17.

⁶ eds., Frances Porter and Charlotte MacDonald, *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, 1996) p. 164.

⁷ Keith Sinclair, *The Origins of the Maori Wars*, 2nd ed. (Wellington, 1861), p. 112.

exiled Te Atiawa in the Wellington region. This transaction included one third of New Zealand and all of Taranaki.⁸ Wakefield was trying to pre-empt the British government declaring sovereignty in New Zealand and prohibiting the private purchase of land from Maori.

However, on 6 February 1840 the Treaty of Waitangi was signed, giving the Crown the right to purchase Maori land in priority over private buyers, and making all previous purchases, including Wakefield's, void.⁹ This did not deter him, and Wakefield proceeded to again buy land in Taranaki. In total 68,000 acres of land in Taranaki was bought; one tenth was to be reserved for Maori;¹⁰ 550 acres for New Plymouth town, which was to be divided into 2,200 quarter acre sections; while a further 67,950 acres was to be set aside for rural and suburban sections stretching from the Whanganui River in the south to Waitara in the north - the catalyst for the first Taranaki war. Wakefield, through the New Zealand Company, then sold or promised land in New Plymouth to emigrants prior to their departure from England.¹¹ In fact, £12,000 worth of Taranaki land had been sold in England at 30 shillings an acre by the time the New Zealand Company had taken over the Plymouth Company in 1841.¹² As the first emigrants began to occupy their land allotments throughout Taranaki in 1841, Maori in the area began to object by blocking surveyors and occupying land on which the emigrants wished to settle. This resulted in many settlers staying close to the New Plymouth township, and fuming at the

⁸ Sinclair, p. 111.

⁹ *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, ed. by Geoffrey W. Rice, 2nd ed. (Auckland, 1992), p. 58.

¹⁰ Waitangi Tribunal, *The Taranaki Report-Kaupapa Tuatahi Muru Me Te Raupatu-the Muru and Raupatu of the Taranaki Land and People (Wai-143)* (Wellington, 1996), p. 25.

¹¹ *Wai-143*, p. 22.

¹² *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, vol. 3, ed. by A.H. McLintock (Wellington, 1966), p. 352.

‘savages’ who were supposedly blocking their rights to farm land which they believed they had bought legitimately.¹³

In 1844, the British Government appointed William Spain as Land Claims Commissioner to investigate purchases of land prior to the signing of the Waitangi Treaty. On assessing the Taranaki purchase made by Wakefield, Spain came to the conclusion that the New Zealand Company transaction was legitimate and that local Maori had no claim to the land. His recommendation was that the Imperial Government should allocate 60, 500 acres to the Company, reserving one tenth of the land for a Maori reserve. Te Atiawa protested vehemently at this ruling, even going so far as to form a group to run the settlers out of Taranaki. This prompted Governor Fitzroy to review Spain’s conclusions. In 1844, the Governor made an arrangement with Te Atiawa that the settlers would only occupy the Fitzroy Block, which encompassed 3,500 acres around the original landing site of the first emigrants. This decision was not welcomed by the emigrants who coveted the other 57,000 acres, and especially the fertile plains of the Waitara - all originally purchased by the New Zealand Company. It was left to George Grey, the incoming Governor, to appease the Taranaki settlers and over the next fifteen years - until war broke out in 1860 - the Colonial Government proceeded to buy the 60,000 acres which the New Zealand Company had ‘purchased’ in 1841. The result was that Maori who didn’t want to sell their land began to fight Maori who did; the Governor playing them off against each other to gain the land the government required. These disagreements simmered away until the Waitara affair in 1859 when one group decided to sell this valuable area to the Europeans, against the will of other Te Atiawa. The result was that these Maori who did not wish to sell Waitara land blocked the path of surveyors, preventing them from doing their job. When martial

¹³ *Wai-143*, p.26.

law was proclaimed the settlers sought the safety of the town, and were then sent to Nelson as refugees.

A modern dictionary defines a 'refugee' as one who flees to a foreign country as a result of persecution, political unrest, or war.¹⁴ Therefore, it would be inappropriate to label the Taranaki settlers 'refugees' if they had been displaced during this century, as they were removed to a local destination rather than overseas. Those who are 'removed for safety or protection, from a disaster area or an area threatened by danger' are identified as 'evacuees' in contemporary language.¹⁵ For the purposes of this thesis, those who were evacuated to Nelson will be referred to as the 'Taranaki refugees', in keeping with the usage of the time, but where appropriate the word 'evacuees' will also be used.

The Taranaki refugees were the first, and last, large group of settlers to be evacuated from a district in New Zealand to another part of the colony during a time of war. Never before had more than half the civil population of a town been forced to abandon their homes, livestock, and land. They were also the first, and last, colonists to receive compensation for damage and loss of property from the Central Government.

There has been no substantial research on this topic, hence the lack of a historiographical model. A. M. Dobbin conducted research on the refugees as part of his thesis on *New Plymouth Society During the Taranaki Land Wars, 1859-69*.¹⁶ However, his use of primary sources is limited and there is little insight into the experiences of the Taranaki refugees. An issue which Dobbin has not addressed, but

¹⁴ *The New Grolier Webster International Dictionary*, Vol. II (New York, 1976), p.806.

¹⁵ *The New Grolier Webster International Dictionary*, Vol. I (New York, 1976), p. 339.

¹⁶ A.M. Dobbin, 'New Plymouth Society During the Taranaki Wars, 1859-69', MA Research Essay, University of Auckland, 1977.

one which would have had relevance to his thesis topic, was the effect that the separation of families had on New Plymouth society during the war. Dobbin has also omitted to detail the compensation awarded to Taranaki settlers which aided the settlers in rebuilding their lives.

This thesis will address these issues and also examine how the provincial authorities coped when settlers began to flee their farms to seek the safety of the town and any mechanisms they might have had in place to deal with such an event. R.J. Polaschek has suggested that provinces in 19th century New Zealand had 'little communication with, or even interest in, one another'¹⁷ Using newspapers and provincial records, this study will reveal the reactions of other provinces to the plight of the refugees, and will indicate what responsibility they felt towards them. An important part of this study is to assess the experiences of those who were evacuated and to determine how this impacted their lives in Nelson. Under consideration is whether class differences resulted in substantially different treatment between refugees, and if so, to what extent. It is also important to gauge the reaction of the Central Government and their financial management of the crisis; more particularly the extent of their reluctance to pay for the expenses incurred by the refugees and their actions in determining reparation for the losses caused by the war. Given that this was a unique situation, the use of any international examples in apportioning funds will also be investigated.

This study only includes research on the evacuation of Pakeha during the Taranaki war, as a lack of evidence precludes an in-depth study of the displacement of Maori women and children. Despite there being more historical documentation on the former group, it is by no means comprehensive. Whilst material left by the Nelson

¹⁷ R. J. Polaschek, *Government Administration in New Zealand* (London, 1958), p. 13.

and Taranaki provincial authorities has been useful in providing details about the refugees, there is a lack of adequate data for numbers who remained in the South Island once the war had ended; in relation to total figures for refugees housed in the barracks, and those who could afford private accommodation; and regarding the total amount of money and goods donated to the settlers.

There is also a lack of personal documentation left by refugees during their time in Nelson, as the only records able to be traced are Mary King's and Mary Richmond's letters to their husbands, and Maria Richmond's diary.¹⁸ These manuscripts only reveal a glimpse into their emotional state and their experiences whilst separated from their menfolk, but what is written is invaluable. Details of life in New Plymouth whilst the war was being fought, are readily available in Thomas King's letters, which also detail how he coped without his wife and children. There are three other manuscripts which depict the state of the town at war, and include the diaries of Sergeant William Marjouram and F.U. Gledhill, and William King Wakefield's letters of 1860-1862.¹⁹

Official material such as the *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates* and the *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* have provided almost all of the data on what awards were made to the settlers for compensation. Their reaction to the decisions of the Government was sourced from the *Nelson Examiner* and the *Taranaki Herald*. The former was also particularly useful in providing

¹⁸ Mary King, Nelson, to Thomas King, New Plymouth, MS-5641-07, WTU; Mary Richmond, Nelson, to James Richmond, New Plymouth, MS 4298, Folder 127, WTU; Jane Maria Richmond Diary, MS 044/0, TM.

¹⁹ *Sergeant, Sinner, Saint & Spy: The Taranaki War Diary of Sergeant Willaim Marjouram*, R.A. ed. by Laurie Barber, Garry Clayton, and John Tonkin-Covell (Auckland, 1990; first published as *Memorials of Sergeant Marjouram, Royal Artillery, Including Six Years Service in New Zealand During the Late Maori War, 1863*). F.U. Gledhill, New Plymouth, Journal 1860-69, MS 007/0, TM. William King Wakefield, New Plymouth, Letters 1860-62, MS 081, TM.

reports of where the refugees were accommodated, their dates of arrival, and the efforts made by other districts to raise funds for those who had been evacuated. Unfortunately, the *Herald* was censored during the war which resulted in rather piecemeal reports.

There is enough evidence, however, to provide a case study of the Taranaki refugees. Although it is not comprehensive, it does detail a period of 19th New Zealand history which has previously been neglected by historians. It is hoped that this thesis might generate further research on the refugees, and bring to light any other sources which may lie undiscovered.

CHAPTER 1

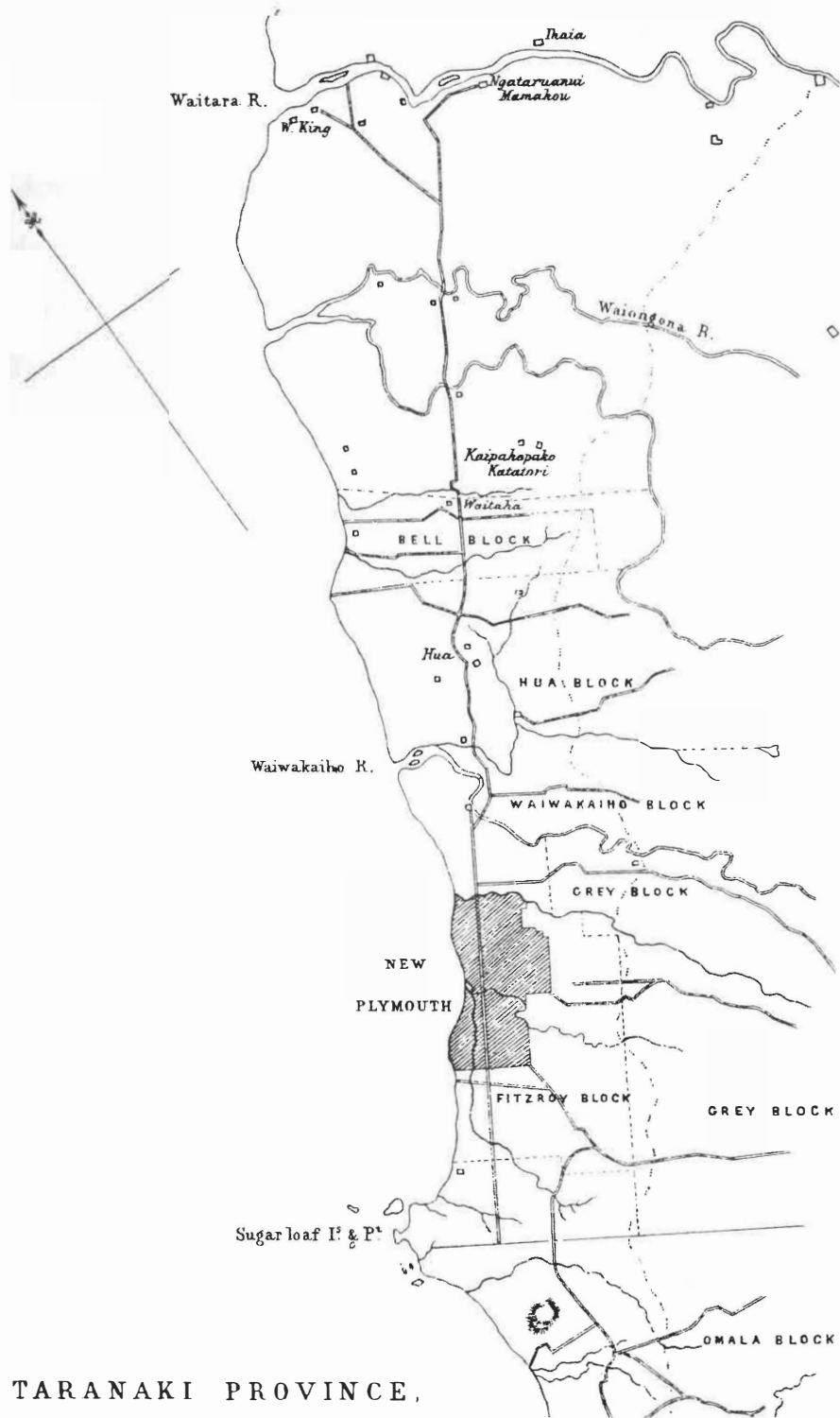
DISRUPTION IN TARANAKI.

The disruption and turmoil caused by the war severely taxed the skills of the provincial authorities in Taranaki. They were totally unprepared for a crisis such as the one which occurred in 1860 and had little power to control the settlers. This was most evident when only a small group took advantage of Nelson's offer to accept any evacuees from the province, with the majority staying in New Plymouth, thereby placing pressure on accommodation and resources within the town. It was not until September 1860 that most of those categorised as refugees were sent to Nelson, because Major General Pratt, the Commanding Officer in Taranaki, would not tolerate the large number of women and children. Until Pratt arrived, there had been no authority, and this included the military, within the town, who would force the the settlers to leave.

On 22 February 1860, martial law was declared in Taranaki by Lieutenant-Colonel G. F. Murray, with the assurance that should any disturbances break out between Maori and Imperial soldiers, settlers would be given notice to evacuate the province.¹ Many families resident in the farming communities of Bell Block, Omata, Grey Block, and Tataraimaka had already sought the safety of New Plymouth town (see Fig. 1). One observer noted that 'even at midnight, cart-loads of timid and trembling women and children may be seen making their way to more secure abodes'.² According to one official source, there were 244 families totalling

¹ Lt. Colonel G.F. Murray, Taranaki, 22 February 1860, MS 124 Proclamations/Public Notices, Taranaki Museum, New Plymouth (TM).

² Barber et. al., p. 37.



TARANAKI PROVINCE,

Great Britain Parliamentary Papers. Colonies: New Zealand (GBPP), 1860, IUP

Vol 11, Between pp. 342-43.

approximately 1200 men, women and children, situated outside the boundaries of the settlement before war broke out and who were driven from their farms into the town (see Appendix I).³ However, the whole civil population of Taranaki numbered 2650 people and the normal population of the township was 937 people, which suggests that the number of people who resided outside of New Plymouth was greater than 1200 people. Of the 2652 residents in Taranaki, 1238 were females likely to be evacuated from the province.⁴ Small boys and elderly or sick men would have enlarged this figure of potential refugees further, and George Cutfield, the Superintendent of Taranaki, suggested to the Governor Gore Browne that there would be 1400 persons who might require evacuation.⁵

Not all farming families, however, took heed of the warning given by the military commanders to come within the confines of the town. Some outsettlers were very reluctant to abandon their land, stock, possessions, and homes. At this early stage of the conflict, they might have believed that the incident over the Waitara was no different to the past disagreements they had had with Maori concerning land in Taranaki. There would be objections by Maori, followed by the intervention of colonial government employees, and perhaps a few shots would be exchanged, but it would not amount to much. Indeed, Governor Gore Browne was of the opinion that ‘twenty men in a blockhouse would command the Waitara’ and Colonel Gold believed that ‘one volley’ or a Maori ‘folly’ would settle the whole affair’.⁶

³ Lists Relating to the Relief Funds, 20 March 1863, MS 077 Taranaki Provincial Council, TM.

⁴ Comparative Table Showing Approximately the Numerical and Centesimal Increase of the Population (of European Descent) in the Settlements or Provinces in New Zealand, During a Period of 3 years, viz December 1858-December 1861, *New Zealand Gazette*, 27 July 1862, p.229.

⁵ *Taranaki Herald (TH)*, 31 March 1860, p.4.

⁶ Keith Sinclair, *The Origins of the Maori Wars*, 2nd edition (Wellington, 1961), p. 191.

Other settlers who remained on their farms clearly saw that war was a possibility. However, having invested twenty years of time and effort in making their land productive, they were not going to abandon the district until they were certain their lives were in imminent danger. These Taranaki farmers had been experiencing the benefits of exporting their produce, which was an incentive for those settlers who had arrived in Taranaki with very little. In 1858, Taranaki's exports were worth £11,000 and included produce such as butter, bacon, onions, potatoes and oats. In addition to 12,000 acres of land being used for crops, there were 16,000 sheep, nearly 2,000 pigs, and approximately 4,000 cattle providing a livelihood for the Taranaki settlers.⁷ There was too much at stake for some farmers to throw away everything they had worked for, in response to a threat which might not amount to outright war.

According to one soldier the 'wilful imprudence, and in defiance of general remonstrances' saw some outsettlers remain on their farms as late as March 1860.⁸ This resulted in open conflict between Maori and European troops at Waireka. On 27 March it was learnt that three farmers and two European boys had been surprised by Maori in the area and murdered. One of those who was ambushed and killed was Samuel Ford, who had ventured out alone to view 1000 sheep he was interested in purchasing.⁹ Under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel G.F. Murray, 360 British troops and an additional 160 volunteers and militia left New Plymouth on the 28 March, as there were still two or three families at Omata, including Reverend H.H Brown, who were in danger of losing their lives.¹⁰ Murray had arranged for his men

⁷ G.T. Bloomfield, *New Zealand: A Handbook of Historical Statistics* (Boston, 1984), p. 186. *New Zealand Gazette*, 1862, p.230-31.

⁸ Barber, et.al., p. 44.

⁹ F.U. Gledhill, New Plymouth, 27 March 1860, Journal 1860-69, MS 007/0, TM.

¹⁰ Barber et.al., p. 45.

to occupy a position on the road to Omata, whilst the local troops were to outflank them and collect the stranded families. However, both his column and the militia were attacked by Maori. The settler soldiers took refuge at a nearby farm house, and appealed to Murray to send aid. As orders had been given to be back in town before dark, Murray withdrew his troops, after giving brief assistance, and left the militia to fend for themselves. However, Captain Peter Cracroft with about 60 men from the *H.M.S Niger* declined Murray's 'invitation to withdraw' and proceeded to assault the main Maori pa, where they reputedly killed 150 Maori.¹¹ This action allowed the militia and volunteers to retreat to the Omata stockade,¹² and on the morning of 29 March Brown and the other settler families from Omata arrived in New Plymouth under escort from a group of *kupapa* or friendly Maori who were in the area.¹³

The seeming abandonment of the militia by the Imperial troops greatly upset the Taranaki settlers and was a factor in the deterioration of relations between the military and provincial authorities. One volunteer who was involved at Waireka wrote a letter of complaint to the local newspaper which highlighted the 'shameful conduct of Colonel Murray in so cruelly abandoning us'.¹⁴ Criticism also came from Captain Harry Atkinson, who commanded No. 2 Company of the Taranaki Rifle Volunteers, and who stated that there was 'no excuse for Murray'.¹⁵

By 31 March, all of the outsettlers were sheltering within the town, 'except about 90', presumably militia, who occupied the Omata stockade and the Bell

¹¹ Belich, p. 84.

¹² James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period*, vol.1, Reprinted with amendments (Wellington, 1983) p. 178.

¹³ Barber et. al., p. 45.

¹⁴ Belich, p. 85.

¹⁵ H.A. Atkinson, New Plymouth, to C.W. and Emily Richmond, 6 April 1860, in Guy H. Scholefield ed., *The Richmond Atkinson Papers, Vol. I* (Wellington, 1960), p. 553.

Blockhouse. Although this source does not detail the exact number, there was, in addition, a small group ‘attached to the camp at Waitara, or engaged in sawing and woodcutting’.¹⁶ There was now a perception of the very real danger to New Plymouth. As an F. Ronalds wrote on 3 April, ‘all farming and every other employment is now stopped, no man dares to go out of town unless he is well armed and one of a party of ten’.¹⁷ George Cutfield, the Superintendent of Taranaki estimated, in a letter to Governor Gore Browne, that there were about 2500 civilians occupying buildings which would normally only house 800.¹⁸

Great hospitality was shown to those settlers who had to leave their farms, although most accommodation arrangements were not organised by the provincial authorities, but by the settlers themselves. Overcrowding quickly became a major problem in New Plymouth, with many households accommodating three or four families. Maria Nicholson, who was governess to the Reverend Brown’s children, was trying to cope with a total of 25 other women and children under the same roof, after they had been ordered into town. With space at a premium, Thomas King (see Fig. 2) also found that storage facilities within New Plymouth were rather sparse. He commented, in a letter to his wife in Nelson, that he ‘must find some hole or corner in which to store my goods’.¹⁹ Most families would not leave the town, though there were more favourable arrangements in Nelson, and the authorities did little to manage those settlers who stayed. Although there is no evidence which indicates why the settlers would not leave, it may have been because they thought their stay within

¹⁶ *TH*, 31 March 1860, p. 3.

¹⁷ F. Ronalds, New Plymouth, to E. Ronalds, 3 April 1860, in Scholefield, p. 551.

¹⁸ *TH*, 31 March, 1860, p.3.

¹⁹ Thomas King, New Plymouth, to Mary King, Nelson, 10 April 1860, MS-Papers-5641-04, Alexander Turnbull Library (WTU), Wellington.



Fig. 2. Thomas King, 1860

Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. Ref. No. F-12445-1/2-

the town would be brief, and that they would be able to return to their farms. There would also have been a natural reluctance to leave the possessions and land they had acquired, when these represented their entire worldly goods, and there was every possibility that they would lose them. As the war progressed, however, relations between settlers became strained due to the overcrowded nature of the town, and the other hardships they were enduring. In May 1860, James Richmond, the Taranaki Provincial Secretary, observed in a letter to his wife Mary, who was a refugee in Nelson, that apparently some people were abusing the ration system. This was as a result of the 'shabby militia pay' and the enforcement of able men to serve in the militia was preventing those who could afford it from leaving the province which was 'sapping the notions of honesty among many'.²⁰ Tempers also began to fray amongst the Taranaki settlers and arguments ensued. In the same letter to his wife, Richmond stated that the people within the town were 'continually having sparring matches - Holford versus Alex. King, King utterly defeated, Greenwood v. Dr Wilson, the old doctor on the floor...and other misunderstandings and quarrels short of blows'.²¹

While the civil population of New Plymouth struggled with the pressure of living in confined quarters, hardened Imperial troops dealt with the psychological and physical difficulties of war by drinking and drunkenness became a problem in New Plymouth. Measures were taken by military authorities to enforce some order amongst their men, which was more than the provincial authorities were doing to keep the peace amongst their constituents. Taverns were closed at three p.m, so

²⁰ J.C Richmond, New Plymouth, to Mary King Nelson, 17 May 1860, in Scholefield, p. 583.

²¹ J.C. Richmond, New Plymouth, to Mary King, Nelson, 17 May 1860, in Scholefield, p. 583.

leaving less time in which to drink, although in a sense that only exacerbated the situation because men tried to drink as much as they could before the taverns closed. The result was that the sight of drunken troops became more frequent.²² Harsh disciplinary action was also undertaken by the military authorities, who on one known occasion flogged four marines for being drunk. One observer noted that there was a certain hypocrisy in their actions, stating that the lashings were ‘disgraceful to the man who imposed the punishment and the power that allows him to lacerate the flesh of human beings by the lash for the vice which they themselves practice’.²³

The housing situation was further aggravated by 800 Imperial soldiers within New Plymouth, who were instructed, by their superiors, to seize civilian accommodation for military personnel. Some families were given very little notice before being told to vacate the premises they occupied, as they would be needed as barracks. In preparation for housing soldiers, orders were also given to the Sergeant of Police in Taranaki to commence measuring buildings occupied by refugees. This action was not appreciated by Cutfield, the Superintendent, who sent a letter to the Acting Brigade Major of the 65th Regiment stating that he had been given authority by Colonel Murray, Commander of the British force, to arrange accommodation for civilians. Cutfield went on to say that ‘the occupation of the five inns and a number of other places [by the soldiers] that have been measured by the Sergeant of Police will be attended with great inconvenience and hardship to many helpless persons and create confusion and illwill among the inhabitants in general’.²⁴ The military

²² Barber et. al., p. 67.

²³ F. U. Gledhill, New Plymouth, 17 September 1860, Journal 1860-69, MS 007/0, TM.

²⁴ George Cutfield, Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to Captain Paul, 65th Regiment, Acting Brigade Major, New Plymouth, 9 April 1860, TP 7/5 Entry Books of General Outwards Letters 14 November-27 July 1860, National Archives, Wellington (WNA).

authorities obviously felt they had more important matters to deal with, or perhaps did not feel the situation was important enough to attend to, as five days later Cutfield was again writing a letter of complaint to the Acting Brigade Major of the 65th Regiment. Despite assertions that he would be consulted on refugee accomodation in the future, military personnel were again telling some New Plymouth residents that their dwellings were to be used by Imperial soldiers. However, it appears that they had taken a more conciliatory approach and were now attempting to hire the buildings rather than seizing them. A malthouse which the military wanted to hire was already housing the owner's 'large family', another from Mangorei, 600 bushels of grain, and brewing utensils.²⁵ This incident highlights the fact that these difficulties over housing would not have occurred if the provincial authorities had had the standing in their community to persuade the settlers to move out of New Plymouth.

There were fears that overcrowding in the town would lead to illness and disease. Cutfield observed at the time that, although 'the town is by no means densely built over, the number of persons occupying each room is far greater than is consistent with health'.²⁶ Indeed the crowded settlement was no place for people already suffering from illness; their chances of regaining their health was greatly diminished by living in close proximity to others. In early April 1860, Thomas King informed his wife that an acquaintance of theirs, Mrs Samuel Matthews, had died after her illness had been aggravated by the living conditions.²⁷ This was one of 68 deaths amongst the English population in 1860 - more than five times the mortality

²⁵ George Cutfield, Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to captain Paul, 65th Regiment, Acting Brigade Major, New Plymouth, 14 April 1860, TP 7/5 Entry Books of General Outwards Letters 14 November-27 July 1860, WNA.

²⁶ *TH*, 31 March 1860, p. 3.

²⁷ Thomas King, New Plymouth to Mary King, Nelson, 10 April 1860, MS-Papers-5641-03, WTU.

rate in 1859, when there were only 12 deaths.²⁸ By May, approximately 400 men, women and children were sick and receiving medical treatment,. As one soldier noted, ‘men who were, three months ago, stout, lusty-looking fellows, now shew the hollow cheek an tottering frame’. He also observed that it was not only the physical conditions which were creating illness within the town. The psychological strain was also contributing to the high rate of sickness as many settlers were worried about ‘loss of property, [and] fear of attack’.²⁹ Added to this was the separation from those who had families in Nelson and concern about sons and fathers who were daily risking their lives by serving in the militia and volunteers.

The overcrowding in New Plymouth became overwhelming, and the disturbance at Waireka increased the sense of urgency to evacuate the women and children from the province . On 28 March, a proclamation was issued advising families to apply to the provincial offices for free passages to Nelson. Cabin passages were to be granted by the provincial authorities to those who would not require Nelson government assistance and accommodation, whilst those who did need rations and housing would be transported to Nelson in steerage. Free return trips would also be provided once the war had ceased and the refugees were allowed to return to the province.³⁰ However, this notice gave settlers the option of going to Nelson, rather than ordering them to do so, and many made the decision to stay. Although it is not stated in the records, the lack of an order may have resulted from the authorities knowing that they had no support from the settlers to see it carried out.

²⁸ *TH*, 1 June 1861, p.2.

²⁹ Barber et. al., p. 50.

³⁰ Superintendent’s Office, Taranaki, 28 March 1860, MS 124 Proclamations/Public Notices, TM.

Four men, 33 women and 55 children comprised the first group of Taranaki refugees to arrive in Nelson on 1 April 1860.³¹ Two other groups of approximately 250 evacuated settlers landed in Nelson within the week. By early May a further 130 people had evacuated New Plymouth for Nelson, bringing the total number of refugees in Nelson to 480 men, women and children.³² Contemporary sources indicate that there was a further trickle of refugees out of Taranaki between May and the end of July. It is possible that there was a slight increase in the number of men leaving the province in July as the Governor had instructed the Commander of the Forces in Taranaki to release all militia men who were over the age of 50 years, or those with families of six or more, to alleviate the stress placed on the settlement.³³

In June 1860, Maori gained ascendancy by defeating troops on land near Waitara at the battle of Puketakauere and conditions within New Plymouth worsened.³⁴ The threat of attacks on the township became more frequent, as Maori were regularly sighted from the encampments. Members of the Te Atiawa tribe had built fortifications only two miles from the township, prompting the military authorities to constrict the lines of defence to 100 acres within the town, fortifying the area with riflepits, trenches and other defences.³⁵ This placed greater pressure on the town, which was already overcrowded, and sickness began to increase. This problem was compounded by the cold winter weather. As one soldier observed, 'New Plymouth is at present no place for helpless females, unprotected, neglected,

³¹ *NE*, 4 April 1860, p.2.

³² *NE*, 5 May 1860, p.2 .

³³ George Cutfield, Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to Superintendent of Otago, 7 July 1860, TP 7/5 Entry Books of General Outwards Correspondence 14 November 1857-27 July 1860, WNA.

³⁴ Belich, p. 99.

³⁵ Belich, p.105.

and constantly exposed to the tomahawk of the rebels, who are hovering about the outskirts of the town in all directions'.³⁶

General Pratt, the successor to Colonel Gold, arrived in New Plymouth on 3 August 1860, and was witness to the great confusion which ensued at the threat of a fresh attack by Maori on 4 August. He cannot have found the sight of women and children 'hurrying up Marsland Hill - the face of which seemed to be covered with them' an encouraging sight.³⁷ Despite the fact that women and children were being housed in two marquee tents erected in the camp at Mt Eliot and were protected by the Naval Brigade, a new notice was issued stating that all families should leave the town.³⁸ It is not clear whether this was a result of Pratt seeing the large number of women and children still within the town who required the protection of soldiers who could be better employed in the field. However it is likely that Pratt, as the new commander, was not prepared to tolerate the large number of civilians in a place of war. Perhaps he had also seen that the provincial authorities, and the former military commander, Gold, had been ineffectual, and he wished to exercise the authority afforded by martial law. Some settlers responded to this notice and took the opportunity to leave the devastation and disease behind. It was reported in the *Nelson Examiner* on 6 August 1860 that 160 people had arrived in Nelson that evening, and the *Airedale* was to return to Taranaki to bring a further 300 refugees to the southern province. Indeed, 220 refugees in total were reported to have landed in Nelson on the 15 August and 21 August respectively.³⁹

³⁶ Barber et. al., p. 63.

³⁷ B. Wells, *The History of Taranaki: A Standard Work on the History of the Province*, Reprint edition (Christchurch, 1976; originally published in New Plymouth, 1878), p. 211

³⁸ Barber et. al., p. 62.

³⁹ *NE*, 22 August 1860, p.2.

By late August Pratt was beginning to lose patience at the slowness of the evacuation of those civilians still in New Plymouth. On returning from a trip to Auckland on 28 August 1860 a proclamation, issued by the military command, stipulated that ‘the remaining families, without distinction of rank, will...be warned in alphabetical order, and must be prepared to proceed to Nelson’.⁴⁰ This notice was not well received by the settlers and there was ‘a great sensation amongst the ladies’ with ‘every appearance of a civil war between them and the authorities’.⁴¹ Their main argument for wishing to stay in New Plymouth was that they were supporting themselves and receiving no rations from the provincial government.⁴² In fact the number of those who were receiving assistance (631 women and children) was comparable to those who were not being given aid (636 women and children).⁴³

As a consequence of the commotion caused by the notice issued on 28 August 1860, and the refusal of many to leave, another was produced which stated that Pratt would be ‘compelled to...enforce the embarkation’ of the remaining women and children from New Plymouth (See Fig. 3).⁴⁴ Understandably, this action caused more uproar and activity than Pratt’s previous order for women and children to quit the town. One woman, a Mrs March, threatened to shoot the first person who tried to force her on board a ship, while those soldiers who had been sent to find women and children to evacuate to Nelson returned without them.⁴⁵ Many had gone into hiding,

⁴⁰ Lieutenant -Colonel R. Carey, Deputy Adjutant General, New Plymouth, 28 August 1860, MS 124 Proclamations/Public Notices, TM.

⁴¹ Barber et.al., p. 65.

⁴² F. U. Gledhill, New Plymouth, 11 September 1860, Journal 1860-69, MS 007/0, TM.

⁴³ Return of women and children still in the place, to Major General Pratt, 29 August 1860, MS 129 Civil Administration of New Plymouth, TM.

⁴⁴ R.Carey, Lieutenant Colonel, Deputy Adjutant-General, Head-Quarters, New Plymouth, 3 September 1860, MS 124 Proclamations/Public Notices, TM.

⁴⁵ F.U. Gledhill, New Plymouth, 7 September 1860, Journal 1860-69, MS 007/0, TM.



PROCLAMATION.

Much irregularity, delay and inconvenience to the public service being caused by families, ordered to embark on board the steamers provided for their conveyance, disobeying the orders they receive. The Major-General directs it to be notified that he will be compelled to employ the power with which he is invested to enforce the embarkation of such persons. But he trusts that the good sense of the inhabitants will render unnecessary his having recourse to a measure so repugnant to his feelings.

By Command,
R. CAREY,
 Lieut.-Colonel,
 Deputy Adjutant-General.

Head-Quarters,
 New Plymouth, 3rd September, 1860.

PROCLAMATION UNDER MARTIAL LAW, NEW PLYMOUTH.

Fig. 3. Proclamation Under Martial Law, New Plymouth.

Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. Ref. No. F-27097-1/2-

with friends or relations excusing their absence by stating, ‘she went out last night to a tea-party and has not yet returned, or alternatively ‘she went to the bush last night and has stayed there’.⁴⁶ The situation was further aggravated by General Pratt’s tactic of enlisting the aid of the militia in removing the women and children. Not surprisingly, some of the militia disobeyed his command to forcibly remove their wives and children from New Plymouth, and as a result were arrested. Captain W.C King was placed in the guard room for his refusal to use force, while a number of other volunteers and militia were also placed under arrest for their disobedience.⁴⁷ Despite the tensions between the British military authorities and the settlers the largest group of refugees, approximately 600-700 people, were evacuated from New Plymouth at this time, although their departure was ‘sad and sorrowful’ (see Appendix II).⁴⁸ By 17 October, the number of women and children still in New Plymouth numbered 824 persons.⁴⁹ Approximately 250 of these were the families of boatmen who were given permission to stay, and the rest were settlers who were absolutely refusing to go.⁵⁰ Even though Pratt had the authority, he did not have the means to remove all of the women and children in New Plymouth.

Whilst the military and provincial authorities were contending with the settlers, the land which the people of Taranaki had occupied gradually became overgrown with Scotch thistle and other weeds. Homes and outbuildings were also being razed to the ground and animals were either driven off or captured by Maori.

⁴⁶ F.U. Gledhill, New Plymouth, 7 September 1860, Journal 1860-69, MS 007/0, TM.

⁴⁷ F. U. Gledhill, New Plymouth, 11 September 1860, Journal 1860-69, MS 007/0, TM.

⁴⁸ Barber et.al., p. 66.

⁴⁹ ‘Return of women and children still in the place’, to Major General Pratt, 17 October 1860, MS 129 Civil Administration of New Plymouth, TM.

⁵⁰ E.L.Humphries, Deputy Superintendent, New Plymouth, to William Gray, Nelson, 1 September 1860, MS 077/4 Letter book, TM.

The local butcher shop enjoyed a prosperous period as stray cattle belonging to Taranaki farmers was rounded up by the butcher and then slaughtered. When one irate farmer confronted the butcher, a Mr Skinner, with the knowledge that it was his cattle being processed in the shop he was met with a torrent of abuse. A friend who had accompanied the farmer to the butcher shop observed that ‘soon there will be scarcely a cow in the place as the thieves of butchers bring in your cattle, kill them & sell you the meat at 7d a pound’.⁵¹ In an attempt to aid those settlers who were searching for their lost cattle, the Superintendent placed a notice ‘on the bridge headed “lost cattle” & directing public attention to the Butchers yard in search thereof’.⁵² No punitive measures appear to have been taken by the Provincial Government against the butcher, who was in effect stealing other people’s cattle. This serves as a further illustration of their lack of means to enforce their authority.

While the butcher may have been making a tidy living from the hardships of his fellow settlers, farmers were seeing their stock and produce go to waste. In this instance, there was little that members of the Provincial Council could do. Colonel Gold had placed an embargo on all exports, unless there were special circumstances, as he thought the township would need the goods for supplies. James Richmond wrote to his brother Christopher that ‘to export hay, oats or turnips would be unwise but it is also impossible; prices will not allow it with a good home demand’.⁵³ However, he could not understand why the settlers of Taranaki were not allowed to export those cattle and sheep which the townspeople had managed to keep from Maori and the local butcher. The cattle were expensive to maintain, especially in

⁵¹ William King Wakefield, Taranaki, to Mary Wakefield King, Nelson, 12 September 1860, MS 081, TM.

⁵² William King Wakefield King, Taranaki, to Mary Wakefield King, Nelson, 2 September 1860, MS 081, TM.

⁵³ J.C Richmond, to C.W. Richmond, 12 May 1860, in Scholefield, p. 580.

confined circumstances, and they were destroying a good crop of potatoes. He was also critical of Gold's prohibition of the export of wheat, as there was '6 months supply for all the population at Oliver's alone'.⁵⁴ Likewise, many other Taranaki farmers could not understand the actions of the military and their lack of concern for the economic condition of the province. Many blamed the British military authorities for their agricultural losses, adding it to their list of grievances against the Imperial commanders. In May 1860, a letter signed by 16 Tataraimaka farmers was sent to the Colonial Secretary in which they voiced their anger and frustration at the devastation done to their land and property. The farmers directly attributed their economic hardship to the fault of the military authorities who had commanded them to 'abandon [their] farms + property + to serve as Militia or Volunteers in suppressing the rebels'.⁵⁵

Whilst the settlers of Taranaki were not responsible for the devastation of their crops and stock, they contributed to their suffering and hardship in New Plymouth by refusing to leave the province when they were directed. They had decided that they were going to make their own decisions as to when, and if, they would leave. Despite martial law having been declared, no amount of encouragement from the provincial authorities or the military commanders could persuade them. For a time, no progress was made between the officials and the civilians, with the majority of the settlers preferring to stay in their overcrowded houses and cope with illness and the fear of attack. The authorities of the province could not remove the settlers, as they did not have the leadership skills required to gain support in the community for their dictates. Although no explanation is given in the historical

⁵⁴ J.C. Richmond, New Plymouth, to C.W. Richmond, 12 May 1860, in Scholefield, p. 580.

⁵⁵ Settlers of Tataraimaka, Taranaki, to Colonial Secretary, 20 May 1860, TP 9/1 Reports and Letters from Commissioner, WNA.

record, the apathy of British commanders towards evacuating the town of all women and children may have been due to their concern for the war, rather than for the conditions within New Plymouth. Whatever the reason may have been, it was not until a change of command, and the use of force threatened, that the majority of those categorised as refugees were sent to Nelson. In the meantime, donations of clothing and money had been, and were being, collected for the settlers.

CHAPTER 2

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL AID.

As news about the Taranaki war and the evacuation of women and children spread, money and clothes were collected in Melbourne, Sydney, Britain, and the provinces of New Zealand. Without distinction, all were generous in what they gave, although there were concerns about how the items and donations were being distributed. There were also some doubts as to whether it would be the local or central government who would defray the costs of supporting the refugees. Despite the inclination of provinces in New Zealand to provide funds or clothing for those evacuated from Taranaki, some were less enthusiastic about becoming directly involved by offering accommodation to the refugees. The Otago and Canterbury Provincial Governments showed the greatest reluctance, possibly because they had had little involvement with Maori since colonisation. By contrast, Wellington and Auckland authorities, which had histories of disputes with Maori, briefly considered housing refugees, but decided against it. Nelson ultimately took on the responsibility of accommodating them. However, there were also suggestions that the decision about housing the refugees was based on the interests and welfare of the province concerned.

On 21 March 1860 a meeting organised by provincial authorities, and attended by 300 people, was held in Nelson to discuss ways in which the province could aid the Taranaki settlers. All agreed that Nelson should be offered as a safe haven for those who would be evacuated from New Plymouth. What became known as the Taranaki Aid Committee, and which included the Superintendent, was also elected to supervise accommodation arrangements. Other assistance was offered in the form of the mail steamer, *Tasmanian Maid*, which was chartered by Nelson for use in

carrying ammunition or ‘communicating between the vessels of war and the shore’ at Taranaki.¹ By 27 March subscription lists were being established in the Nelson area to accept donations for the people of Taranaki, and housing had been arranged for any refugees who might arrive from New Plymouth. Public school buildings, and the Odd Fellows Hall, which could house approximately 150 people, were all available for use. A ‘canvass of a considerable portion of the town’ had also determined that there was a ‘very general readiness to furnish accommodation’ resulting in places for 500 refugees if necessary.² There were also offers of housing from the Richmond community, who saw the opportunity of gaining labour from the refugees in exchange for room and board. They informed the Nelson Taranaki Aid Committee that immediate placements could be found for women who were proficient in ‘dairying’, sewing or dressmaking. Board would also be readily available for single females aged 14 years and upwards, or married women with no more than three children, if they were prepared to work for their keep.³

The advantage of having extra labour in the province should equally be considered as a reason why the Nelson Provincial Council was quick in offering to accommodate the refugees. In 1859 and 1860, the effects of the secession of Marlborough were still being felt, as it had resulted in £40,000 worth of lost land revenue. The Provincial Government was intent on making the district the influential and prosperous district it once was⁴, by prospecting for new and agricultural lands.⁵ What better people to achieve this goal and farm Nelson land than those from Taranaki, who had proven themselves to be hardworking, dependable, and

¹ *NE*, 24 March 1860, p. 2.

² *NE*, 28 March 1860, p. 3.

³ *NE*, 14 April 1860, p. 3.

⁴ Jim McAloon, *Nelson: A Regional History* (Whatamango Bay, Queen Charlotte Sound, New Zealand), p.72.

⁵ McAloon, p. 73.

industrious. Although there is no conclusive evidence to suggest the provincial authorities' offer of a place of refuge was motivated by their desire to have refugees permanently settle in Nelson and take an active part in increasing the fortunes of the district, the suggestion should not be lightly dismissed.

Perhaps more likely is that the people of Nelson could sympathise quite readily with Taranaki's difficulties with Maori over land, and their offer to accommodate the refugees was based on the sentiment that war could easily have come to their province. Nelson had had its own 'Waitara' in 1843. Seventeen years prior to the first Taranaki refugees arriving in Nelson, Governor Robert Fitzroy had censured the Nelson people for forcing the surveying of coveted land at Wairau, and deliberately ignoring the stipulations of the Treaty of Waitangi. As with Te Atiawa and the Taranaki settlers, it was a disagreement over ownership of valuable fertile land which prompted disagreements between Te Rauparaha, Chief of the Ngati Toa tribe, his deputy Te Rangihaeata and the people of Nelson. When the Ngati Toa tribe prevented New Zealand Company representatives from surveying the Wairau district by pulling up survey poles (the same methods used by Te Atiawa in the Waitara) and burning a small raupo whare, a warrant of arrest was issued for Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata. Although the two Maori had no wish for a confrontation, the over eagerness of one magistrate intent on arresting Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata led to four Maori and 22 Pakeha being killed on 17 June 1843. Some settlers recognised that it was not the fault of Ngati Toa which had resulted in the deaths of the 22 Europeans and that they had in fact shown great patience with the Government's investigation into pre-Treaty land claims in Nelson. Fitzroy apparent lack of interest in prosecuting Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata, left the remainder of the Nelson community frustrated at the seeming lack of justice. There is no mention in the historical documents that this common experience may have created an intangible

bond between the Taranaki and Nelson, providing the southern community with an opportunity to be more active in its charity by offering to accommodate the refugees; however, it seems a significant consideration when seen in the light of the contributions made to the refugees by the other provinces.

The only other districts to consider accommodating refugees from Taranaki were Wellington and Auckland. Both of these settlements had experienced threats from Maori in the 1840s and could most likely understand the apprehension and anger of the Taranaki settlers.

At a public meeting arranged in Wellington on 11 August 1860, and attended by provincial authorities, there was considerable debate as to whether the province should accommodate refugee women, children and wounded men. There was housing available in the form of immigration barracks; however, a Mr Hunter stated that ‘ he did not think the people in Wellington were in a position, at present, to offer them the barracks’.⁶ Others stated that it was not practical to accept refugees into the town as there was a danger of attack from Te Atiawa, and that Wellington could become the seat of war. A Mr Duncan rebutted this point by stating that in the last war Wellington was under threat from ‘the natives [who] were three times as numerous as they are now’ and nothing had happened.⁷ The result of all this debate was the creation of a Ladies Committee to collect donations of clothing for the refugees. The matter concerning the accommodation of those evacuated from New Plymouth was left open.⁸ There is no evidence that an offer was made to house the refugees, and it seems reasonable to assume that one was never issued, given the great reluctance of those who attended the meeting.

⁶ *NE*, 18 August 1860, p.3.

⁷ *NE*, 18 August 1860, p.3.

⁸ *NE*, 18 August 1860, p.3.

Perhaps rather than a concern over an attack from Maori, Wellington provincial authorities may have been more worried about the financial cost of providing for the refugees. Apparently the province had an ‘impoverished exchequer’, which may explain why only £500, out of a donation of £1000 voted by the Provincial Council, had been authorised for the evacuees.⁹ The Council ‘was dominated by large landowners and their wealthy town supporters’, who may not have wanted an additional burden placed on the financial resources of Wellington.¹⁰ A one-off payment of £1000 was a lot cheaper than maintaining a group of people who had very little. The refugees would not be much better off than poor immigrants wishing to settle in Wellington, and were a group of people the Provincial Council was reluctant to encourage into their district.¹¹

Auckland provincial authorities were also prepared to offer ‘the same generous aid...as already received from the people of Nelson’, if Taranaki required it and if Auckland was able.¹² However, as Auckland was ‘not unlikely to share [Taranaki’s] difficulties’ because of the threat of a Maori attack from Waikato Kingites, little more consideration was given to housing large groups of refugees there.¹³ Nonetheless a small group, the exact number of which is unknown due to the lack of documentation, did seek refuge in Auckland. On 4 August 1860 an article in the *Taranaki Herald* indicated that free passages would be granted to Auckland

⁹ *NE*, 30 May 1860, p.3.

¹⁰ Tony Simpson, *The Immigrants: The Great Migration from Britain to New Zealand 1830-1890* (Auckland, 1997), p. 121.

¹¹ Simpson, p.121.

¹² George Cutfield, Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to Superintendent of Auckland, Auckland, 6 April 1860, TP 7/5 Entry Books of General Outwards Letters 14 November 1857-27 July 1860, WNA.

¹³ George Cutfield, Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to Superintendent of Auckland, Auckland, 6 April 1860, TP 7/5 Entry Books of General Outwards Letters 14 November 1857-27 July 1860, WNA.

for those who did not require government assistance. This may have been because arrangements concerning rations had been made between the Nelson and Central governments and did not extend to other provinces.¹⁴ Despite this, some settlers tried to claim rations but were told that certification was needed from Colonel Gold stating that they had been sent to Auckland.¹⁵ This was duly provided, and the Colonial Treasury, using the Auckland Provincial Government as an agency, forwarded an unknown sum to be distributed for the support of families in Auckland.

Canterbury and Otago also provided funds for the refugees but were reluctant to accommodate them. Canterbury stated that they did not have the means to support them, although it seems likely that they did not want to burden themselves with the financial responsibility. Apparently the province's 'rapid progress in material wealth, and the fact of that it was almost destitute of timber' meant that housing was in very short supply.¹⁶ However, a statement made by the Superintendent of Canterbury to the Governor in March 1860, led the Taranaki Provincial Government to believe that refugees would be accepted and supported if the need arose. The Superintendent had promised that, 'should these troubles increase, the Council offer, in the name of the settlers of Canterbury, the protection of this province and they are ready to provide an immediate asylum for those women and children who may be cast upon your Excellency's care'.¹⁷ Subsequently a proclamation was issued on 27 July 1860 for families numbering five children or more to prepare to embark for Port Cooper, the present day Port Lyttelton.¹⁸ However, Colonel Gold, who had ordered

¹⁴ Charles Brown, Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to William Pote, Motueka, 22 July 1861, MS 077/4 Letter Book, TM.

¹⁵ Charles Autridge, O. Silcock and Richard Longman, Taranaki, to Captain Paul, Acting Brigade Major, Taranaki, 28 August 1860, MS 077/3, TM.

¹⁶ *NE*, 29 August 1860, p. 3.

¹⁷ *TH*, 4 August 1860, p.2.

¹⁸ *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, ed. by A.H. McLintock (Wellington,

the removal of this group of settlers, was unaware that the Superintendent of Canterbury had visited Taranaki on the 24 July 1860, leaving a memorandum which stated that women and children should not be sent to Canterbury. The reasons given included the expense of firewood in the province, the lack of available accommodation, and the high cost of living in Canterbury. Employment for the refugees was also considered 'precarious...in consequence of recent copious immigration from the mother country'.¹⁹ Despite the fact that the Canterbury authorities had not wanted the refugees, their constituents proceeded to issue a separate invitation, without the approval of the Superintendent, to the settlers of Taranaki to seek refuge in Canterbury if they wished.²⁰ Four allotments of land 'of something more than an acre each' for their accommodation had been set aside for any evacuees who availed themselves of the offer.²¹ This indicates that there was some housing available for refugees, despite the assertions of the Provincial Council. However, no Taranaki settlers were recorded as having gone to Canterbury.

No refugees went to Otago either, probably because many did not fit the criteria, which was based on the immigration policy of the province.²² This included being of 'good character', being in 'sound health', and having 'trades that are common in a new country'. It was also stated that Otago would prefer to have evacuees who had good agricultural or pastoral skills.²³ Otago's response to the plight of the refugees was viewed as being 'singularly wanting in imagination' by the *Nelson Examiner*. The newspaper published a vitriolic and and derogatory article

1966), p. 354.

¹⁹ *NE*, 6 August 1860, p.4.

²⁰ *NE*, 11 September 1860, p.1.

²¹ *NE*, 29 August 1860, p.3.

²² James MacAndrew, Superintendent of Otago, Dunedin, to Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, 30 July 1860, MS 077/3, TM.

²³ James Adam, Emigration Agent for Otago, MS 077/3, TM.

censuring the province for their attitude. ‘Why thou most matter-of-fact and unimaginative scion of the Celtic race; snugly encased in respectability and broadcloth, dost thou not see that this is a case, not of doing good to yourself, but of doing good to others?’ The author questioned whether ‘the Samaritan, before pouring in oil and wine, searched in the sufferer’s pocket for his certificates from his minister and doctor’.²⁴ In all fairness to the Otago community, provincial authorities had voted £1000 for the settlers at Taranaki,²⁵ and they were expecting a new group of immigrants who would also require a home.²⁶ However, as with the other provinces, there is the suggestion that the interests of the district seemed to be more important than accommodating 1500 settlers from Taranaki.

Housing the refugees was not an issue for Britain, Melbourne, and Sydney which were too far away to provide a safe haven in a short time. Appeals were made in the two countries to provide assistance. By early 1861, subscriptions were being collected in England, although the fragmented historical record does not reveal how much money was raised. Uncertainty was expressed by the Taranaki authorities as to whether those settlers who had written home to England asking for aid were actually going against the wishes of the Superintendent. They were concerned that funds would be misappropriated if they were collected by individuals and not an acknowledged agent of the province.²⁷ In fact, there was a suspension in raising funds for the refugees in February 1861, by the New Zealand Government Agency, until it was determined whether those settlers who had written asking for aid were actually acting ‘in accordance with the wishes of the authorities of the Province of

²⁴ *NE*, 1 September 1860, p.1.

²⁵ *Colonist (Nelson)*, June 5 1860, p.3.

²⁶ *NE*, 12 September 1860, p.3.

²⁷ Thomas King, Provincial Treasurer of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to A.W. Scaife, Secretary of the Nelson Taranaki Relief Fund Committee, Nelson, 2 March 1861, MS 077/4 Letter book, TM.

Taranaki'.²⁸ James Richmond realised that it would be unwise to refuse money which could benefit Taranaki after the war, and informed a supporter in London, John Gladstone, that the Superintendent 'would be to blame if he let the impression continue that we are likely to get through our difficulties without a severe pressure on many settlers'.²⁹

Melbourne and Sydney were the only two cities in Australia which also contributed amounts of food, clothing, and money. In late September 1860 four cases of clothing, one trunk of boots and shoes, six cases of hams, five cases of bacon, six cases of pork, and 40 bags of biscuits arrived in Nelson.³⁰ It is not known whether this shipment went via Taranaki, and provisions were also delivered to settlers there. A month later the Taranaki Aid Committee at Nelson received another shipment of goods from Melbourne,³¹ while the people of Sydney forwarded a bank draft for the sum of £ 350.³²

Given that this was the first time in New Zealand when large amounts of money and goods were being channelled into a relief cause, there were bound to be some problems. Prior to August 1860, Wellington had decided to select a group in Nelson who would be better able to distribute the aid which the residents of Wellington had donated. They became known as the Taranaki Relief Fund Committee and included A. W. Scaife and Llewellyn Nash who were merchants.³³

²⁸ Mr Hall, New Zealand Government Agency, London, to Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, 18 February, 1861, TP 8/3 Micro 2810, WNA.

²⁹ J.C. Richmond, Provincial Secretary, New Plymouth, to Mr John Gladstone and Company, London, 13 April 1861, MS 077/4 Letter book, TM.

³⁰ Letter to Mr Nash and Mr Scaife, Nelson, 29 September 1860, NP 25/2, WNA.

³¹ Willis Merry, Sydney, to Messrs Nash and Scaife, Nelson, 16 October 1860, NP 25/2, WNA.

³² A.W. Arthur, Sydney, to Chairman of the Taranaki Relief Fund Committee, Nelson, 16 October 1860, NP 25/2, WNA.

³³ Minutes of the Taranaki Relief Fund Committee, NP 25/1, WNA.

The Taranaki Aid Committee, which was the first group to manage the affairs of the refugees, did not welcome this challenge to its authority as it publicly implied they were incompetent and not carrying out their duties effectively. A proposal was thus made on 25 August 1860 to incorporate the Taranaki Relief Fund Committee into the original aid group as a sub-committee.³⁴ Scaife's committee would only agree to the offer if William Gray, the Government agent at Nelson responsible for managing the affairs of the refugees, was included in their meetings and any donations that came into their hands were administered by himself and the other members of the Taranaki Relief Fund Committee. They also included a proviso that made them accountable only to 'their Principals at Wellington', although their minute books would be made available to members of the Taranaki Aid Committee.³⁵ These conditions were not readily accepted by the Taranaki Aid Committee as Scaife had informed the Wellington Aid Committee that there was 'fearful destitution' amongst the women and children refugees. According to members of the Taranaki Aid Committee, the letter containing this information gave the impression that 'no arrangement existed in Nelson, by which either Government aid, or indeed, any other aid than that arising from private benevolence, was administered to those landing at Nelson from Taranaki'.³⁶ When Mr Scaife did not receive a reply to his letter concerning the amalgamation of the two committees at Nelson he sent a reminder to the Taranaki Aid Committee on 14 September 1860. He also took the opportunity to state that he was considerably reluctant to become a part of their committee 'whilst under their imputation of having written a falsehood'.³⁷ The Taranaki Aid

³⁴ Donald Curtis, Secretary of the Taranaki Aid Committee, Nelson, to A.W. Scaife, Nelson, 27 August 1860, NP 25/2, WNA.

³⁵ Minutes of Taranaki Relief Fund Committee, Nelson, 12 September 1860, NP 25/4, WNA.

³⁶ *NE*, 22 August 1860, p. 2.

³⁷ *NE*, 19 September 1860, p.3.

Committee responded in a public letter that they had not intended to ‘impute falsehood’ or ‘impugn the veracity’ of Nash and Scaife.³⁸ The matter was unsatisfactorily decided by the Taranaki Aid Committee when a meeting of their group was convened. They decided that because ‘several members of the committee having other appointments which rendered their presence necessary elsewhere’, the resolutions concerning the incorporation of the Taranaki Relief Fund Committee were ‘unavoidably postponed’.³⁹ Either they claimed to have pressing engagements so that they did not have to resolve the matter, or there was a very real need for Nash and Scaife’s committee to provide additional help to members of the Taranaki Aid Committee.

The differences between the two groups were never reconciled as the Taranaki Relief Fund Committee took on the responsibility of distributing aid to refugees who petitioned the group for funds when their rations were not sufficient. For example on 28 November 1860, £15 was awarded to a Mr Pote, a refugee from Taranaki, so that he could settle at Motueka.⁴⁰ Similarly, at the end of January 1861 Gray, the Government agent, was given £100 to provide shoes and boots for the refugees.⁴¹ Members of the Relief Fund Committee were also responsible for receiving goods from Australia where they had advertised for donations. However, the Taranaki Provincial Government became aware of the actions of the Relief Fund at Nelson, and proceeded to warn individuals collecting donations in London and Australia that the Relief Fund Committee ‘had no warrant from the General or local governments of New Zealand, or from any public or private body in the Colony, to

³⁸ *NE*, 19 September 1860, p.3.

³⁹ *NE*, 19 September 1860, p.3

⁴⁰ Minutes of Taranaki Relief Fund Committee, 28 November 1860, NP 25/4, WNA.

⁴¹ Minutes of the Taranaki Relief Fund Committee, 23 January 1861, NP 25/4, WNA.

open subscription lists for any purposes whatever in connection with the Taranaki settlers'.⁴² George Cutfield expressed reservations to London contacts about an 'irresponsible mercantile house' - alluding to Nash and Scaife's vocation - accepting money for charitable purposes when they had no ties to the local government or any 'authority from any local association'.⁴³ Instructions were subsequently given to the Taranaki Relief Fund Committee by the Provincial Solicitor of Taranaki in February 1861 to transfer all the funds they had received from Australia into a General Relief Fund account established in the names of the Provincial Treasurer and the Colonial Treasurer.⁴⁴ By this time, the Committee had been acting autonomously for at least six months and were not about to relinquish control of the funds collected by their efforts. They informed the Taranaki Provincial Council that because the people of Australia had intended the money and goods to provide for the 'present relief of the sufferers' they could not agree to their request of placing the money in a general fund. It was stated that the subscribers intended the Taranaki Relief Fund Committee to have a voice among the trustees of any funds and this was not going to occur if they obeyed the directions of the solicitor.⁴⁵ Thomas King, the Treasurer of the Taranaki Provincial Council, then notified Scaife of the necessity of having a fund on which the Taranaki settlers could rely at the end of the war. King went on to say that the Sydney Taranaki Relief Fund Committee had agreed to place their donations in the general fund, and on that basis Scaife should do likewise.⁴⁶ Scaife chose to not to

⁴² George Cutfield, Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to Mr John Gladstone and Company, London, 21 November 1860, MS 077/4 Letter book, TM.

⁴³ George Cutfield, Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to Mr John Gladstone and Company, London, 21 November 1860, MS 077/4 Letter book, TM.

⁴⁴ Minutes of the Taranaki Relief Fund Committee, 20 February 1861, NP 25/1, WNA.

⁴⁵ Minutes of the Taranaki Relief Fund Committee, 20 February 1861, NP 25/1, WNA.

⁴⁶ Thomas King, Provincial Treasurer of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to A.W. Scaife,

obey the instructions of both Mr King and the Taranaki Provincial Solicitor, although further funds from Australia and London were not forwarded to him but placed in the general fund under the names of the Provincial Treasurer of Taranaki and the Colonial Treasurer.⁴⁷

Nash and Scaife clearly disobeyed the instructions of the Taranaki Provincial Government and suffered the displeasure of the Taranaki Aid Committee. Both of these men operated a merchant house, and it is possible that donated goods which could not be used were being sold through their business. Suspicion arises from a statement made by a J. Woodward, the Secretary of the Wellington Aid Committee, who was initially responsible for electing Scaife and Nash to distribute funds in Nelson. When questioned about the reason for establishing the Taranaki Relief Fund Committee in Nelson, given that there was already such a group, he replied that the Wellington Aid Committee was not aware of another such committee.⁴⁸ This seems odd as Nash was a member of the original Taranaki Aid Committee and cannot have failed to have known of its existence. He may have deliberately omitted to inform Wellington of the first committee because he had ulterior motives. Unfortunately, there is no available evidence which conclusively indicates whether or not Nash and Scaife were misappropriating funds from donations given to the Taranaki Relief Fund Committee.

While questions were being raised over the propriety of Nash and Scaife's actions, there were also concerns about who was going to pay the costs incurred by the refugees. No arrangements had been made between the Taranaki provincial

Secretary of the Nelson Taranaki Relief Fund Committee, Nelson, 2 March 1861, MS 077/4 Letter book, TM

⁴⁷ Thomas King, Provincial Treasurer of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to A.W.Scaife, Secretary of the Nelson Taranaki Relief Fund Committee, Nelson, 2 March 1861, MS 077/4 Letter book, TM.

⁴⁸ *NE*, 19 September 1860, pp. 2-3.

authorities and the Central Government. Subsequently, it was the provinces of Taranaki and Nelson which initially bore a significant portion of the costs of providing for the refugees, although the colonial authorities did provide funds when necessary. By 27 October 1860 the Nelson Provincial Government had expended £6000 on the refugees, which had originally been intended for public works.⁴⁹ Those Taranaki families which had not been sent to Nelson were housed in rented accommodation which was paid for by the Taranaki Executive Council. The Taranaki treasury also had to provide funds for their clothing, medical, and food expenses.⁵⁰ For those who did evacuate to Nelson, there were bills for shipping their personal items, which on one occasion ranged from pitsaws, blades, and saw tillers to a chest of drawers.⁵¹ The transportation of these refugees was ‘to be paid in draft on the Colonial Treasury’ and a sum of £600 was loaned to the Treasury of Taranaki by the Colonial Government to help with additional costs.⁵² Whether it would remain a loan or be absorbed by the Government was to be a matter ‘for the determination of the General Assembly’.⁵³

George Cutfield seemed fairly confident that the General Government would defray the costs incurred, stating in a letter to the Superintendent of Nelson, on 30 March 1860, that ‘there cannot be any reason to doubt that the expenses of the present war will be borne by the General and Imperial revenues’.⁵⁴ Despite Cutfield’s

⁴⁹ William Gray, Nelson, to Deputy Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, 27 October 1860, MS 077/3, TM.

⁵⁰ Amounts paid by the Provincial Government of Taranaki to and on behalf of refugees in the Town of New Plymouth and elsewhere during the year 1860 and to 30 September 1861, NP Harbour Board Records, Folder 2, Box 17, 1/39 D, TM. .

⁵¹ Civil Administration of New Plymouth, 16 January 1861, MS 129, TM.

⁵² George Cutfield, Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to Colonial Secretary, 5 April 1860, TP 7/5 Entry Books of General Outwards Letters 14 November 1857-27 July 1860, WNA.

⁵³ *NE*, 4 April 1860, p. 2, Supplement.

⁵⁴ *NE*, 4 April 1860, p. 2, Supplement.

faith that the General Government would pay for the costs associated with supporting the Taranaki settlers in Nelson and New Plymouth, the Superintendent was not as certain about their management of the donations given to the province. Cutfield and his associates were fearful that if they did not secure the money in their name then the Central Government would appropriate it as part of their contribution to the costs of the war.⁵⁵ The Taranaki Provincial Council was also hesitant to put the donations to immediate use as it would leave no funds for re-establishing the community if the Government discontinued allowances at the end of the war and compensation was not awarded by the Colonial Government.⁵⁶ This feeling was formalised in a resolution passed by the Taranaki Provincial Government on 26 November 1860, which recommended that all subscriptions made for the relief of the people at Taranaki were to be placed in a General Relief Fund account at the Union Bank of Australia in Auckland. However, the Provincial Council did not manage to retain full authority over the money as the account was in the names of both the Colonial Treasurer and Provincial Treasurer of Taranaki. It is not known to what extent the inclusion of the Colonial Treasurer's name was nominal, although Cutfield did inform supporters in London that the funds would be distributed at the end of the war in a fair and honest manner 'under the sanction of the General Government'.⁵⁷

The maintenance of the refugees did produce some problems. Firstly, there was the matter of where the refugees were to be accommodated. Excluding Nelson who took on this responsibility, all the provinces, at one time or another, considered

⁵⁵ Thomas King, Provincial Treasurer of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to A.W.Scaife, Secretary of the Nelson Taranaki Relief Fund Committee, Nelson, 2 March 1861, MS 077/4 Letter book, TM.

⁵⁶ E.L. Humphries, Deputy Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to John Russell Esq., Exchequer, Melbourne, 12 October 1860, MS 077/4 Letter book, TM.

⁵⁷ George Cutfield, Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to Mr John Gladstone and Company, London, 21 November 1860, MS 077/4 Letter book, TM.

housing them and this was especially so for those who had had past disturbances with Maori. However, the interests of the district were a significant factor in determining whether it was viable to accept evacuated settlers from Taranaki. Otago ensured that only certain people would be sent to their province by stating that refugees must fulfill their immigration criteria; Wellington and Christchurch were concerned about how the maintenance of the refugees would effect their treasuries; and Auckland did not want to receive many of them as they were fearful of an attack from Waikato Kingites. Even Nelson may have had reasons, other than charity, for accommodating the refugees. Despite this parochialism, there was an outpouring of money and goods from these provinces, as well as Melbourne, Sydney, and England, which was unique for New Zealand at this time. Some problems did arise from the distribution of these donations. Nash and Scaife's administration of items and funds given to the Taranaki Relief Fund Committee were questioned by the provincial authorities of Taranaki, who were also concerned about the Central Government's role in managing the donations, and their contribution to the support of the refugees. However, these were minor concerns to those evacuated to Nelson, who were more worried about how they would manage without their husbands and sons.

CHAPTER 3 THE REFUGEE EXPERIENCE.

The experience of the refugees in Nelson differed according to the class they belonged to, although many would have keenly felt the separation from their menfolk in New Plymouth, regardless of class. In addition to looking after their children and running their households, many women who were reliant on government aid had to supplement what they were given by finding employment. Most families seemed to find the rations they received sufficient for their needs. Although, as might be expected, there were a number of complaints. Generally, however, these refugees were treated fairly, although the uniqueness of the situation did produce some problems. Those who were wealthier and able to support themselves maintained a similar existence to that which they had had in Taranaki, albeit without their husbands and sons. There were visits to friends and acquaintances and other social occasions. Even in a time of war, and in a different province, class distinctions were maintained by the Taranaki settlers and observed by their Nelson hosts. However, this did not hinder the charity and warmth extended by the resident community; nor was there any suggestion that their hosts wished that the refugees had been evacuated to another part of the colony.

The first refugees to arrive in Nelson in April 1860 were initially housed in public school houses, the Odd Fellows Hall, empty houses which were provided rent free, rented accommodation for those who could afford it, or private board. Most of the refugees were women and children, although there were an unknown number of men who had been wounded during the war and evacuated. When accommodation became scarce in August of 1860, plans were made to house families

in the surrounding country districts.¹ However, refugees were reluctant to leave the town, possibly because the country was more isolated and they would be removed from the support offered by other Taranaki refugees. There were some complaints about the quality of the housing. A Mr Blaschke wrote a letter to the provincial authorities of New Plymouth stating that the health of his family in Nelson was suffering because of the 'badness of the water' and the fact that they were being accommodated in a 'low lying house'.² Given that all available accommodation was being used, it is possible that what Mr Blaschke had in mind was a trip home to New Plymouth for his family.

Some refugees were lucky enough to have friends or acquaintances in Nelson and were able to take advantage of an offer of somewhere to stay. One such person to open their home to evacuees was Edmund Hobhouse. His old school friend and fellow Anglican minister,³ Reverend H.H Brown, took the opportunity to billet his family governess, nurse and seven children (one of whom belonged to the nurse) for two months until Brown was able to travel down to Nelson to arrange other accommodation for his children.⁴ Hobhouse's wife Mary became acquainted with her new house guests and soon found that there were a number of things to criticise. She was quite able to cope with the Brown girls, who were accommodated in the main house, although she felt that the house was too crowded at times. However, she was very glad that the Brown boys were located in another cottage on their property a 'little distance' from the house 'under the entire care of their nurse & out of my sight, for of course when children are with one one must take charge of them

¹ William Gray, Nelson, to George Cutfield, Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, 5 September 1860, MS 077/3, TM.

² Mr Blaschke, New Plymouth, 14 January 1861, Civil Administration MS 129, TM.

³ Mary Hobhouse, Nelson, to Augusta, February 1861, MS-Papers-0414-04, WTU.

⁴ Maria Nicholson, Nelson, to Elizabeth Hall, England, 14 July 1860, MS 143/0, TM.

whether one wishes or no'.⁵ Mary had little faith in Maria Nicholson's abilities as a governess, stating that she was not intelligent enough to stimulate the minds of young energetic girls. A bout of whooping cough resulted in Mary having to look after the girls and remarking that Maria knew 'no more about it than about the management of pigs & cows'. Mary was also uncertain about the children's exact status in society. By all accounts they were of the better class, as their father was a minister. However, Mary expressed concern that Mrs Brown had no compunction about letting her children 'associate on terms of equality with all classes'. She also criticised Mrs Brown for the way she dressed the children as her 'arrangements about their clothing, combing, & tubbing were as homely & wanting in refinement as if she had grown up in the back woods'. From Mary's point of view, the Browns were definitely provincial and unversed in the etiquette associated with upper class interaction. Mary's impressions display a sense of class superiority which clearly made it difficult for her to understand how her billets were able to wear 'shabby badly made garments' and converse with fellow refugees without any regard for rank.⁶

Although accommodation was provided for the refugees, other items such as clothing, footwear, furniture, kitchen, cleaning and washing utensils were not so readily available. Families who were wealthy enough not to rely on government aid could purchase these items from Nelson stores, or have their husbands supply them from New Plymouth. However, those who were poorer were totally unprepared for establishing a second household in Nelson. Applications to the Taranaki Relief Fund Committee in November 1860 reveal that refugees in Motueka needed bedding,

⁵ Mary Hobhouse, Nelson, to Eliza Hobhouse, England, 28 May 1860, MS-Papers-0414-04, WTU.

⁶ Mary Hobhouse, Nelson, to Eliza Hobhouse, England, 28 May 1860, MS-Papers-0414-04, WTU.

camp ovens, frying pans, cups and saucers and tea kettles.⁷ Basic necessities, such as clothing, were in high demand as many families had been hurriedly evacuated from their farms in Taranaki and had not foreseen their exile to Nelson or the duration of the war. Clothing and shoes were donated by fellow colonists and had been distributed by December 1860. There was not enough of these commodities, however, to fulfill the needs of the refugees and a suggestion was made by Thomas King that a sum of money be given so that they could provide for their own clothing. William Gray, the Government agent at Nelson responsible for organising the needs of the refugees, disagreed with this idea. He believed that the refugees could not be as economical with the money as himself and that they should be provided for out of the money donated to the refugees rather than from Government funds.⁸ The Colonial Secretary concurred with Gray and allowed him to supply clothing, boots and shoes only when there was no means of paying for it from public funds.⁹

Although the available historical records do not indicate actual figures, some families' rations were supplemented by husbands in New Plymouth who were employed in the militia or boat service. Members of the militia were receiving 1s.3d. a day in addition to rations, and many of them sent all their wages to their families in Nelson.¹⁰ On the assumption that men could supplement the rations distributed, all men who were employed in the Harbour Department had been instructed that their families would only receive half rations. Although some were earning as much as £8

⁷ E. Humphreys, Waimea East, Nelson, to Reverend J. Innes, Taranaki Relief Fund Committee, Nelson, 26 November 1860, NP 25/2, WNA.

⁸ Thomas King, Nelson, to George Cutfield, Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, 22 December 1860, TP 8/3 Micro 2810, WNA.

⁹ E.W Stafford, Nelson, 16 January 1861, TP 8/3 Micro 2810, WNA.

¹⁰ George Cutfield, Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to Joseph Brittan, Secretary of the Taranaki Aid Committee Christchurch, 6 April 1861, MS 077/4 Letter book, TM.

a month for work as a boatman, there were complaints that other wealthier men in the town were not contributing anything to the support of their families.¹¹ One known case where this was not true was that of Mary King who was maintained entirely on her husband's resources (see Fig. 4). Thomas King was not only the Provincial Treasurer but a Member of the House of Representatives.¹² King's wages enabled Mary to hire a servant in Nelson and maintain herself and six children.¹³ King was sending Mary his provincial wages and instructed Mary, more than once, that she must inform him if she was short of funds.¹⁴ The King family was of the upper class, however, and their situation differed considerably from the majority of families in Nelson.

In addition to receiving rations and money from their husbands, a number of women sought employment in Nelson. Some refugees were hired as domestic servants to Nelson families and to such Taranaki refugees as could afford it, while other women made small sums of money from dressmaking and sewing.¹⁵ Work was more difficult to find for men who had received an extended leave of absence from the militia and had joined their families from July 1860 onwards. These men were given a free passage and rations for a month, but were required to support their families after this time.¹⁶

¹¹ George Cutfield, Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to Joseph Brittan, Secretary of the Christchurch Taranaki Aid Committee, Christchurch, 6 April 1861, MS 077/4, Letter book, TM.

¹² *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. 2, ed. by G. H. Scholefield (Wellington, 1940), p. 468.

¹³ Mary King, Nelson to Thomas King, New Plymouth, 22 March 1861, MS-papers-5641-07, WTU.

¹⁴ Thomas King, New Plymouth to Mary King, Nelson, p. 3, MS-Papers-5641-04, WTU.

¹⁵ William Gray, Nelson, to the Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, 14 August 1860, MS 077/3, TM.

¹⁶ *TH*, 21 July 1860, p.2.



Fig. 4. Mary King. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. Ref. No. f-115745-1/2-

Collection Ref. No. PAColl-0541

Many found that there were no labouring jobs in the province and returned to New Plymouth to rejoin the militia, as they were not to be awarded rations in Nelson unless they were ill.¹⁷

Rations were awarded to families on a scale determined by William Gray. Having based his assessment on 'respectable emigration houses' and wholesale prices, he believed that a rate of one shilling per day per adult was sufficient. To be categorised as an adult, refugees had to be 14 years of age. It is not known whether rations were administered in full for children under this age and it is possible that they only received half rations. Households were given a sum of money and contracts were established for refugees to buy meat, coal and groceries at set prices. After the refugees had used passbooks issued by Gray for meat and bread, the figure was deducted from their ration allowance. The balance of the money was then able to be expended by the refugees in buying additional groceries or other necessities.¹⁸

Instructions were given to Gray on 30 April 1860 that, regardless of size, he was not to award any one family rations of more than four shillings a day. The reasoning was that the militia pay, combined with free board at Nelson, totalled at least 11 shillings per week and with the rations was sufficient for the refugees. The rate of rationing was:

one adult - 1s.

two adults - 1s.10d.

three adults - 2s.6d.

four adults - 3s.1d.

five adults - 3s.7d.

¹⁷ E.L Humphries, Deputy Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to William Gray, Nelson, 8 October 1860, MS 077/4 Letter book, TM.

¹⁸ William Gray, Nelson, to Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, 13 April 1860, TP 8/3 Micro 2810, WNA.

six adults - 4s. ¹⁹

Gray enforced the allocation of rations strictly and there were some families, besides the wives of boatmen, who received reduced rations or even none at all. Mrs S. Oliver was not allowed rations as long as she had a billet, and a Mr Harris's daughters were only given half rations for a week before they were to be struck off the list, as they were old enough to get a living.²⁰ In May 1860, there were 306 women and children receiving rations, out of 480 Taranaki refugees.²¹ The Taranaki Provincial Government authorised an increase in rations in July 1860. Rations were to be awarded at the same rate for families with only one and two adults in the family, but for families with three, four, five, and six adults there was an increase of one to four shillings. ²² Gray, however, decided that he was going to disregard these instructions as he felt that the sums already given were sufficient and it would be more prudent to keep the extra money until it was needed. His judgement was overruled by Cutfield, who told Gray to distribute the extra funds as the new ration figures had already been published in the local newspapers. ²³

There were some complaints about rations, but many were connected with grievances against Gray, and it was believed by Taranaki provincial authorities that 'many of the families' were 'doing exceedingly well'.²⁴ In addition to his role as Government agent to the refugees, Gray ran a post office which may have also been

¹⁹ James Richmond, Provincial Secretary of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to William Gray, Nelson, 30 April 1860, TP 7/5 p. 595, WNA.

²⁰ James Richmond, Provincial Secretary of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to William Gray, Nelson, 30 April 1860, TP 7/5 p. 595, WNA.

²¹ *NE*, 5 May 1860, p. 2.

²² E.L. Humphries, Deputy Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to William Gray, Nelson, 28 July 1860, MS 077/4 Letter book, Taranaki Museum, New Plymouth.

²³ George Cutfield, Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to William Gray, Nelson, November 1860, MS 077/4 Letter book, Taranaki Museum, New Plymouth.

²⁴ Thomas King Diary, 13 December 1860, MSX- 4346, WTU.

a shop. This effectively doubled his duties, although he was instructed to hire deputies if necessary and only take a supervisory role.²⁵ However, Gray decided that this was unnecessary, which resulted in a large amount of authority being placed in his hands and perhaps more work than he could realistically manage. Refugees from the poorer class had to approach Gray if they had problems with accommodation, rations, or employment. There was no official process where disputes could be resolved fairly and with all parties stating their side of the story. To some extent Gray was answerable to the Provincial Government of Taranaki, and some people with complaints did write to the Superintendent after they had received no satisfactory resolution by first approaching Gray.²⁶ One such complaint was made by William Billing who received four shillings a day for himself, wife and seven children. Extra income was derived from two of his children being in service but it was only enough to pay for their clothing. Billing had had to provide one of his sons with a pair of shoes which cost 18 shillings - a large expense from his weekly rations. He claimed that Gray was trying to see how little he could expend on the refugees as an experiment.²⁷ There could be some truth in Billing's claim as Gray was very conscious of how much money was being spent on the refugees. When there was a suggestion to increase the rations in October 1860, Gray told the provincial authorities in Taranaki that it would cost an additional £1400 and was totally unnecessary if the money already being distributed was handled with 'care and

²⁵ James Richmond, Provincial Treasurer of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to William Gray, Nelson, 30 April 1860, TP 7/5 p. 595, WNA.

²⁶ Thomas Shute, New Plymouth, to Deputy Superintendent of Taranaki, 7 September 1860, MS 077/3, TM; W.H. Scott, New Plymouth, to George Cutfield, the Superintendent of Taranaki, 3 November 1860, MS 077/3, TM.

²⁷ William Billing, Nelson, to George Cutfield, Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, 8 January 1861, TP 8/3 Micro 2810, WNA.

economy'.²⁸ A charge that Gray was being unfair in the distribution of goods donated to the refugees was also laid against him by Philip Moon, who claimed that some refugee friends of Gray's had received whatever they wanted from a list of donated items. He had asked that two pairs of trousers and a pair of boots be given to his boys, but when his wife went to collect them Gray told her they had been sent to Richmond. Moon felt that Gray's favouritism was due to a disagreement over masonry work which he had completed for Gray in Taranaki. After the work had been done and the bill presented, Gray had refused to pay as he believed the cost exorbitant and the two men had not spoken to each other since.²⁹ It is difficult to determine whether Gray's actions were deliberately unjust because he held a grudge against Philip Moon. After a visit to Nelson in December 1860, King did observe that the distribution of clothing and shoes was not carried out systematically, which may have resulted in some families receiving more than others.³⁰ There are five documented complaints about Gray and his unfair treatment in the allocation of rations, firewood and clothing.³¹ However, this is only a small number if one considers that there were 1500 refugees in Nelson at this time. Evidence suggests

²⁸ William Gray, Nelson, to Deputy Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, 27 October 1860, MS 077/3, TM.

²⁹ Philip Moon, Nelson, to A.W. Scaife, Taranaki Relief Fund Committee, Nelson, 6 November 1860, NP 25/2, WNA.

³⁰ Thomas King, Nelson to George Cutfield, Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, 22 December 1860, TP 8/3 Micro 2810, WNA.

³¹ William Billing, Nelson, to George Cutfield, Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, 8 January 1861, TP 8/3 Micro 2810, WNA. Philip Moon, Nelson, to A.W. Scaife, Taranaki Relief Fund Committee, Nelson, 6 November 1860, NP 25/2, WNA. W.H Scott, New Plymouth, to George Cutfield, the Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, 3 November 1860, MS 077/3, TM. E. Touet, Nelson, to George Cutfield, the Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, 9 February 1860, TP 8/3 Micro 2810, WNA. Thomas Shute, Motueka, Nelson, to George Cutfield, the Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, 25 May 1861, TP 8/3 Micro 2810, WNA.

that Gray may have been guilty of taking on too much responsibility which may have affected his judgement, and there is no doubt that Gray was cautious in distributing ration money. According to one Taranaki provincial authority, however, Gray was ‘by no means unpopular’ amongst those people whose grievances were not resolved in their favour.³²

Gray’s responsibility also extended to establishing schools for refugee children receiving aid. The Taranaki Provincial Government had agreed to pay for the service and was willing to contribute six to seven pounds a month for the salary of the master while four to five pounds was deemed adequate for a school mistress. A suggestion was also made to establish a night school for children who had to work during the day.³³ By mid-May 1860, the average attendance was 40 pupils who were being taught by a Mr Sunley. No female teacher had been employed by Gray as the numbers did not warrant it, but he had arranged for a Mrs Pratt to take the position should the need arise. Some students played truant due to the ‘extreme indifference evinced by their mothers to their education’, but one cannot imagine that they stayed out of school for long as Gray threatened to cut off one day’s rations for every school day missed.³⁴ A Taranaki newspaper article published a report of the progress the children were making which had been written by Sunley. In it he stated that ‘the majority evince the natural dislike of young children to the irksomeness of learning, and the restraint necessarily imposed by school discipline’.³⁵ Twenty young children who were too young to be taught in the school supervised by Gray were given

³² Thomas King, Nelson, to George Cutfield, Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, 22 December 1860, TP 8/3 Micro 2810, WNA.

³³ George Cutfield, Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to J.P Robinson, Superintendent of Nelson, Nelson, 11 April 1860, TP 7/5, p. 578, WNA.

³⁴ William Gray, Nelson, to Provincial Secretary of Taranaki, New Plymouth, 19 May 1860, TP 8/3 Micro 2810, WNA.

³⁵ *TH*, 26 May 1860, p.3.

lessons at Mary Hobhouse's home by a 13 year old teacher.³⁶ For those who could afford it, a school was started by Taranaki refugees, Helen Hursthouse and her daughter Marion Ronalds, in July 1860.³⁷ Mary King had considered sending one of her daughters to them for instruction, but her husband thought that their terms were too high even for them, and especially for a child as young as theirs.³⁸

According to one source, 'many of the children were landed at Nelson in ill-health', although there are no figures stating the exact amount.³⁹ Their condition had most likely been aggravated by living in cramped, confined quarters in New Plymouth during the cold winter months. Influenza, low fever, and whooping cough killed a number of refugee children and although the historical record does not reveal how many, there were 44 deaths in total amongst the refugees from April 1860 to August 1861.⁴⁰ There is also no data indicating how many of this number were housed in the barracks. What is certain is that illness struck the refugees regardless of whether they were being maintained by the government or by their own resources. Gray made arrangements with two doctors, Sealy and Williams, to attend to those refugees who were receiving government aid. There was much disagreement as to how much Sealy should be paid for his services. Even though he was willing to treat refugees at a reduced charge, the provincial authorities at Taranaki felt that it was too much.⁴¹ It was finally agreed in late September that Sealy would be paid £25 a

³⁶ Mary Hobhouse, Nelson, to Eliza Hobhouse, 2 June 1860, MS-Papers-0414-04, WTU.

³⁷ *NE*, 21 July 1860, p.2.

³⁸ Thomas King, New Plymouth, to Mary King, Nelson, 30 January 1861, MS 5641-05, WTU.

³⁹ *Southern Provinces Almanac: Directory and Yearbook for 1861* (Lyttelton, 1861), p.95.

⁴⁰ William Gray, Nelson, to Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, 24 August 1861, TP 8/3 Micro 2810, WNA.

⁴¹ William Gray, Nelson, to Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, 29 August 1860, MS 077/3 , TM.

month for all doctor's visits within the town limits, but would charge one shilling and sixpence, one way, for every visit outside the boundaries. In addition to this, midwifery cases would be one guinea extra, which was half of what Sealy would normally charge for a delivery.⁴² Mary King also retained the services of Dr Sealy for her daughter Polly's injured knee, although it is not known whether he charged his normal rate for a visit or the reduced rate offered to the other refugees. It is reasonable to assume that because his arrangement was with the Taranaki Provincial Government who were paying the medical expenses of those reliant on them for support, Sealy charged his standard rate for visits to wealthier refugees.

In early August 1860, the Nelson Provincial Government decided to erect buildings in which to house the refugees, as it was thought to be more economical than housing them individually (see Fig. 5).⁴³ There was a greater concern, however, and that was overcrowding in the town, where it was claimed by Dr Sealy that there would be a death in every family if they were not removed.⁴⁴ Despite some uncertainty being expressed as to whether the additional accommodation was necessary or not, the arrival of large groups of refugees in September decided the matter.⁴⁵ There were four buildings which could accommodate 50 people in 10 bedrooms, each measuring 10 feet by 8 feet. Each bedroom had two or three bunks one above the other, a window, and a door which opened to the outside. At the end of each building was a common sitting room with a stove. In addition to the sleeping quarters, there was a dining hall which could sit 200 people, a kitchen, washhouse, hospital and

⁴² Dr Sealy, Nelson, to William Gray, Nelson, 25 Sept 1860, MS 077/3, TM.

⁴³ William Gray, Nelson, to Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, 14 August 1860, MS 077/3, TM.

⁴⁴ Thomas King Diary, MSX-4346, 15 December 1860, WTU.

⁴⁵ William Gray, Nelson, to Deputy Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, 11 September 1860, MS 077/3, TM



Fig. 5. Refugee Barracks (marked with an X)

Nelson Provincial Museum, Collection Bett. Early Hospital and Bishopdale. Ref. 1/2

174 (part of).

storeroom.⁴⁶ A set of rules was drawn up for the refugees and included meal hours at eight o'clock for breakfast, one o'clock for the midday meal, and five o'clock for dinner. Ration money would be distributed as before, although money for food would be deducted and the balance given to the residents. Only women and children were allowed to live in the buildings and they were to have their lights out by ten o'clock each evening. The cleanliness of rooms and the dining hall was to be strictly regimented by the overseer, John Newman, and any 'misconduct, wilful neglect, or disobedience of the regulations' would result in ration money being withheld.⁴⁷ A school for the barrack children was also established and presided over by a Miss Mace.⁴⁸

There was a great reluctance to go into the barracks, as it meant a loss of autonomy and comfort, and they were generally regarded as being little better than a Union Workhouse.⁴⁹ At one stage Gray had to use the now common threat of withdrawing rations to 'encourage' people to fill the 17 apartments which were still empty.⁵⁰ Evidence suggests that there was also a stigma attached to the barracks, perhaps because they were viewed as being accommodation fit for people of the lower classes only. One father and husband in New Plymouth instructed his wife - 'Do not go into the barracks'⁵¹, and proceeded to issue the same warning to his wife in a subsequent letter saying that 'it will be time enough for that when all the more

⁴⁶ Plan of Buildings, NP 25/2, WNA; Thomas King Diary MSX-4346 10 December 1860, WTU; *TH*, 22 December 1860, p.3.

⁴⁷ Rules for the Buildings, NP 25/5, WNA.

⁴⁸ William Gray, Nelson, to Deputy Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, 26 September 1860, MS 077/3, TM.

⁴⁹ William Gray, Nelson, to Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, 29 November 1860, MS 077/3, TM.

⁵⁰ William Gray, Nelson, to Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, 29 November 1860, MS 077/3, TM.

⁵¹ William King Wakefield, New Plymouth, to Mary King Wakefield, Nelson, 8 November 1860, p. 8., MS 081, TM.

respectable go there'.⁵² Some who resided in the barracks did not find the system or its facilities agreeable and numerous complaints were made. These included claims that the food was not of good quality, long intervals occurred between the morning and evening meal, and only one room was available to accommodate families regardless of their size.⁵³ There were also problems with the amount of food being distributed. Some mothers were missing out on meals as there was no food left after they had finished attending to their children. The women wished to have their food rations awarded to them so that they could buy their own food and form groups to cook their own meals. This was agreed to by the Superintendent, as were additional sleeping quarters.⁵⁴ However, Gray was opposed to giving them money in lieu of their rent and firewood rations because of the 'improvidence of many women'. He claimed that they would 'neglect their children and buy five dresses', which indicates that he thought women were rather frivolous creatures who could not manage money.⁵⁵ This seems very unlikely as most of the refugees had coped quite well before they had been placed in the barracks, and had proven themselves capable of providing for their families by taking on work.

From the evidence available it seems that little thought had been given to the details of placing refugees in the barracks. Although it was normal for siblings to share a bed in colonial New Zealand, nobody had considered that women with eight children might need a larger room than one containing only three bunks. Similarly, the needs of refugee children seem to have been neglected as nobody had considered

⁵² William King Wakefield, New Plymouth, to Mary King Wakefield, Nelson, 8 November 1860, p. 10, MS 081, TM.

⁵³ Thomas King, Nelson, to Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, 22 December 1860, TP 8/3 Micro 2810, WNA.

⁵⁴ Thomas King, Nelson, to Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, 22 December 1860, TP 8/3 Micro 2810, WNA.

⁵⁵ Thomas King, Diary, MSX-4346, 13 December 1860, WTU.

that children are not necessarily hungry at set mealtimes. No nurse had been arranged for the hospital, and mothers were obliged to tend the sick at the risk of passing on illness and infections to their children.⁵⁶ Admittedly arrangements were made to fix the problems encountered by refugees in the barracks but Gray's and the provincial authorities' apparent belief that placing women and children into the barracks would be trouble-free shows a considerable lack of foresight.

Those refugees of the wealthier class in Nelson had a different experience from the refugees maintained by the government. In some regards it was similar to their lives in Taranaki in that they did not have to work to supplement their incomes, and some had servants to help with the children and the management of the household. Time was spent visiting acquaintances, attending social functions and engaging in household tasks such as sewing. Jane Maria Atkinson mentions visits to other well known families of Nelson such as the Blacketts, and the Dometts and the attendance of two of their family at the Taranaki Race Ball.⁵⁷ However, the scattered documentary evidence does not reveal how many of these upper class refugee families were evacuated.

Only two letters from a woman of this class of society is all that is available on the emotional state of women refugees in Nelson. Mary King's correspondence to her husband reveal a woman who was doing her best to cope, but one who nonetheless was having great difficulty enduring the separation from her husband. The responsibility of looking after six children and overseeing servants, without a husband, was a burden which Mary was not used to bearing. Upon hearing that Thomas would not be able to visit, she wrote to him stating that she 'would rather endure Poverty together than comparative luxury and be apart....I have the whole

⁵⁶ Thomas King Diary, MSX-4346, 15 December 1860, WTU.

⁵⁷ Jane Maria Richmond , Diary, 9 and 12 April 1860, p.5, MS 044/0, TM.

responsibility of the family and there are so many points upon which we ought to be able to consult together'.⁵⁸ Thomas King's letters reveal that he constantly encouraged his wife and gave her advice on household affairs and the welfare of their children. He also could not bear being parted from his wife and at one stage wrote to her that he was 'weary weary of this wretched separation' and that he felt 'inexpressibly lonely' without her.⁵⁹ The King letters are valuable because there is little other documentation on the emotional state of refugees and their families during the war. This is only one example, but it is reasonable to assume that it is representative of the way other husbands and wives were feeling about their separation.

For some refugees the safety of Nelson held little comfort and attempts were made to return to New Plymouth. Perhaps these women could not cope without their husband's support anymore, especially if they had large families. Others may have tired of being in an unfamiliar town and been willing to endure the deprivations in New Plymouth in exchange for streets, buildings, and people they were accustomed to. It is also possible that those who had husbands, fiances, or sons serving in the militia wanted to be near them in case anything should happen to them. Those who made the decision to leave Nelson acted in direct defiance of a notice issued by Captain Paul, Major of the Brigade at Taranaki, stating that any attempts to land would be prevented by using harsh measures.⁶⁰ Instructions had been given to the Harbour Master at Taranaki not to place any government boats at the service of

⁵⁸ Mary King, Nelson, to Thomas King, New Plymouth, April 6, MS-5641-07, WTU.

⁵⁹ Thomas King, New Plymouth, to Mary King, Nelson, 25 October 1860, MS-Papers-5641-04, WTU.

⁶⁰ William Gray, Nelson, to Provincial Secretary of Taranaki, New Plymouth, 20 June 1860, MS 077/3, TM.

women and children from Nelson.⁶¹ Gray had also been told to inform the refugees that those who did succeed in landing would not be granted rations or accommodation.⁶² Despite measures being installed to prevent their return, some did manage to land at New Plymouth in January 1861. They were a Mrs Jury (see Fig. 6), her six children and 4 other passengers. The Superintendent was powerless to prevent it, as they had hired a private boat to land and he only had jurisdiction over boatmen employed by the province.⁶³ Another attempt was made by two women. One dressed herself in men's clothing and was able to get ashore safely, while the other, a Miss Bayly, refused to adopt the attire of a man and was consequently discovered. Whilst no punitive measures were taken against the others who had landed, evidence suggests that she was put back on the ship which was heading to Sydney, thus sending an unmistakable message to other refugees in Nelson who were thinking of returning.⁶⁴ It is not known whether those refugees who did land were forced to return to the southern province, or whether they supported themselves in New Plymouth with their own money. However, the Superintendent was adamant that he would comply with the instructions of the Colonial Secretary and not award rations to those who landed against orders.⁶⁵

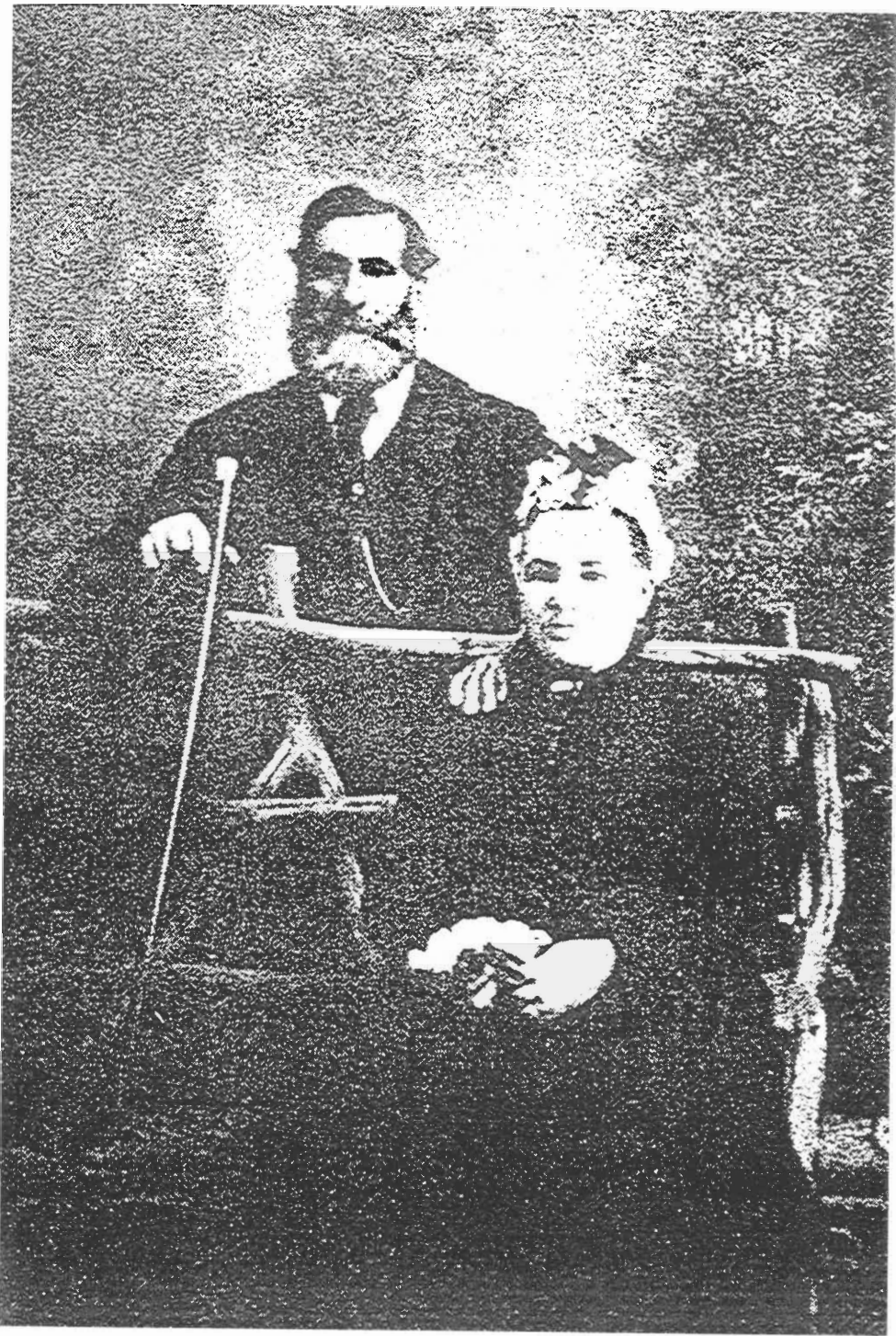
⁶¹ George Cutfield, Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth to Mr Watson, Harbor Master, New Plymouth, 4 December 1860, MS 077/4 Letter book, TM.

⁶² James Richmond, Provincial Secretary of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to William Gray, Nelson, 17 May 1860, TP 7/5 p.607, WNA.

⁶³ George Cutfield, Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to Cutfield to Lt. Colonel Silling, Commanding Forces, New Plymouth, 30 January 1861, MS 077/4 Letter book, TM.

⁶⁴ *NE*, 27 February 1861, p.3 . Thomas King, New Plymouth, to Mary King, Nelson, MS-papers-5641-03, WTU.

⁶⁵ George Cutfield, Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to Lt. Colonel Silling, Commanding Forces, New Plymouth, 30 January 1861, MS 077/4 Letter book, TM.



Mr and Mrs John Jury, 1851.

Family History Section, Library, Taranaki Museum, New Plymouth. Ref. No. 929.2

There were two quite different experiences for refugees in Nelson. For those who were of the poorer class, issues arose over clothing, rations, and crowded accommodation. These problems were compounded by the amount of power placed in Gray's hands, as the care and management of those in the poorer class rested with him. There was no official process for the resolution of complaints lodged by refugees, there was little that the Taranaki provincial authorities did to intervene in Gray's decisions. Financial concerns were less of a priority, on the other hand, for wealthier refugees who could afford to hire their own servants, and accommodate their families in comfortable cottages. In some ways, it was easier for them to make the transition to Nelson than for poorer settlers who had to cope with less. Some refugees from this class were aware that their situation was harsher than that of their contemporaries, and protested at the treatment they received. This was particularly evident when they were accommodated in the barracks where, as the name suggests, there were routines and regulations. However, it is understandable that conditions were not exactly perfect, and that the distribution of clothing, rations, and food would not always be consistent, as this was a unique situation. Whatever the class, most wished that the war would end and they could return home. Although documents do not reveal the exact number, there were some families who chose to remain in the South Island.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ For example, James (who was wounded during the war and sent to Nelson) and Jane Climo decided to stay in the South Island after the war had ended, and settled in Marlborough. Family History Section, Under 'C', Library, TM.

CHAPTER 4

COMPENSATION AND RECONSTRUCTION.

Not all refugees were allowed to return to Taranaki when the war ceased on 18 March 1861, and some were still in Nelson in 1862. This was because there was no accommodation for them, and the Provincial Government did not want the burden of providing rations until they knew that the General Government was going to assist with the costs. There were also concerns about whether the General Government was going to pay reparation for losses incurred by the settlers during the war, and if so, how much, and when. As the politicians debated these points, the settlers tried to reconstruct their livelihoods and re-establish the province as a farming community.

The damage done to European homes and property was extensive. At least 200 houses in the districts of Bell Block, Omata, Tataraimaka, Henui, Grey Block and Carrington Road had been burned by Maori, comprising approximately 80% of all homes and outbuildings.¹ Crops and stock had either been destroyed or had been stolen, and land which had been cleared so painstakingly by the settlers was now overgrown with Scotch thistle and fern. However, despite the destruction and devastation of their homes, most of the Nelson refugees were intent on returning upon hearing that hostilities had ceased. For all, the separation from their husbands and sons had been a great strain and they wished to begin the process of rebuilding their lives and homes. The same was true for men serving in the militia and volunteers in New Plymouth, who had had to cope with the absence of their children and their wives' support, while knowing that they could be killed at any time.

¹W.I. Grayling, *The War in Taranaki during the Years 1860-61* (New Plymouth, 1862), Appendix pp. 108-12.

New Plymouth in 1861 was in no fit state to receive women and children from Nelson. Illness was prevalent and there was still overcrowding due to a lack of accommodation.² The death rate for the first five months numbered 56, which was only 12 deaths short of the mortality rate for the whole of 1860.³ The *Taranaki Herald* stated that these had resulted from fever, which in turn had stemmed from the the unsatisfactory living conditions.⁴ Pressure from the refugees in Nelson, however, prompted the the Superintendent of Taranaki to issue a notice on 19 April stating that permission to return to New Plymouth would be given, but only to those refugees who could support themselves - that is without being awarded rations by the Government - and if they had accommodation to which they could return.⁵ The Superintendent insisted that returning refugees must have enough money to support themselves, because the rations awarded to families in Nelson was by arrangement between the Nelson Provincial and General Governments and did not apply to New Plymouth.⁶ Provincial authorities were wary of accepting the responsibility of providing relief for returning refugee families as the province had other costs to bear. However there was nothing to prevent those settlers who could not support themselves from returning if they chose to do so. As has been shown in Chapter 3, a few refugees did land at New Plymouth when they had been instructed not to.

Another group of settlers who were not immediately allowed to return to the province were those who had severed their connections with Taranaki as the war

² George Cutfield, Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to William Gray, Nelson, 29 April 1861, MS 077/4 Letter Book, TM.

³ *TH*, 1 June 1861, p.2.

⁴ *TH*, 1 June 1861, p.2.

⁵ George Cutfield, Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to William Gray, Nelson, 19 April 1861, MS 077/4 Letter book, TM.

⁶ Charles Brown, Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to William Pote, Motueka, 22 July 1861, MS 077/4 Letter book, TM.

had progressed. These families had made plans to to begin again somewhere else in other provinces in New Zealand, and had then changed their minds and wanted to return. Although there is no evidence to indicate how large this group was, some data is available on one settler who applied to return to Taranaki. When John French sought permission to return to Taranaki as a refugee he was initially refused by Charles Brown, the new Superintendent. It is not known whether it was a personal opinion, or a legal right for him to deny French's request, but Brown felt that his decision to establish himself and family somewhere else disqualified him from returning.⁷ The fact that he could not obtain employment in any other province and preferred Taranaki was irrelevant as far as the Superintendent was concerned. It is highly likely that Brown saw French as a deserter, who had decided to abandon his fellow settlers and the province as soon as threats had been made to their security, but had decided he was better off in Taranaki once the danger had passed. Despite his reservations, Brown did eventually relent and French's family were allowed to return in March 1862, possibly because the Superintendent realised that additional hands were needed to re-establish the province.⁸

The first group of refugees returned from Nelson on 26 April, with approximately 116 people. By the end of July, another 130 adults and 272 children had returned to New Plymouth, while at least 112 families (the exact number is not known) remained in Nelson.⁹ Plans were also being made by the provincial authorities to bring home those refugees who did not meet the Superintendent's criteria as outlined on 19 April 1861. Perhaps they wished to avoid the outcry which

⁷ Charles Brown, Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to William Gray, Nelson, 10 February 1862, MS 077/4 Letter book, TM.

⁸ Charles Brown, Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to William Gray, Nelson, 10 March 1862, MS 077/4 Letter book, TM.

⁹ 'Refugees Returned' List, I325, New Plymouth Library, New Plymouth.

would ensue if they did not make attempts to bring everyone home. Refugee housing was being built in St Germaine's Square, paid for by the Central Government, and built on Government land at an estimated cost of £5000.¹⁰ Plans were also being made to prepare the land for cultivation and restore some of the damage done to farm houses, outbuildings and fencing. It was imperative that the farms resume their viability as most of the settlers' capital was tied up in stock and land, forming the foundation of the Taranaki community. A suggestion had been made to the Assistant Military Secretary, Major Whitmore, that it might be beneficial for the militia to be retained on the pay list but given time off to repair their farms. They might proceed beyond the town limits in groups and 'live in or under the protection of the stockade'.¹¹ By May 1861, the military had begun the job of establishing five garrisons within the district so that the militia could aid in repairing the damage done to farms by planting crops and mending fences.¹² A newspaper article in the *Taranaki Herald* also proposed that cultivations be established within the town as the countryside was still unsafe. In 1860, 50 acres had been enclosed near Fort Stapp and the paper proposed that if this area could be extended and a fence erected between the block house at Carrington Rd and Devon St, crops could be planted.¹³ The sense of urgency was more pronounced for farmers who were being charged 12% interest on their mortgaged properties and who had had no means to pay the interest, let alone the principal, for the previous year.¹⁴

¹⁰ Statement of the Account Between the Provincial Government of Taranaki and the General Government Board from March 1 1860 to March 31 1863, Harbour Board Records, Box 17/ Folder 1, p. 1/24A, TM.

¹¹ George Cutfield, Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to William Gray, Nelson, 19 April 1861, MS 077/4 Letter book, TM.

¹² *TH*, 25 May 1861, p. 2.

¹³ *TH*, 20 July 1861, p.2.

¹⁴ *TH*, 17 May 1862, p.6.

As housing in St Germaine's Square became available, more refugee families returned from Nelson. Evidence suggests that they were mainly those who had received relief in Nelson and who would require the same in New Plymouth. For example, both the Pote and Moyle families, who were listed as receiving rations in Nelson, were accommodated in houses at St Germaine's Square in 1862.¹⁵ The Taranaki Provincial Council had come to an arrangement whereby the General Government would pay for the costs of relief. Some men, including even 'relatives of the British nobility, doctors of medicine (who had taken their diplomas) and sons and nephews of clergyman' were engaged in building roads under a Public Works scheme for 3s.6d a day.¹⁶ For Thomas Waite and his wife and five children aged from three to eleven, this wage was not enough. He subsequently applied for relief and was granted 4s 8d a week for two and a half adults.¹⁷ Similarly, William Rodgers applied for assistance for his ill wife and three children, the eldest of whom was only nine years old.¹⁸ Applications for assistance were also being received from farmers who had been prosperous landowners before the war. William Halse, solicitor and Commissioner of Crown Lands,¹⁹ informed Harry Atkinson, member of parliament,²⁰ in early August 1862 that three such men had all received rations and that there were now more than 100 names on the relief list.²¹ Some indication of the

¹⁵ Charles Brown, Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to William Pote, Motueka, Nelson, 10 May 1862, MS 077/4 Letter book, TM. Statement of Expenditure for Rations for four weeks ending August 17 1860 (See Pote and Moyle), MS 077, Taranaki Provincial Council, TM. Application for Relief by Edward Moyle, 6 August 1862, TP 9/2, WNA.

¹⁶ TH, 17 May 1862, p.6.

¹⁷ Application for Relief by Thomas Waite, 17 May 1862, TP 9/2, WNA.

¹⁸ Application for Relief by Charles Sampson, 2 August 1862, TP 9/2, WNA.

¹⁹ J.S Tullett, *The Industrious Heart: A History of New Plymouth* (Christchurch, 1981), p. 175.

²⁰ Frances Porter, *Born to New Zealand: A Biography of Jane Maria Atkinson* (Wellington, 1989), p. 158.

²¹ W. Halse, New Plymouth, to H.A Atkinson, New Plymouth, 9 August 1862, in

amount needed for relief is seen in a statement prepared for the General Government which shows that between May and September of 1862, £484 was needed to supply families with rent, meat and bread in New Plymouth.²²

Whilst it was acknowledged that the destruction of many of the settlers' farms and much of their property was attributable to Maori, much of the community blamed the British military authorities for letting the devastation take place. In an address to the House of Representatives, Harry Atkinson reminded the colony of Colonel Gold's order that no potatoes, stock or other produce were to be exported from New Plymouth in case there was a need for them. Settlers had retained their stock, on Gold's instructions, and then were accused by his successor, Major General Pratt, of delaying the defeat of the Maori because they were supplying Te Atiawa with a ready food supply. Atkinson also claimed that Colonel Gold was indirectly responsible for the burning of 200 houses in the rural districts outside New Plymouth because he had forbidden groups of settlers to patrol the countryside protecting the houses and keeping the countryside accessible. He further stated that Taranaki children had died as a result of the British military taking all the fencing within the town to construct palisading; in consequence no crops could be grown or stock kept so as to provide balanced, nutritious meals for those children who were accustomed to such a diet.²³ One member in the House of Representatives felt that it was the Imperial Government's responsibility to pay for the damage resulting from the war as it was responsible for administering native affairs.²⁴

Scholefield, pp. 780-81.

²² Statement of the Particulars of the Expenditure Charged against the General Government in the Accompanying Account for the Quarter ending March 31 1863, Harbour Board Records, Box 17 Folder 1, p.1/4e, TM.

²³ *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates (NZPD)*, 20 August 1862, pp.579-82 (Harry A. Atkinson).

²⁴ *NZPD*, 29 August 1860, p. 398 (Dr Monro).

However, Alfred Domett stated that it would be unproductive to ask for funds from them as they had other costs in England to bear. He went on to say that, inevitably, the English parliament would charge the expenses on ‘the lands of the colony’, so he thought it would be more efficient for the New Zealand Government to arrange compensation for the settlers, rather than the Home Government.²⁵ Indeed, this is what took place.

As early as August 1860, there was debate in the House of Representatives as to whether a sum of money should be paid to the Taranaki settlers for the damage done to recompense them for losses they had sustained during the war. It was suggested by the Member for Christchurch, Henry Sewell, that if an amount for compensation was not decided on by the New Zealand Government, they could have a similar situation to that faced by the Canadian Legislative Assembly. What had been a sizable award for losses incurred during the rebellion of 1837-38 in Upper and Lower Canada had subsequently grown over a period of 11 years as Parliament had tried to determine an exact sum for compensation. A Select Committee, established to determine what money should be given to the Taranaki settlers, proposed that relief should be distributed as soon as possible so that they could start farming again. The Government settled on a sum of £25,000 in October 1860,²⁶ and perhaps, bearing in mind the problems suffered by the Canadian Parliament, stated that this sum of money would be the only sum awarded for losses sustained during the war.²⁷ Cutfield had in fact informed supporters in England that ‘the losses the settlers have sustained...cannot be less than £100,000 and will probably greatly exceed this amount’.²⁸

²⁵ *NZPD*, 29 August 1860, p. 398 (Alfred Domett).

²⁶ *TH*, 27 October 1860 p.4.

²⁷ *NZPD*, 25 October 1860, p 754 (William Fitzherbert).

²⁸ George Cutfield, Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, to Messrs John

In June 1861, a Commission of Enquiry was appointed by the General Government to judge the settlers' claims, ascertain the extent of their award, and distribute the £25,000 which was identified as the Taranaki Relief Fund. Sewell, who had been concerned that compensation awarded to the settlers be a one-off payment, was appointed Commissioner. Three sub-Commissioners who resided in Taranaki aided him and informed Sewell about the accuracy of the claims. These were to be verified with a statutory declaration.²⁹ Sums apportioned from the £25,000 were allocated to six categories - buildings, fencing, livestock, dead stock and crops, investigated claims, and damage from Scotch thistles - on which claims were to be based.³⁰ The Government had decided that a rate of three shillings and one penny in the pound was all that was to be allowed on the claims made. Given that the sum voted for relief was insufficient, it reasonable to assume that settlers put down all manner of items to increase their award. It is therefore not surprising to find that Mrs Elizabeth Jury, a widow, was very careful to list all those utensils she required in her dairy, such as a churn and cream basin, as well as all her crockery, saucepans, garden tools, and furniture. This was in her addition to her claim for the fencing, cows, and outbuildings she had lost.³¹ Simialrly, William Pote listed the stock and furniture which had been destroyed in addition to crops which had not been harvested when war broke out.³² It is also possible that other settlers acted fraudently and included property they did not actually have before the war began.

Gladstone and co., London, 21 November 1860, MS 077/4 Letter book, TM.

²⁹ W. Stafford, Colonial Secretary's Office, Auckland, Notice to Claimants, IA 132/27, WNA.

³⁰ Henry Sewell, Auckland, to Harry Atkinson, New Plymouth, 4 December 1861, IA 132/21, WNA.

³¹ Claim submitted to the Taranaki Relief Fund Commission by Elizabeth Jury, IA 132/7 Claims and Awards 'I-K', WNA.

³² Claim submitted to the Taranaki Relief Fund Commission by William Pote, IA 132/10 Claims and Awards 'Pe-Ri', WNA.

Claims lodged with the Commission of Enquiry totalled more than £176,050, which was seven times the sum originally allocated for the settlers.³³ The Taranaki settlers very soon became aware that the sum of £25,000, and even an additional £30,000 the General Government granted, was not enough to restore what they had lost.³⁴ In early January 1862, they began to question whether their fellow colonists and the General Government had done all it could to aid in the restoration of their province and their homes. The settlers were aware that the money already given to the province was supposed to be all that would be distributed. However, the sum was so inadequate that they began to petition the General Government for further funds. They believed themselves to be blameless in causing the war of 1860, and thus not liable for the losses incurred. Their appeals, however, were ignored by the Colonial Government. The Superintendent of Taranaki and the Provincial Council were then prompted by their constituents to send a memorial to Governor George Grey proposing that £200,000 be raised by the General Assembly on the security of the colony as a loan. Taranaki's contribution was to be based on a 50% increase of the province's average revenue over the past five years.³⁵ Essentially, they were mortgaging their futures by assuming responsibility for part of the loan. Perhaps the reasoning of the provincial authorities was that they would only be granted money from the Government if they agreed to contribute.

In 1860, it had been 'broadly insinuated in the House that it might be necessary altogether to abandon the Taranaki Province, and to transplant the settlers

³³ Claims for Compensation for Losses Sustained by the Taranaki war, IA 132/21, WNA.

³⁴ It is not known exactly when the £30,000 was awarded, but like the £25,000, it was included in the settlement of £200,000. *Appendices to the House of Representatives (AJHR)*, 1863, A-3, Colonial Secretary to the Superintendent of Taranaki, New Plymouth, 21 March 1863, p.2.

³⁵ *NE*, 20 August 1862, p.3.

to the Middle Island'.³⁶ This was considered a 'dark and ominous line', and one Member wondered whether other settlements might not follow the same route if the precedent was set. Wanting to support the settlers' claims, James Richmond used this as a lever, and asked in a speech to the House of Representatives whether the Government sought to restore the province, or whether it would be better for the settlers to start again in a different province.³⁷

A Select Committee was charged with determining what further award should be made. It concluded that £200,000 be granted to the settlers, after 'hearing of various schemes for inducing the settlers to stay in the place'.³⁸ Keeping them in the province may have been the inducement for the Government to concur with the Committee. In 1863 they decided that the total sum of £200,000 would not to be paid to the settlers as they had already received £55,000 by way of relief from the General Government. However, it was determined that an additional £90,000 would be given to the refugees. These two amounts totalling £145,000 would then be deducted from the sum of £189,000 which had been awarded in claims by Sewell and his Sub-Commissioners. The difference of £44,000 would be raised by the Taranaki Provincial Government which would issue debentures to the value of not more than £50,000, to bear interest at 7% per annum and be payable at the end of 10 years.³⁹ Although the £50,000 would be chargeable on the provincial revenue, the General Government would pay the interest for the first 5 years from money allocated from the £200,000 Reinstatement Fund.⁴⁰ In addition to bearing what was essentially a tax, the people of Taranaki were now also made responsible for providing relief to

³⁶ *NZPD*, 29 August 1860, p. 399 (Mr Forsaith).

³⁷ *NZPD*, 29 August 1862, p. 665 (James Richmond).

³⁸ *NE*, 10 December 1862, p. 5.

³⁹ Enclosure to No. 8 Taranaki Loan Ordinance 1863, (*AJHR*), 1863, A- 3, p.6.

⁴⁰ Colonial Secretary to the Superintendent of Taranaki , 21 March 1863, *AJHR*, 1863, A-3, p.2.

destitute people in their province.⁴¹ Given that there were 2044 males and females in Taranaki in 1861, each would receive £44 per person from the £90,000 awarded by the Government.⁴²

Despite the money being granted, the Governor and Attorney General held some reservations about the award, although for different reasons. Frederick Whitaker, the Attorney General, felt that, as the money was to be distributed for the permanent reinstatement of the Taranaki province, none of it could be legally given for compensation of past losses.⁴³ Grey, on the other hand, felt that by granting the settlers compensation, the General Government would be admitting that they had been sufficiently intimidated to collapse under pressure and grant the province what it wanted. He also took issue with the way some settlers had seemingly forced a war with the Maori and were continuing to do so.⁴⁴ Perhaps what annoyed the Governor the most was the way that the General Government had been pressured into paying compensation so that the settlers would stay in Taranaki. His irritation was not lessened by recognising that it was more economical to pay the settlers the £200,000 rather than drip-feeding them charitable aid which eventually would become more expensive for the colonial revenue.⁴⁵

By 1863, the £90,000 voted for the reinstatement of the Taranaki province had not been distributed, although the General Government agreed to pay 8% per annum on the sum and the interest was to be given to those persons who had been

⁴¹ Minutes and Correspondence Relating to the Disposal of the Taranaki Reinstatement Fund, *AJHR*, 1863, A-3, p. 10.

⁴² Census of New Zealand 1861, *New Zealand Gazette*, 27 June 1862, p.223.

⁴³ Opinion of the Attorney General Frederick Whitaker, *AJHR*, 1863, A-3, p.3.

⁴⁴ Memorandum By His Excellency the Governor, *AJHR*, 1863, A-3, p.4.

⁴⁵ Memorandum By His Excellency the Governor, *AJHR*, 1863, A-3, p.3.

awarded compensation by Sewell.⁴⁶ This situation was further aggravated when war broke out again in Taranaki in May 1863 and the £200,000 was withdrawn on the recommendation of Treasury Ministers. They informed the Governor that the £200,000 voted for the Taranaki settlers was all the revenue they had and there would be military expenses to pay for.⁴⁷ There was much discontent and anger at the action of the Government and despite it being lawful for them to withdraw the sum (given that it was for the restoration of the province and this was less likely with a war on), they were seen to have a moral obligation to fulfill their promise.⁴⁸ In early December, a local newspaper in Taranaki reported that the issue of distributing the compensation would be resolved shortly, and by 12 December the House of Representatives had decided to progress with the payment of the money.⁴⁹ However, the Taranaki settlers were informed that it would take five or six months before the compensation was paid out as it would need to be raised in England.⁵⁰ Promissory certificates were to be issued in place of the money for those settlers who required them.⁵¹

Perhaps to conceal the leisurely manner in which the General Government had gone about raising the funds required for the reinstatement of Taranaki, and to divert attention away from its seeming reluctance to pay the settlers, it decided to investigate those claims already awarded by Henry Sewell. Thomas Beckham, a Resident Magistrate in Auckland, was commissioned to select five or six cases and

⁴⁶ Colonial Secretary to the Superintendent of Taranaki, 19 June 1863, *AJHR*, 1863, A-3, p. 10.

⁴⁷ Memorandum by Ministers in Auckland, 9 May 1863, *AJHR*, 1863, A-3, pp. 9-10.

⁴⁸ *TH*, 20 June 1863, p.3.

⁴⁹ *TH*, 5 December 1863, p. 2.

⁵⁰ *TH*, 9 January 1864, p.2.

⁵¹ Copy of a letter from the Colonial Secretary to T. Beckham, 7 September 1864, *AJHR*, 1864, A-3, p.6.

review them for their fairness.⁵² After considering three claims which were awarded much less than what they had asked for, and two cases which comprised the largest awards, Beckham concluded that, apart from one small inaccuracy, Sewell's awards had been justified.⁵³

Full payment of the Taranaki Reinstatement Fund had been made by 1868. A return of the expenditure submitted to the House of Representatives on 31 August 1868 revealed that a total of £192,106/16/7 had been paid for compensation, interest on debentures and compensation certificates, and the expenses incurred by the relief and compensation commissioners and clerks. The General Government was also in the process of paying £600 of interest on debentures which had been redeemed, and interest on debentures which the settlers were entitled to redeem in 1873.⁵⁴

Some observers wondered at the tenacity of the Taranaki settlers who endured the hardship of having little to live on and the prospect of having to rebuild what had taken them 20 years to establish. Jane Maria Atkinson, who stayed in the province, was amazed at 'the way in which people cling to this place, not that it is remarkable that they should like it, but that after the losses and vexations endured here ... people not actuated by any romantic feelings or exalted principles should not prefer at once seeking their fortune in more secure and go-ahead spots is really incomprehensible'.⁵⁵ Not only had the settlers suffered the loss of everything which enabled them to make a living in Taranaki, but they had to contend with a

⁵² Further Papers Relative to the Taranaki Reinstatement Fund, *AJHR*, 1864, A-3, p.4.

⁵³ Copy of a letter from T. Beckham, to the Colonial Secretary, 5 July 1864, *AJHR*, 1864, A-3, p. 4.

⁵⁴ Return of the Expenditure Voted for the Reinstatement of the Province of Taranaki, *AJHR*, 1868.

⁵⁵ Jane Maria Atkinson Diary, Taranaki, 28 May 1862, Richmond Atkinson Papers, MS-4298 Folder 130, WTU.

Government which was less than willing to give them compensation for their losses. This was compounded by war breaking out again in southern Taranaki in 1863. Although Jane Maria Atkinson could not fathom why the majority of the Taranaki settlers decided to stay on in the district, the reason could be as simple as that people viewed the province as home. Many of them had journeyed 12,000 miles to own their own land and had spent the last two decades transforming their houses into homes, raising their families, cultivating their gardens and orchards and establishing friendships within the community. Taranaki was also a very fertile area which had been described as 'first' in its main industry of agriculture before the war,⁵⁶ perhaps because the soil was 'so light that the effects of the heaviest rain soon disappear'.⁵⁷ Indeed, it was a dispute over such land at Waitara which prompted the events in 1860. The investment of time and effort and the prospects of the province were strong incentives to stay and establish the province as a successful agricultural district.

The £200,000 awarded in compensation to the settlers and the total amount of claims lodged with the Commission of Enquiry were almost the same, which indicates that the settlers were given sufficient funds to rebuild their homes and farms. This had not initially been the case when the General Government voted only £25,000 for reparation. Because this was a unique situation, they were unsure of what sum was to be awarded and how to manage the distribution of the money. Subsequently, they looked to Canada and its handling of compensation given to victims in the rebellion of 1837-38 to determine the most efficient means of settling the problem. Despite being aware that Canada eventually had to pay a greater sum

⁵⁶ Charles Hursthouse Jnr., *An Account of the Settlement of New Plymouth in New Zealand* (Christchurch 1975; first printed in London, 1849), p. 80.

⁵⁷ Hursthouse, p. 10.

than that originally set aside, due to 'repeated examination and discussion', the compensation was not paid until 1868 - eight years after the province of Taranaki had been devastated.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ R. Montgomery Martin, *The British Colonies-Their History, Extent, Conditions, and Resources: British North America*, Vol. 1 (London, 1851), p. 46.

CONCLUSION.

There has been enough documentary evidence to chart the Taranaki refugee experience from the time that they were driven into New Plymouth, through to their evacuation to Nelson, and their return to the province. A number of findings have been reached in this process and are reiterated below.

Rollo Arnold has concluded that colonial society in the 1880s had a ‘crying need for effective leadership in all areas of community life’.¹ If that is accurate, 1860 was a time when there was little leadership at all, and certainly the way in which Taranaki provincial authorities coped with the crisis supports this statement. It was particularly evident in the manner in which settlers were evacuated to Nelson. Although the provincial leaders had the power to issue notices for the removal of the settlers, they did not have the management skills required for their policies to be effective. Consequently, overcrowding and illness, aggravated by the living conditions, were frequent.

The military commanders who had the authority, under martial law, to enforce the evacuation of women and children, were just as ineffective for a time. However, this was as a result of their apathy towards the safety of the civilians within the town. It was not until Pratt took over the command of British troops at Taranaki and exerted his authority, that the removal of most of those categorised as refugees became a reality. Despite this, he did nothing to prevent the return of those refugees who had disobeyed orders and returned from Nelson.

Another example of ineffective leadership was neglect in providing accommodation arrangements for those farming families seeking safety in New

¹ Rollo Arnold, *New Zealand's Burning: The Settler's World in the Mid 1880s* (Wellington, 1994), p. 250.

Plymouth. What should have been a coordinated effort by the provincial authorities was largely organised by the settlers themselves. Similarly, when the butcher began selling meat derived from stray cattle owned by Taranaki farmers, the authorities did nothing.

Even though they were vested with the power, they simply did not have the skills in place to manage the crisis and provide the most effective resolutions to problems which arose. This was despite being aware that open conflict with Te Atiawa could eventuate at any time. It should be remembered, however, that the provincial council was only eight years old, which meant that they had had little time to develop leadership and management skills so that these would be recognised by their community. It should also be remembered that this event had no precedent, and therefore there was nothing for the provincial authorities to judge their own actions by.

As has been shown, the initial reaction of some of the provinces in New Zealand to accommodating the refugees was less than enthusiastic. Otago and Canterbury were not keen to absorb them into their community and produced obstacles to prevent any evacuees being sent to their districts. The former sent a list of their provincial immigration criteria to the civil authorities of Taranaki, who had asked if they would accept any refugees, while the latter stated that they did not have the means to provide for them. Wellington, considered the prospect of offering a home to the refugees, but eventually decided against it, and Auckland extended a half-hearted invitation because they too were fearful of a Maori attack.

In these instances, and even in Nelson (although there is less conclusive evidence for this province), the interests of the district were placed before the concerns of those being evacuated, a point made by R.J Polaschek's who states that

they were ‘always [conscious] of the needs of their own settlement’.² However, evidence has shown that those provinces which had a history of past disturbances with Maori were more likely to consider accommodating the refugees, as they could identify more easily with Taranaki’s predicament. Whether a province housed refugees, or not, does not however detract from the fact that they all provided funds and goods for the refugees, as did people in Melbourne, Sydney and England. Problems did arise from the collection of these donations, and there is a suggestion that there were some dishonest practices which resulted from a lack of knowledge of how to coordinate and collect charitable aid.

This research has also revealed that class distinctions affected the experience of refugees in Nelson, and did more to create a sense of difference, than unity amongst members of the Taranaki community in their time of crisis. Those who were wealthy could afford to maintain themselves in the same manner they were used to, whilst those who were poorer had to rely on public donations and employment to supplement the aid the government aid they received. These same societal demarcations were also evident during the evacuation. One settler remarked that the ‘removals are beginning to touch the A-r-i-s-t-o-c-r-a-c-y, thus making fish of one & flesh of the other’.³

The conditions of the two groups became even more pronounced when those of the lower classes were accommodated in the barracks, which was at its most basic, and arranged along regimental lines. They knew that this was below standard, and they knew they had lost some of their autonomy because they were now being organised according to the wishes of the Taranaki provincial authorities. Those in the

² Polaschek, p. 25.

³ William King Wakefield, New Plymouth, to Mary Wakefield King, Nelson, 12 September 1860, MS 081, TM.

poorer classes did not accept the situation without complaint and made known their grievances, even though they were not always resolved in their favour. The fact that their accommodation had been worse in New Plymouth, when the town was overcrowded and full of sickness, escaped the attention of those residents in the barracks who laid complaints. It is also interesting to note that these refugees, who did not heed the pleas of Taranaki provincial leaders to evacuate, recognised their authority and wrote to them for assistance when Gray, the government agent, decided that their complaints were unfounded.

Mary King's letters are the only historical documents which reveal the emotional state of refugees in Nelson. However, it is reasonable to assume that for all those who had been evacuated, irrespective of class, it was an emotionally trying experience to be separated from their menfolk and know that their homes and farms were being devastated.

This study has also revealed that the Central Government was not in a well-placed position to manage the distribution of compensation for the refugees. In fact, it took eight years from the time that reparation was considered to the actual distribution of the award. The second Taranaki war intervened to hinder the process and, this was compounded by there being no other case in New Zealand where restitution had been made to settlers who had lost property in disturbances with Maori. As a result, the New Zealand Government looked overseas for comparable situations which could be used as a model for the Taranaki settlers. The Canadian Government, in particular, was singled out for its handling of losses incurred by settlers in the rebellion in Upper and Lower Canada during 1837-38. They had appointed commissioners to investigate claims arising from the rebellion⁴, and also

⁴ Martin, p. 45

issued debentures in 1846 to settle the payment of compensation.⁵ Both of these approaches were applied by the Central Government in awarding payment to the Taranaki settlers. They also knew the importance of determining a figure for compensation before the demands for more money increased greatly, as it had in Canada.

Whilst this research has highlighted the use of Canadian policy as a guide for legislation implemented in New Zealand, this was not the first time their political methods had been used as a guide. In 1854, when the House of Representatives challenged the 1852 constitution which only allowed them to be a ‘representative and advisory body’, an alternative form of government was proposed which would allow them greater power.⁶ Based on an approach tried in Canada, a resolution was passed which saw that executive control, in all matters, would be held by ministers who had a majority in the House, except areas such as defence and foreign affairs which would be managed by the Governor.⁷

Two other known instances where Canada was used as a model for government in New Zealand also occurred in the 19th century. The first was when the South Island threatened to separate itself from the rest of the colony in the early 1860s. Measures were taken to appease the colonists by implementing a plan based on the Canadian Union of 1841.⁸ Secondly, when a new method of supplying

⁵ Martin, p. 46.

⁶ Judith Binney, Judith Bassett, and Erik Olssen, *The People and the Land-Te Tangata me Te Whenua: An Illustrated History of New Zealand 1820-1920* (Wellington, 1990), p 73.

⁷ Binney et.al., p. 73.

⁸ W. P. Morrell, *The Provincial System in New Zealand 1852-76* (Christchurch, 1964), p. 134.

Government expenditure was proposed by John Hall in 1868, it was thought to be based on the Constitution Act of Canada 1867.⁹

From this study and the examples given above, there seems to be enough evidence to suggest that Canada played a not insignificant role in the shaping of New Zealand policy in the formative years of the colony. Future research could fruitfully focus on these connections between Canada and New Zealand in the 19th century.

This thesis has highlighted a previously neglected part of the story which is the Taranaki war of 1860. It is hoped that this study might prompt further work into the rigidity of class distinctions during a time of crisis; the extent of parochialism amongst the provinces in 19th century New Zealand; the quality of leadership displayed by provincial authorities in the 1860s; and the use of Canadian models in policy implemented during the 1800s. Alternatively, comparative research might be conducted into similar incidents which occurred in other colonial countries during this time period.

⁹ Morrell, p. 205.

APPENDICES.

Appendix I.

List of Names of Settlers Driven in from their Homes in the Country.
Lists Relating to the Relief Funds, 20 March 1863, MS 077, TM.

<i>Name</i>	<i>No. in family before the war.</i>	<i>No. in family at present time</i>	<i>Returned to their farms.</i>	<i>Receiving rations.</i>
Adams, G.	2 children			
Allen, Tho ^r .	wife & 5	wife & 3		rec rations
Andrews, J.	wife & 8	wife & 8		rec rations
Arden, H.				
Armstrong, J.	—	—		
Atkinson, A.	wife & 1	wife & 2		
" H. J.	wife & 2	wife & 3		
" W. S.	wife & 1	wife & 2		
" D.	single	wife & 1		
Aubridge, G.	wife & 8	wife & 9		rec rations
Baldwin, W.	wife & 4	wife & 5		
Ball, James	—	—		
Bayley, James	wife & 4	wife & 4		rec rations
" Tho ^r .	wife & 2	wife & 3		rec rations
Bayley, W.	wife & 10	wife & 10		
Bayley, W. Jun ^r .	wife & 1	1		rec rations
Berridge, J.	wife & 1	wife & 1		
Broadwell, J.	wife & 5	wife & 5		
Brooking, A.	1 son	1 son		
Brooking, F.				
Brooks, R.	wife & 3	wife & 3		rec rations
Bayley, Geo ^d .	5 children	2		

Name.	no. wife before the act	no. wife at present	returned to duty	receiving ration
Billing. James	wife & 10	wife & 9		rec rations
Brown. G.	wife & 2	wife & 2		
Burton. J.	wife & 3	wife & 4		rec allowances
Burton. W.	wife	wife		
Blaschke. W.	wife & 2	wife & 2		
Bishop. D.	wife & 4	wife & 4	returned	
Barrill. H.	wife & 6	wife & 5	returned	
Baker. A.	wife & 4	wife & 4		
Balton. W.	—	—		
Bishop. J.	wife & 7	wife & 6		rec rations
Brown. Rev ^d	wife & 11	wife & 10		
Carrington. G.				
Clare. G.	wife & 6	wife & 7	returned	
Climo. J.				
Coleman. W.				
Colesby. J.	wife & 3	wife & 3	rec rations	rec rations
Collins. W.	wife & 9	wife & 8		rec rations
Cowling. W.	wife & 3	wife & 4		rec rations
Crompton. W.	wife & 5	wife & 3		
Cutfield. J.	—	—		
Carrington. O.	wife & 8	wife & 8		
Carrick. M.	wife & 3	wife & 2	returned	
Craun. Son ^r	—	—		
Craun. St.	wife & 1	wife & 2		
Carrington. W.	wife & 1	wife & 1		

Name.	No in family before the war.	No in family at present time.	Returned to the farm.	Remaining abroad.
Davis. W.	wife & 1	wife & 1		
Densy. D.	—	—		
Devonish. W.	wife & 2	wife & 3		
Dingle. J.	wife & 10	wife & 10		rec rations
Dixon. M.	wife			
Drayton. B.	wife	wife		rec rations
DeCastro. G.	wife & 5	wife & 5		rec rations
Ellist. P.	wife & 8	wife & 7		
Everett. G.	wife	wife		rec rations
Evra. P.	wife & 6	wife & 6		rec rations
Fishleigh. J.	wife & 1	wife & 1		
Foreman. R.	wife & 9	wife & 5		rec rations
Free. W.	wife	wife		
Flight. J.	wife & 3	wife & 3		
Freeman	1 son	1 son	returned	
French. W.	wife & 5	wife & 4		rec rations
Gilson. J.	—	—		
Goodwin. J.	wife & 2	wife & 2		rec rations
Grayling. W. J.	—	wife		
Greaves. F.	mother & 2	mother & 1		
Greenwood. R.	2 sons	2 sons		
Ginger. J.	wife & 5	5		rec rations

Name	No. in family before the war.	No. in family at present time	Returned to their farms.	receiving rations.
Grey. W.	—	—		rec rations
Gilbert. J.				
Grylls. J.	wife & 5	wife & 5		rec rations
Good. J.	wife & 4	wife & 6		
Gilbert	wife & 10	wife & 9	returned	
Greenway	wife & 2	wife & 2	returned	
Giddy. J.	wife & 10	wife & 9		rec rations
Gallop. R.	wife	wife		rec rations
Hamblyn. Sam ^r	unmarried	wife & 2		
" B.	wife & 2	wife		
Harris. C.				
Harrison. J.	wife	wife		
Harrison. J.	wife & 8	wife & 9		rec rations
Harrison. W.	wife & 8	wife & 8		rec rations
Hetty. M ^r	1 child			
Hart. R.				
Hay. James	wife & 4	wife & 3		rec rations
Hawke. J.	wife & 9	wife & 6		rec rations
Hawke. J.	—	—		
Hepton. J.	wife & 4	wife & 4		
Hirst. J.	wife & 3	—		
Hoby. J.		2 sons	sons live in where on farm	
Hollis. B.	wife & 1	wife		
Hookin. A.	wife & 3	wife & 3		rec rations
Hookin. W.	—	wife & 2	returned	
Halke. W.	wife	wife		
Horford. J.				
Hurlestone. W.	wife & 2	wife & 2		rec rations

Name.	No. in family before the war.	No. in family at present time.	Returned to their farms.	receiving rations
Handley, J.	wife & 7	wife & 7	In devesigam	
Handy.	wife & 3	wife & 2		rec rations
Honeyfield, W.	wife & 5	wife & 3	returned	
Hirst, J.	unmarried	wife & 1		
Hawker.	"	wife		
Hemerton, L.	wife	wife & 1		
Ibbotson, J.	wife & 6	wife & 6		
Julian, R.	wife & 8	wife & 6		rec rations
Lepp, G.	wife & 3	wife & 3		rec rations
Lury, J.	wife & 7	wife & 7		rec rations
Lury, R.	wife & 3	wife & 4		rec rations
Lury, W.	3 children	3 children		rec rations
Jones, W.	wife	wife		
Loll, P. Seat.	wife & 3	wife & 5	returned	
Jordan, G.	wife & 4	wife & 5	returned	rec rations
Jones, James	wife & 4	wife & 5		rec rations
Jones, Sam ^r .	wife & 7	wife & 7		rec rations
James, John	wife & 6	wife & 7		rec rations
Julian, A.	wife & 6	wife & 7	returned	rec rations
Julian, R.	wife	wife		
Julian, P.	wife & 6	wife & 7		rec rations
King, H.	wife & 1	wife.		

Name.	No. in family before the war.	No. in family at present.	Returned to their farms	Receiving rations.
King, Tho.	wife & 6.	wife & 7		
" W. G.	wife & 2	wife & 2		
" A.	wife	wife		
Kingdon, W.	4	4		rec rations
Kingdon, L.	unaid.	unaid.		
Kelly.	wife & 2	wife & 2	returned	
Langman, R.	wife & 9	wife & 7		
Law, R.	unaid.	unaid.		
Leatha, H.	wife & 2			
Lethbridge, Gen.	—	—		
Lethbridge, R.	wife & 5	wife & 6		rec rations
Lethbridge, J.	wife & 5	wife & 5		rec rations
Lawson.	wife	wife	returned	
Lander	wife & 6	wife & 6	returned	rec rations
Mc Donald, J.	wife & 7	wife & 6		rec rations
McKechney, W.	wife	wife & 3		
Messinger, W.	wife & 6	wife & 4		
McKellar, W.				
Moyle, S.	wife & 5	wife & 6		rec rations
Munjara, J.				
Muggridge, J.	no family		returned	
-Morrison, W.	wife & 1	wife & 1		
Marsh, P.	wife & 2	wife & 4		rec rations
Matthaws, S.				rec rations
Marsh, J.				rec rations

Name.	No. in family before the war.	No. in family at present.	Returned to their farms.	Receiving Rations.
Miles. A.	wife & 3	wife & 3		rec rations
Mace. J.				
McKay. P.	wife & 7	wife & 8		rec rations
Monten. P.	wife & 2	wife & 2		rec rations
Newland. J.	wife & 5	wife & 5		rec rations
Newman. J.	wife & 4	wife & 4	returned	
Newsham. J.	wife & 8	wife & 9		
Newson. J. L.				
Noelker. W.	wife & 7	wife & 7		
Northeste. J.	wife & 2.	wife & 3.		rec rations
Oliver. J.	wife & 4	wife & 4		rec rations
Oliver. G.	wife		returned	
Oxham. J.	wife & 6	wife & 6		rec rations
Okey. B.	wife & 2	wife & 3		rec rations
Old. Robt.	wife & 5	wife & 5		rec rations
Old. W.	wife & 5	wife & 7		rec rations
Parker. J.	wife & 3	wife & 2		
Papamone	wife			
Paynter. W.	wife & 4	wife & 2		rec rations
Patterson. G.	wife & 3	wife & 4		
Pearce. J.	wife & 6	6		rec rations
Perritt. W.	wife & 9	wife & 9		rec rations

Name.	No. in family before the war.	No. in family at present.	Returned to their farms.	Remaining Nations.
Pope, J.				
Pope, R.				→
Priske, O.	wife & 3	wife & 2		rec nations
Pote, W.	wife & 7	wife & 5		rec nations
Pull, F.	wife & 1	wife & 2		
Pull, J.	wife & 6	wife & 6		rec nations
Pattimore	wife & 2	wife & 2	Standish's farm	
Pepperell, S.				
Pepperell, J.	wife & 5	wife & 6		rec nations
Parsons, J.	wife & 7	wife & 7		rec nations
Pearce, C.	wife & 4	wife & 4		rec nations
Parsons, J.	wife & 6	wife & 6		
Reynolds, J.	wife & 3	wife & 3	returned	
Rowe, H.	wife & 7	wife & 8	returned	
Rauson, C.		—		
Revell, W.	—	—		
Rogers, J.	wife & 7	wife & 7		
Ronalds, F.	was married	is married		
Rospiter, J.	wife & 9	wife & 9		
Rowe, W.	wife & 4	wife & 3		rec nations
Rundle, R.	wife & 9	wife & 8		
Richardson, J.	wife & 1	wife & 1		
Roberts, W.	wife & 2	wife & 2	returned	
Rick road, J. C.				
Rendall	2 children	2 children	returned	
Rossiter.	wife & 9	wife & 8		
Rogers, W.	wife & 3	wife & 4		rec nations
Reddy, J.	wife & 1	wife		rec nations

Name.	No. in family before the war	No. in family at present time	Returned to their farms.	Raising Rations.
Lamson. G.	wife & 10	wife & 10	On Reed's farm	rec rations
Phuddleworth	wife & 6	wife & 5		
Phuddleworth	2 brothers	2 brothers		
Saccombe. W.	Wife & 1	Wife & 3		rec rations
Sole. D.	wife & 6	wife & 5		rec rations
Sole. J.	wife & 3	wife & 5		rec rations
Steen. J.	wife & 2			
Street. R.	wife & 3	wife & 4	returned	
Street. Joseph	wife & 4	wife & 6		rec rations
Street. Amelias	unmarried	wife		
Stewart. W.	wife & 1	wife & 1	On Lynton's farm	
Scandlyn. A. Loui ^z	wife & 1	wife & 1	returned	rec rations
Smith. J. S.	wife & 9	wife & 8		
Smith. W.	3.	3.		
Snell.	unmarried	unmarried	returned	
Sharland. J. G.	wife & 10.	9	returned	
Sedge.	sister	sister		
Sheeres.	unmarried	unmarried	returned	
Scandlyn. J.	wife & 4	wife & 5		rec rations
Shackson. W.	wife & 5	wife & 5		rec rations
Storkson. F.	wife & 3.	wife & 3		rec rations
Talton. W.	wife & 3	wife & 3		1
Thompson. R.				
Touet. G.	wife & 4	wife & 1		rec rations
Tate.	wife & 5	wife & 5	returned	
Terrill. J.	wife & 1	wife & 3		rec rations

Name.	No. in family before the war.	No. in family at present time.	Returned to their homes.	Receiving Rations.
Upjohn. J. J.	Father, wife & 7	wife & 6		rec rations
Vrale. J.	wife & 5	wife & 1		
Verese. J.	wife & 3	wife & 2		
Ward. Rev ^d	wife & 11	wife & 11	returned	
Waite. J.	wife & 5	wife & 6		rec rations
Walker. W.		1 son here		
Waller. C.	wife & 4	wife & 4		rec rations
Waller. J.	wife & 1	1		
Watkins. W.				
Webson. O.	wife	wife		
Weston. M ^d	4 sons	3 sons		
Wheeler. J.	wife & 5	wife & 3		rec rations
White. J.	wife & 7	wife & 7		
Wilkinson. J.	wife & 2	2 children		rec rations
Wills. A.	wife & 5	wife & 6		rec rations
Wills. Tho ^s	wife & 1	wife & 2		rec rations
Wilson. W.				
Wright. F.	wife & 6	wife & 5		rec rations
Woods. J. J.	wife & 6	wife & 7		rec rations
Whiteley. Rev ^d	wife & 3	wife & 3	returned	
Ward. C.	wife & 5	wife & 4	returned	
Winkfield.	wife & 2	wife & 2		rec rations
Wells. B.	4	4		

Appendix II.

Poem about the Refugees. *NE*, 24 October 1860, p.4.

Original Poetry.

THE TARANAKI REFUGEE.

The sun had gain'd the zenith, and from his illustrious crown
Upon the lucid waters his dazzling beams fell down ;
The deep, blue, boundless sea, in grandeur seem'd to vie
With the broad expansive arch of the cloudless azure sky !

The zephyr blew so light, it's gentle breath resembled
Some whisp'ring lover's tale, half earnest, half dissembled.

Glad ocean birds were sporting in circles o'er the main,
And universal peace through nature seem'd to reign.

While on the beach I stood, enjoying the sunny hour,
There came a lovely maid, moreauteous than a flower

When fresh with Heaven's dew each bright leaf is unfolded,
And wears the stamp supreme of the God by whom 'twas moulded!

Her golden yellow hair hung o'er her lily brow,
Like the gilded cloud oft seen on Egmont's crest of snow ;

And from her large blue eye there fell a pearly tear,
A diamond of affection from her heart's deep font sincere!

The waves oft kiss'd her feet, while in grief profound she stood,
Now gazing tow'rd the town, now viewing the ocean flood.

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

Her childhood's happy home, where Eden's bliss she found,
Is now no longer seen : 'tis burn'd to the ground.

Her noble brother fell, contending with the foe ;
And her aged father's heart soon broke beneath the blow !

Like a troubled ocean wave, her breast now heav'd,
now fell,

While a youth of noble mien approach'd, and said
"Farewell!"

The maid with sighs replied, "'Tis cruel thus to part,
From home, FROM YOU, from all: 'twill break, 'twill break my heart!"

More welcome were the grave; but my hapless widow'd mother
Has now but me to soothe her anguish for my brother.

'Mong strangers we must seek a home beyond the wave,

And a burning tear-drop fell, as she added, "perhaps a grave!"

"Oh! speak not words like these," her soothing lover cried ;

"Look up, and hope in God, His providence is wide.
His angel spirits guard each heart where virtue dwells,
And they will vie in throwing round thee their blissful spells.

Though vengeance just and heavy awaits the savage foe,

With Eve's fair daughters near, how can we strike the blow?

It probes my soul to part from all my heart holds dear ;

But soon you will return : the dawn of peace is near."

She would have made reply, but her anguish was so keen,

No words, no sighs, no tears, had power t' express her pain.

The surf-boat now arrived, and touched the glist'ning strand,

And the maid is call'd to leave her dear adopted land.
With falt'ring step she goes, yet a smile she tries to borrow,

To hide from rude observers her soul's desponding sorrow.

As in the boat she stepp'd, her lover seal'd a kiss
Upon her trembling hand, saying, "Love, remember this!"

Now o'er the swelling wave the boat is lightly skimming,

Unconscious of the tears the fair one's eyes are flinging
In showers upon the sea, as she views each hurried sweep

Of the quick propelling oars that guide her o'er the deep.

"Farewell! farewell!" she cries, "my own beloved land,

I never may return on thy lovely shores to stand.
Farewell, thou noble youth, I know thy heart is true,
To thee I give this tear, all hot with love. Adieu!"

MATTHEW FITZPATRICK,
65th Regiment.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Primary Sources.

I. LETTERS AND DIARIES, UNPUBLISHED.

Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

Atkinson, Jane Maria, Diary, MS-4298, Folder 130.

Blackett Journals MS-0229.

Hirst Family Papers, Vol. 3, 1859-1862, MS-0996.

Hobhouse Family Papers 1858-1962, MS-414498.

Hobhouse, Mary Mrs, Letters MS Papers-0414-04.

King, Thomas, Diary MSX-4346.

King, Thomas, Letters to Mary King:

MS-Papers-5641-03

MS-Papers-5641-04

MS-Papers-5641-05

MS-Papers-5641-07

Mantell Family Collection, MS 0083-217.

Paisley letters, MS-1763.

Richmond/Atkinson Manuscripts:

MS-4298, Folder 015

MS-4298, Folder 016

MS-4298, Folder 017

MS-4298, Folder 127

MS-4298, Folder 129

MS-4298, Folder 130

Whitely Papers qms-22.

Taranaki Museum, New Plymouth.

Brooking Family Papers, MS 339.

Flight, Josiah, Papers MS 002.

Gledhill, F.U., Journal 1860-1869, MS 007/0.

Hughes, Robert Clinton, Diary 1860-1861, MS 039 (A 208).

Nicholson, Maria, Letters MS 143/0 .

Richmond, Jane Maria, Diary 1860, MS 044/0.

Riemenschneider Papers MS 203.

Ronalds Family Papers, MS 146.

Scammell, Samuel, Papers 1860-1861, MS 561.

Wakefield, William King, Letters 1860-1862, MS 081.

II: COLONIAL GOVERNMENT PAPERS, UNPUBLISHED.**National Archives, Wellington.**

Claims and Awards 'I-K', IA 132/7.

Claims and Awards, 'Pe-Ri', IA 132/10.

Internal Affairs Miscellaneous Correspondence 1861-1863, IA 132/27.

Inwards Letters and Copies of Outwards Letters of the Taranaki Relief Fund

Commissioner, IA 132/21.

Outwards Letters 1853-1872 JC-NP 1/1.

Taranaki Relief Fund Commission Petitions and Memorials, IA 132/20.

III. TARANAKI PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT PAPERS, UNPUBLISHED.

New Plymouth Library, New Plymouth.

Application for Families to Return to New Plymouth from Nelson/Refugees Returned/
Families in Nelson, I325.

Taranaki Superintendent Inwards and Outwards Correspondence, 2352.

Taranaki Museum, New Plymouth.

Civil Administration of New Plymouth Papers, MS 129.

Lists Relating to the Relief Funds, 20 March 1863, Taranaki Provincial Council, MS 077.

New Plymouth Harbour Board Records, Box17: Folders 1 & 2.

Proclamations and Public Notices, MS 124.

Taranaki Provincial Council-Outwards Letter Book, MS 077/4.

Taranaki Provincial Council Papers, MS 1056 & MS 1056/3.

Taranaki Provincial Council Papers-Expenditure for Rations, MS 077.

Taranaki Provincial Council Papers- Incoming Letters, MS 077/3.

National Archives, Wellington.

Entry Books of General Outwards Letters 14 November 1857-27 July 1860, TP 7/5.

General Inwards Letters 6 January-18 December 1860, TP 5/16.

General Inwards Letters 15 January- 31 December 1861, TP 5/17.

Lists of People Given Assistance- TP 9/3.

Papers Relative to Refugees from Taranaki TP 8/3 Micro 2810.

Reports and Letters from the Commissioner to the Sub-Commissioners, TP 9/1.

Reports and Letters from the Superintendent, TP 9/2.

Waikato University Library, Hamilton.

Taranaki Provincial Council Minutes 1860-1870 (microfilm).

IV. NELSON PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT PAPERS, UNPUBLISHED.

National Archives, Wellington.

Buildings and Otherwise, NP 25/5.

Expenses Relating to the Taranaki Refugees, NP 25/6.

Minute Book of the Taranaki Refugees Relief Committee, NP 25/1.

Miscellaneous, NP 25/7.

Taranaki Relief Fund Inward Letters, NP 25/2.

Taranaki Relief Fund Office Papers, NP 25/4.

Taranaki Relief Fund Outward Letters, NP 25/3.

V. LETTERS, DIARIES, AND ESSAYS, PUBLISHED.

Alexander, Colonel Sir James E., *Incidents of the Maori War: New Zealand in 1860-61* (London, 1863).

Barber, Laurie, Garry Clayton and John Tonkin-Covell, eds., *Sergeant, Sinner, Saint & Spy : The Taranaki War Diary of Sergeant William Marjouram, R.A.* (Auckland, 1990; first published as *Memorials of Sergeant Marjouram, Royal Artillery, including six years service in New Zealand during the late Maori war*, 1863).

Gilbert, Thomas Rev., *New Zealand Settlers and Soldiers, or, The War in Taranaki: Being Incidents in the Life of a Settler* (London, 1861).

Grayling, W. I., *The War in Taranaki. During the Years 1860-61* (New Plymouth, 1862).

- Hewett, Ellen, *Looking Back or Personal Reminiscences*, 4th ed. (Hamilton, 1978, first published in St Albans, 1911).
- Hobhouse, Edmund, *Moral Dangers in a Time of Excitement* (Nelson, 1860, held at Alexander Turnbull Library, Library).
- Hursthouse, Charles, Jun., *An Account of the Settlement of New Plymouth in New Zealand* (London, 1849, reprinted 1975).
- Martin, R. Montgomery, *The British Colonies; Their History, Extent, Condition, and Resources; British North America*, vol. 1 (London, 1851).
- Martin, Sir W., *The Taranaki Question* (Auckland 1860, reprint Dunedin 1967).
- Morrell W.P, ed, *Narrative of the Waitara Purchase and the Taranaki War: Harriet Louisa Gore Browne* (Dunedin, 1965).
- Porter, Frances & Charlotte 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, 1996).
- Rutherford, J., & W.H Skinner, eds, *The Establishment of the New Plymouth Settlement in New Zealand 1841-1843* (New Plymouth, 1969).
- Scholefield, Guy H., *The Richmond-Atkinson Papers*, 2 vols. (Wellington, 1960).
- Stoney, Major B., *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'* (New Plymouth, 1861).
- Swainson, William, *New Zealand and the War* (London 1862, reprint Christchurch 1984).
- Tunncliffe, Shirley, ed. *The Selected Letters of Mary Hobhouse* (Wellington, 1992).
- Turner, Margaret, & Philip Turner, *Victorian Dream and Reality: The Life and Letters of Ellen S. Bury 1827-1914* (Malvern, 1990).
- Wells, B., *The History of Taranaki: A Standard Work on the History of the Province* (New Plymouth, 1878).

VI. OFFICIAL, PUBLISHED.

New Zealand.

Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives 1860-1870.

New Zealand Gazette, 1862.

New Zealand Parliamentary Debates 1860-1880.

Statistics of New Zealand for the Crown Colony Period, 1840-1852.

Statutes of New Zealand, 1860.

The Southern Provinces Almanac: Directory and Yearbook for 1861 (Lyttelton, 1861).

Great Britain.

British Parliamentary Papers 1860-1870 (Irish University Press facsimile, 1968-71).

VII. CONTEMPORARY NEWSPAPERS.

Taranaki Herald 1860-1864 (New Plymouth) New Plymouth Public Library-microfilm.

Nelson Examiner 1860-1863 (Nelson) National Library of New Zealand-microfilm.

Colonist 1860-1861 (Nelson) National Library, Wellington.

Secondary Sources.

I. BOOKS, PUBLISHED.

New Zealand.

Allan, Ruth M., *Nelson: A History of Early Settlement* (Wellington, 1965).

Arnold, Rollo, *New Zealand's Burning: The Settlers' World in the Mid 1880s* (Wellington, 1994).

- Belich, James, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* (Auckland, 1986).
- Bloomfield, G.T., *A Handbook of Historical Statistics* (Boston, 1984).
- Burroughs, Peter, *The Canadian Crisis and British Colonial Policy 1828-1841* (London, 1972)
- Butler, Fred, *Early Days of Taranaki* (New Plymouth, 1942).
- Church, Ian, *Heartland of Aotea: Maori and European Before the Taranaki Wars* (Hawera, 1992).
- Clark, Faye, *From the Marshes to the Mountains: An Account of the Sole Family 1791-1991* (Hamilton, 1991).
- Cowan, James, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period*, 2 vols (Wellington, 1922; reprinted with amendments 1983).
- Craig, Gerald M., *Upper Canada: The Formative Years 1784-1841* (Toronto, 1964).
- Crosby, Travis. L., *The Impact of Civilian Evacuation in the Second World War* (Kent, 1986).
- Dalton, B. J., *War and Politics in New Zealand 1855-1870* (Sydney, 1967).
- 1857-1907 "The Colonist" Jubilee Souvenir , Presented to Subscribers, Nelson, NZ, 23rd October, 1907* (Nelson, 1907).
- Enloe, Cynthia, *Does Khaki Become You? The Militarization of Women's Lives* (London, 1988).
- Evans, B.L., *Agricultural and Pastoral Statistics of New Zealand 1861-1954* (Wellington, 1956).
- Glasgow, Patricia, *Ordinary People: A Pioneer Taranaki Family* (Tapu, New Zealand, 1983).
- Harrop, A. J., *England and New Zealand: From Tasman to the Taranaki War* (London, 1926).
- Holt, Edgar, *The Strangest War: The Story of the Maori Wars 1860-1872* (London, 1962).
- Houston, John, *Maori Life in Old Taranaki* (Wellington, 1965).

- Lambert, Gail, and Ron Lambert, *An Illustrated History of Taranaki* (Palmerston North, 1983).
- McAloon, Jim, *Nelson: A Regional History* (Whatamango Bay: Queen Charlotte Sound, 1997).
- McLintock, A.H., ed, *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, 3 vols. (Wellington, 1966).
- Mann, Michael, *A Particular Duty: The Canadian Rebellions 1837-1839* (London, 1986).
- Millen, Julia, *Colonial Sweat and Tears: The Working Class in Nineteenth Century New Zealand* (Wellington, 1984).
- Miller, John, *Early Victorian New Zealand* (London, 1958).
- Morrell, W. P., *The Provincial System in New Zealand, 1852-76* (Wellington, 1964).
- New Grolier Webster International Dictionary*, 2 vols. (New York, 1976).
- Pearson, David, *A Dream Deferred: The Origins of Ethnic Conflict in New Zealand* (Wellington, 1990).
- Pickmere, Arnold, *In Thy Toil Rejoice: The Story of J.J. Patterson, Taranaki Pioneer* (Auckland, 1990).
- Polaschek, R.J., *Government Administration in New Zealand* (London, 1958).
- Porter, Bernard, *The Refugee Question in Mid-Victorian Politics* (Cambridge, 1979).
- Porter, Frances, *Born to New Zealand: A Biography of Jane Maria Atkinson* (Wellington, 1989).
- Prickett, Nigel, *Fortifications of the First Taranaki War 1860-61* (Auckland, 1994).
- Riseborough, Hazel, *Days of Darkness : Taranaki 1878-1884* (Wellington, 1989).
- Scanlan, A.B., *Hospital on the Hill: A Centennial History of the New Plymouth Hospital 1867-1967* (New Plymouth, 1967).
- Scanlan, Brian, *Taranaki People and Places* (New Plymouth, 1985).

Scholefield, Guy H., *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, 2 vols. (Wellington, 1940).

Scott, Dick, *Ask That Mountain: The Story of Parihaka* (Auckland, 1975).

Simpson, Tony, *The Immigrants: The Great Migration from Britain to New Zealand, 1830-1890* (Auckland, 1997).

Sinclair, Keith, *The Origins of the Maori War*, 2nd ed. (Wellington, 1961).

Skinner, W.H., *Taranaki Eighty Years Ago 1840-1842* (New Plymouth, 1921).

Smith, S. Percy., *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840* (New Plymouth, 1910).

Tullett, J.S., *The Industrious Heart: A History of New Plymouth* (Christchurch, 1981).

Vayda, A.P., *Maori Warfare* (Wellington, 1960).

Waitangi Tribunal, *The Taranaki Report: Kaupapa Tautahi Muru Me Te Raupatu-The Muru and Raupatu of the Taranaki Land and People (Wai-143)* (Wellington, 1996).

Wards, Ian, *The Shadow of the Land: A Study of British Policy and Racial Conflict in New Zealand 1832-1852* (Wellington, 1968).

Webb, Leicester, *Government in New Zealand* (Wellington, 1940).

Wilson, Ormond, *Kororareka & Other Essays* (Dunedin 1990).

Wood, R.G., *From Plymouth to New Plymouth* (Wellington, 1959).

II. JOURNAL ARTICLES, CHAPTERS AND ESSAYS, PUBLISHED.

New Zealand.

Arnold, Rollo, 'Community in Rural Victorian New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 24, (1990), pp. 3-21.

Conrad, Margaret, Alvin Finkel & Cornelius Jaenen, 'Rebellions and Government: Politics in the Canadas, 1800-1850s' in *History of the Canadian Peoples, Beginning to 1867*, vol. 1 (Toronto, 1993) pp. 404- 40.

Dalziel, Raewyn, 'Emigration and Kinship: Migrants to New Plymouth 1840-1843', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 25 (1991), pp. 112-28.

Fry, Margot, '“My Beloved Mary”: The Intimate World of Thomas King', *Turnbull Library Record*, 30 (1997), pp. 25-36.

Graham, Jeanine, 'Disrupted Lives: An Exploration of the Impact of Armed Conflict on Children's Lives in Nineteenth Century Aotearoa/New Zealand', *Historical News*, Oct. (1992), pp. 8-11.

-----'Settler Society', in *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, ed. by Geoffrey W. Rice, 2nd ed. (Auckland, 1992), pp. 112-40.

McCaskill, Murray, 'Taranaki Province', in *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, ed. by A. H. McLintock, 3 vols. (Wellington, 1966), III, pp. 352-56.

----- 'Nelson Province', in *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, ed. by A. H. McLintock, 3 vols. (Wellington, 1966), II, pp. 643- 49.

Wallace, W.S., in *Encyclopedia Canadiana*, vol. 8 (Ottawa, 1958), pp. 418-20.

III. THESES, UNPUBLISHED.

Chan, Henry Douglas Ming-Hee, 'Nelson and the Taranaki War, 1860-1861; A Case Study of Opinion in the South Island on the Origins and Nature of the Anglo-Maori Wars in New Zealand' (unpublished MA thesis, University of Canterbury, 1969).

Dobbin, A.M., 'New Plymouth Society During the Taranaki Land Wars, 1859-69' (unpublished MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1977).

MacLean, Sally A., 'Nga Tamariki O Te Rohe O Waikato-Maori Children's Lives in the Waikato Region, 1850-1900: A Case Study' (unpublished MA thesis, University of Waikato, 1990).