

## Woolwich to Wellington

### FROM SETTLER COLONY TO GARRISONED SOVEREIGNTY



TO ARGUE THAT NEW ZEALAND was a garrison, rather than a settler colony, is to challenge the ‘historical forgetfulness’ that characterizes both post-imperial and postcolonial societies.<sup>1</sup> Writing of modern Britain, Stuart Hall notes the ‘history of empire really does seem, in any strategic sense, to have fallen out of mind. It is judged impolite and faintly anachronistic even to mention it.’<sup>2</sup> Such forgetfulness Hall suggests is not accidental, a simple slip of the mind or something lost with Britain’s fading as a world power. Rather, he argues that it arises from ‘the matter of racial violence’ in the past and the present, noting that it is a connection that is not simple, or linear.<sup>3</sup>

The ‘forgetting’ of postcolonial settler societies such as New Zealand is also a feature of the contemporary moment. It is manifest in the erasure or subsuming of the violence of nineteenth-century conflicts beneath the nation-defining conflicts of the twentieth century. This has been described as ‘historical amnesia’, as silencing and contortion of memory and as the product of a selective heritage.<sup>4</sup> Advocates of the critical perspective of settler colonialism would argue that such silence is characteristic and necessary in societies built on the dispossession and marginalization of indigenous inhabitants. Both states of silence, in Britain and New Zealand, Woolwich and Wellington, conceal past violence. In both places governments struggle to manage contemporary criminal offending with ever larger carceral institutions housing hugely disproportionate populations of young, non-white and indigenous minorities.

Both post-imperial and postcolonial forms of silence are premised on the common sense, but mistaken, notion that the past is sequestered in and by time. That is, that historical events exist behind a closed door, sealed off from the present. They are thus ‘dead’: actions and speech acts with no pulse, drained of any capacity to affect the present. The past that continues to exist in objects, documents or papers (speeches, orders, proclamations) is now relegated to the status of artefacts and archives, valuable only for what these remainders tell us of how things ‘used to be’, rather than for how things are ‘now’; of interest to those few of us who exercise the bespoke function as chroniclers of our societies. Yet we know that such separation of present from past, past from present, is not feasible whether or not it were desirable. The ‘past’ never goes away; it can never be relegated to the side lines as a

non-player. As Stuart Hall, David Olusoga, Akala and others writing in and of Britain,<sup>5</sup> Kim Workman, Moana Jackson, Rachel Buchanan, Avril Bell, Vincent O'Malley, Nepia Mahuika and others writing in and of New Zealand, note, such silences rely on processes of disavowal.<sup>6</sup> It is not just forgetting but the active denial of responsibility, of connection, that leads to the current dilemma. These legacies and connections can be understood in relation to New Zealand's history (in the past and the present) by thinking beyond our origins as a settler colony to a history of what I argue was a garrison colony, and to the achievement of a garrisoned sovereignty by 1870.

### **Woolwich, London and Martial Power**

Readers of New Zealand history are most likely to have encountered Woolwich as a destination on the itinerary of Ngā Puhi rangatira Hongi Hika (1772–1828) and Waikato Piriniha's 1819–1820 visit to England in the company of Thomas Kendall.<sup>7</sup> Hongi usually features in such accounts as being more impressed by Woolwich arsenal with its size and scale of guns and armoury than other sights — to the dismay of his Church Missionary Society hosts determined on showing those places that elevated British culture to 'civilization': palaces, ceremonials at the royal court, Westminster Abbey, St Paul's Cathedral, and even the hoopla of London society and entertainment. The timing and context of the visit is worth noting. The martial prowess of a Britain recently triumphant in the lengthy campaigns in Europe chimed with a political leader whose skill in exploiting the new weaponry of musket warfare was unparalleled. The London circles to which Hongi was introduced included parties eager to find new markets for arms now in surplus given the end of the wars in Europe and the stifling of 'trade musket' production with the end of slave trading (in British waters at least) in 1807.<sup>8</sup>

Deeds of Britain's hero of Waterloo (1815), the Duke of Wellington, were still fresh news at the time of Hongi's visit. Twenty years later they had lost some gloss but gained a greater patina as legend overtook mere facts.<sup>9</sup> The radicals of the New Zealand Company had no qualms in adopting the Tory Duke's fame as the perfect puffery needed to pump confidence and pomp into the first of their ambitious new settlements at Whanganui-a-Tara/Port Nicholson in what was to become the British possession of New Zealand in the crucial but still unfolding events of 1840.<sup>10</sup> Wellington was a person, a byword for British triumph and ascendancy; a name to utter with reverence. That 'he' has become an 'it', a place, my home and part of the name of the university which enables my historical work, is itself a function of history.<sup>11</sup>

The Woolwich that Hongi Hika visited in 1820 acquired even greater significance in Britain's defences between the end of the Napoleonic

campaigns and the next large European conflagration in the Crimea in 1854. As technological and industrial innovation spread into arms, steam-powered vessels were added to the naval fleet, cannon and field guns were made from newly manufactured steel rather than being cast in bronze, the two academic branches of the Army, the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers, became important centres of educational, mathematical and industrial expertise. Such skills enabled these technologically equipped soldiers to narrow the gulf in prestige between themselves and the Royal Navy, whose grand college stood facing the Thames upstream at Greenwich.<sup>12</sup> Entry by selection, together with exacting standards for advancement via examination for both men and officers, raised the status of the Military Academy at Woolwich. Rigorous academic training in trigonometry and geometry in order to accurately calculate the immensely more powerful explosives, angles, trajectories and projectiles ran in parallel to the Royal Engineers' rapid adoption of modern surveying, mapping, bridging and road-building. More precise, systematic and scientific forms of knowledge were driven and sponsored by defence interests, as well as sharing the same desire for knowledge as propelled the sciences of the Enlightenment.<sup>13</sup> To know the topography, to create charts enabling navigation of all parts of the world, to record meteorology in order to describe climate, to depict, explore and 'know' the world was a form of power, a surveillance and centralization of knowledge. The armed services were powerful engines of circulation for modern knowledges and technologies.

It was from Woolwich that some of those whose careers were made in New Zealand set out on their global ventures. Captain Henry Mercer led the first substantial detachment of the Royal Artillery to New Zealand, departing from Woolwich on 21 November 1860 at the head of five officers, 256 non-commissioned officers and men, plus 22 women and children. Readers of the *New Zealander* newspaper in January 1861 were not only told about the numbers of troops who embarked on the *Norwood* but also about the stores the ship carried: 'the 12-pounder Armstrong guns of the Battery packed in cases, with a large amount of elongated shot, shell, and other descriptions of warlike stores.'<sup>14</sup> Mercer was a graduate of the Royal Artillery in 1843, receiving his first commission in that year, having initially attended the Military College at Sandhurst, 'but showing remarkable ability he was removed to the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich'.<sup>15</sup> Mercer was fatally injured at the battle of Rangiriri in November 1863. In victors' tradition his name was immortalized on the map where he fell, and is now encountered as a geographical co-ordinate for the town of Mercer, 30 kilometres or so north-west of Huntly in the Waikato.<sup>16</sup> Such careers can be multiplied many times across the globe in

the long nineteenth century. From the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 to 1914 a large proportion of Britain's armed forces were deployed abroad.<sup>17</sup> Woolwich, and its naval neighbour at Greenwich, were places of constant comings and goings, arrivals and departures, despatch and return, command and report to and from destinations around the world. They were global reference points as important as those of the Colonial Office or houses of Parliament in Whitehall and Westminster in other parts of London.

Wellington was one such distant destination. In 1846 redcoat soldiers of the 65<sup>th</sup> and 58<sup>th</sup> Regiments disembarked at Port Nicholson (soldiers of the 80<sup>th</sup> Regiment had briefly been stationed there in mid-June 1840 to early 1841). Initial weeks were spent in tents; the building of barracks on Pukeahu (Mt Cook), the main hill overlooking the town, spoke to both the desire for greater comfort and to solidity and permanence — a longer-term expectation than a passing skirmish or brief encampment.<sup>18</sup> Within a few months they had become part of the textual landscape, of empire as it was imagined, projected and narrated, as well as firmly planting their boots on the physical landscape of beaches, flax and bracken hills across 'Wellington'. Samuel Brees, like his surveyor colleagues Charles Heaphy, William Mein Smith and William Fox, produced watercolours and sketches of the embryonic places over which they clambered (Fig. 1).<sup>19</sup> Brees's well-known sketches, and more widely reproduced and influential lithographs, show redcoat soldiers in sharply marshalled line, clean trousered and marching purposefully. While 'Wellington' might look not much more than an untidy scattering of wooden structures overshadowed by large hills, two key underpinnings of British order were unambiguously and reassuringly visible: a bank to secure the gold, coin, bullion and notes of solid capital, a place where credit might be honoured; and arms-bearing soldiers of the Queen who could be called on to enforce order against theft or unruliness.



**Figure 1:** Samuel Brees, *The Bank, Wellington*.

Soldiers marching past *The Bank* on Wellington's foreshore. Samuel Brees's original watercolour was reproduced as an engraving in the 1847 London publication *Pictorial Illustrations of New Zealand*. The artist has the soldiers incorrectly bearing arms on their right shoulders.

**Source:** [Brees, Samuel Charles] 1810–1865: *The bank, Wellington* [Between 1842 and 1845] Engraved by Henry Melville; drawn by S C Brees [London, 1847].

Ref: A-109-034, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

<https://natlib.govt.nz/records/22755511>

In Auckland similar sketches of a redcoated landscape were also soon produced, and reproduced for circulation where it mattered: in the trading entrepôts of Sydney, the Cape and India, and in metropolitan Britain.<sup>20</sup> There was even more reason to paint a British redcoat soldier in 1840s Auckland, the colony's capital, than 1840s Wellington. By 1847 Auckland had a regiment permanently garrisoned (the 58<sup>th</sup>, 'Black Cuffs'),<sup>21</sup> Fort Britomart loomed over the main anchorage in the Waitemata, a larger barrack ground was under construction at what was to become Albert Barracks,<sup>22</sup> and negotiations were being completed to bring a large group of military pensioners and their families (Fencibles) to be planted in a set of villages surrounding the southern approaches to the town. Moreover, troops had already been in action combating 'rebellion' in the north. The elderly Colonel Henry Despard commanded the 99<sup>th</sup> regiment in the fateful battle at Ōhaeawai, where 110 of his men became casualties (40 dead, 70 wounded) and victory against an 'unsophisticated' enemy proved surprisingly difficult.<sup>23</sup> The shock was of such magnitude that the regiment soon afterwards took the unprecedented step of erecting a large public memorial to their dead, naming every man who had fallen, soldier and officer alike.<sup>24</sup>



**Figure 2:** Will Peebles, *A Rough View of the Barracks Square*, 1849.

Elaborate parades of massed soldiers were common occurrences in Auckland by 1849 when Will Peebles made this watercolour of soldiers on parade in front of the substantial buildings of Albert Barracks.

**Source:** Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tāmaki 1921/6/1: <https://www.aucklandartgallery.com/explore-art-and-ideas/artwork/441/a-rough-view-of-the-barracks-square>

Men of the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment sailed from Sydney to northern New Zealand to serve in wars under urgency in March 1845. They returned to Australia in early 1846 but were back in New Zealand in 1847 at the beginning of a long period in which the regiment became a crucial part of the growth and early texture of a number of New Zealand settlements: Whanganui, Wellington, New Plymouth, Napier. Between 1847 and their departure in 1859 the regiment played a central part in what Una Platts termed Auckland's era as 'the lively capital'. Even when they left, around a third, perhaps 800 men, chose instead to stay, becoming civilians and 'colonials'.<sup>25</sup>

These 1840s markers of a military presence were not just reflexes exposing the fragility of British authority over a 'New Zealand' that was largely iwi-controlled both politically and economically, and within which a few enclaves of European settlement existed in small footholds.<sup>26</sup> Rather, the presence of a permanent garrison testified to the British administration's commitment to securing British colonization and investment in New Zealand. That administration was never a singular entity but was more akin to a loosely

stitched aggregation of advice, decisions and orders issuing variously from New South Wales and London — at the Treasury, Admiralty and War Office, as well as at the Colonial Office. McFarlan has calculated that the Fencibles scheme alone cost the British government £70,000, a cost that was to be shared with the colonial administration, but, as became the habit, was not.<sup>27</sup> If it took the presence of soldiers, as well as regular visits of naval ships from the Australia Station,<sup>28</sup> then the imperial centre calculated the costs as a reasonable or necessary price to pay for the expense of having an empire. Keeping regiments of soldiers and officers in New Zealand was not a casual commitment. The cost was a sizeable entry in the ledger of empire.

The military presence in colonial New Zealand had a greater continuity, a greater hold and pervasiveness than has been acknowledged in either the scholarly or popular historical imagination. From 1842–1870 there were redcoat British imperial soldiers (and their accompanying military entourage) in the colony. The institutions, habits and material they introduced shaped colonial life, and much survived long after their departure. At minimum the military presence was two regiments (around 1800 men and 60 officers) and at maximum 12 regiments at one time, making for 18 in total (plus Royal Engineers, Royal Artillery and regular naval visits bringing sailors and marines).

Around 20,000 redcoat soldiers and their officers spent some time in New Zealand between 1842 and 1870.<sup>29</sup> Men who arrived with the 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment in 1846 saw their sons enlist in the same regiment and serve a whole period of service in New Zealand; others spent the whole of their 21 years in the army in New Zealand. Daughters of others went on to marry Fencibles, or the sons of Fencibles. John Davis Collard (1837–1922) enlisted in the 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment in Bristol in 1855. Within a year he was serving with the regiment in Wellington, and over the following nine years performed routine duties and actively campaigned in Taranaki and the Waikato. He took his discharge from the army in September 1865 in Otahuhu before the regiment left New Zealand for good.<sup>30</sup> Samuel Austin, about whom Barbara Mabbett has written superbly, enlisted in the 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment as a 13-year-old in Tundragee, County Armagh, in 1844. Two years later he was fighting at Battle Hill, Pauatahanui, in Wellington. He took his discharge after 15 years in 1859, but remained a member of the Whanganui militia until 1870.<sup>31</sup> The military presence in New Zealand was neither fleeting nor limited geographically. Soldiers and navy ships were readied for action following the violence at Wairau in 1843; a contingent of the 70<sup>th</sup> Regiment was stationed at Dunedin from 1861–1863; ‘refugees’ flooded into Nelson from Taranaki in 1860–1861,<sup>32</sup> Canterbury and Otago runholders made a tidy profit sending forage and supplies to the military commissariat. This is not just a North Island story.

To recognize the redcoat presence in colonial New Zealand is to shift the focus from settler colony to garrisoned sovereignty. It is to make the argument that the first three crucial decades of New Zealand as a British colony of settlement were predicated on the presence of a military garrison. In doing so, it exposes the coercive pillars that structure what we have come to know as ‘settler colonialism’<sup>33</sup> and ‘liberal imperialism’: the rule of law, the influence of humanitarian principles, the extension of British subjecthood, the early achievement of responsible government.<sup>34</sup> It enables us to see more fully how power was transferred from iwi in the 1840s–1850s to what became the ‘settler state’ by the 1870s. That struggle for power created the asymmetry that characterized enduring colonial relations between Māori and Pākehā. Such relations were neither inevitable nor born whole (whether in 1769, 1840, 1863 or at any other single point), nor were such colonial relations uniquely made in New Zealand. The timing, circumstances, character and sequence of events in Aotearoa New Zealand is particular, as are the consequences of such power dynamics. Such colonial relations, however, were produced in similar form in other settler colonies, in colonies of conquest and direct rule, and in India. All are varieties of what is neatly, if too easily, slipped under the title of a singular British Empire. And all varieties of such ‘colonial relations’ had their obverse in the array of imperial relations made by Britain in many parts of the globe across 1840s–1870s, and the ‘age of empire’ extending on either side.<sup>35</sup> As Stuart Hall reminds us: ‘Through the imperial connection Britain and its colonies were intertwined — as dominant and subjugated subjects, not as partners in a shared enterprise — in their very inequities, differences and fates.’<sup>36</sup>

If the spilling of blood is the most visceral contest for power, then the loss of lives, Māori and European, at Wairau, Whanganui, Ōhaeawai, Ruapekapeka, Boulcott’s Farm, and beyond, demonstrated that colonial occupation was not an unchallenged process. Hone Heke, one of Hongi Hika’s Ngā Puhi successors as rangatira in the north, attacked the symbol of British authority by felling the flagpole in frustration at the sidelining of existing chiefly mana, in 1844.<sup>37</sup> Before that, in the south, colonists at the New Zealand Company’s Nelson enclave were less patient. Hungry for land, they advanced on the Wairau valley, ready to enforce their ambitions regardless of existing rights, and in the face of clear Ngāti Toa intimations of opposition to such occupation. The road being built by Wellington ‘settlers’ from the close-circled harbour to the wider valleys towards Paremata and Porirua had already been subject to Ngāti Toa resistance.<sup>38</sup> Soldiers had been brought in to secure the continued advance of the road and of settlement (and to provide a labour force). These are just some of the New Zealand events replicated



across the broader sweep of colonial territories; events that Jan Morris in her eloquent and unsurpassed *Pax Britannica* (1968–1978),<sup>39</sup> and John Darwin, more recently, are alluding to when noting the numerous wars in which Britain was involved during the second half of the nineteenth century. Britain's empire was built around having large numbers of men at arms, and the largest, most well equipped and most disciplined sea force, capable of going anywhere. The result was, as Darwin notes in his *Unfinished Empire*, 'that the British had bought imperial power chiefly with blood, some of it their own.'<sup>40</sup>

The actions through which imperial–colonial relations were forged included the spilling of blood, *and* fear about the potential spilling of blood. The key question in New Zealand's history is how we get from the Treaty in 1840 to wars in the 1860s; from Māori-dominated Aotearoa New Zealand in 1840 to a settler ascendancy by 1870. It is not just a matter of demography, or of battles won, or even a matter of arriving at what James Belich termed 'substantive sovereignty' (c.f. the paper sovereignty of signing the Treaty of Waitangi).<sup>41</sup> It was not just the battles fought in the mid-1840s and then again, on a larger, tragic scale in the 1860s, but the constant preparation and readiness to use force — the presence of troops and regular naval ship visits — which all amounted to a continuing show of force of arms. This was the tangible reality of what it meant to be a garrison colony; garrison here meaning the presence of soldiers, and the military machine as a whole.

'War' and 'the military' are not the same thing. Combat lasts a few hours, a few days, a few weeks, at most, before the twentieth century. Preparations for war, training and drill, parade and sentry and picquet duties, the routine mundanity of life in uniform, on a naval ship or on barrack ground, are supremely tedious most of the time (hence the rum, the booze and the brothels, the cards and the gambling). The 'military' then is a much larger and pervasive entity, beyond the specific deployment to moments of active engagement. It encompasses people, places, institutions, architecture, landscapes, modes of behaviour, music, language, communications, flagstuffs, ceremonial, and much more, all with the purpose of exercising and showing force that is available for use.<sup>42</sup>

Soldiers and sailors were among the most mobile, most well-resourced and most conspicuous of imperial subjects.<sup>43</sup> Redcoats and bluejackets were used for a wide variety of activities: war, fighting, guard, ceremony, enforcement, deterrence. Douglas Peers has delineated the nature of the fiscal military state by which nineteenth-century India was governed.<sup>44</sup> The soldiers who enforced order in the presidencies of Madras, Bengal and Bombay, also served in New Zealand, New South Wales, the Cape and the Caribbean. Paying attention to the role of soldiers and sailors in relation to the tax-gathering

foundation of colonial government in India or convict guard in Van Diemen's Land, or deterrence to Māori 'rebellion' in 1850s–1860s New Zealand, opens an empire-wide view. In this way, we can also begin to put the distinct histories of parts of the empire into connection with each other. India, settler colonies, Crown colonies were different, but also part of a greater whole. The histories of these diverse colonies and kinds of imperial rule, nonetheless, had something in common in the sailors and soldiers deployed at the sharp end of imperial power. That common element has slipped from view under the weight of separate national histories, and in the recession of the military as an object of interest to histories of social and cultural formation. Questions of race, class and gender have been less often explored in uniform.

The argument of garrisoned sovereignty extends the critical perspective of settler colonialism in serving to further anatomise the mechanics of power, and, in particular, to highlight the specific ways in which settler colonies operate. It sketches some of how these forces worked out in the particular setting of New Zealand in what was at the time, and remains historiographically, the distinctive status of Aotearoa New Zealand within the broader British Empire and global 'expansion' of European powers and peoples from the late eighteenth century, into territories of those designated as 'indigenous'. In such histories Aotearoa New Zealand figures as a place in which indigenous sovereignty was intact at the point of annexation, remained operative, animated and active through those early decades, and even once that self-determination had been significantly and tragically compressed, subjugated by the application of force; nonetheless, it remained alive, persistent, resistant and independent. Tino rangatiratanga — Māori sovereignty — has endured to the present.

To step from settler colony to garrisoned sovereignty is to extend and revise what we have come to know as settler colonialism. By 'settler colonialism' I refer to the now well-rehearsed arguments that go beyond 'settler colonisation' as the historical processes describing European immigration, settlement or diaspora, to sets of relations that are created by dispossession and occupation of land once owned and inhabited by indigenous peoples. In Patrick Wolfe's classic formulation settler colonialism is a structure not an event. It describes not just a past era, but denotes a continuing set of relations characteristic of 'settler societies'. Such societies are distinguished by British (and European more generally) familial settlement for the purpose of occupation and cultivation of land. In so doing, existing inhabitants must be 'removed' and dispossessed. Dominant 'white', 'European', British and Irish 'settler' populations become self-governing property owners. In Australia and New Zealand they also develop what are considered liberal, even radical, democracies.<sup>45</sup>

### **Wellington, Auckland and a Garrison Colony**

I will sketch some of the features of what this garrisoned sovereignty looked like, its character and constituents, how it operated in the day-to-day conditions of colonial New Zealand across those three key decades, c.1840s–1860s. A key date is 1870, as it is the year in which the last British troops departed from New Zealand.

Visiting military officer Lieutenant-Colonel Godfrey Mundy observed the spectacle of military Auckland putting its best foot forward on New Year's Day 1848.<sup>46</sup> The formal pretext for the large parade performed in front of Government House was the swearing-in of the Governor, George Grey, as Governor-in-Chief. At the centre of the show was the line-up of soldiers:

There was in the gardens of the viceregal palace a large assemblage of her Majesty's white, brown, and white-brown subjects, in red jackets and blue jackets, black coats, brown coats, and petty-coats, silks and satins, mats and blankets, shark's oil and marenchâle — a motley crowd.

In front of the house was drawn up the Grenadier 'Guard of Honour,' of the 58th Regiment, stiff and motionless — a scarlet wall coped with black. With the towering bear-skin cap — now no more — these strapping fellows made even the tallest Maoris look diminutive. Around the guard, and in strong contrast of posture — many in bare skin also stood, squatted, and lounged in lazzaroni attitudes on the soft turf, a host of brawny savages, with their wives and children, staring in mute surprise at the, to them, unmeaning ceremony of swearing in the Governor and his officers. The two objects which seemed most to attract the notice of Te Hao [Te Heu Heu] and other natives from the interior, were the big drum of the band and the big wigs, crisp with curled horse hair of the Crown Law-officers. The latter, I was told, were the themes of lively discussion and dispute.<sup>47</sup>

While the military provided an admired pageantry in embryonic colonial settlements, there could also be an undesirable side to garrison towns.<sup>48</sup> By the time of the first Superintendency election in Auckland in 1853, just five years after Mundy watched the impressive exhibition at Government House, the military presence was a rod to hammer on the anvil of politics. The election for Superintendent of the Auckland province in 1853 followed the Constitution of New Zealand Act of 1852. Successful merchant William Brown stood for what became known as the 'Progress Party' against the pro-officials group who put up Lieutenant-Colonel R.H. Wynyard as their man. To Brown's supporters, this was an outrage. Wynyard, commander of the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment, was the outstanding figure of authority in the colony as a whole, not just in the province. Commander of the forces, and about to serve as Acting-Governor with Grey's departure, in the eye of his political opponents Wynyard stood for everything that the struggle for self-government had sought to overthrow; a vote for him condemned Auckland to a continuation of the despotic era of Crown colony rule in which the Governor's power was absolute. Worst of all, Wynyard had

a group of Fencibles who his opponents were convinced would simply vote as a military commander ordered.<sup>49</sup> Rather than acting as, or indeed, *being* men who sought, deserved and were eager to exercise self-government, as former soldiers (and men who owed their current situation to their status as military pensioners) Fencibles were accustomed to obedience. To entrust Wynyard with leadership of the colony was to give up the possibility of freedom, and of self-direction. A soldier was the opposite of the kind of self-governing, self-made man that William Brown most definitely was, and the portion of Auckland society he represented. Brown's supporters' campaign song captured the depth of disgust at this attempt to entrench official power in the newborn assembly:

Record your votes for Colonist Brown,  
Proclaim we're no mere 'Garrison town'  
Don't at a soldier's feet lay down  
The office of Superintendent.<sup>50</sup>

Wynyard defeated Brown at the polls held at the end of June 1853. The garrison had won out. Brown had every reason to denounce the 'Thrice-Disgusting Pollution of Auckland Politics',<sup>51</sup> and soon made plans to leave the colony. John Logan Campbell, Brown's business partner and political sympathiser, was similarly unimpressed, referring disparagingly to Wynyard as the 'Soldier Superintendent'. 'Auckland', Campbell wrote to friends abroad, 'has sold her new-born privileges to the Colonel of a Marching regiment and laid the Superintendency at his feet.' The system that allowed 'us civilians' to be swamped, he wrote, 'must be changed.' Although Brown won the support of voters in 'the city and the outer provincial settlements', Russell Stone concluded that 'he was overwhelmed by what was almost a block vote of veteran soldiers in the Fencible settlements'.<sup>52</sup>

An unkempt, as much as a compliantly obedient, redcoat soldiery was another reason to disparage the presence of the military in what was a free settler, free trade town. William Brown's taunt to his opponents that Wynyard brought them down to the level of a 'mere Garrison Town' was a slight against Sydney and Hobart Town, both of which were still thickly populated by soldiers brought to the colonies as convict guards and for policing duties.<sup>53</sup> In J.D. Lang's florid but galvanizing rhetoric, Australia was a place 'ruled by the lash and awed by the bayonet'.<sup>54</sup> It was not just convicts themselves that tainted New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, but the rough soldiers who were required to serve as guards, and the whole system of coercion that was anathema: manacles, iron chains, gangs of labourers. To Mundy, the garrison on the Victorian goldfields a few years later was 'a fulcrum for the authorities

to work on'.<sup>55</sup> Such descriptors of a system of colonial governance reliant on bayonets and redcoats, chain, whip and cells carried the stench of economic and moral failures. In their different ways both E.G. Wakefield and the humanitarian-influenced Colonial Office under James Stephen were putting such political and social systems at a distance from the idealistic experiment that was 'New Zealand'.

Slavery, convict transportation and indenture represented the unfashionable and unacceptable face of coercive power in the mid-nineteenth-century regime of British liberal imperialism. Colonists were attracted to the free colonies of South Australia and New Zealand by the rule of law and the allure of settlements presided over by mission, church and a civil society at whose pinnacle stood the cultivated refinement of the Government House drawing room. Discredited means of force cut against the aspirations of settler man,<sup>56</sup> independent in movement, able to own property (in town or country),<sup>57</sup> and free to pursue his own political opinion and representation, thereby deserving of self-government.

To be tarred with the label of 'garrison town', or garrison colony, was not congruent either with much contemporary settler sensibility or with how 'New Zealand' narrated the history of its own becoming. Even A.S. Thomson, whose *Story of New Zealand* (1859) is thought of as the first history of New Zealand, written while Thomson served as assistant surgeon with the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment in Auckland, avoided describing the colony as a garrison or military settlement.<sup>58</sup> Such characterization ran against the strong vein of liberal imperialism and the historical moment out of which the 'New Zealand' of Wakefield or of George and Sarah Selwyn, William and Mary Ann Martin or of Grey (at the Colonial Office and as Governor) or of Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipi Te Waharoa,<sup>59</sup> or Wiremu Nera Te Awaitaia (Ngāti Mahanga)<sup>60</sup> was born.<sup>61</sup> The idea of a modern, Christian, civilized, Treaty-negotiated place — the corrective colony, ideal colony, better colony — was not one which featured soldiers brandishing bayonets. A warlike or martial application of force — colonization by musket, rifle, bayonet, sword — gunboat diplomacy — was not to be the New Zealand story.

Such distaste for the military was also a matter of family politics. When Wellington settler Mary Swainson (who left England with her scientist father William, her siblings and her difficult stepmother in 1841) wrote to her Birmingham friend Isabel Percy, imparting the important news of her forthcoming marriage, she was quick to offset the military element. Her fiancé, John Marshall, paymaster for the 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment, was 'very different from redcoats generally', she assured Isabel. Marshall was 'quiet and steady in his habits and tastes, fond of reading sensible improving books', a gentleman

with ‘that religion of heart and mind on which alone we can hope for real happiness’.<sup>62</sup> Possibly both Mary Swainson and Isabel Percy had in mind not only the poor reputation of redcoats in the liberal Birmingham of their social circle, but also the reputation of Jane Austen’s George Wickham (*Pride and Prejudice*), Thackeray’s mixed bag of military officers (both snobbish and boorish), and the continuing ambivalence towards the soldiery of the mid-Victorian era expressed in Thomas Hardy’s sword-twirling Sergeant Troy who bewitches Bathsheba Evergreen in *Far From the Madding Crowd* (1874).<sup>63</sup> As Catherine Hall argues in her powerful *Civilizing Subjects*, it is precisely in these flows of knowledge that colony and empire, away and home, formed each other.<sup>64</sup> It was not just in the public, official exchange, but also in informal exchange, in family business, in the thick ties of correspondence that flowed back and forth between colonies and metropolitan centres, that difference was described, and knowledge was shaped. Attitudes towards the military might shift and re-shift in such a context.

‘Garrison’ was a term in common use by contemporaries. It described colonial realities and aspirations. When the beloved Rev J.F. Churton, first clergyman at St Paul’s Auckland, died in 1853, a grateful community erected a monument to ‘The Rev. John Frederick Churton, L.L.B., Colonial and Garrison Chaplain’. The text on the memorial was also a message by Auckland citizens to themselves in setting out the qualities they most upheld, underlining the universality of his appeal: the testimonial ‘was raised by the free-will Subscriptions of *all* classes and denominations of the community of Auckland who knew his worth and mourn his loss.’<sup>65</sup>

Auckland’s life as a ‘lively capital’ in the 1840s–1850s laid a strong foundation for the much deeper military saturation of the early 1860s.<sup>66</sup> The palate and appetite of garrison Auckland is evident in the supplies imported by Brown Campbell & Company’s mid-year order for 1866: 300 Boxes candles, 100 cases pale brandy, 4 hogsheads and 89 casks Martell’s Brandy; 200 cases whisky, 89 casks port, 31 hogsheads and 20 casks rum; 50 boxes raisin; 2 cases oatmeal biscuits, 5 cwt Turkish figs.<sup>67</sup> Much of the rhythm and pageantry of a garrison town was well practised. Balls, bands, hotel and street music and entertainments, cricket matches, horse races and theatre were all venues and activities supported, and enabled, by the military. A ‘Civilians’ Ball to the Officers of the Army and Navy stationed at Auckland’ was advertised in columns of the *Daily Southern Cross* for Thursday, 25 August 1864. A month later the ‘Auckland Military Races’ were held over two days, 20–21 September.<sup>68</sup>

In Whanganui, where troops from the 65<sup>th</sup> and 58<sup>th</sup> regiments had built the Rutland Stockade and Queen’s Redoubt on either side of the main thoroughfare, Victoria Avenue, leading up from riverside quay, the town relied

on soldiers for its survival (not only in security but also in commerce). Hotels, shops, river transport, flagstaff, bandstand, all were creations of the military presence. The depth of that long and extensive, vexed and staining presence lie in the soil of the town. Tons of materials containing military residues have been excavated from beneath the current Farmers' department store site. In Maria Place buttons from visiting military lie in grounds of civilian cottages, excavated 160 years later by archaeologist Naomi Woods.<sup>69</sup> Blood spilled in the district also formed part of the early life of the town. The 1847 attack on the Gilfillan farm, in which Mary Ann Gilfillan and three of her children were killed, drew a quick response from local Māori, who identified and brought five offenders to authorities in the town. On 23 April, just five days after the attack, the men were charged, found guilty and sentenced. The gallows on which they were hanged were built in the ground of the Rutland Stockade (now the site of the Serjeant Gallery and Alexandra Library at Queen's Park). The exercise of British justice was swiftly and publicly demonstrated.



**Figure 3:** Mr Cobb, Whanganui settler, beneficiary and defender of a garrisoned sovereignty.

Among the numerous people who entered Harding's Whanganui photographic studio to have their portrait taken was Mr Cobb, known now only as a 'Whanganui settler'.

He sat for his picture, rifle cocked. By 1874 he is part of a settler population who are beneficiaries and defenders of a garrisoned sovereignty.

**Source:** 1/4-004258-G, Photograph taken by the studio of William James Harding, Wanganui, 4 September 1874, Alexander Turnbull Library.

By 1855 soldiers were planted in the middle of what had been vaunted as ‘the garden of New Zealand’: Taranaki. Governor Gore Browne approved the order of corrugated iron barracks to be despatched from Sydney to house soldiers in New Plymouth. As their comrades had done in Auckland, Wellington and Whanganui, men of the 65th Regiment proceeded to remove the rounded top of the highest hilltop behind the town: Pukaka Pā, already renamed Marsland Hill by the New Plymouth Company after a friend of the first resident agent. They planted a barracks, together with the rigid right angles of a parade ground, a flagstaff and lookout with which to surveill the surrounding district.<sup>70</sup> The early encampment was to prove an enduring location for a military presence in the town. The route from beach to hilltop barracks was soon worn into what became, and remains, Redcoat Lane.<sup>71</sup> (The corrugated iron structures also remain, now serving as The Camphouse on public land under Department of Conservation responsibility at the Egmont Road access point to Egmont National Park.<sup>72</sup>)

The outbreak of war in Taranaki in March 1860 did not re-start a military presence but resulted in the rapid and dramatic intensification of a garrison presence in New Plymouth and Auckland, initially, but then across other parts of New Zealand as well. Men of the 40<sup>th</sup> Regiment accustomed to routine duties on the goldfields of Victoria found themselves swiftly embarked on ships departing Melbourne and destined for New Plymouth. From India, men and officers of the 57<sup>th</sup> Regiment were quickly embarked en route for New Zealand, and later in 1860, men, officers and families of the 70<sup>th</sup> Regiment, then at Allahabad, put paid to the rumours circulating and were on the road, river and railway destined for Calcutta and thence Auckland by the end of January 1861. They sailed into Auckland harbour in three ships in May 1861.

The escalation of war and its extension into Waikato, Tauranga and across the North Island in the early 1860s is a story well told.<sup>73</sup> In the wars in Taranaki (1860–1861, 1864–1881), in the Waikato, in Tauranga, between 1860 and 1865, British troops of imperial regiments made up the majority of the fighting force. The machinery, arms, equipment and supporting communication and transport were largely supplied and paid for by the British Treasury through the War Office. The expense was colossal: up to one million pounds in a single year. Reports of the deeds of the colonial militia, and colonial forces, including those of its prominent and self-promoting von Tempsky, Heaphy and the like, might have boomed loudly, but these men made up only a small portion of the fighting force against those deemed as ‘rebels’ in the ‘great war for New Zealand’.

The meaning of what it is for New Zealand to be considered a nineteenth-century garrison colony then is that it describes a history in which New Zealand was continuously occupied by armed troops; it was a place where the British



regular infantry regiments were stationed, where physical, material military structures — flagstuffs, barracks, fortifications — were conspicuous on the landscape (and often the first things seen from the deck of a ship sailing into harbour, the usual mode of arrival). A place where the military — as a body of people — were present, bringing their cash and commissariat, and demands for food, drink, entertainment, transport; their culture of parade, of music and bands, of formations and routines; their uniformed appearance a striking contrast and impressive sight against the browns and greys of moleskin and worsted, the utilitarian garb of most colonial males.<sup>74</sup> To be a redcoat was to stand out, to be noticed. And being noticed was, indeed, the prime function of the redcoats' existence in New Zealand. They served as a reminder of the enforcing capacity of British power, a deterrent against challengers; an insurance of force against anything or anyone that might threaten the new order of property and person.

To reframe New Zealand as a garrison rather than a settler colony is not to simply amplify the martial aspect of New Zealand's colonial history. It underscores the coercive pillars of settler colonialism and imperial governance, but in doing so it also underlines *both* how such a coercive force operates through measures beyond the battlefield, the point of the bayonet and the firing of musket, rifle and field gun, *and* the generative impact that a garrison era affords. It is difficult but true to say the British regiments also brought much from which the modernity of colonial New Zealand was built. It did so at a cost that was immeasurable, so there cannot be any simple calculus of gain and loss. But as Linda Colley and others have observed of the period from the mid-eighteenth century to the present, war, the aftermath of war and the anticipation of war, have operated as major drivers of political, constitutional, fiscal, social and cultural change within societies and polities.<sup>75</sup>

## Conclusion

To return to my point of departure: Woolwich, and Woolwich's connection to Wellington. What I am arguing here, putting out for consideration, is the notion of New Zealand as a garrison colony, rather than a settler colony, and an argument of garrisoned sovereignty as the particular dynamic through which power shifted from iwi to settler hands in warfare *and* in the spaces between direct martial conflicts. The very un-settled, contested nature of European arrival meant soldiers, and sailors, were necessary to re-settle Māori into a relation of asymmetry that removed autonomy, ownership, occupancy and political primacy. Garrisoned sovereignty planted and secured the European presence in New Zealand with guns, *and* the threat of guns. Force was used when necessary, but equally important was the simple presence of the military that spoke of the potential for the exercise of force.

The effect of bringing garrisoned sovereignty into the wider history of New Zealand, and of connecting histories of European colonization with histories of Māori–Pākehā interaction, is to expose the coercive measures that enabled settler enclaves, and self-governing settler parliamentary assemblies, to attain real power. That power was at first fragile with limited military successes and the fractured nature of governing authority through the period 1840–1870. In 1864–1865, for example, in the crucial moment of the shift of power, as military victories led by British troops were won, as law replaced rifle giving way to the longer-term work of separating iwi and hapū from land via the Native Land Court (1862, 1865) and legislative confiscation, what constituted ‘British’ or Crown authority was not only fragmented but highly fractious. General Duncan Cameron, commander of a very large force, and Governor Sir George Grey were bitterly alienated and writing official and unofficial correspondence to their respective superiors complaining of each other’s conduct and motives. In London Edward Cardwell at the Colonial Office and de Grey at the War Office were on the brink of sending out someone to ‘unite the two offices’ to try to break the impasse.<sup>76</sup> The settler Parliament was itself unstable, relations between London’s paymasters and the settler assembly were tense and untrusting, while in the military arena colonial forces were becoming more vociferous in their longstanding denigration of British ‘regulars’ on whom they relied for pay and equipment, but who they slated for lack of motivation and skill in prosecution of the war.

The effect of inserting this argument ‘back’ into the history of European immigration and colonization is also to note its crucial implications for knowledge and the narration of histories, and gender. A garrison colony tells its histories in particular ways. The story of the ‘wars’ (not ‘frontier violence’ as in Australia), to the extent it is told, is contrived largely into romantic tales against a chivalric foe. More evident is how the garrison colony hides its history in plain sight. Street and place names, landscapes and buildings all remain, but are shorn of meaning for most contemporary citizens. Wellington is the fighting Duke and the capital city; Mercer, Blockhouse Bay and Redcoat Lane stand in our midst. The selective views and silences are not accidental erasures, or simply a loss of memory with age. They arise from the structures of settler colonialism. A key part of that is the separation and divergence that occurs in the settler mind between ‘us’ and ‘the British’.<sup>77</sup> The British regiments ‘go away’, the archives that tell this story are largely not those that have been kept in this place; this leads to ‘the British’ becoming what ‘we’, the settler-derived section of the population, define ourselves as not being — who we are not. I am one of these, a historian, and a New Zealander descended from successive waves of Scottish migrants. It is

not just the Crown that is the Treaty partner to iwi, but ‘us’ the people here by virtue of garrisoned sovereignty. We have masked the coercive piles on which the house of New Zealand’s sovereign nationhood is built.

The argument of garrisoned sovereignty has implications for gender. Settler colonies rely on reproduction, so an appreciation of the garrison element in New Zealand’s colonial history provides a clearer view of how settler colonization relied on soldier enforcement. But that garrison presence could not, alone, have been sufficient to ensure British colonization. A settler colony needed women. The Fencible programme brought pensioner men as husbands and fathers with wives and children. The regiments in New Zealand generally encouraged those soldiers with lengthy service who were interested in taking their discharge from the army in the colony to do so. About one in five men did just that, thereby becoming soldier settlers.<sup>78</sup> What an army cannot do, as an institution, is reproduce. Its masculine composition gives it limited use in a place that imagines its future as enduring and proliferating as a predominantly white or British population. And that imagines its future in familial, yeoman, settled and ‘civilized’ accoutrements of table, teapot, piano, axe, and Bible reading, churches and schools. The Fencible settlements in this regard are interesting. They were villages with churches, and an obligation to turn out for parade (observed frequently by absence much to Reverend Vicesimus Lush’s exasperation), but were light on schools and respectability. Pubs were well provided for. This was a realistic sense of what a community built of military pensioners might be, and where the actual hope for ‘useful’ settlers lay was with the next generation.

Legacies of these nineteenth-century conflicts continue to reverberate in twenty-first-century Aotearoa New Zealand where the postcolonial reckoning is focused on the Treaty: redressing historical injustice while addressing the long-term consequences of material, health and educational inequality. In Britain, post-imperial tensions and demands for redress have surfaced in court proceedings against British action in 1950s Kenya,<sup>79</sup> in the Windrush generation scandal of the 2010s,<sup>80</sup> and in a number of other areas where the imperial era has come home to roost. Frustration at the deafness to such claims, and renewed British involvement in what might be seen as imperial struggles (in Afghanistan and Iraq especially) have made London once again the centre. The city is a stage where cultural performance is as potent a weapon as political struggle.<sup>81</sup>

Such post-imperial histories cannot be disconnected from those with which we are reckoning in Aotearoa New Zealand in the early twenty-first century. Bringing garrisoned sovereignty into the history of New Zealand is akin to reintroducing the headmaster armed with a leather strap into the

twenty-first-century schoolroom in which the liberal imperialism story of the Treaty and European migration is the main lesson. Some of us (this author included) are still working to understand the lessons. As we look closely we might detect the soldiers creeping silently through the dark night around the long line of impressive defences built at Pāterangi in 1863–1864 by the Kīngitanga and its allies to defend rangatiratanga. Instead of emerging, with relief, from the ‘early morning fog’ of colonization that Peter Gibbons has set before us into the civilian peace of the morning sun, we might instead see that it is the redcoat soldier in the blue serge of campaign kit, still holding his rifle with bayonet fitted, who is the key to the contest for sovereignty in Aotearoa New Zealand.<sup>82</sup>

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## NOTES

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48 Craig Wilcox, *Red Coat Dreaming: How Colonial Australia Embraced the British Army*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 2009 provides a powerful argument as to the influence and appeal of the British redcoat presence in Australia, notably in New South Wales, through the nineteenth century, and its eclipse in the twentieth century. The powerful cultural presence of the Australian War Memorial (Canberra) in the national imagination and national life, specifically focuses on military service performed outside Australia, thereby excluding the colonial soldiery.

49 Macfarlan, 'Military Pensioners in Auckland'.

50 Quoted in Stone, *Young Logan Campbell*, p.207, Stone's footnote 24 is to *Daily Southern Cross*, 29 June 1853, Supplement.

51 In chapter 13 of *Young Logan Campbell*, 'The Thrice-Disgusting Pollution of Auckland Politics', Russell Stone describes the deeply 'quarrelsome' (p.202) nature of Auckland politics in the 1850s. Between 1853 and 1857 alone there were five separate elections for the Superintendency, 'all surrounded by great bitterness, expense, trickery, and corruption' (p.202). To the southern settlements the 'electoral scandals and political antics' of Auckland province became 'a source of wonderment and malicious joy' (p.202).

52 Quoted in Stone, *Young Logan Campbell*, p.208.

53 Sydney's substantial new military barracks were built in the late 1840s, a sign of a confident presence in the colony despite the end of transportation. The Victoria Barracks in Darlinghurst remain in use by the Australian Defence Force.

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Empire — Indigenous Territorial Government in New Zealand and Retrieving Constitutional Histories', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol.46, No.4 (4 July 2018), pp.676–706. Anderson, Binney and Harris, *Tangata Whenua*.

62 Mary Swainson to Isabel Percy, 11 March 1848, in 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 University Press/Bridget Williams Books, Wellington and Auckland, 1996, p.217.

63 Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* (1813); W.M. Thackeray, *Vanity Fair* (1847–1848) especially but not exclusively; Thomas Hardy, *Far From the Madding Crowd* (1874). Margaret Drabble, ed., *Oxford Companion to English Literature*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1985.

64 Catherine Hall, *Civilizing Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2002, pp.285–7 for discussion of Swainsons.

65 John Frederick Churton, 1799–1853 monument, Emily Place, Auckland.

‘And for twelve years minister of St Paul’s, Auckland,  
who died on the 26th of January, 1853.

Aged 54 years,

As a CHRISTIAN PASTOR, he was earnest, vigilant, and laborious,  
uniting uncompromising firmness and fidelity with affectionate gen-  
tleness and kindness. As a CITIZEN, he was active and benevolent  
ready to every good work. In him the Poor, the Afflicted, and the Be-  
reaved ever found a sympathising Comforter and an energetic Friend.

THIS TESTIMONIAL

was raised by the free-will Subscriptions of *all* classes and denominations  
of the community of Auckland who knew his worth and mourn his loss.

‘HE RESTS FROM HIS LABOURS, AND HIS WORS [K INSERTED ABOVE] DO  
FOLLOW HIM.’

66 Platts, *The Lively Capital*.

67 R.C.J. Stone, *The Father and His Gift: John Logan Campbell's Later Years*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1987, Appendix A, pp.265–6. The idea of a ‘settler palate’ was discussed by Brittany Luby and Kesia Kvill in their paper on Canadian food in World War I at the ‘Transnationalisms, Transgressions, Translations’, International Federation for Research in Women’s History Conference, Vancouver, 9–12 August 2018.

68 *Daily Southern Crosss*, 20 August 1864, p.1. Notice for races appears over name of S. Toogood, Lieutenant, Royal Artillery, ‘Secretary’.

69 Naomi Woods, ‘Household Narratives from a Colonial Frontier’, PhD thesis, University of Otago, 2017. Naomi Woods, ‘From garden to plate and back again: links between gardens and tableware in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Whanganui’, Conference Paper, June 2015. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/307858736>; Naomi Woods, ‘Household Narratives from a Colonial Frontier: The Archaeology of the Maria Place Cottages, Whanganui, New Zealand’, Conference Paper, January 2017. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/314080290>; Naomi Woods, ‘Household Narratives from a Colonial Frontier: A Widow’s Tale’, Presentation, Whanganui Regional Museum, Heritage New Zealand, 25 October 2015.

70 ‘Plan of Marsland Hill (Pukaka), New Plymouth, shewing [sic] old barracks and military occupation 1856–1870’, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/96784>; Rhonda Bartle, ‘Marsland Hill’, <http://pukeariki.com/Learning-Research/Taranaki-Research-Centre/Taranaki-Stories/Taranaki-Story/id/583/title/marsland-hill>. Frederic Carrington, surveyor with the New Plymouth Company, chose a friend of first agents Captain Liardet’s to name the prominent feature in the new town. St Michael’s Church already sat on the lower slopes of Marsland Hill, its churchyard was soon to become

a burial ground for casualties of the conflict. For Pukeahu, Mt Cook, Wellington see recent history and response: Pukeahu National War Memorial Park, <https://mch.govt.nz/pukeahu/park/pukeahu-history-1>; Ingrid Horrocks, Lynn Davidson, Lena Fransham, Thomas Aitken, eds, and designed by Rosie Percival, *Pukeahu: An Exploratory Anthology*, <http://pukeahuanthology.org/>

71 <http://www.zoomin.co.nz/new+plymouth/new+plymouth+central/redcoat+lane/>

72 Kelvin Day, ed., *Contested Ground. Te Whenua i Tohea. The Taranaki Wars 1860–1881*, Huia Publishers, Wellington, 2010; <https://www.doc.govt.nz/parks-and-recreation/places-to-go/taranaki/places/egmont-national-park/things-to-do/lodges/the-camphouse/>

73 Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars*. Keith Sinclair, *The Origins of the Maori Wars*, New Zealand University Press, Wellington, 1957. B.J. Dalton, *War and Politics in New Zealand, 1855–1870*, Sydney University Press, Sydney, 1967. Belich, *The New Zealand Wars*. Nigel Prickett, *Landscapes of Conflict: A Field Guide to the New Zealand Wars*, Random House, Auckland, 2002. Day, *Contested Ground*. O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand*. Charlotte Macdonald and HIST 316 class, 2014, 'Looking Down the Barrel of History: the battle of Te Ranga', <http://lookingdownthebarrelofhistory.weebly.com/>

74 Angela Lassig, research project in progress (Friends of the Turnbull Library Grant 2018).

75 Linda Colley, 'Constitutions', Public Lecture, University College Dublin, 1 November 2018; *Captives: Britain, Empire and the World 1600–1850*, Jonathan Cape, London, 2002, *Acts of Union and Disunion*, Profile Books, London, 2014.

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77 This is not just a story for a post-1945 New Zealand coming to an independent 'national' identity as Stuart Ward and James Curran have argued for Australia in their *The Unknown Nation: Australia After Empire*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 2010. New Zealand has not 'become' independent by a flag-lowering/flag-raising process but by an internal and ambiguous (and incomplete) process of distancing from colonial connections — while facing the challenges of postcolonial reckoning.

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