



Title      The Imperial Garrison in New Zealand,  
              1840-1870 with Particular Reference to  
              Auckland

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The Imperial Garrison in New Zealand, 1840-1870 with  
particular reference to Auckland.

By

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
of the University of Luton


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## DECLARATION

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fifth day of March 2004

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## Glossary Of New Zealand Terms.

Kupapa pro-government Maori

Mana prestige, influence

Mere short club, sometimes made of greenstone (New Zealand Jade)

Pa fortified village

Pakeha foreigner, especially European

Patu short flat whalebone weapon

Raupo a wetland plant similar to bulrush

Utu revenge

## Abstract

The object of this thesis is to look at the neglected area of the social interaction between Imperial regiments and society in a colony. The chosen colony is New Zealand, looking with particular reference at its original capital of Auckland between 1840 and 1870. This period encompasses the Maori or New Zealand Wars. However, it is not the intention to look at these campaigns, but to examine how the regiments of the Imperial garrison interacted on a day-to-day basis with colonial society in both peace and war.

Chapter One establishes the existing literature with regard to the impact of a military presence on colonial societies using the relatively few examples of work done on Canada, South Africa, India and Australia, as well as the limited information available on the impact of garrisons in Britain itself. Indeed, comparisons will also be made with the role of the United States army in westwards frontier expansion, on which some useful studies exist. Chapter Two is also general in nature in the sense that it discusses the reasons for the introduction of Imperial regiments into New Zealand and those factors contributing to their continued presence until 1870, as well as the fluctuations in military strength.

Moving to the particular, Chapter Three illustrates how Auckland became the Imperial Military Headquarters in New Zealand and the development of its military infrastructure as the town itself expanded. The two principal establishments became Fort Britomart and the Albert Barracks. It will also be

shown that Governor FitzRoy was responsible for the construction of the Albert Barracks, not Sir George Grey as is generally supposed.

The intention of Chapter Four is to examine in detail the economic impact of the garrison on Auckland, primarily by means of investigating how the army was supplied. In particular, local newspapers are utilised as a medium through which to trace how civilians tendered for Commissariat contracts.

Chapter Five discusses the health of the Imperial regiments posted to New Zealand to establish whether service there implied the same kind of potential death sentence as that in some other colonies.

Chapter Six then examines both the discipline of Imperial regiments in Auckland and wider issues of social interaction since, in other colonies, the extent of indiscipline could radically affect civil-military relations. In terms of the wider issues, there is examination of such aspects of the relationship between soldiers and civilians as sport, entertainment, local politics, and civic ceremony.

Chapter Seven will then offer conclusions on the inter-relationship and inter-dependence between soldiers and civilians in Auckland.



Between Queen Victoria's accession in 1837 and the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1854, the British army fought five major wars as well as host of smaller campaigns in almost every part of the globe.<sup>1</sup> The pace of imperial expansion was slow in the 1850s and 1860s amid declining official interest in the concept of empire and it would not be until the 1870s and 1880s that imperial commitments once more expanded rapidly as a consequence of the 'scramble for Africa'. In the earlier period, however, the army was required to undertake considerable consolidation of existing colonies and possessions, even in areas of the world in which there had long been a British imperial presence.

In Lower Canada, for example, which had formed part of the 'first' empire won in the eighteenth century, there was a serious rebellion among the Métis in 1837.<sup>2</sup> Equally, the East India Company's control of the Indian sub-continent still not only seemed to require the search for a more secure frontier beyond the Indus, but also the suppression of the powerful indigenous kingdoms remaining within the boundaries of the Company's domain. Thus, as well as the unsuccessful attempt to win influence over Afghanistan in the First Afghan War (1839-42)<sup>3</sup>; Sind was annexed in 1843, Gwalior in the same year; the Marathas battled once more in 1844, there having been three Anglo-Maratha

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<sup>1</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> Afghan War 1839-42, 1<sup>st</sup> Sikh War 1845-6, 2<sup>nd</sup> Sikh War 1848-9, China 1840-1, 2<sup>nd</sup> Burmese War 1852. On colonial campaigning generally, see Donald Featherstone, *Colonial Small Wars, 1837-1901* (Newton Abbott: Davis & Charles, 1973); Philip J. Haythornthwaite, *The Colonial Wars Sourcebook* (London: Arms and Armour Press, 1997); Brian Bond, (ed.), *Victorian Military Campaigns* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., London: Tom Donovan Publishing, 1994); Ian Beckett, *Victoria's Wars* (Princes Risborough: Shire Publications, 1998); Byron Farwell, *Queen Victoria's Little Wars* (Newton Abbot: Victorian & Modern History Book Club edn., 1974).

<sup>2</sup> Elinor Senior, 'The Glengarry Highlanders and the Suppression of the Rebellions in Lower Canada 1837-38', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* [hereinafter *JSAHR*] 56, 227, 1978, pp. 143-159; and her., *Redcoats and Patriots: The Rebellions in Lower Canada 1837-38* (Ottawa: Canadian War Museum, 1985); Featherstone, *Colonial Small Wars*, pp. 27-28.

<sup>3</sup> Haythornthwaite, *Colonial Wars Sourcebook*, pp. 133-136.

wars between 1775 and 1817<sup>4</sup>; and the Sikhs overcome in two wars (1845-46 and 1848-49)<sup>5</sup>. Ultimately, of course, tensions arising from this consolidation of Company control contributed to the outbreak of the mutiny in 1857, arguably the most serious indigenous challenge to the empire in the nineteenth century.

Those territories effectively acquired, or over which control had been further extended during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, also remained contested areas in many cases. In Australia, what were effectively frontier wars against the indigenous aborigines continued until 1838 in terms of deployment of British regulars, and well into the 1870s so far as the commitment of colonial forces was concerned.<sup>6</sup> The Cape in South Africa saw a continuing series of conflicts against the Xhosa. In all, there were nine so-called 'Kaffir' (or Cape Frontier) Wars between 1779 and 1878, seven of which after 1838 involved British regulars. Indeed, the Seventh and Eighth Frontier Wars (1846-47 and 1850-53) were substantial affairs, involving the deployment of 6,600 regular troops.<sup>7</sup> Australia and Canada, of course, were markedly different from India in terms of the scale of European settlement and this applied equally to New Zealand, which is the focus of this particular study. As is well known there were a series of wars, which are usually characterised as the First, Second and Third Maori Wars of 1846-7, 1860-1

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<sup>4</sup> Haythornthwaite, *Colonial Wars Sourcebook*, pp. 69,75, 80.

<sup>5</sup> Farwell, *Queen Victoria's Little Wars*, pp. 37-61.

<sup>6</sup> See John Connor, *The Australian Frontier Wars 1788-1838* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2002); M. Austin, *The Army in Australia 1840-50* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1979); Geoff Blackburn, *Conquest and Settlement* (Western Australia: Hesperian Press, 1999); Peter Stanley, *The Remote Garrison: The British Army in Australia* (Sydney: Kangaroo Press, 1986); M McKernan & M Browne (eds.), *Australia: Two Centuries of War and Peace* (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1988).

<sup>7</sup> Featherstone, *Colonial Small Wars*, p. 63; Peter Burroughs, 'An Unreformed Army?: 1815-1868' in David Chandler and Ian Beckett (eds.), *The Oxford History of the British Army* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 163.

and 1863-6. In New Zealand, however, the conflict with the Maoris is now interpreted as a series of six 'wars' - the Flagstaff or Northern War, 1846-47; Wanganui, 1847-48; the First Taranaki War 1859-1861; the Second Taranaki War, 1863; the Waikato War, 1863-64; and the Hauhau or Third Taranaki War, 1864-66.<sup>8</sup>

The army that was responsible for the policing of British imperial possessions was a small one, its strength declining from 233,952 officers and men in 1815 to only 174,198 by 1870<sup>9</sup> as a result of the continuing reductions effected by governments amid the political and socio-economic turmoil that characterised the period following the victory over Napoleon. It has been argued that, after almost 22 years of almost continuous war, the conclusion of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars was inevitably accompanied by the desire for military retrenchment. Peter Burroughs notes that 'twenty three years of costly war with France had increased Britain's national debt from £228 million in 1793 to 876 million in 1815'.<sup>10</sup> It was a long-service army enlisted by voluntary means, service until 1847 being technically for life. Thereafter, service was for ten years for the infantry and twelve years for cavalry, artillery and engineers respectively<sup>11</sup> until the introduction of short

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<sup>8</sup> For general accounts of the Maori Wars, see James Belich, The New Zealand Wars: The Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1998); T. L. Buick, The Rebellion of Hone Heke (Wellington, Government Printer, 1926); James Cowan, The New Zealand Wars (Wellington: R. E. Owen, 1956) 2 vols.; Tom Gibson, The Maori Wars (London, Leo Cooper, 1974); Michael Barthrop, To Face the Daring Maoris (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1979).

<sup>9</sup> Edward M. Spiers, The Army and Society 1815-1914 (London, Longman, 1980), p. 36.

<sup>10</sup> Ian Beckett The Amateur Military Tradition 1558-1945 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), p. 126; Peter Burroughs 'Parliamentary Radicals and the Reduction of Imperial Expenditure in British North America', Historical Journal, XI, 3, 1968, pp. 446-461.

<sup>11</sup> Spiers, Army and Society, pp. 52-53.

service by Edward Cardwell changed the pattern in 1870.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, the army was an unpopular institution in Britain itself, largely as a result of its ready identification as a domestic constabulary. In January 1816, by which time the regular army had already been cut to 149,000 officers and men, some 28,000 were stationed in Britain itself. In the following year, strength was down to 123,000 with 26,000 stationed in Britain.<sup>13</sup> Spiers states that 'during the urban riots of 1831-32, approximately 11,000 troops were stationed in England, the majority being based in the London area'.<sup>14</sup> In reality, fewer than 57 individuals died as a result of clashes with troops in Britain between 1816 and 1839,<sup>15</sup> but traditional, popular perceptions of the tyranny represented by a standing army persisted. It was also the case that the army was unlikely to attract the respectable to its ranks. Wellington famously used the term 'the scum of the earth'<sup>16</sup> to describe the social composition of the British army. His description was semi-accurate. Edward Spiers's research into nineteenth century recruitment indicates that the army still sought recruits by a variety of methods. By 1830 there were nine large recruiting districts: one in Scotland, three in Ireland, and five in England. Full time staff manned these. However, the majority of the recruiting parties would still routinely frequent public houses and fairgrounds for likely recruits.<sup>17</sup> Robert Macdonald, for example, stated that:

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<sup>12</sup> Spiers, *Army and Society*, p. 37; Hew Strachan, *Wellington's Legacy The Reform of the British Army 1830-1854* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), p. 74.

<sup>13</sup> Beckett, *Amateur Military Tradition*, p. 127.

<sup>14</sup> Spiers, *Army and Society*, p. 82.

<sup>15</sup> Beckett, *Amateur Military Tradition*, pp. 126-161.

<sup>16</sup> David Gates, 'The Transformation of the Army 1783-1815' in Chandler and Beckett, *Oxford History of the British Army*, p. 145.

<sup>17</sup> Spiers, *Army and Society*, pp. 40-41.

it was only in the haunts of dissipation or inebriation, and among the very lowest dregs of society, that I met with anything like success. I could seldom prevail on even the uneducated to enlist, when they were sober-living and industriously inclined.<sup>18</sup>

Unemployment in certain areas of Britain prompted many men to enlist while, in rare cases, some joined on a whim.<sup>19</sup>

In part, of course, the unattractiveness of military life derived from regimental postings in the colonies, in which climate, disease and terrain represented formidable challenges to be overcome, particularly by regiments fresh from Britain with no comprehension of, or immunity to such elements. Most of the army would spend most of the time overseas: by 1846, two thirds of the infantry was committed overseas. Peter Burroughs shows that, of 112 infantry battalions and 100,600 men distributed globally that year, there were 23,000 in India, 32,620 elsewhere in the Empire, and 44,980 in Britain.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, long before the introduction of the Cardwellian scheme of linked battalions, an informal rotation of units had been established by which regiments moved. Early ideas were to keep a regiment posted in one place and that a constant flow of men should be maintained between it and the depot. This was a valid idea in principle but, as Secretary of State for War, Howick<sup>21</sup> had no means to implement it. Alexander Murray Tulloch, a military surgeon and

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<sup>18</sup> Spiers, *Army and Society*, p. 41. Macdonald was recruiting for the Rifle Brigade.

<sup>19</sup> Spiers, *Army and Society*, pp. 45-46.

<sup>20</sup> Burroughs, 'Unreformed Army', p. 164.

<sup>21</sup> Henry Grey, Viscount Howick was Under Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1830 and, in 1835, was appointed Secretary of War. See Hew Strachan, 'Lord Grey and Imperial Defence' in Ian Beckett and John Gooch (eds.), *Politicians and Defence: Studies in the Formulation of British Defence Policy, 1840-1970* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1981), pp. 1-24.

statistician,<sup>22</sup> suggested that regiments be rotated through three foreign tours, each of a duration amounting to ten years. The Atlantic circuit would consist of four years in the Mediterranean, three in the West Indies, and three in America. Tulloch also argued that India should be one ten year tour, while the remaining colonies in southern and eastern waters were divided into a tour of New South Wales for three years, Ceylon or Mauritius for four, and the Cape or St Helena for three.<sup>23</sup> This recognised that the principal stations for British regiments in Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies represented either high or low risks in terms of the chances of surviving the first year without becoming a victim of flora or fauna, let alone the indigenous population.

High-risk colonies - India, South Africa and the West Indies - were detrimental to the health of the imperial regiments. An example of this can be seen in the West Indies; where the majority of the regiments were decimated within a few months of landing.<sup>24</sup> India and South Africa were similar in climate, being hot and inhospitable, with a high risk of disease. India, however, had a more temperate environment further north or at inland hill stations such as Ootacamund and Simla, allowing officers or men to convalesce before being returned to their regiments. Colonies deemed a low risk were Canada, New Zealand, whose climate was very similar to Britain, and, to a lesser extent, Australia. Tulloch's findings showed that in the West Indies in 1836, of 903

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<sup>22</sup> P. H. Butterfield, 'Sykes and Tulloch: Pioneer Researchers into Sickness and Mortality Rates amongst British Army Personnel in the Mid-nineteenth Century', *The South African Military History Society Military History Journal* 5, 4, 1981, pp. 1-4.

<sup>23</sup> Strachan, 'Grey and Imperial Defence', p. 6; and., *Wellington's Legacy*, p. 186.

<sup>24</sup> See Roger Buckley, *The British Army in the West Indies* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998, pp. 16-

men admitted to hospitals with inflammation of the liver, 79 died.<sup>25</sup> In the same year at Ceylon, 1,751 men were admitted for inflammation of the liver resulting in 151 deaths, which equated to one in twelve of all deaths.<sup>26</sup> These figures, when compared to the statistical data from Canada, show how severe the attrition rate was. The Canadian figures show that, of the 186 patients admitted to hospital for inflammation of the liver, only five died. Tulloch therefore reached the conclusion that one in thirty seven would die of this disease while serving in Canada.<sup>27</sup>

Of the overseas stations, India, South Africa and the West Indies were regarded as the most important in strategic terms. The British jurisdiction of the West Indies allowed control of the sea routes in the Caribbean, Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico thus curtailing French involvement there. Britain's annexation of South Africa in 1806 occurred during the Napoleonic Wars at a moment when the Dutch were allied to France, Britain seizing the Cape by force largely to forestall the French taking it themselves and threatening the sea route to India.<sup>28</sup> Likewise in the case of India, possession of the sub-continent covered both the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal in terms of deterring any incursion by hostile forces. Indeed, part of Cardwell's eventual scheme was the conscious withdrawal of the imperial garrisons from colonies, which, while enjoying relatively large white settler populations, were also of

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<sup>25</sup> 'Statistical Report on the Sickness, Mortality, and Invaliding of the Troops serving in the West Indies', Parliamentary Papers C, 1838, p. 8.

<sup>26</sup> 'Statistical Report on the Sickness, Mortality, and Invaliding of the Troops serving in the West Indies', p. 8; 'Statistical Report on the Sickness, Mortality, and Invaliding of the Troops serving in Ceylon', Parliamentary Papers B, 1838, p. 15.

<sup>27</sup> 'Statistical Report on the Sickness, Mortality, and Invaliding of the Troops serving in British America', Parliamentary Papers B, 1838, p. 289.

<sup>28</sup> Ian Knight, Go to your God Like a Soldier (London: Greenhill Books, 1996), p. 72.

less strategic value. Thus, withdrawal would affect Australia, Canada and New Zealand, notwithstanding the continuing conflict with the Maoris in the latter.

While the army's campaigns have been much studied, as well as many aspects of the army's presence in Britain itself, the implications of the presence of the imperial garrisons in the colonies have been comparatively neglected. Indeed the study of imperial garrisons remains in its infancy. As already suggested, India was somewhat different in that it had no substantial European settler population and, of course, its defence was principally in the hands of the locally raised forces of the East India Company, which included some European regiments. Some issues relating to the stationing of British regiments in cantonments have been explored by Douglas Peers. Peers has principally examined how the British tried to curb the rise of drink and sexually related diseases by segregating the regiments away from the towns, and the use of 'lock hospitals' to contain prostitutes believed to have infected soldiers.<sup>29</sup> Roger Buckley has also given some attention to the West Indies, but this is primarily concerned with the earlier period between 1792 and 1815. In the case of Canada, there is the work of Elinor Senior while, on South Africa, there is Graham Dominy's unpublished doctoral dissertation dealing with the imperial garrison at Fort Napier at Pietermaritzburg in Natal between 1843 and 1914. Australia has been comparatively well served compared to other colonies. Peter Stanley's The Remote Garrison, however, is primarily a popular illustrated account intended for the general reader; Maurice Austin's



The Army in Australia, is confined to the period between 1840 and 1850; and Geoff Blackburn's Conquest and Settlement concerns only one Regiment, the 21<sup>st</sup>, serving in Western Australia between 1833 and 1840. One other study, The Australian Frontier Wars by John Connor deals with the period 1788-1838, overlapping with Blackburn's work, but is primarily concerned with the conflict against aboriginals rather than with the imperial garrison per se.

Similarly, although there have been many studies of the army in Britain, the question of the relationship of a garrison to its neighbouring community has not been investigated to any great extent. Indeed, there is only really Bridgette Mitchell's recent doctoral dissertation examining the experience of Windsor between 1815 and 1855. There are, however, some studies of the United States Army on the Western frontier in the nineteenth century, which are of some utility in raising useful comparative questions, and which may be usefully applied to the British imperial experience.

Certain common themes and issues are readily apparent in the work on these other colonies. Therefore, before, proceeding to examine aspects of the as yet unexplored imperial military presence in New Zealand between 1840 and 1872, it is necessary to survey the existing literature.

Concerning the army at home in Britain, historians have tended to cover relatively similar themes. Alan Ramsey Skelley's The Victorian Army at Home, for example, discusses recruitment and the problems surrounding it, such as

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<sup>29</sup> Douglas M. Peers, 'Imperial Vice: Sex, Drink and the Health of British Troops in North Indian Cantonments, 1800-1858' in David Killingray and David Omissi (eds.), Guardians of Empire (Manchester: Manchester University Press,

health and education, discipline, crime and rates of pay. Edward Spiers and Hew Strachan have also looked at the army and its place in domestic society. Strachan's study of the pre-Crimean army discusses issues such as recruitment, life in the ranks, punishment, the professionalism of the officers, staff and training, and matching manpower to commitments. In comparison to Strachan, Spiers has chosen a wider period for study but, again, discusses such aspects as the respective composition of officer corps and the rank and file. Perhaps the weakest study on the social composition of the Victorian army is Glyn Harries-Jenkins's The Army in Victorian Society, which, notwithstanding the title, is actually preoccupied with the officer class and the purchase system.

However, as indicated earlier, Bridgette Mitchell has studied the garrison town of Windsor, over 40 years, providing a valuable insight into military life in Britain. Mitchell's research is more inclined towards the social than the military, though this encompasses those areas normally associated with regiments billeted in towns, namely the social interaction of the soldiers and civilians, health, families, crime and punishment, prostitution, philanthropy, religion, and education. An area which Mitchell does not address is the creation of a transport infrastructure, a factor of some significance elsewhere, since for her this was not a primary task for troops where a viable system already existed.

In particular, Mitchell identifies the serious problem of prostitution within Windsor, raising the question whether prostitution was exacerbated precisely because of the presence of two barracks.<sup>30</sup> Of course, all regiments regardless of their postings tended to be noted for drink and vice and in this respect Windsor was very much the norm. Mitchell, indeed, suggests two reasons for women becoming prostitutes in Windsor, which could apply equally to any town or city at the time. Firstly, there were poor working conditions. Secondly, there was the failure of the 1834 Poor Law to provide relief to widows and unmarried mothers.<sup>31</sup> In Windsor, however, the problem of prostitution was not restricted to women since homosexual men also provided a service to the barracks. Understandably, the military authorities were not keen to see reports on homosexual behaviour within regiments being published in the local newspapers. Consequently, even in reports of courts martial, this crime was often referred to as an 'unnatural act'; it was considered taboo to even mention the subject.<sup>32</sup>

The high levels of prostitution were significantly localised in areas of Windsor where poverty was at its greatest.<sup>33</sup> As with other colonies, many different methods were tried to eradicate or halt prostitution, but none were successful. Further afield, the authorities in Bengal introduced lock hospitals but these also failed to reduce the effects of sexually transmitted diseases amongst native women.<sup>34</sup> In Britain itself, even the introduction of the Contagious

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<sup>30</sup> Bridgette Mitchell, 'The Problems of a Garrison Town: Windsor 1815-1855', Unpub. Ph.D, Reading, 2001, p. 175

<sup>31</sup> Mitchell, 'Problems of Garrison Town', pp. 175 and 178.

<sup>32</sup> Mitchell, 'Problems of Garrison Town', pp. 180, 201-203.

<sup>33</sup> Mitchell, 'Problems of Garrison Town', p. 180.

<sup>34</sup> Peers, 'Imperial Vice', pp. 25-53.

Disease legislation (1864 and 1866)<sup>35</sup> failed to curb the rise in venereal disease amongst the home regiments.

Mitchell's other areas of interest within Windsor are philanthropy, religion and education. Some of the wealthier inhabitants provided almshouses for the poor, while others bequeathed monies for specific purposes.<sup>36</sup> These acts of goodwill, however, primarily benefited the civilian inhabitants of Windsor rather than the military. Instead, from a military stand point, the formation of regimental savings banks (although not sanctioned by Horse Guards) allowed many soldiers to save at least a small percentage of their pay.<sup>37</sup> Personnel who had left the service, however, were not treated equally within the environs of Windsor, not being allowed any relief.

Mitchell goes into more detail with regard to religious observance than any of the comparable studies of garrisons in the colonies. On occasions, a few soldiers preached at services in the town's various denominational churches, although the number was small.<sup>38</sup> However, between 1841 and 1844 when a new Anglican church was constructed, soldiers and citizens both assisted in the building project by way of public donations and subscriptions.<sup>39</sup> This church subsequently became the focal point for the garrison's religious life,

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<sup>35</sup> Mitchell, 'Problems of Garrison Town', p. 198.

<sup>36</sup> Mitchell, 'Problems of Garrison Town' p. 209.

<sup>37</sup> Mitchell, 'Problems of Garrison Town', p. 209.

<sup>38</sup> Mitchell, 'Problems of Garrison Town', pp. 215-216.

<sup>39</sup> Mitchell, 'Problems of Garrison Town', p. 217.

with many regiments regaling the interior with regimental banners, plates and, in one instance, a stained glass window.<sup>40</sup>

Mitchell suggests that the construction of the garrison church established a better relationship between the military and the townspeople. The Sunday parades attracted large crowds and the soldiers were perceived as men with religious convictions. The donations and contributions given to the church bear this out.<sup>41</sup> Some soldiers attended Catholic or Presbyterian churches; men primarily, as might be expected, from regiments with an Irish or Scottish connection.<sup>42</sup> If attendance outside barracks was not possible for any reason then church services or parades were held within the barracks, attended by local clergymen.<sup>43</sup> Religion was thus an integral part of the social life of those posted to Windsor.

The other area Mitchell discusses is education, again a subject generally neglected in the studies of garrisons in the colonies. Education within the army was deemed essential as illiterate NCOs would not be able to carry out basic duties such as reading out orders, arranging billets or keeping accurate accounts.<sup>44</sup> Regardless of their postings during the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century, many units had some form of regimental school. But, like the savings banks, they were only allowed at the discretion of the regimental commanding officer.<sup>45</sup> In relation to Windsor, Mitchell shows that a

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<sup>40</sup> Mitchell, 'Problems of Garrison Town', p. 218.

<sup>41</sup> Mitchell, 'Problems of Garrison Town', p. 218.

<sup>42</sup> Mitchell, 'Problems of Garrison Town', p. 220.

<sup>43</sup> Mitchell, 'Problems of Garrison Town', p. 221.

<sup>44</sup> Mitchell, 'Problems of Garrison Town', p. 222.

<sup>45</sup> Mitchell, 'Problems of Garrison Town', p. 223.

large number of scholarly activities were undertaken with all regiments having a regimental school and schoolmaster sergeant, though the number of children attending varied from regiment to regiment.<sup>46</sup> Soldiers also attended to gain a rudimentary education, although Mitchell suggests that the other ranks of the Household Cavalry did not attend schools because they were more literate and had been more carefully selected.<sup>47</sup> Windsor was clearly notable for having a very good education system for both army and civilians.<sup>48</sup>

Turning to civil-military interaction within colonies, Canada, as one of the earliest established colonies, provides a useful insight into conditions outside the confines of Britain. Military personnel in Canada had far more interaction with civilians than say the army in the United States. Many of the British regiments were located in towns or cities, unlike the American army, which was housed in forts and, in some cases, away from any major towns or settlements. British regiments, therefore, were liable to have a better working relationship with the local non-indigenous population due to the location of the barracks. Montreal is a good example of this, having had a British military presence for over a century, the first troops being billeted there just after its capture from the French in 1760.<sup>49</sup>

The garrison's main objectives were to defend the province and maintain internal security.<sup>50</sup> It was also used in the suppression of rebellions in Lower

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<sup>46</sup> Mitchell, 'Problems of Garrison Town', p. 225.

<sup>47</sup> Mitchell, 'Problems of Garrison Town', p. 225.

<sup>48</sup> Mitchell, 'Problems of Garrison Town', p. 230.

<sup>49</sup> Elinor Senior, British Regulars in Montreal: An Imperial Garrison (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1981), p.3.

<sup>50</sup> Senior, British Regulars, p 3.

and Upper Canada between 1837 and 1838, contrasting with the garrison of Windsor, which was not used in aid of the civil power during the period of Mitchell's study. The first rebellion occurred among the French speaking population of Lower Canada while the second, in Upper Canada, was to be known as Mackenzie's<sup>51</sup> Rebellion. These disturbances meant that a large proportion of the available troops were on active duty suppressing these uprisings.

The first rebellion erupted from unsuccessful attempts to gain constitutional and financial reforms. The instigators were badly led and disorganised. Their leader, Papineau, eventually fled to America in December 1837. Indeed, overall British losses were low with just ten killed and 36 wounded. The Mackenzie Rebellion in December 1837 was intended to seize Toronto. When this failed Mackenzie successfully secured Navy Island on the Niagara River, but was forced to withdraw when loyal forces re-took the island.<sup>52</sup> Mackenzie, like Papineau, fled to America; both men subsequently returned to Canada but did not have any further impact upon Canadian politics. During the Papineau rebellion, the 'Patriot Party' referred to the garrison as an 'army of occupation'.<sup>53</sup>

Montreal had become the central point for the defence of the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada when the British military headquarters was relocated from Quebec in 1814. Montreal continued to grow, ultimately

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<sup>51</sup> William Lyon Mackenzie, an Upper Canadian politician of extreme republican views.

<sup>52</sup> Haythornthwaite, *Colonial Wars Sourcebook*, pp. 260-262.

<sup>53</sup> Senior, *British Regulars*, p. 4.

becoming the main commercial centre and the largest city in British North America.<sup>54</sup> Civil disturbances also remained relatively common, though the garrison was increasingly regarded as an adjunct to the police in this regard. The most notorious incident was the so-called Gavazzi Riot of 1853. Gavazzi was a recently arrived Italian nationalist whose virulently anti-Catholic stance inflamed the Irish population in the city. The principal historian of the garrison, Elinor Senior, states that 'the Gavazzi riot shattered the *entente cordial* that had existed between the garrison and the British Party'.<sup>55</sup> One of the main problems was the apparent breakdown of military discipline and the failure of troops to obey orders from a senior officer. In fact, the 26th Regiment had just replaced the 20th Regiment, which had served a three-year tour of duty in Montreal.<sup>56</sup> When called out, they were faced with an unfamiliar city but were also under instructions 'not to take any orders but from their officers'.<sup>57</sup> They were to be used, however, only if the police proved unable to deal with any civil unrest at one of Gavazzi's provocative speeches. In fact, the crowd, which had congregated outside, became more agitated and began to attack the police.<sup>58</sup> It was not until shots were fired and a civilian was killed that the regiment was called out. The agitated crowd soon engulfed the troops; the Mayor momentarily panicked and read the riot act. With the reading of the act, some soldiers opened fire on the crowd, against the direct orders of their superior officer, a subsequent investigation revealing that one division had responded to a voice in the crowd, which had given the orders to fire. The other division's action in firing into the crowd, however, was attributed to a

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<sup>54</sup> Senior, British Regulars, p. 4.

<sup>55</sup> Senior, British Regulars, p. 109.

<sup>56</sup> Senior, British Regulars, p. 111.

<sup>57</sup> Senior, British Regulars, p. 112.



serious breach of discipline.<sup>59</sup> Senior argues that the 'only positive result of the Gavazzi riot was the realisation on the part of the civil authorities that troops made indifferent policemen'.<sup>60</sup>

Imperial regiments stationed in Montreal were not used, however, solely to quell civil unrest for they were also used to fight fires that sporadically broke out in the city. Like Mitchell, Senior also demonstrates that one of the biggest problems affecting the garrison was drink. Indeed, both officers and soldiers were reprimanded for displays of drunken behaviour, one Ensign being court martialled for being drunk at a public dinner.<sup>61</sup> Nevertheless, the barracks also housed a library, a savings bank and a school, which both soldiers and children attended.<sup>62</sup> Moreover, unlike Mitchell, who mentions only church parades in this regard, Senior shows that regiments in Montreal were routinely and consciously employed to provide pomp for civil occasions, while other forms of social interaction consisted of yacht races, hunts, and horse races. Fencing and curling were also popular with officers and soldiers.<sup>63</sup>

When Imperial regiments were posted to South Africa, their role was different to that of those stationed in Canada though arguably similar in some respects to India, since they had to quell native uprisings and deal with the problem of the *voortrekkers*<sup>64</sup> traversing the country. The British had gained control from

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<sup>58</sup> Senior, *British Regulars*, p. 115.

<sup>59</sup> Senior, *British Regulars*, p. 124.

<sup>60</sup> Senior, *British Regulars*, p. 131.

<sup>61</sup> Senior, *British Regulars*, p. 147.

<sup>62</sup> Senior, *British Regulars*, p. 151.

<sup>63</sup> Senior, *British Regulars*, chapters 8, 9, and 10.

<sup>64</sup> John Laband, 'War and Peace in South Africa to 1914' in Peter B Boyden, Alan J. Guy & Marion Harding (eds.), *Ashes and Blood: The British Army in South Africa, 1795-1914* (London: National Army Museum, 1999), p. 13.

the Dutch, who had, in turn, wrested control from the Portuguese. There had also been an interim period when the French held partial control over the Cape. However, from 1814 onwards, the British were firmly in control there. John Laband notes that

The British reasserted their hold over the Cape at the Battle of Blaauwberg on 8 January 1806 when the Dutch regular troops, European mercenaries and locally raised levies proved no match for an invading force of professional soldiers and sailors. The second British occupation lasted until 13<sup>th</sup> August 1814 when, at the London Convention, the Cape was finally ceded to Britain.<sup>65</sup>

Most studies on the British military presence in South Africa have tended to concentrate on the wars that occurred during the British occupation. Graham Dominy, however, has looked at the social-interaction between soldiers and civilians in Pietermaritzburg. Not only was there more civil-military interaction, but also more instances of civil-military than in Montreal.

The primary role of the regiments posted to Pietermaritzburg was to protect the frontier, Dominy stating that 'the Imperial garrison in Natal did not simply arrive out of the blue and build a fort'.<sup>66</sup> A military presence was also required to curb internal conflicts within the province, which might then have actual or perceived effect on the Cape frontier.<sup>67</sup> In this role the regiments became

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<sup>65</sup> Laband, 'War and Peace', p. 10.

<sup>66</sup> Graham Dominy, 'The Imperial Garrison in Natal with special reference to Fort Napier, 1843-1914: its social, cultural and economic impact', Unpub. Ph.D, London, 1995, page 77.

<sup>67</sup> Dominy, 'Imperial Garrison', p. 77.

frontier constabulary, though Dominy also suggests that the presence of regular battalions of infantry, cavalry regiments, artillery, and other supporting medical, transport and commissariat units was intended to underpin the emergence of a 'respectable' colonial society. Unfortunately, internal military problems resulting from boredom, indiscipline, and drunkenness actually only exacerbated social tensions in the town. Yet, at the same time, the garrison was a stabilising presence within the developing colonial economy, serving both as provider of technical support, labour and administrative skills, but also as a consumer of produce, alcohol and forage.<sup>68</sup>

During the 70-year period that Imperial regiments were stationed in Natal, there were several instances when military discipline deteriorated to a point when soldiers mutinied. This was not unique to Natal since Canada, India, Australia, and New Zealand all had instances of troops deserting or mutiny. For instance, in Australia, the New South Wales Corps mutinied in 1808, deposing the Governor William Bligh, the former captain of the Bounty. In what was to become known as the Rum Rebellion, the New South Wales Corps ruled the Colony illegally for a further two years before legal authority was restored in 1810.<sup>69</sup> Dominy, however, suggests that, in the case of Natal, the mutiny on 7 August 1887 was especially severe.<sup>70</sup>

The mutiny arose from the actions of four privates of the Inniskilling Fusiliers. These men had been drinking on the Sabbath when the military canteens

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<sup>68</sup> Dominy, 'Imperial Garrison', pp. 14-17

<sup>69</sup> Stanley, Remote Garrison, pp. 22-24.

<sup>70</sup> Dominy, 'Imperial Garrison', p. 148.

remained opened, while those in the town had been closed.<sup>71</sup> A duty sergeant ordered the arrest of five soldiers - the fifth had actually deserted a few days earlier – when the four attended roll call heavily under the influence of alcohol. When the sergeant and some other soldiers tried to arrest the men a disturbance occurred, they were quickly overpowered by their intended victims and the disturbance became general. NCOs and soldiers were assaulted, and damage occurred to property with windows broken and beds overturned. During this part of the disturbance, a private who was sleeping was bayoneted to death.<sup>72</sup> Reinforcements were sent for and the men, having evaded capture, began to destroy public property in Pietermaritzburg. The mutineers failed to gain access to any of the taverns and, in frustration, they continued to destroy property. Another murder was then committed when a corporal of the garrison police force was also bayoneted to death.<sup>73</sup> The four leading protagonists were finally apprehended and tried for their crimes.

Charged with murder, they were committed to trial in a civil court.<sup>74</sup> Meanwhile, the military authorities withdrew a total of 150 men from Natal leaving only the regimental headquarters and one company.<sup>75</sup> Due to the severity of the crimes, the soldiers were tried in the Supreme Court as well as being tried in separate courts martial.<sup>76</sup> In passing sentence on the convicted men the jury acquitted two of the defendants. The third had his sentence commuted to life imprisonment and the fourth was hanged in November

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<sup>71</sup> Dominy, 'Imperial Garrison', p. 148.

<sup>72</sup> Dominy, 'Imperial Garrison', p. 149.

<sup>73</sup> Dominy, 'Imperial Garrison', p. 149.

<sup>74</sup> Dominy, 'Imperial Garrison', p. 154.

<sup>75</sup> Dominy, 'Imperial Garrison', p. 155.

<sup>76</sup> Dominy, 'Imperial Garrison', p. 155.

1887. None, however, were tried for the first murder, the assumption being that this avoided the need to hold a public inquiry.<sup>77</sup> Dominy suggests that the real reasons for the mutiny would, therefore, not be made public.<sup>78</sup> He comments further that the conclusion the military authorities wished people to draw was that the original incident on 7 August was just a drunken brawl with tragic results, not implying any wider disciplinary problems within the barracks.<sup>79</sup>

As already suggested, imperial regiments regardless of their postings were plagued with desertions, whether through discontentment with military life, or as in South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand where the discovery of gold or diamonds prompted many soldiers to abscond.<sup>80</sup> The introduction in 1847 of the Limited Enlistment Act, deterred many from deserting but the problem was never fully eradicated. By 1850, indeed, desertion rates had dropped from the 3,572 in 1841 to 1,500 per annum.<sup>81</sup>

Though the Imperial regiments fought four major wars while in Natal, when the timeframe of these conflicts is amalgamated, they last no longer than four years.<sup>82</sup> Consequently, Dominy suggests that the long-term impact of the semi-permanence of the regiments played an important role in underpinning the colonial state structure and, during the intervening years, the garrison

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<sup>77</sup> Dominy, 'Imperial Garrison', p. 157.

<sup>78</sup> Dominy, 'Imperial Garrison', p. 158.

<sup>79</sup> Dominy, 'Imperial Garrison', p. 161.

<sup>80</sup> Strachan, 'Grey and Imperial Defence', p. 12; Dominy, 'Imperial Garrison', p. 216; Jeanine Graham, 'The Pioneers' in Keith Sinclair (ed.), *The Oxford Illustrated Book Of New Zealand* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 57; Charles Money, *Knocking about in New Zealand* (Christchurch: Capper Press reprint, 1972), Chapters 1 and 2; Stanley, *Remote Garrison*, p. 63.

<sup>81</sup> Strachan, *Wellington's Legacy*, p. 103.

<sup>82</sup> Dominy, 'Imperial Garrison', p. 17.

provided more psychological than material support.<sup>83</sup> The settlers were calmed by the fact that a garrison was located in the vicinity since many had developed a pathological fear of being overrun in a native uprising.<sup>84</sup> In a different role, the garrison was also the town's timekeepers. The firing of a gun located within the garrison allowed the town's populace to set their clocks while landowners used the signalling of the gun to get their hired hands and slaves to start work. The use of this gun was not without a few problems, however, because the daily sounding of the gun varied by anything between five and fifteen minutes. It was subsequently discovered that the garrison chronometer was 'an old seven-and-sixpenny timepiece of venerable aspect', gaining and losing time.<sup>85</sup> The gun was also fired when the English mail had arrived.

Unlike the situation in Windsor or in Canada, soldiers in Natal were also used to construct roads, supplying fatigue parties for the Durban-Pietermaritzburg road. This role was beneficial to the colony in allowing transport routes to be opened up more quickly, stimulating economic growth, while simultaneously allowing regiments to move quickly to other postings, redoubts, forts or ports. As will be seen, the military contribution to the infrastructure was also common in the United States and was also successfully implemented in New Zealand.

In defending a volatile border, the Natal garrison clearly differed from that in Montreal but it shared a similar role in its use to highlight the British presence

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<sup>83</sup> Dominy, 'Imperial Garrison', p. 17.

by adding 'pomp' to civil ceremonies. Perhaps the nearest colonial comparison with Natal is actually India for all its obvious differences.

In India, purely trade rather than the acquisition of land initially motivated European contact. Portugal was an early entrant, seizing Goa in the sixteenth century. From 1530 onwards, however, Portuguese influence began to decline allowing the Dutch and English to gain a foothold into the country. The 'Company of Merchants' was granted a royal charter in 1600, subsequently becoming the East India Company, which assumed the rights and privileges of virtually a sovereign state.<sup>86</sup> The Company, of course, had a separate army until 1858. In 1668 permission had been obtained enabling the Company to form its own military forces, comprised initially of native units and a militia of former British soldiers who had been granted half pay to settle in India. This newly augmented force worked closely with the existing Imperial forces.<sup>87</sup>

Significant studies of the British garrison and its social interaction in India - as opposed to studies of the sepoys - have not yet been undertaken, most historians being concerned with the conflicts in which the British regiments became involved. T A Heathcote, for instance, has written extensively on the social composition of the native army in the earlier period of Company rule.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Dominy, 'Imperial Garrison', p. 176.

<sup>85</sup> Dominy, 'Imperial Garrison', pp. 211-213.

<sup>86</sup> Haythornthwaite, *Colonial Wars Sourcebook*, p. 63.

<sup>87</sup> Haythornthwaite, *Colonial Wars Sourcebook*, p. 63.

<sup>88</sup> See T. A. Heathcote, *The Indian Army* (Newton Abbott: David & Charles, 1974); and., *The Military in British India* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).

Similarly, a much older work, J. Talboys Wheeler's India under British Rule, written in 1886, did likewise.<sup>89</sup>

As already mentioned, however, Peers has examined how drink and vice affected the health of the soldier to a greater or lesser extent than battlefield losses. Peers argues that 'venereal disease and intemperance were endemic within the nineteenth century army in India, attacking soldiers' constitutions, rendering them more susceptible to other diseases and hastening their departure as invalids'.<sup>90</sup> Cantonments were introduced first at Fort William situated inland from the Bay of Bengal, then, as the Company's troops proceeded inland, more cantonments were built to house them.<sup>91</sup> These cantonments, however, allowed for no interaction between British troops and sepoys. On the one hand, the British regiments and the Company's own European regiments were noted for their indiscipline and it was not felt conducive to the discipline of native regiments to expose them to disciplinary indiscretions by white troops. Peers, for example, cites the 30<sup>th</sup> Regiment, in which ten soldiers were tried for armed robbery in 1827.<sup>92</sup> On the other hand, contemporary medical thinking stressed the dangers of the Indian environment on the health of troops billeted there. The medical arguments were based on the sanitary and living conditions of the sepoys in comparison to the British. Again Peers explains that:

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<sup>89</sup> J. Talboys Wheeler, India under British Rule (Delhi: Discovery Publishing House, 1986, reprinted from 1886 edn.).

<sup>90</sup> Peers 'Imperial Vice', p. 25.

<sup>91</sup> Peers, 'Imperial Vice', p. 26.

<sup>92</sup> Peers, 'Imperial Vice', p. 30.



The orderliness of European lines was juxtaposed with the seemingly chaotic and dirty quarters occupied by the sepoys and the camp followers. The sanitary arrangements offended European beliefs and led to the theory that poor hygiene produced deadly miasmas. There was no drainage, clearing or levelling, and little attention to cleanliness and ventilation.<sup>93</sup>

The insular nature of these cantonments did not stop soldiers from obtaining illegal drink (arrack) and native prostitutes. The latter led to a substantial rise in sexually transmitted diseases. The problem of eradicating STD was not unique to India; across the whole of the British Empire, regiments were blighted with soldiers succumbing to different strains of venereal disease at any given time.<sup>94</sup> Peers notes that 'at the beginning of the nineteenth century there was no official programme of disease control'.<sup>95</sup> It was not until 1807, when the Government of Bengal issued a general order for the introduction of 'lock hospitals', that attempts were made to stem the number of soldiers losing days through sickness. By 1830, many of the hospitals had been closed due to cost cutting exercises, but, in any case, the majority hospitals had also failed to address the problem.<sup>96</sup>

The failure of the lock hospitals along with any form of effective legislation, meant that STD was never fully eradicated. Indian authorities began to reintroduce the lock hospitals in 1859, in an attempt to halt the rising numbers

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<sup>93</sup> Peers, 'Imperial Vice', p. 31.

<sup>94</sup> See chapter 5 below.

<sup>95</sup> Peers, 'Imperial Vice', p. 35.

<sup>96</sup> Peers, 'Imperial Vice', p. 36.

of infected soldiers. British officials in India also now had a more comprehensive legal system, which allowed them to try and address the problems of STD.<sup>97</sup>

The other problem, which affected regiments in India, was drink. Again this was not unique to India. British and Indian authorities tried to implement a similar regime to counteract the problem of drink, as they had with prostitution. They attempted to halt the supply of alcohol by stopping the suppliers, rather than curtail the movements of the consumer, in this case the soldier.<sup>98</sup> Soldiers stationed in India, were confined for the majority of the day in their barracks due to the oppressive heat. Doctors and surgeons recommended that two and half hours' outside work a day - early morning and late evening - was sufficient for a soldiers' health.<sup>99</sup> In the interim many soldiers drank to while away the time, as the available water supplies were either tainted or suspect. This higher intake of alcohol led to an increase in crime; many cases brought before courts martial were alcohol induced. Military authorities and regiments attempted to address this problem by opening up savings banks (not uncommon throughout the colonies and at home), reading rooms and sports fields.<sup>100</sup>

Some regiments however, saw a decline in alcohol induced crime and drinking. This was due, in part, to the temperance movement gaining a foothold in a regiment. For instance, the Cameronians' alcohol intake dropped

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<sup>97</sup> Peers, 'Imperial Vice', p. 40.

<sup>98</sup> Peers, 'Imperial Vice', p. 43.

<sup>99</sup> Peers, 'Imperial Vice', p. 41.

<sup>100</sup> Peers, 'Imperial Vice', p. 42.

over a two-year period (1836-1838) from 14,000 gallons to 2,516 gallons due to the popularity of the temperance movement.<sup>101</sup> As with prostitution the military authorities never fully eradicated the problem of drink within regiments. However, they did seek to provide alternative forms of amusement for the soldiers.

India is unique from a military perspective as the East India Company and Imperial regiments were simultaneously stationed in the country. It was also a country in which the Moguls prior to the Company's arrival had already created a transport infrastructure. Accordingly, although the army's engineers would eventually play a major role in modernising of the infrastructure through the construction of railways, canals and the telegraph, British regiments, unlike those serving in South Africa, Canada, New Zealand and America, were only rarely employed in such activities as road-making.<sup>102</sup> The British army in India did not undertake any form of scientific research in the period prior to 1858, but it did provide some assistance in the creation of a viable transport and communication infrastructure within areas such as the Punjab or Southern India.<sup>103</sup> Its primary role, however, was clearly to protect British interests in India.

Where India had been colonised for purely financial gains, Australia was used to solve the problem of prison overcrowding in Britain. In the aftermath of the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783), the British government had lost the ability to transport undesirables there. Therefore, the government had to find

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<sup>101</sup> Peers, 'Imperial Vice', p. 43.

an alternative solution to the rising numbers of convicts being held in hulks on the Thames.<sup>104</sup> Advocates of the transportation system argued that Africa would be suitable continent to re-house these offenders. This idea was subsequently rejected by the Pitt administration. However, Sir Joseph Banks<sup>105</sup> put forward the idea of using Australia and in particular Botany Bay as a suitable locale to which to transport prisoners.<sup>106</sup> The first ships left Portsmouth on 13 May 1787, reaching Botany Bay on 18 January 1788.<sup>107</sup> Some 191 marines under 18 officers accompanied the first Governor of New South Wales, Captain Arthur Phillip. These guarded for the duration of the journey a total of 717 convicts, of whom 188 were women.<sup>108</sup>

Australia was not inherited or acquired through war. The opening up of the Pacific during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was one of the pivotal phases in European expansion, the culmination of which was the scramble for Africa in the late nineteenth century. The Dutch between 1606 and 1644 had mapped much of the western and northern coasts. It was not, however, until the exploration of James Cook in 1770 that the east coast was surveyed and claimed in the name of the King.<sup>109</sup> The convicts and their guards, therefore, made up the majority of the colony's early population. On disembarking, they had to construct a habitable living environment along with pathways into the

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<sup>102</sup> Haythornthwaite, *Colonial Wars Sourcebook*, p. 63.

<sup>103</sup> Wheeler, *India under British Rule*, pp. 172-174.

<sup>104</sup> *The Cambridge History of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933), Vol. VII, Pt. 1., p.

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<sup>105</sup> Banks (1743-1820), English naturalist. Accompanied Cook in expedition around the world. Accumulating a remarkable plant collection. Leading figure in the development of Kew Gardens and President of the Royal Society.

<sup>106</sup> *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, p. 54.

<sup>107</sup> *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, pp. 58 and 63.

<sup>108</sup> *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, p. 66.

<sup>109</sup> *The Last Two Million Years* (London: Readers Digest, 1973), p. 358.

interior.<sup>110</sup> Both soldiers and convicts had to endure similar hardships with provisions perishing during the journey meaning reduced rations. By 1 November 1789, general shortages within the colony forced the implementation of food rationing, the full ration being reduced by one-third. Besides food, clothing was also affected as replacements were non procurable.<sup>111</sup> Peter Stanley states 'most of the marines, prey to starvation, lethargy and despair, departed without regret in December 1791'.<sup>112</sup> The newly formed New South Wales Corps arrived as the permanent colonial garrison. Sir George Yonge, Under-Secretary to the War Office, implemented the formation of this Corps during May 1789.<sup>113</sup> As mentioned earlier, the New South Corps became synonymous with the so-called Rum Rebellion.

Prior to this mutiny, the colony had begun to expand inland with the influx of free settlers working alongside freed convicts, many of whom now owned workable tracts of land. This produce could then be sold in what was essentially a captive market due to the distance between Australia and Britain. There were some imported goods: merchants introduced rum from Bengal, potatoes from New Zealand to supplement the provisions being grown, other supplies being shipped from South Africa, while exported goods such as seal pelts were shipped to China.<sup>114</sup> This period allowed those with acumen to establish businesses, which could supply goods to the government commissariat. Indeed, Stuart Macintyre has demonstrated that landowners

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<sup>110</sup> Cambridge History of the British Empire, p. 66.

<sup>111</sup> Ralph Sutton, Ken Thompson, and Bill Shorer (eds.), Military Forces in New South Wales: Part 1 1788-1904 (Sydney: Army Museum Sydney Foundation, 2000), p. 2.

<sup>112</sup> Stanley, Remote Garrison, p. 14.

<sup>113</sup> Sutton, Thompson, and Shorer, Military Forces, p. 2.

<sup>114</sup> Stuart Macintyre, A Concise History of Australia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 38.

had a ready market in the government commissariat, which brought agricultural produce for the issue of public rations.<sup>115</sup>

Macintyre also suggests that military and civil officials utilised convict labourers to work their farms thereby creating dual roles as public officers and private entrepreneurs.<sup>116</sup> This allowed the creation of a dual economy, 'a public sector, which included the government farm and its convict workers, along with others labouring on construction projects and the provision of services: a private sector of traders and farmers who benefited from the mutual largesse'.<sup>117</sup> Both sectors, however, were still dependent on Britain. The government purchased or seized the land from the Aboriginal owners while simultaneously providing the convict labour, with capital being injected into the colony by Crown expenditure on the commissariat.<sup>118</sup>

From a military perspective, the regiments stationed in Australia were used in a similar role to those posted in South Africa as frontier policemen.<sup>119</sup> Over a 50-year period between 1788 and 1838, regiments were engaged in a series of frontier skirmishes against the indigenous population. Tasmania also saw a period of intense fighting culminating in 1830 in a war of 'extermination' otherwise known as the 'Black Line'.<sup>120</sup> Similarities can be seen between Australia and New Zealand, although the British authorities in New Zealand did not try to exterminate the Maori population. However, regiments stationed

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<sup>115</sup> Macintyre, *Concise History*, p. 38.

<sup>116</sup> Macintyre, *Concise History*, p. 38.

<sup>117</sup> Macintyre, *Concise History*, p. 38.

<sup>118</sup> Macintyre, *Concise History*, p. 38.

<sup>119</sup> Connor, *Australian Frontier Wars*, p. 14.

in both countries fought an agrarian-based civilisation, which tilled and farmed for certain periods of the year, then, if the circumstances permitted, would fight. By contrast to the Maoris, Aboriginals were more nomadic, thereby being somewhat harder to contain. When regiments were not required in the field and were confined to garrison duties, however, they also undertook administration, exploration and survey, developing infrastructure, and protecting British interests from external enemies and internal revolt.<sup>121</sup>

As already suggested, the New South Wales Corps was the first regiment to serve in Australia, the marines being assigned purely as prison escorts. This Corps, according to Connor:

has become notorious in Australian history for the supposedly high numbers of convicts in its ranks, the commercial activities of its officers, and for its role in deposing Governor William Bligh in 1808.<sup>122</sup>

The officers who commanded the New South Wales Corps had grievances or quarrelled with successive governors. The Corps itself drew particular criticism for its trafficking of rum, becoming known as 'The Rum Corps'.<sup>123</sup> Ironically, the Rum Rebellion was not as, the name suggests, about rum. Peter Stanley argues that the tensions between Bligh and Captain John Macarthur resulted in Bligh being overthrown. Like other officers in the Corps, Macarthur had prospered through the sale of wool and spirits and, if Bligh

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<sup>120</sup> Connor, *Australian Frontier Wars*, pp. 93-94. It was to capture and remove all the Aboriginals living in the settled white districts.

<sup>121</sup> Connor, *Australian Frontier Wars*, p. 12.

<sup>122</sup> Connor, *Australian Frontier Wars*, p. 11.

succeeded in withdrawing the Corps as he wished, then a loss of livelihood would occur. Bligh for his part believed that the Corps had become corrupt through service in a convict colony and had to be withdrawn.<sup>124</sup> Consequently, the Corps seized power on 26 January 1808 under the instigation of Macarthur, and ineffectively and illegally ruled the colony for two years.<sup>125</sup> Legitimate British rule was eventually restored and the Corps was returned to Britain being eventually disbanded in 1818. For their part the officers were subjected to courts martial.<sup>126</sup>

Sydney was not the only town to have a military presence. Brisbane also had a garrison after 1860, these soldiers having previously been utilised on the penal station at Moreton Bay during 1824-1842 guarding civilian and military prisoners.<sup>127</sup> Simultaneously in Western Australia, between 1833 and 1840, the 21<sup>st</sup> Regiment, the Royal Scots Fusiliers, was stationed within the environs of Perth. The regiment's primary objective was to act as a frontier constabulary, protecting settlers from Aboriginal attacks.<sup>128</sup> Geoff Blackburn argues that, initially, the local tribes welcomed settlers but, from 1833, this had dissolved into a style of guerrilla warfare.<sup>129</sup> As Lieutenant Bunbury wrote:

a few days after my return I was ordered over here to make war on the natives, who have been very troublesome lately, robbing farms and

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<sup>123</sup> Sutton, Thompson, and Shorer, Military Forces in New South Wales, p. 3.

<sup>124</sup> Stanley, Remote Garrison, p. 22.

<sup>125</sup> Stanley, Remote Garrison, p. 24.

<sup>126</sup> Stanley, Remote Garrison, p. 24.

<sup>127</sup> Jeff Hopkins-Weise and Rod Pratt, 'The Scarlet Legacy: The British Army's Forgotten Presence in Moreton Bay, 1860-69', Sabretache, XLII, June 2001, p. 3.

<sup>128</sup> Blackburn, Conquest and Settlement, p. 18.

<sup>129</sup> Blackburn, Conquest and Settlement, p. 18.



committing other depredations, even attempting to spear white people.<sup>130</sup>

In fact, the colony in Western Australia was small with a ratio of Aborigines to settlers of ten to one. Moreover, Blackburn discounts the idea that the Aborigines were disadvantaged by the superior weapons of the whites and by their own lack of resistance to European diseases.<sup>131</sup> The 21<sup>st</sup> Regiment was issued with the Baker rifle, deemed superior to the standard issue Brown Bess musket.<sup>132</sup> But, this does not answer why the indigenous population was eventually subjugated, and Blackburn suggests that it was the combination of a rapidly rising settler population, the style of warfare adopted by the local Aborigines, and the lack of inter-tribal cooperation, which could not halt the ever increasing number of Europeans arriving in Western Australia.<sup>133</sup>

The 21<sup>st</sup> Regiment's posting to Western Australia was not restricted to one town. In total, some eight outposts were established giving a degree of protection to the settlements.<sup>134</sup> Peter Burroughs writing on the actual strength of Imperial regiments globally suggests:

The Victorian army remained numerically small, its manpower and capabilities constantly overstretched by a multiplicity of commitments, routine and emergency, scattered across the globe. Except possibly in India, where British regulars operated alongside a large native army,

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<sup>130</sup> Blackburn, Conquest and Settlement, p. 19.

<sup>131</sup> Blackburn, Conquest and Settlement, p. 20.

<sup>132</sup> Blackburn, Conquest and Settlement, p. 22.

<sup>133</sup> Blackburn, Conquest and Settlement, p. 24.

garrisons throughout the empire were too sparse and thinly spread to overawe local populations. Often their presence did not more than betoken a power held in reserve, ready to be summoned when necessary.<sup>135</sup>

Certainly, though again not unusually, the available British forces in Australia were for the best part spread across extremely large tracts of land.

Maurice Austin's research has considered what might be termed the next phase of the military presence in Australia between 1840 and 1850. Troops posted to Australia were dispatched as and when required to New Zealand, but from 1847 there was a permanent force within New Zealand.<sup>136</sup> Accordingly, coupled with the decreasing resistance from Aborigines, the Australian garrison had other more mundane duties.

All regiments, for example, were required to assist in the construction of viable coastal defences and, to this end, a whole series of small redoubts were erected.<sup>137</sup> However, by 1826, the British government had begun to argue for retrenchment. Australia, therefore, stalled on any further defensive works. Many fell into disrepair, armaments being returned to stores, though two strategic sites - Dawes' Point and Fort Macquarie - were untouched.<sup>138</sup>

The decision had much to do with the distance from Britain, and an increasing

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<sup>134</sup> Blackburn, Conquest and Settlement, chapter 4.

<sup>135</sup> Peter Burroughs, 'Imperial Defence and the Victorian Army', Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, 15, 1, 1986, p. 58.

<sup>136</sup> See Chapter 2 below on the introduction of troops to New Zealand.

<sup>137</sup> Austin, Army In Australia, p. 151.

<sup>138</sup> Austin, Army in Australia, p. 151.

desire emerging that Australia should pay for its own defence. The British government would, if necessary, assist by providing any monetary outgoings in the form of wages to military personnel, but these would then be repaid by the colonial government.

Austin is much concerned with the statistics of military movements to Australia. Moreover, he does not discuss any form of infrastructure. In many respects, this also applies to the other studies of the garrison in Australia. The only mention, indeed, is in Peter Stanley's work, consisting of a picture showing convicts on road duty.<sup>139</sup> Indeed, it would appear that it was the convicts who constructed the transport infrastructure, the military merely guarding them while they did so. Nevertheless, military officers were responsible for much of the surveying that gradually opened up Australia for settlement.

In some ways, given that it was a frontier society, a useful comparison can also be drawn between New Zealand and the United States in its westwards expansion. In the American case, there was little option other than to build as the frontier army moved, the American military being closely involved in both exploration and also the opening up of newly acquired lands.

In 1820 Colonel Zachary Taylor, a future President of the United States, was quoted as saying that 'the ax, pick, saw and trowel, has become more the

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<sup>139</sup> Stanley, *Remote Garrison*, p. 41.

implement of the American soldier than the cannon, musket or sword'.<sup>140</sup> This in part dispels the popular myth that the army's primary role was to subjugate the indigenous populace. Indeed, Michael Tate has defined the role of the American army as being multipurpose,<sup>141</sup> in that the army not only patrolled but also provided medical assistance as and when required, and undertook scientific exploration of the land. Garrisons were encouraged to grow crops, which could either be sold or used to supplement army rations. Tate and another historian, Robert Frazer, have also shown that the army stimulated economic growth in the Southwest and West. In fact, Frazer has primarily looked at the revenue generated by having the army in close proximity to a town. Indeed, in 1848, troops deployed in New Mexico were reduced to 200 officers and men, comprising of three companies of First Dragoons.<sup>142</sup> Frazer argues that the downside to this was a 'drastic curtailment of purchasing power, both that of the army and army personnel'.<sup>143</sup> Fewer troops meant fewer supplies, the knock on effect being a substantial decrease in expenditure in New Mexico and also of trade in 'imported' goods from Fort Leavenworth.<sup>144</sup> While Frazer's has concentrated on New Mexico, Tate's research has looked at a much wider geographical area and reveals other aspects of the military presence. Doctors assigned to forts, for example, provided a medical service to the outlying settlements and charged a suitable fee. The service was carried out at the discretion of the company commanders for Congress had not officially sanctioned a policy of

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<sup>140</sup> Michael L. Tate, The Frontier Army in the Settlement of the West (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), p. xvi.

<sup>141</sup> Tate, Frontier Army, p. xviii

<sup>142</sup> Robert W. Frazer, Forts and Supplies: The Role of the Army in the Economy of the Southwest 1846-1861 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), p. 33.

<sup>143</sup> Frazer, Forts and Supplies, p. 33.

<sup>144</sup> Frazer, Forts and Supplies, p. 33.

helping civilians.<sup>145</sup> The most common problem encountered were accidental wounds resulting from falls from, or as a consequence of being run over by, wagons, while the most common and potentially life-threatening illness was cholera.<sup>146</sup> Without medical assistance many of the settlers would have died on their overland journey to the West coast.

Tate has also argued that it was the army and not the settlers who were largely responsible for 'opening' up the West. The construction of roads was primarily for military use since the army needed an efficient way to link the outlying forts and posts; these roads also allowed settlers to move inexorably inland from the Eastern coast. The army were also utilised as postal workers and surveyors, pioneering the use of the telegraphic services and boring for water. A comparison can be seen here between New Zealand and America, both garrisons being used to construct roads, and being paid extra to do so. The Americans were given between 15 and 25 cents, while the British regular was given 10s daily, with each British regiment being rotated on a weekly basis. Medical officers attested that this form of manual labour was more beneficial to the health of the soldier, in comparison to the monotony of regimental drilling.<sup>147</sup> As already stated, British regiments had also been used on road construction of the Durban-Pietermaritzburg road.<sup>148</sup> It will be recalled, however, that this was not the case in Australia.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> Tate, *Frontier Army*, p. 175.

<sup>146</sup> Tate, *Frontier Army*, p. 176.

<sup>147</sup> Tate, *Frontier Army*, pp. 52-53; PRO, WO 334/17, Annual Return of the Sick and Wounded of the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment for the period ending 31 March 1848.

<sup>148</sup> Dominy, *Imperial Garrison*, p. 116

<sup>149</sup> Stanley, *Remote Garrison*, p. 41

America also differed from British colonies in a greater reluctance to use the army in aid to the civil power in the event of disturbances. After the American Revolution those who had fought the British opposed the formation of a large standing army and, more importantly, direct military authority over civilians.<sup>150</sup>

If unavoidable, then the United States regular army was to be used in civil disturbances only if the posse comitatus<sup>151</sup> was invoked. This law allowed the army to provide protection or aid when the unrest or actions of others had made the situation untenable. Kansas was an example, where the military were used to maintain peace during confrontations between pro- and anti-slavery factions in the 1850's.<sup>152</sup>

Tate has also shown that the army provided military escorts for prisoners or detained civilian prisoners in post guardhouses.<sup>153</sup> Officers who assisted sheriffs and magistrates were in some cases brought to justice for the infringement of civil liberties, but due to the American judiciary system most cases were dismissed.<sup>154</sup> Further research into the American army's perceived impact on the West by Paul Prucha has also demonstrated that, at least in theory, if the rights of the Indians were infringed, then the army was given full jurisdiction to apprehend and charge squatters and whiskey runners who had trespassed onto Indian held land.<sup>155</sup> In other ways, the American army differed greatly from the British in undertaking more science based

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<sup>150</sup> Tate, *Frontier Army*, p. 80.

<sup>151</sup> Posse comitatus: The power of the country, originally a mediaeval English tradition in which civil magistrates could enlist the direct aid of civilians in carrying out enforcement duties. See Tate, *Frontier Army*, p. 81.

<sup>152</sup> Tate, *Frontier Army*, p. 83.

<sup>153</sup> Tate, *Frontier Army*, p. 87.

<sup>154</sup> Tate, *Frontier Army*, p. 87.

<sup>155</sup> Francis Paul Prucha, *Broadax and Bayonet, the role of the United States Army in the development of the West, 1815-1860* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 1995), p. 56.

projects, which many British officers of the time would have considered unnecessary for all that some British soldiers were scientifically-minded.

Based on the work done on some the colonies and some other garrisons either in Britain or the United States, a number of areas can be readily identified for potential investigation in terms of the British military presence in New Zealand and its relationship to civil society. Concerns regarding health and prostitution, for example, were common to military authorities in both Windsor and India generally, though evidence concerning religious life and educational provision is really only available for Windsor. Military crime was a constant problem in Britain, Montreal, Australia and Pietermaritzburg while the need to provide aid to the civil power was a role to be planned for in both Montreal and Pietermaritzburg. At the same time, as in Montreal and Pietermaritzburg, the military might be expected to play a role in civic ceremonial. To a greater extent perhaps in the United States than in any British colony, the frontier army was instrumental in constructing the infrastructure for civil society as well as stimulating economic growth, but there were at least elements of this role replicated in Australia and Natal. In particular, this study will concentrate on matters of supply, health, discipline and wider social inter-action between soldiers and civilians in New Zealand with particular reference to Auckland. It will be necessary, however, first to establish the reasons for the establishment of the British military presence in New Zealand as a whole, and, second, to outline the form of the presence in Auckland itself.

Before turning to these questions, it would be useful very briefly here to cover the period of early colonisation. New Zealand appeared to have no strategic importance. The country was away from the regular shipping routes and had nothing of any apparent value. Abel Janszoon Tasman undertook the first documented exploration in 1642; Tasman had sailed along the West coast.<sup>156</sup> The indigenous Maori population subsequently attacked Tasman's ships and he departed without any attempt to land.<sup>157</sup> Effectively, it was not until 1769 that New Zealand was 'rediscovered',<sup>158</sup> when James Cook explored the coastline.

It was standard practice in the eighteenth century to claim a country in the name of a monarch. Cook was no different and claimed parts of New Zealand for George III.<sup>159</sup> Claudia Orange argues that Britain neither confirmed nor followed up the claims immediately but the voyage had opened up the possibility of further British intrusion.<sup>160</sup> During the intervening years there was a perceptible rise in the European population, located in key areas along the coastline. The main township was at Kororareka in the Bay of Islands. The first official representative posted to New Zealand, James Busby, arrived as British Resident in 1833. Busby's role, however was that of a figurehead, with no powers to enforce legislation or to punish offenders.<sup>161</sup> The New South Wales Treasury was apathetic in relation to paying and assisting him and Britain adopted a similar stance with regards to Busby's appeals for a

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<sup>156</sup> Claudia Orange, 'The Maori People and the Crown' in Keith Sinclair (ed.), Oxford Illustrated History of New Zealand (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 21; J. B. Condliffe and W. T. G. Airey, A Short History of New Zealand (Christchurch: Whitcombe, 1968), p. 13.

<sup>157</sup> Orange, 'Maori People', p. 21; Condliffe and Airey, Short History, p. 13.

<sup>158</sup> Orange, 'Maori People', p. 21.

<sup>159</sup> Orange, 'Maori People', p. 21.

<sup>160</sup> Orange, 'Maori People', p. 21.



warship.<sup>162</sup> It is widely accepted that it was only French actions in the Pacific that prompted the British to act. It later transpired that the French threat was not serious but the scaremongering had achieved its aims. The British government was then forced to annex New Zealand due to the actions of the New Zealand Company in 1839.<sup>163</sup>

The New Zealand Company had established a settlement at Port Nicholson (Wellington), situated on the southern end of the North Island. In the meantime, the British government had also appointed another representative, William Hobson RN, as the first Lieutenant Governor of New Zealand.<sup>164</sup> During his governorship Hobson drew up a treaty with the Maori population, which granted them many rights as well as crown protection. The treaty was signed on 6 February 1840, becoming known as the Treaty of Waitangi after the village where the meeting was held. As will become apparent, the treaty and the New Zealand Company's activities in relation to it provoked hostilities on the part of the Maori.

Peter Burroughs has suggested that 'the army's exploits and sacrifices in extending the frontiers of empire and upholding Pax Britannica, if not wholly ignored, have been considered little worthy of serious study.'<sup>165</sup> This is hardly true of New Zealand, however, given the attention given to the fighting against the Maoris. Initially, troops were not stationed in New Zealand; they were 'shipped' across as and when necessary since New Zealand was still under

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<sup>161</sup> Orange, 'Maori People', pp. 38-42.

<sup>162</sup> Orange, 'Maori People', pp. 38-42.

<sup>163</sup> Condliffe and Airey, *Short History*, p. 57.

<sup>164</sup> Condliffe and Airey, *Short History*, p. 60.

the protection of New South Wales. However, it was realised during the Northern War of 1846-47 that the British authorities had been caught unprepared. Due in part to the indecisiveness of the Governor of New South Wales, Sir George Gipps, in not taking Governor FitzRoy's despatches seriously enough, troops were not sent until the contentious flagstaff at the heart of the initial dispute had been felled for the fourth time and Kororareka destroyed.<sup>166</sup> It was with the ending of hostilities in the Bay of Islands in 1847 that it was deemed imperative that a semi-permanent force be stationed on the North Island.

The newly established capital of Auckland already had some rudimentary barracks established on the site of a former Pa.<sup>167</sup> British forces had reinforced the defensive perimeter, also constructing living quarters for the troops. However, what was to be called Fort Britomart did not have the capacity to hold large numbers of troops. Nor did it conform to the current thinking on the healthiness of barracks due to its lack of proper accommodation, fresh water and adequate sanitation. Therefore, FitzRoy authorised in 1845 the construction of new larger barracks, which also, if the need arose, could shelter the civilian population. Thus began the more permanent military presence in Auckland.

This chapter has shown that the British army was not just used to subjugate the indigenous population in the colonies. Indeed, regiments performed a variety of roles in interacting with the settler population. In particular, in some

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<sup>165</sup> Burroughs, 'Imperial Defence', p. 55.

cases, regiments were utilised in certain colonies to assist in creating the transport infrastructure. This was a role also undertaken by the American army so that it could move quickly and efficiently into the interior. In many respects, both the British and American armies became multi-purpose, undertaking tasks in the colonies or on the frontier that were usually assigned to civilians in Britain or on the eastern seaboard of the United States. If military personnel had not undertaken these roles then, in reality, it would have been all but impossible for unskilled civilians to have surveyed, drilled for water, or built roads. The notable exceptions to this were India, which had at least a rudimentary communications infrastructure prior to the British arrival, and Canada, which had enjoyed a degree of development under its former French masters, albeit mostly on the eastern seaboard. As previously indicated, however, in addition to examining the army's contribution to the development of Auckland, this study will also concentrate upon such other aspects of the military presence as health, discipline and wider social interaction between soldiers and civilians.

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<sup>166</sup> Buick, Rebellion Of Hone Heke, p. 97.

<sup>167</sup> A Pa is essentially a village encompassed by a perimeter fence and was used to house an entire tribe.

The aim of this chapter is to describe the gradual introduction of the Imperial garrison into New Zealand. A largely chronological approach is somewhat unavoidable. The fluctuations of troop strength in the colony, together with the sequence of arrivals and departures, have been largely determined by reference to secondary sources. The latter, however, have been supplemented and, in some cases, corrected by consultation of relevant primary material.

What must be taken into consideration with respect to New Zealand is, first, its location: it was the most remote piece of British territory. Second, there is the question of the availability of troops in the Southern Hemisphere either to garrison the islands, or to be sent there to quell any possible uprising from the indigenous population. If troops were required in the event of a hostile uprising they had to be requested from continental Australia, Tasmania or Norfolk Island.<sup>1</sup> Whether or not these troops were sent to New Zealand was at the discretion of the Governor of New South Wales since, as mentioned previously, New Zealand was deemed part of New South Wales during this period. This, in theory, eliminated the need for a permanent garrison to be posted in New Zealand. However, the actions of Hone Heke, chief of the Ngapuhi tribe, in challenging British rule eventually necessitated a permanent garrison being stationed in the colony, including Auckland, in 1845. The garrison was to remain until the final withdrawal of imperial troops from New Zealand in 1870.

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<sup>1</sup> Stanley, Remote Garrison, p. 10.

Troop strength in the Southern Hemisphere, and New Zealand in particular, varied greatly. Austin's work shows that the number of troops stationed in New Zealand from 1840 to 1850 fluctuated wildly. In 1840, of course, no Imperial troops were stationed in New Zealand. By 1848, however, some 1,875 troops were posted in the field or in barracks; this figure then dropped back down to 1,757 by 1850.<sup>2</sup> The number of troops rose again around 1860 when close to 7,000 troops were posted in the North Island, of which 4,000 were in the Auckland province alone.<sup>3</sup> Prior to the first Imperial regiments entering New Zealand, the British representative, James Busby, had been instructed to prevent, as best he could, European violence towards Maori, and to protect well-disposed settlers and traders.<sup>4</sup> Yet, Busby had neither police nor troops to enforce this, his only recourse being to form groups of local residents to pursue offenders.

In 1839 William Hobson, the eventual Lieutenant Governor of New Zealand, had expressed concern about the lack of troops to uphold or enforce his authority against the warlike nature of the Maori population. Interestingly, The New Zealand Journal published a letter in 1840 suggesting the raising of a Maori military unit although primarily against the possibility of any French incursion. Much as in India or South Africa, British officers would command such a native army.<sup>5</sup> Initially, Sir George Gipps's efforts to provide Hobson with a sufficient military force amounted to just a sergeant and four troopers

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<sup>2</sup> Austin, Army in Australia, p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> Belich, New Zealand Wars, p. 125.

<sup>4</sup> PRO, CO 209/1, Bourke to Busby, 13 April 1833.

<sup>5</sup> PRO, CO 213/1, New Zealand Journal, 2 May 1840, pp. 80-81.

of the mounted police, who had been sent primarily as bodyguards to Hobson rather than to keep the peace in New Zealand.<sup>6</sup> Hobson had been entrusted with gaining the signatures of the principal chiefs to swear allegiance to Queen Victoria. R. D. Crosby raises the valid point that it was unrealistic to suggest that the mere signing of a treaty promising protection from a Queen who had no substantial body of troops, could in itself bring about peace.<sup>7</sup> Lord John Russell had authorised Gipps in December 1839 to dispatch 100 men once Hobson had formally become Lieutenant-Governor of New Zealand. Austin notes that the original mounted policemen did not return to Sydney until May 1842. These were further supplemented by 84 men of the 80<sup>th</sup> Regiment under the command of Major Bunbury.<sup>8</sup>

The 80<sup>th</sup> was one of twelve regiments posted to Australia between 1840 and 1850. Eventually, according to Austin, twelve regiments were also to be posted to New Zealand between 1847 and 1863. By contrast, A J Harrop only lists eleven, but if their lists are compared then a more precise figure of troop strength and movement can be ascertained. Austin, for example, has relied largely on the WO 17 series held in the Public Record Office, which details the regiments stationed in the Southern Hemisphere between 1840 and 1850. It has to be borne in mind, however, that, other than regiments of foot, men from the Commissariat, Medical Corps, Royal Engineers and Royal Artillery also served both in Australia and New Zealand. Peter Stanley has suggested that a posting to the Southern Hemisphere was actually considered a black

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<sup>6</sup> Buick, Rebellion of Hone Heke, p. 14.

<sup>7</sup> R. D. Crosby, Musket Wars (Auckland: Reed, 1999), p. 347. Crosby's aim is to cover the inter-tribal wars, 1806-45.

<sup>8</sup> Austin, Army in Australia, p. 95.

mark against a regiment since it was anticipated that no battle honours were likely be added to the Regimental Colours.<sup>9</sup> Sifting through the evidence of all the troop ships destined for Australia and Van Diemen's Land, it can be calculated that only ten sailed directly to New Zealand during the years 1840-1850.<sup>10</sup>

Initially, the small British force in New Zealand was ill prepared for a direct confrontation with the Maori population. When the first signs of Maori discontent against British rule appeared in 1844, the then Governor, Robert FitzRoy RN, had no option but to seek military assistance from New South Wales. Troops were required to stem any possible attack on Auckland, which had quickly become one of the main settlements, or its environs, by Hone Heke, whose tribal land was in the Bay of Islands. Heke had for many years made a lucrative living by charging a fee on ships entering the Bay and landing at the small town of Kororareka. A missionary, Samuel Marsden, commented that 'every scene of riot and drunkenness and prostitution are carried on daily'.<sup>11</sup> Kororareka in the eyes of the missionaries was Sodom and Gomorrah of the Pacific Ocean.<sup>12</sup> This had all changed with the onset of British rule, the Ordinance Bill of 1841, and with the imposition of customs tariffs, which had severely affected Heke's livelihood, as the amount of shipping visiting the bay had been reduced. These ships now visited ports that were free from British influence and taxes.<sup>13</sup> Heke had become increasingly frustrated by the actions of the British and Colonial governments,

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<sup>9</sup> Stanley, Remote Garrison, p. 7.

<sup>10</sup> Austin, Army in Australia, Appendix II.

<sup>11</sup> Chris Pugsley, 'Walking Heke's War', New Zealand Defence Quarterly, Winter 1993, p. 12.

and, in an act of defiance, he felled the Flagstaff which he considered to be an affront to his mana (prestige) and the symbol of British rule in the area. His actions were brought to the attention of the Governor who implemented a plan to curb Heke and restore the status quo in the Bay of Islands.<sup>14</sup>

The troops available to put down this insurrection amounted to a company of 90 men of the 80<sup>th</sup> based in Auckland: there were no troops at all at the Bay. FitzRoy considered these to be insufficient and sent an urgent appeal to Sydney for troop reinforcements. The barque Sydney was sent to the Bay of Islands with 160 men and officers of the 99<sup>th</sup> Regiment. These forces were soon joined by H.M.S. Hazard and the government brig Victoria which had a detachment of the 96<sup>th</sup> under the command of Lieut. Colonel Hulme, as well as the Governor himself.<sup>15</sup> According to James Cowan, FitzRoy and Hulme were ready to start hostilities against Heke, but a meeting was held at Waimate between FitzRoy and the other chiefs of the Ngapuhi tribe. The tribes requested that the troops recently deployed be reassigned to their previous stations, and the customs duties, which had led to the felling of the flagstaff, be removed. These chiefs, in return, agreed to keep Heke in check and to protect the Europeans in the local environs. FitzRoy, for his part, agreed to the troop withdrawal and making the bay a free port.<sup>16</sup> The troops were ordered to stand down and return to their respective bases. There was a period of uneasy peace in the Bay of Islands, which held for a few months.

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<sup>12</sup> Pugsley, 'Walking Heke's War', p. 12. The bay was known as 'Hell Side' as the Maori women used to go out to the ships.

<sup>13</sup> Cowan, New Zealand Wars, I, p. 16.

<sup>14</sup> Cowan, New Zealand Wars, I, p. 16.

<sup>15</sup> Cowan, New Zealand Wars, I, p. 18.

<sup>16</sup> Cowan, New Zealand Wars, I, p. 19.



By October, however, Heke had slowly increased the attacks on Europeans who had settled outside Kororareka. This continued for the rest of the year and into January 1845, when Heke felled the flagstaff for a second time. FitzRoy was distressed that the chiefs had been unable to halt Heke's actions. In a letter to Hulme, FitzRoy outlined his course of action:

There is no longer any doubt as to the necessity of employing the military in active operations at the Bay of Islands. I have exhausted every means of averting such a course, but in vain. There is a limit beyond which forbearance and peaceful conduct cannot be carried out without becoming injurious to the permanent welfare of the community, and that limit I have fully arrived.<sup>17</sup>

In a show of British military strength FitzRoy ordered Hulme to send a detachment of 30 men of the 96<sup>th</sup> Regiment to Kororareka. Simultaneously, he appealed to Sir George Gipps for naval and military assistance and recalled Acting Commander Robertson and H.M.S. Hazard from Wellington in readiness for the forthcoming military operations in the Bay of Islands. January 1845 saw the first signs of the British military response to Heke's actions. The Victoria sailed into Kororareka with the detachment of the 96<sup>th</sup> and the Colonial Secretary, Dr. Sinclair. At Sinclair's insistence, and against the protest of the local populace, a temporary pole was erected on the site of the previous one. Sinclair had no real concept of the fighting capabilities of the Maoris. Indeed, he was quoted as saying 'that with thirty soldiers all the

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<sup>17</sup> Buick, Hone Heke's Rebellion, p. 48.

powers of Maoridom could be defied'. Heke's response on seeing the newly erected pole was to fell it again the following Monday.<sup>18</sup>

Heke's actions were the prelude to the start of a prolonged military build-up in Kororareka. In particular, Maiki Hill, the site where the flagstaff stood, was now the scene of intense activity with sailors and soldiers working on a series of defensive measures to ensure that any future flagstaffs remained standing. They created a defensive ring around the flagstaff, and its lower portion was encased in iron to repel any attempts to fell it. A blockhouse was also constructed lower down the hill to house 20 soldiers; a redoubt was erected that housed three old cannon, and in the town itself a stockade was built to provide shelter for the civilian populace.<sup>19</sup> FitzRoy has been quoted as saying it was 'a mere stick', but this stick along with the Union Jack was the sign of British intent to stay in New Zealand.<sup>20</sup> With these measures now completed the British forces awaited the response from Heke. In accordance with Maori chivalry no attempt was made to keep the timing of the impending attack from the British and the local population. Acting Commander Robertson, the most senior officer in Kororareka, supplemented the garrison, which usually consisted of two officers, and 52 NCOs and soldiers of the 96<sup>th</sup> along with the local militia of 110 armed men, with 45 sailors and marines, Robertson also landed a naval gun to cover the town from the south-west in case of a Maori attack.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Buick, Hone Heke's Rebellion, p . 49.

<sup>19</sup> Gibson, Maori Wars, p. 30.

<sup>20</sup> Belich, New Zealand Wars, p. 33.

<sup>21</sup> Gibson, Maori Wars, p. 31.

The regular forces may have under-estimated the fighting capabilities of the Ngapuhi tribe and the tactical awareness they showed in the ensuing battle. The British were hoping to intimidate the Maori with superior firepower and force Heke to submit to total British rule. This, however, was not the outcome. Regulars, marines and militia along with local police, acted and fought as they saw fit, instead of working together cohesively.<sup>22</sup> These basic errors allowed Kororareka to be razed to the ground and Heke to claim victory. In doing so he generated the need for the provision of a permanent Imperial force in New Zealand. The previous January, FitzRoy had written to Gipps making a further appeal for military aid, stating that 'a strong permanent reinforcement of the military in this colony had now become absolutely indispensable to prevent plunder and massacre.'<sup>23</sup> Gipps had misunderstood the urgency of Fitzroy's letter and delayed sending troop reinforcements for a month.

The fall of Kororareka was achieved by a three-pronged attack orchestrated by Heke, who had now been joined by Kawiti, a chief whose mana was equal to that of Heke, as well as the Kapotai Hapu sub-tribe of the Ngapuhi. The first attack led by Kawiti outflanked the regulars under Robertson's command, who were forced to abandon the gun they had brought ashore with severe losses: Robertson was severely wounded and four seamen and a sergeant of the marines were also killed. The abandoned gun was spiked. Further up the hill blockhouses guarding the flagstaff came under attack in a crossfire effectively pinning down the regulars who were housed in them. While these

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<sup>22</sup> Cowan, New Zealand Wars, I, p. 30.

<sup>23</sup> Buick, Hone Heke's Rebellion, p. 97.

troops were being detained, Heke felled the flagstaff for the last time.<sup>24</sup> The British for their part retreated to the ships anchored in the Bay to consider their next move. Heke had not intended to destroy Kororareka: his quarrel was not with the civilians, but with the British government. The surviving forces shelled the town from the ships anchored in the bay and, in doing so, paved the way for widespread looting by both sides. The British forces sailed out of Kororareka the following day.<sup>25</sup>

When news of the losses and the destruction of Kororareka reached Auckland, many of the local population, fearing that Heke and the entire Ngapuhi tribe would descend and destroy them, sold, or simply left, their homes and shops and fled to Australia. One example was an Auckland landlord who sold three of his establishments for the grand sum of £15.<sup>26</sup> FitzRoy again sent dispatches to Gipps asking for troop reinforcements, James Belich cites 215 men and officers of the 58<sup>th</sup> being dispatched. This figure is not correct as Belich only used one piece of the evidence (WO 1/433). In any case, the Auckland Militia was formed and drilled by instructors from the regulars. The defensive measures, which had been partly implemented by Major Bunbury and the 80<sup>th</sup> Regiment, now consisted of fortifying Britomart Point by constructing stone barracks on the site of a former Pa (fortified village). Belich's figure of 215 men is actually only for the last detachment of troops landed in Auckland. On 22 March some 162 officers and men of the 58<sup>th</sup> had arrived from Sydney, bolstered two days later by a further 55 officers and men from the same regiment. Finally, in April the

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<sup>24</sup> Belich, New Zealand Wars, p. 37; Cowan, New Zealand Was, I, p. 31.

<sup>25</sup> Belich, New Zealand Wars, p. 37.

remainder of the 58<sup>th</sup> arrived, comprising 215 officers and men under the command of Major Cyprian Bridge. The total figure for troops deployed in Auckland, not allowing for the 96<sup>th</sup> Regiment, therefore, is 432 officers and men: this is double Belich's figure. By adding the 96<sup>th</sup> and the local volunteer force of 50 men the total is brought to 470.<sup>27</sup>

This expeditionary force was despatched to the Bay of Islands to secure the surrender of Heke. The threat of Auckland being attacked had passed and so only a small force was left there as a precautionary measure. Moreover, the chief of the Waikato tribe, Te Wherowhero, had promised to protect the town from any Ngapuhi attack.<sup>28</sup> On landing at Kororareka, the expeditionary force under the command of Hulme first hoisted the flag then attacked and captured a Pa and its chief Pomare, who was believed to be collaborating with Heke. Hulme then decided to focus his attention on the capture of Heke.<sup>29</sup> The regular and volunteer forces were also aided by tribes, who had declared their loyalty to the British crown. Of these, the most influential was the chief of the Ngati-Hao tribe, Tamati Waka Nene, who was to join Hulme and later Colonel Despard in fighting Heke.<sup>30</sup>

As the force began to move inland the first signs of how it was to be supplied become apparent. The Commissariat Department had not allowed for the difficulty of the terrain, which made the available land transport not viable for the journey into the interior. This is highlighted by Buick, who shows that

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<sup>26</sup> Belich, *New Zealand Wars*, p.37.

<sup>27</sup> Cowan, *New Zealand Wars*, I, p. 35.

<sup>28</sup> Cowan, *New Zealand Wars*, I, p. 35.

<sup>29</sup> Belich, *New Zealand Wars*, p. 41.

<sup>30</sup> Cowan, *New Zealand Wars*, I, p. 35.

when Hulme's attempts to take Puketutu Pa failed he had marched back to camp only to find that the commissariat had failed to procure food for the troops. This remained the situation for 30 hours until a bullock was caught and slaughtered.<sup>31</sup> From a military perspective, Hulme's expedition had been a failure, although the majority of the blame was directed at FitzRoy for the ill-considered policy, which had hurried an imperfectly equipped force into the wilds against an enemy of unknown strength.<sup>32</sup>

In June 1845 more troops reinforcements arrived in Auckland from Sydney, consisting of 200 officers and men of the 99<sup>th</sup> under the command of Lieut. Colonel Henry Despard, an officer of considerable Indian experience. He had been empowered by Sir Maurice O'Connell<sup>33</sup> to assume command of all the troops in New Zealand, with the temporary rank of Colonel on the Staff. According to Gibson, Despard was of a fiery and impatient disposition, which was not alleviated by a generous share of bovine stupidity.<sup>34</sup> Despard was ordered to mount another expedition and defeat Heke. The troops assembled for this purpose amounted to 880 officers and men, who were camped at Kerikeri mission station. The composition of this force was as follows:

Colonel Despard, 99<sup>th</sup> Regiment, commanding

58<sup>th</sup> Regiment, Major Bridge, 270 men

99<sup>th</sup> Regiment, Major MacPherson, 180 men

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<sup>31</sup> Buick, Hone Heke's Rebellion, p. 120.

<sup>32</sup> Cowan, New Zealand Wars, I, p. 49.

<sup>33</sup> There were two Maurice O'Connell's, father and son. The father commanded the British troops in NSW from 1838. He was in command of the 73<sup>rd</sup> Regiment, and was appointed Lieut. Governor the following year. He occupied the same position again in 1841, was nominated to the NSW Legislative Council in 1843, and remained in charge of the military until 1847. He died in 1848.

<sup>34</sup> Buick, Hone Heke's Rebellion, p. 136; Gibson, Maori Wars, p. 45.

96<sup>th</sup> Regiment, Lieut. Colonel Hulme, 70 men

Marines, H.M.S. Hazard, Acting Commander Johnson and

Lieutenant Phillpotts, 30 men

Auckland Volunteers, Lieutenant Figg, 80 men

Native allies, Tamati Waka Nene 250

Total: 880 <sup>35</sup>

They fared, however, no better than Hulme's previous attempts to capture Heke. The storming of the Ohaeawai Pa ended with another defeat for the British forces. The New Zealand Government Gazette for 7 July 1845 listed the casualties for the regular forces, although there was no mention of native losses. In all, the return and wounded of the force under command of Colonel Despard, 99<sup>th</sup> Regiment, from 30 June to 1 July 1845 was recorded as follows:

Her Majesty's Ship Hazard. Lieutenant Phillpotts killed, 1 seaman killed, 2 seamen wounded, 1 private of the Royal Marines killed.

Her Majesty's 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment. Captain Grant killed, 3 sergeants and 11 rank and file killed, 2 sergeants and 33 rank and file wounded, 2 privates since dead.

Her Majesty's 96<sup>th</sup> Regiment. 3 rank and file killed, 3 rank and file wounded.

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<sup>35</sup> Buick, Hone Heke's Rebellion, p. 152.

Her Majesty's 99<sup>th</sup> Regiment. 1 sergeant and 14 rank and file killed, Bt Major MacPherson severely wounded, Lieutenant Beatty ditto, Lieutenant Johnston slightly wounded, Ensign O' Reilly severely wounded, 1 sergeant and 21 rank and file wounded, 2 privates since dead.

Volunteers (Pioneers) 4 rank and file wounded.

Mr Henry Clarke, interpreter to the force, severely wounded.<sup>36</sup>

One third of the men fell in the attack on Ohaeawai Pa and, during the eight days over which the operation continued, one quarter of the British soldiers under Despard's command were either killed or wounded; a figure of 490 casualties was enclosed in the report.<sup>37</sup> This was nearly half of the combined regular, volunteers and native troops sent inland to secure Heke's capture.

The aftermath of the Ohaeawai campaign saw the 96<sup>th</sup> under Hulme withdrawn from any further action in The Bay of Islands. Instead, the 96<sup>th</sup> took on garrison duties, replacing the recently vacated by a detachment of the 58<sup>th</sup> under Captain Matson, who had sailed to the Bay of Islands to replace the 96<sup>th</sup>. Fitzroy's troubled governance now faced a new problem in the south of the North Island, which would stretch the resources of the regular forces now stationed in New Zealand even further. The 96<sup>th</sup> were now transferred to Wellington where they joined another 400 troops who had been readied for action due to the increasing tension over land rights between the local tribes

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<sup>36</sup> PRO, WO1/433, Papers relating to operations against the natives in New Zealand.

<sup>37</sup> PRO, WO1/433.



and the New Zealand Company.<sup>38</sup> This posting for the 96<sup>th</sup> began on 24 February 1846. By September 1845 FitzRoy had received his notice of dismissal; his replacement was Captain George Grey, who had been the Governor of South Australia from 1839 to 1845.<sup>39</sup>

The New Zealander from 4 October 1845 to 31 January 1846 reported regimental movements across three countries Australia, Van Diemen's Land and New Zealand. According to a report it had culled from one Sydney newspaper:

great preparations are being made for sending troops down to New Zealand. About 300 men and officers of the 58<sup>th</sup> will shortly be ready to embark, and we hear that a detachment of grenadiers from the 99<sup>th</sup>. Several 24 pounders, bullocks, horses, and a large store of ammunition are also to be sent.

During November and December further reports stated that:

we perceive by the Hobart Town papers, that the commissariat in Van Diemen's land, are entering into contracts for the conveyance of 8 officers and 212 NCO's and privates from Norfolk Island, of the 58<sup>th</sup> regiment to New Zealand and likewise, for the removal hence of the detachment of the 99<sup>th</sup> for Sydney and of the 96<sup>th</sup> to Launceston.

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<sup>38</sup> Buick, Hone Heke's Rebellion, p. 190.

<sup>39</sup> Edmund Bohan, To Be a Hero: A Biography of George Grey (New Zealand: Harper Collins, 1998), p. 46.

Army orders have been transmitted to New South Wales, to detach six companies, belonging to the 58<sup>th</sup>, 96<sup>th</sup>, and 99<sup>th</sup> to New Zealand six companies of the 11<sup>th</sup> regiment on their passage to New South Wales are also ordered to be despatched to New Zealand.

By January 1846, these forces had been assembled and had landed in Auckland:

the military force already here received additional reinforcements by the arrival of the barque Lloyds from Sydney on Sunday last with 100 rank and file 99<sup>th</sup> regiment, under the command of Major Last, Captain Armstrong, Lieut. De Winton.<sup>40</sup>

During Grey's term of office, there was further increase in the troops stationed in New Zealand. Grey, of course, had inherited the conflict that was raging through the Bay of Islands, and sought a speedy resolution to the matter. All available forces in Auckland were now sent north, these in manpower amounting to 1,100 men, excluding the friendly Maori.

Colonel Despard was again placed in overall military command of this racially diversified military force, which comprised:

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<sup>40</sup> Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington (hereafter ATL), New Zealander for 4 October, 15 November, and 13 December 1845, and 31 January 1846.

Seamen of H.M.S. Castor, North Star, Racehorse and H.E.I.C. Elphinstone, under Captain Graham and Commander Hay, R.N.

Officers 33, men 280

Lieutenant Wilmot R.A., and Captain Marlow, R.E., 2

Royal Marines (Captain Langford) 4 officers and 80 men

58<sup>th</sup> Regiment (Lieutenant. Colonel Wynward) 20 Officers and 543 men.

99<sup>th</sup> Regiment (Captain Reed) 7 Officers and 150 men

H.E.I.C. Artillery (Lieutenant Leeds) 1 Officer and 15 men

Volunteers from Auckland (Captain Atkyns) 1 Officer and 42 men

Total 68 Officers and 1,100 men plus a further 450 natives.<sup>41</sup>

Most of the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment, which would be one of the longest serving regiments in New Zealand, arrived from Sydney.<sup>42</sup> These men under Colonel Despard's command fought the campaign, which historians would later term the Northern War. The British victory at Ruapekapeka was achieved by invading the Pa, after the Maoris had vacated it. According to both Cowan and Belich, Hone Heke and Kawiti had left Ruapekapeka in order to ambush the troops as they took the Pa. By contrast, Gibson argues that it was during the Sunday Service that the Pa was taken while most of its inhabitants were praying outside. Either way, the capture of this stronghold effectively ended the war in the North.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Cowan, New Zealand Wars, I, p. 75.

<sup>42</sup> Una Platts, Auckland: The Lively Capital (Auckland: Avon Fine Prints, 1971), p. 205.

<sup>43</sup> Cowan, New Zealand Wars, I, p. 84; Belich, New Zealand Wars, p. 62; Gibson, Maori Wars, p. 62.

The culmination of the war in the North did not mean an end to hostilities in New Zealand. During Grey's first term in office there would be sporadic outbreaks of fighting between regular and Maori forces and Grey perceived that the available troop strength would need to be increased. The fledgling New Zealand government had, by the end of 1845, the support of around 1,000 regular troops, with the exception of two companies, which had been garrisoned in Auckland, and some men of the 58<sup>th</sup>, who had been stationed in the Bay of Islands. The remainder of these forces were now relocated to Wellington where they would be put to use restoring the peace in its environs.<sup>44</sup>

According to R. I. M. Burnett, troop strength in Wellington was initially low. During FitzRoy's term of office plans were made for the construction of a fort to hold 30 men, as a way of placating the settlers who were being harassed by the Ngatitōa tribe in the Hutt valley outside of Wellington.<sup>45</sup> By April 1845, 100 men of the 58<sup>th</sup> had arrived from Auckland and Sydney. Troop figures rose again when a further 175 officers and men re-joined the 58<sup>th</sup>, supplemented by 100 men of the 99<sup>th</sup>. It was not until February 1846 that there was a more sizeable increase in troop strength, when 600 men of the 96<sup>th</sup> under the command of Hulme were posted to Wellington. This was followed by a detachment of the 99<sup>th</sup> Regiment, which had sailed directly from Sydney to Wellington and therefore landed at the same time as the 96<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Cowan, *New Zealand Wars*, I, p. 91.

<sup>45</sup> R. I. M. Burnett, *The Paremata Barracks* (Wellington: Government printer, 1963), p. 12.

disembarked. The 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment was also posted to the south of the island. The Wellington regiments therefore consisted of the following:

96<sup>th</sup> Regiment. One Captain, four subalterns and 73 non-commissioned officers and privates.

99<sup>th</sup> Regiment. One field officer, two captains, six subalterns and 250 non-commissioned officers and men.

58<sup>th</sup> Regiment. One field officer, two captains four subalterns and 202 and two non-commissioned officers and men.

As well as the above regiments, a detachment of the Royal Artillery was also stationed in the town. This brought the total troop strength in Wellington to some 800 men. <sup>46</sup> This force was initially stationed at the Mount Cook and Thorndon barracks, but was subsequently sub-divided to man forts, blockhouses and barracks in the Hutt valley. They were aided by militia and volunteer forces. Fort Richmond, for example, housed both regular and militia forces. It was situated near a river for ease of transport and communications, and was occupied on 20 April 1845 by the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment. <sup>47</sup>

By 1846 Maoris located in the Hutt valley had begun to attack outlying homesteads in order to claim back their tribal land. Governor Grey perceived that, like the Military and civilians, Maoris used the navigable rivers as a means of transport. Coupled with the largely impenetrable bush, this led him to decide to construct a new barrack located at Porirua. It was near the

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<sup>46</sup> Burnett, Paremata, p. 12; Cowan, New Zealand Wars, I, p. 100.

<sup>47</sup> Burnett, Paremata, p. 12.

Paremata ferry for transport but, strategically, it was opposite the Pa of a chief who would become the main antagonist, Te Rangihaeata.<sup>48</sup>

Some 220 men of the 58<sup>th</sup>, 96<sup>th</sup>, and 99<sup>th</sup> were ordered to Porirua, firstly as a visible sign of deterrence, but also to aid in the construction of a stone barracks. The early camp was fairly rudimentary with fresh water for cooking and bathing. Equipment supplied to the troops for protection against the weather proved to be woefully ineffective. It was found that the tents supplied to the men were either rotten or leaked in the first deluge of the winter rains.<sup>49</sup>

W. Tyrone Power's Sketches in New Zealand gives an indication of life in this tented camp:

The camp is a miserable place in the midst of sand hills on the sea shore, and completely exposed to the violent gales which are very frequent at this season. There is slight stockade around the small reed huts in which officers and men live, without chairs and tables, and with only a couple of blankets for a bed: this in a dry climate might be well enough, but here, where it has poured incessantly for six weeks, is no joke.<sup>50</sup>

The barracks were finally completed by 7 August 1847.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Burnett, Paremata, p. 14; Cowan, New Zealand Wars, I, p. 103.

<sup>49</sup> Burnett, Paremata, p. 15.

<sup>50</sup> W. Tyrone Power, Sketches in New Zealand (Christchurch: Capper Press, 1974), pp. 11-12. Power was Deputy Assistant Commissary General.

<sup>51</sup> Burnett, Paremata, p. 18.

The first military actions against the Maoris living in the area occurred in May 1846, with an incident at Boulcott's farm. The British superintendent, left in charge while Grey was in Auckland, failed to heed the warning of an impending attack, which had been sent to him from Te Rauparaha, chief of the NgatiToa tribe.<sup>52</sup> Troops and militia stationed in the Hutt valley had been down-sized due to the economic constraints involved in the supply of provisions and payment for them. A feint attack also led the officers in Wellington to believe that the town would shortly be overrun with Maori. All available troops were therefore recalled, leaving a token force in the Hutt valley. The Maoris' surprise attack on 16 May was discovered when the sentry spotted movement and opened fire. The incident is remembered because of the death of the bugler, Allen, who was tomahawked to death while raising the alarm. The garrison comprised just 44 men, who successfully held off a raiding party of 200 Maoris.<sup>53</sup>

Due to the increasing severity of attacks on the civilian populace, Grey announced on 18 June 1846 that martial law would be enforced. This enabled Grey to mobilise the regular forces and militia to launch a counter attack on Te Rangihaeata. This enlarged expeditionary force managed to secure one of the main Pas, which had been used as a defensive position by the former Chief. Subsequently, this Pa at Paua-taha-nui was to become an imperial military post for a number of years. The first of those to occupy the military post was a company of 65<sup>th</sup>, which consisted of Captain O'Connell; Captain

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<sup>52</sup> Crosby, Musket Wars, p. 53.

<sup>53</sup> Cowan, New Zealand Wars, I, p. 106.

Newenham; Lieutenant McCoy Barker (58<sup>th</sup>); eight sergeants; seven corporals; and 162 rank and file drawn from the 58<sup>th</sup> and 65<sup>th</sup>.<sup>54</sup>

The capture of this Pa forced Te Rangihaeata further inland. Troop availability for the resulting further expedition into the hinterland amounted to 250 regulars of the 58<sup>th</sup>, 65<sup>th</sup> and 99<sup>th</sup>. These regiments were accompanied by the Hutt Militia and the Wellington armed police, as well as a band of friendly Maoris. Overall command of this operation was vested in Major Last with Major Arney as second in command.<sup>55</sup> On 6 August Major Last gave orders that the white force was to be divided, the first group comprising seven officers and 127 rank and file. The second consisted of five officers, and 117 rank and file under the command of Captain Armstrong of the 99<sup>th</sup>. A Maori contingent under the control of white officers led the way.<sup>56</sup> This second force was also accompanied by a detachment of Pioneers under the command of Lieutenant Elliot of the 99<sup>th</sup>.

They managed to halt Te Rangihaeata and his tribe at Horokiri, which has become known as Battle Hill. The Pa was situated near the top on a small escarpment making it difficult for the troops to attack. The casualties on both sides were fairly light. Power puts the figure at four as the result of an ambush. The records held in the PRO show that the death toll was slightly higher. Of the three Regiments used in the attack on Te Rangihaeata, the greater casualties were taken by the 99<sup>th</sup>, which lost one officer and five privates, while the 58<sup>th</sup> and 65<sup>th</sup> lost one man each, bringing the total to

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<sup>54</sup> Cowan, New Zealand Wars, I, p. 125.

<sup>55</sup> Cowan, New Zealand Wars, I, p. 126.



eight.<sup>57</sup> Nonetheless, this small initial engagement forced the regulars to retreat to safer ground as Major Last had learnt from the earlier campaigns that a frontal charge would waste lives unnecessarily. On 10 August, the troops were marched back to Paua-taha-nui and the besieged Pa was finally abandoned by the Maoris on the 13 August.<sup>58</sup> Te Rangihaeata was not captured but Grey achieved his aims of ceasing the fighting between Maori and Imperial forces.

With the operations against Te Rangihaeata now over, Governor Grey hoped that there would be a period of peace in the North Island. This proved not to be the case. On the west coast, situated between Wellington and New Plymouth, was the small settlement of Wanganui. Its total population amounted to 200 settlers, who lived and farmed land purchased by the New Zealand Company. It was the dispute over this land, which now necessitated the intervention of a small detachment of regular forces to intercede between the settlers and Maoris.<sup>59</sup>

The total number of troops despatched to Wanganui amounted to 189, consisting of 180 men of the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment under Captain Laye and Lieutenant Balneavis; four Royal Artillery men, with two 12 pounder guns; Lieutenant T. B. Collinson R.E.; and Tyrone Power, the Deputy Assistant Commissary General (DACG).<sup>60</sup> These troops, upon landing at Wanganui were immediately despatched to fortify the small settlement. This fort, once

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<sup>56</sup> Cowan, New Zealand Wars, I, p. 127.

<sup>57</sup> PRO, WO/1/526, Military Despatch No. 80.

<sup>58</sup> Cowan, New Zealand Wars, I, pp. 129-130; Power, Sketches, p. 19.

<sup>59</sup> Cowan, New Zealand Wars, I, p. 136; Gibson, Maori Wars, p. 69.

<sup>60</sup> Cowan, New Zealand Wars, I, p. 136; Power, Sketches, p. 54; Gibson, Maori Wars, p. 69.

constructed, was to last well into the 1860s, one of the last regiments stationed there being the 57<sup>th</sup>. Cowan puts the cost of its construction at £4,000.

The action by the military at Wanganui is significant because the final outcome enabled the settlers (Pakeha) and Maori to enjoy a period of long lasting peace. This lasted into the 1860s when the tribes took to worshipping the Pai Marire or HauHau cult. The incident which ignited the Wanganui War itself was a midshipman accidentally discharging his weapon and inadvertently injuring a sub-chief who was on board H.M.S Calliope in December 1846. Several members of his tribe used this as a means to extract utu (revenge) and attacked and killed a settler's wife and three of his children; the settler and his eldest daughter escaped with minor injuries.<sup>61</sup> The troops were put on high alert and five Maoris linked to the killing of the settlers were quickly captured and stood trial for their actions. Captain Laye immediately organised a court martial comprising himself and four subalterns. These men were found guilty and four of them were sentenced to death by hanging, while the fifth was transported for life.<sup>62</sup>

Troop reinforcements were requested from Wellington because of a perceived threat of attack from the tribes seeking utu for the hanging of the men involved in the attack. The first influx of troops arrived in May 1847, when the grenadier company of the 65<sup>th</sup>, comprising 100 men, arrived from

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<sup>61</sup> Cowan, New Zealand Wars, I, page 136, Barthorp, To Face the Daring Maoris, p. 175.

<sup>62</sup> Barthorp, To Face the Daring Maoris, p. 175; Cowan, New Zealand Wars, I, p. 136.

Auckland.<sup>63</sup> Early mortality rates were low, the only reported death being a private of the 58<sup>th</sup>, who disobeyed orders in leaving the stockade and was tomahawked to death.<sup>64</sup> Cowan mentions the 65<sup>th</sup> but makes no mention of a company of the 58<sup>th</sup>, which, according to Barthorp, also arrived under the command of Captain J. P. Hardy to strengthen the forces at Wanganui.<sup>65</sup> The Governor, along with Tamati Waka Nene and Potatau te Wherowhero, also landed at Wanganui. Grey made a sortie into occupied territory with 300 soldiers comprising of men from the 58<sup>th</sup> and 65<sup>th</sup>.<sup>66</sup> Barthorp argues that Grey saw that offensive operations seemed to be achieving nothing so returned to Wellington. He left Lieut. Colonel McCleverty of the 48<sup>th</sup> Regiment in overall command: his orders were to remain on the defensive.

Troop strength in Wanganui was between 500 and 600 men. This allowed McCleverty to engage the massing tribes, who had camped on the outskirts of the town. For the time being, though, he was content to remain on the defensive.<sup>67</sup> The Maoris tired of the tactic of sitting it out and decided to launch an all out attack. This enabled McCleverty to launch a counter-attack, which effectively ended the war in Wanganui. He ordered two detachments of troops to attack under Lieutenant Pedder of the 58<sup>th</sup> and Ensign Thelwell of the 65<sup>th</sup>, aided by some reinforcements under Ensign Middleton. Covering fire was provided by the Royal Artillery led by Captain Henderson. The battle took place at St John's Woods. The fighting was very fierce but the regular force

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<sup>63</sup> Cowan, New Zealand Wars, I, p. 138.

<sup>64</sup> Barthorp, To Face the Daring Maoris, p. 177; Cowan, New Zealand Wars, I, p. 140.

<sup>65</sup> Barthorp, To Face the Daring Maoris, p. 182.

<sup>66</sup> Cowan, New Zealand Wars, I, p. 141.

<sup>67</sup> Barthorp, To Face Daring Maoris, p. 182; Cowan, New Zealand Wars, I, p. 141.

proved to be stronger, and in the aftermath claimed victory.<sup>68</sup> This was one of the only times that the Maoris engaged the regular forces in an open battle. The culmination of this battle allowed for lasting peace but it had taken a year to secure it, with the final negotiations being concluded only in early 1848.

The ending of hostilities in Wanganui led to a gradual reduction of troops in New Zealand. The two companies of the 96<sup>th</sup> under Hulme returned to Hobart, while the three companies of the 99<sup>th</sup> were reassigned to Sydney. Two regiments remained in New Zealand, the 58<sup>th</sup> and 65<sup>th</sup>, the remainder of the 65<sup>th</sup> having arrived in the colony in January 1847.<sup>69</sup> The intention was that these regiments would be stationed in two areas, the 58<sup>th</sup> in Auckland and the 65<sup>th</sup> to protect Wellington.<sup>70</sup>

The years between 1848 and 1855 saw a period of peace between the Maori and Pakeha. The only fighting that occurred was inter-tribal and saw no intervention by regular or militia forces. Grey was recalled to London in December 1852 and, after his success in New Zealand, was appointed the Governor of the Cape Colony. In the interim before a new governor arrived Colonel Wynyard of the 58<sup>th</sup> acted on behalf of the British government. Wynyard in a despatch to Horse Guards revealed the combined forces now stationed in New Zealand. Across the North Island there were 1,371 troops comprising Royal Artillery, Royal Engineers, 58<sup>th</sup>, 65<sup>th</sup>, and retired Fencibles. These were stationed at Auckland, New Plymouth, Wanganui, Napier and Wellington. The largest single unit was the 58<sup>th</sup> with 330 men garrisoned in

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<sup>68</sup> Barthorp, To Face Daring Maoris, p. 138; Cowan, New Zealand Wars, I, pp. 142-3.

<sup>69</sup> Gibson, Maori Wars, p. 70.

Auckland.<sup>71</sup> Grey's eventual replacement was Thomas Gore Browne, the former commander of the 41<sup>st</sup> Regiment, who finally arrived after a long sea voyage in September 1855.<sup>72</sup>

It was during Browne's term of office that fighting would erupt again in the North Island and troop reinforcement would once again become a priority. Edgar Holt comments that the first four and half years of Browne's Governship were fairly peaceful.<sup>73</sup> Indeed, in September 1855, the Colonial Office had decided that the inter-tribal fighting in Taranaki required a policy of strict non-intervention by the Governor. Moreover, an earlier memorandum dated 27 July 1854, and sent by Grey to the Colonial Office, had suggested the idea of removing a Regiment:

The force at present serving in New Zealand consists of two Regiments the 58<sup>th</sup> and 65<sup>th</sup> which are supposed (exclusion of the depots) to be maintained at an average strength of about 600 men each, so that the regular force in the colony should consist of about 1200 men, although the number of men who constantly attain their discharge, the force barely much exceeds 1000 men.

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<sup>70</sup> Barthorp, To Face Daring Maoris, p. 185.

<sup>71</sup> PRO, WO 32/8253, Correspondence relating to military and naval defence of the colony following native disturbances; 19 February 1850, enclosure no. 1562.

<sup>72</sup> Gibson, Maori Wars, p. 71.

<sup>73</sup> Edgar Holt, The Strangest War (London: Putman, 1962), p. 128.

There would therefore be no difficulty or danger in removing one of the Regiments from New Zealand, if that one which was stationed in the Colony was raised to a strength of from 900 to 1000 men.<sup>74</sup>

Grey, however, recommended not withdrawing the 58<sup>th</sup> during Wynyard's interim governorship, leaving the decision for his permanent replacement.

The New Zealander noted in August 1855 that troops from Albert Barracks in Auckland, consisting of 250 rank and file of the 58<sup>th</sup>, were embarking to Taranaki, where they would be joined by a similar number of the 65<sup>th</sup> from Wellington.<sup>75</sup> At this stage, however, there were no hostilities there and A. S. Thomson characterises the episode in Taranaki as 'the Beef and Mutton Campaign', suggesting the food made available to the troops 'told on their coats and gave the regimental tailors constant work in enlarging them'.<sup>76</sup> The 65<sup>th</sup> remained behind to protect the settlers and maintain the peace between both races.

In January 1856, Henry Labouchere, the Secretary of State for the Colonies,<sup>77</sup> directed that the garrison stationed in Taranaki should be withdrawn unless the colony paid for the barracks. In the event, Browne considered it necessary to keep the 58<sup>th</sup> in New Zealand.<sup>78</sup> Cowan puts troop strength in New Plymouth at 270 men under the command of Captain Seymour; this was subsequently strengthened by a further 200 men of the

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<sup>74</sup> PRO, WO 1/534, Papers relating to Auckland's defences.

<sup>75</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 11 August 1855.

<sup>76</sup> A. S. Thomson, The Story of New Zealand (Christchurch: Capper Press, 1974), p. 227.

65<sup>th</sup> Regiment. The 58<sup>th</sup> were meant to have been replaced by another Regiment but, due to the outbreak of the Indian mutiny their replacements had been sent elsewhere. Lord Stanley, in discussion with the Colonial Office, agreed that the 58<sup>th</sup> would be left in New Zealand and the figure of 1,000 men would suffice for the garrison.<sup>79</sup> In 1858, however, Gore Browne had again written to Labouchere suggesting his preferred troop distribution across the island. Browne suggested 600 men for Auckland, 300 for New Plymouth, 100 for the Bay of Islands, 420 for Wellington, 200 for Nelson, 180 for Wanganui, and 200 for Napier, making a total of 2,000 men. The existing men stationed at Auckland could be re-distributed without leaving the settlement unprotected.<sup>80</sup>

At the time, the troop figure for Napier was far higher than Gore Browne assumed. The New Zealander, reporting what it termed 'military movements' the paper stated that:

We learn from reliable sources, that a strong detachment is under orders to proceed to Ahuriri [Napier] forthwith. The detachment is to consist of 300 men of the 65<sup>th</sup> regiment, under the command of Lieut. Colonel Wyatt, with 4 guns and as many of the Royal Artillery that can be spared. The detachment is to be furnished from the troops equally

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<sup>77</sup> In 1839 Henry Labouchere had been Parliamentary Under Secretary to Lord Normanby, who was then Secretary of State for the Colonies. The permanent Under Secretary was James Stephen.

<sup>78</sup> B. J. Dalton, War and Politics in New Zealand, 1855-1870 (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1967), pp. 51-52.

<sup>79</sup> Cowan, New Zealand Wars, 1, p. 148; Dalton, War and Politics, p. 53.

<sup>80</sup> PRO, WO 32/8253, Correspondence relating to Military and Naval Defence of the Colony following Native Disturbance.

in Auckland and in Wellington; the Auckland contingent will embark as soon as the necessary amount of tonnage can be procured.<sup>81</sup>

Napier's economy certainly benefited by having a large contingent of soldiers based there, since storekeepers and framers could tender for the commissariat contracts.

In some measure, Gore-Browne's concern to maintain a reasonable level of troop strength was justified for his term in office also saw the first signs of enhanced Maori nationalism in the so-called King Movement. This, under its leader, Potatau te Wherowhero,<sup>82</sup> would remain in open defiance of the Colonial government until the early 1870s.

In the meantime the cause of the First Taranaki War of 1859-61 was the gradual settler encroachment onto Maori land that was not for sale. In an incident which was to become known as the Waitara Purchase, Teira, a minor chief of the Atiawa was persuaded to sell 600 acres of land to the Government for a pound an acre. This sale was blocked by a chief with more mana, Wiremu Kingi, who decreed that Teira had no right to sell the land. Cowan suggests that there was no love lost between these two men, and the eventual outcome was that the British government were drawn into a long and expensive war to satisfy what was essentially a private quarrel.<sup>83</sup> As the talks dragged on between the government and the Atiawa tribe, Browne decided that the only course of action was military intervention. Lieutenant Colonel

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<sup>81</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 28 January 1858.

<sup>82</sup> Holt, Strangest War, p. 132.



Murray gave Kingi 24 hours to apologise and withdraw his opposition to the land sale. Kingi declined the offer and on 22 February 1860 Murray declared martial law in the Taranaki district. A formal state of war was finally declared on 17 March.<sup>84</sup> The militia and volunteer forces were called up in readiness to fight alongside the regular forces. Garrison strength at the time was 1,200, mostly comprising men from the 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment. Colonel Gold of the 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment was in overall charge of the troops in the field, which now included the militia and volunteer forces.<sup>85</sup>

The Taranaki War was to last a year. As Dalton states 'the British were faced with most of the problems of guerrilla warfare'. The enemy knew the land; there were no lines of communications to disrupt; no supply bases to be destroyed and finally no permanent centres of population to occupy.<sup>86</sup> The regular forces had to use open countryside to maintain a supply line and communications in order to have any chance of fighting the Maoris. New Plymouth itself had no defences; these had to be built before any long distance expeditions into the interior could even be considered. Any reconnoitring carried out by the regulars was for only a couple of hours, so that the town was not left undefended.<sup>87</sup> In reality, Cowan's research has shown that the settlers around New Plymouth were more than capable of fighting the Maoris in their own environment, a fact Dalton seems to have overlooked. New Plymouth organised a small militia unit, a cavalry unit, and a rifle company. Troop reinforcements for the regulars of 400 men from

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<sup>83</sup> Cowan, *New Zealand Wars*, I, pp. 157-158.

<sup>84</sup> Cowan, *New Zealand Wars*, I, pp. 159-160.

<sup>85</sup> Cowan, *New Zealand Wars*, I, p. 161; Holt, *Strangest War*, p. 144.

<sup>86</sup> Dalton, *War and Politics*, p. 107.

Australia also arrived and allowed those already billeted there to launch longer forays into the interior.<sup>88</sup>

The slow pace of the war had allowed Kingi to build a Pa, which withstood an attack from regular forces and enabled him to beat off a force of 350 men. The contributing factors to the British defeat were the fact that the force was split into three columns with little coordination between their movements. This allowed Kingi's men to drive them off.<sup>89</sup> When news of this reached Australia, Major-General Pratt decided to take charge personally of the operation and forces in New Zealand. The defeat also gave Browne the opportunity to ask for more troop reinforcements, which, owing to the seriousness of the situation, were sent on this occasion. Two more regiments were now allocated to New Zealand, although Browne had provisionally asked for three. One arrived from India, while of the other two, only one seems to have arrived in time to take part in the fighting.<sup>90</sup>

All the available troops were concentrated in the Taranaki district, meaning that if some tribes decided to launch attacks in other areas they could do so unchallenged. This was the case towards the end of September when Auckland was threatened, although a force was hastily sent to provide a barrier against the perceived attack. In all, this threat occurred on three occasions, but each time the tribes were dissuaded from an actual attack by mediators from the Governor's office.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Dalton, War and Politics, p. 109.

<sup>88</sup> Cowan, New Zealand Wars, I, p. 161; Dalton, War and Politics, p. 110.

<sup>89</sup> Dalton, War and Politics, p. 112.

<sup>90</sup> Dalton, War and Politics, pp. 112-114.

<sup>91</sup> Dalton, War and Politics, p. 122.

While in Taranaki, Pratt's slow approach to fighting the Maori forces was beginning to work. Pratt had calculated that to ensure a total defeat of the Maoris some 5,000 men would be required, double his existing force. However, with the men under his command he had succeeded in taking the war to the Maoris and, in doing so, had worn down their will to fight. Talks were opened and by 8 April 1861 peace had been agreed, ending hostilities in Taranaki.<sup>92</sup>

Pratt's force had amounted to roughly 2,500 men made up from regular, militia and volunteer forces. With the ending of hostilities the civilian forces were sent home, while the regulars were ordered back to their respective barracks. The onset of peace also saw changes in the military leadership and the Governorship. Pratt returned to Melbourne, his replacement being Lieutenant General Sir Duncan Cameron. The 57<sup>th</sup> under Colonel Warre remained in New Plymouth, while the remainder of the Regiments - the 12<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, 40<sup>th</sup>, and 65<sup>th</sup> - were withdrawn to Otahuhu, a camp nine miles from the capital. The 40<sup>th</sup> and 65<sup>th</sup> officially returned to Auckland in November 1860.<sup>93</sup> These Regiments were subsequently reinforced with the 70<sup>th</sup> Regiment, which had landed at Auckland.<sup>94</sup> Troop strength had now surpassed the initial 1,000 men that the Imperial government thought sufficient to protect New Zealand. Gore Browne's governorship of New Zealand had also come to an end. The Colonial Secretary, the Duke of Newcastle, appears to have sensed that Gore Browne might eventually lead the country to another war, and

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<sup>92</sup> Dalton, *War and Politics*, pp. 123-124.

<sup>93</sup> ALT, *New Zealander*, 17 November 1860.

reassigned him to Tasmania. His replacement was Sir George Grey, who returned once more to New Zealand.<sup>95</sup>

Having assessed the situation, Cameron expressed doubt as to the fighting effectiveness of the regiments in New Zealand and pointed to the lack of assistance from Australia. In a despatch to Horse Guards, therefore, Cameron set out his concerns:

That the Governors of Victoria and New South Wales have refused to comply with Sir George Grey's application for more troops. Probably from ignorance of the very critical state of affairs in the colony. The colonial government are also making every exertion to supply the deficiency of regular troops. They have called out 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> class Militia and are raising 400 men for general service, nearly 300 of whom have been enrolled and trained and are doing all the duties of regular troops.<sup>96</sup>

Faced with the tribes assembled to fight on the side of the Maori King, Cameron outlined his fears in a further despatch dated 4 July 1861. Firstly, he suggested that transport should be procured in advance, so that it was immediately available to go into the hinterland. According to Cameron, 'this would also alleviate if in the event of a sudden emergency to hire or purchase in time, even at exorbitant rates the quantity of transport required in a country

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<sup>94</sup> Gibson, *Maori Wars*, p. 93.

<sup>95</sup> Gibson, *Maori Wars*, p. 95.

<sup>96</sup> PRO, WO 33/12, Dispatches from Lieutenant General Cameron, commanding Her Majesty's Forces in New Zealand.

so destitute as the province of Auckland'. Cameron also cited the last monthly return, revealing that the total number of non-commissioned officers and men (infantry) amounted to 4,619, of which 1,656 were detached to various settlements while the remaining 2,693 were assembled at Auckland. If Cameron intended to move inland he would lose yet more infantry as they would have to be detached to protect his lines of communication. He was also very critical of the militia, stating: 'the militia since my arrival in the Colony has not been under any training except in Taranaki where the militia has been called out at the commencement of hostilities, has not been disbanded and has reinforced the small settlement at Wanganui'. Further, Cameron suggested that a company of Royal Engineers should accompany the infantry to assist the troops in bridge and road construction.<sup>97</sup>

William Fox, who was to become Colonial Secretary, similarly outlined his fears of the possible consequences of troop withdrawal in a memorandum dated 7 April 1862:

His Excellency having informed Ministers that applications have been made by the Australian Governments for a portion of the troops now stationed in New Zealand, Ministers beg to express their conviction that the removal of any part of that force would be most prejudicial to the success of His Excellency's plans for settling the present difficulties with the natives. Should hostilities be renewed, it will be remembered that the force at present in the country was pronounced by the late

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<sup>97</sup> PRO, WO 32/8259, Report from Lieut. General Cameron on distribution of troops and requesting reinforcements.

Governor, Colonel Gore Browne, to be entirely inadequate for the purpose; and, with the expectation of a general insurrection, he applied to the Imperial Government for large reinforcements. The plans at present in course of introduction demand great firmness, and any appearance of vacillation on the part of the Government would be fatal to the prospect of success. Nothing would be likely to operate more prejudicially on the native mind than the idea that the Imperial Government was involved in difficulties which required the presence of troops in Australia, and Ministers, therefore, beg respectfully to recommend that unless expressly ordered by the Imperial Government, no reduction of the force in this Colony should be effected.<sup>98</sup>

Given these fears, Grey's second term in office saw a steady increase in the numbers of available troops that were now stationed in New Zealand in response to the aggressive overtones of the King movement. 1861 saw 3,730 troops distributed around New Zealand: 2,172 at Auckland, 910 at Taranaki, 191 at Napier, 178 at Wangnni (Wanganui), and 279 at Wellington. This strength did not consist entirely of men of the line, but included other military departments such as the Military Store, the Purveyors Department, the Medical Department, and Army Schoolmasters.<sup>99</sup> Officers and NCO's strength in Auckland and Otahuhu in 1863 amounted to the following: 45 officers and 1,056 NCO's at Auckland, and 21 officers 488 NCO'S at

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<sup>98</sup> Further Papers Relative to Military Defence of New Zealand. Supplement A- No.6, 1861-62.

<sup>99</sup> PRO, WO 33/16, D.Q.M.G Inclosure 5 [in No 30], 6 May 1861.

Otahuhu.<sup>100</sup> By 1864, troop strength across the island had reached 7,784 men, the highest figure to be attained in New Zealand during the entire period of the British regular presence. Their distribution, however, showed them spread very thinly across the whole of the Island.

A table entitled 'Strength and Distribution of the Troops' dated Auckland, 30 October 1864, indicates that there were eleven Regiments comprising the 12<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, 40<sup>th</sup>, 43<sup>rd</sup>, 50<sup>th</sup>, 57<sup>th</sup>, 58<sup>th</sup>, 65<sup>th</sup>, 68<sup>th</sup>, and 70<sup>th</sup>, along with the Royal Engineers and Artillery, Commissariat Staff, General Staff, Medical Staff, Military Store staff, Purveyors Department staff, Army Hospital Corps staff, Transport Corps staff and Military Train staff. All were sub-divided and stationed in the various outposts and towns. At Auckland, for example, there were 779 officers and men comprising the following:

General Staff: 1 Lieut.Gen. 4 Field Officers, 5 Sergeants.

Medical Staff: 4 Staff.

Military Store: 4 Staff, 10 Sergeants.

Purveyors: 2 Staff, 1 Sergeant.

Commissariat Staff: 9 Staff, 10 Sergeants, 16 Rank and File.

Army Hospital Corps: 9 Sergeants, 35 Rank and File.

Royal Artillery: 1 Field Officer, 3 Captains, 3 Subalterns, 3 Staff, 14 Sergeants, 2 Drummers, 127 Rank and File.

Royal Engineers: 1 Field Officer, 1 Captain, 3 Sergeants, 1 Drummer, 34 rank and File

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<sup>100</sup> PRO, WO 33/12.

14<sup>th</sup>: 1 Subaltern, 3 Sergeants, 1 Drummer, 79 Rank and File.

18<sup>th</sup>: 1 Sergeant.

43<sup>rd</sup>: 1 Sergeant.

50<sup>th</sup>: 1 Captain, 2 Subalterns, 4 Sergeants, 2 Drummers, 48 Rank and File.

65<sup>th</sup>: 1 Subaltern, 1 Sergeant, 1 Drummer, 22 Rank and File.

70<sup>th</sup>: 1 Subaltern.

Transport Corps: 1 Sergeant, 11 Rank and File.

Military Train: 1 Field Officer, 2 Captains, 6 Subalterns, 6 Staff. 32 Sergeants, 4 Drummers, 216 Rank and File.<sup>101</sup>

Of the 7,784 regulars the largest proportion of men were in Te Awamutu.<sup>102</sup>

The Digest of Service for the 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment shows how its troop numbers varied from year to year. In 1861, the 65<sup>th</sup> had 1,023 men, who were stationed at outposts including Wellington, Wanganui, Auckland, Napier, Bell Block, Taranaki and Waitara. In 1862 troop numbers dropped to 950 men, and dipped again to 880 in 1863. The year 1864 again saw a drop in the regiment's strength across the island to 757.

In fact, the 65<sup>th</sup>, which had been stationed at Te Awamutu, had complained through the pages of the United Service Gazette of their long period of being posted to New Zealand. The New Zealander subsequently published an extract from this letter: 'It stated that an officer of the 65<sup>th</sup> had written that "one of the

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<sup>101</sup> PRO, WO 107/7, Strength and Distribution of the Forces, 1864.

<sup>102</sup> Te Awamutu lies at the end of the Waipa River. A mission station had been established there in 1835 and by 1863, the settlement was well established and therefore the one most able to cater for a large concentration of troops.



disadvantages of a Corps being at such and out of the way colony, consists in its being forgotten by the Authorities". The officer went on to stress that the 65<sup>th</sup> were ready to move at short notice, to India.<sup>103</sup> The paper also commented in 1864 that:

The 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment have been complaining of having nothing to do, and urging their claims to be sent home, after eighteen years' service in the colonies. The correspondent for the New Zealander stated that "when you consider that there are 1800 regular troops in this special distinct, exclusive of the militia, you will perceive the inutility of mere keeping men here for the purpose of putting them on fatigue, and harassing them for no future good, either to the soldiers or settlers. This is sufficient to show that there is a superfluity of troops here." Speaking of the expiry of their time of service and claim to be sent home, the same correspondent adds; "surely such an application to the New Zealand colonists is not unreasonable, especially as there was an order for our return home as soon as troops could be spared from the colony".<sup>104</sup>

The 50<sup>th</sup> Regiment arrived in Auckland in 1863 but, apparently, it was not expected although it is not clear when it was due. The New Zealand Herald reported on its arrival:

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<sup>103</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 24 September 1859.

<sup>104</sup> ATL, New Zealander, September 1864.

The gallant 50<sup>th</sup> were landed altogether unexpectedly, and as we cannot but consider very inconsiderately in the course of yesterday. Why is Sunday, without pressing necessity, selected almost as a day of work? And why should the soldiers or sailors be rushed from a fine comfortable ship to a half provided, half furnished miserable barrack? Must the red tapeism of the Crimea be perpetuated in New Zealand? Must men arriving from a tropical and enfeebling country be needlessly exposed to the severity of weather, altogether unseasonable and unparalleled within the knowledge of residents of twenty years.<sup>105</sup>

Returning to the 65<sup>th</sup>, 1865 saw its strength drop to 695. Finally, in 1866, the 65<sup>th</sup> had 332 men in New Zealand.<sup>106</sup> This digest, along with WO 107/7, demonstrates that only by amalgamating all the available regiments could a sizeable force be assembled that could fight in sufficiently large numbers in the field in conjunction with the militia and volunteer forces.

During 1864, when regiments had been called into the field, Auckland was protected by a volunteer force. In one instance, when Government House was being guarded, an incident occurred which highlighted the difference in training between a regular and a volunteer.

[a] man was shot by a sentry outside the Government House. One of the most Indiscreet acts which it has ever been our province to record occurred on Tuesday last, at midnight, when a man was actually shot

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<sup>105</sup> ATL, New Zealand Herald, 16 November 1863.

<sup>106</sup> The Digest of Service for the 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment.

at, and dangerously wounded by a sentry stationed at the government house gate facing princess street. Hitherto, as we know from practical experience, the sentries stationed at the various posts in Auckland have not been allowed to carry loaded arms, and the orders have been to challenge passers-by, and if no response was made to turn out the guard. In this case we are sorry to say that a most flagrant and unwarrantable departure of orders occurred. A passer-by named Happy was shot by a naval Volunteer the ball going across his face destroying the right cheek nose and teeth were knocked out. The Naval Volunteer Higgleton was placed under arrest for firing without orders.

A subsequent issue stated that: 'We are glad to find that a general order has been issued by General Galloway, that sentries on duty shall not carry loaded arms, without special orders to the contrary.'<sup>107</sup>

1864 is also interesting in relation to Auckland as it witnessed the first implementation of a relief fund for the wives and children whose husbands were engaged in fighting in New Zealand. Previously relief had been organised only in order to send money to the Crimea. The New Zealander for 9 February stated that:

We rejoice to find that the Executive Committee appointed for carrying out designs of the benevolent with regard to the unfortunate wives and

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<sup>107</sup> ATL, New Zealander 25 February and 1 March 1864.

children of soldiers now at the front have already made some excellent arrangements.

The building in Freeman's Bay, recently occupied as immigration barracks, and capable of accommodating fifty or sixty families, has been taken for twelve months. A superintendent and his wife have been placed in charged, and a few of those needing relief have been provided for. The Committee have also commenced the daily supply of bread to about one hundred and eighty families. The allowance is half a pound for each women and a quarter of a pound for each child. We believe the Committee have also in contemplation to erect a laundry.<sup>108</sup>

Lieutenant Colonel S. R. Carey, the Deputy Adjutant General, had issued a general order in February stating that a committee had been formed 'for the purpose of raising a fund for the relief of the soldiers' wives and children'. The Lieutenant General Commanding requested officers commanding corps to forward to the secretary of the committee, J. W. Harrop, Esq., of Fort Street, Auckland, 'the names of officers and others in their respective regiments, desirous of subscribing to the fund; and that they will forward, at the same time, a list of the women and children of their regiments whom they consider most deserving and necessitous'.<sup>109</sup>

The Weekly News in January 1864 stated that 1,898 military personnel were being sent to New Zealand. The paper listed the intended troops as Royal

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<sup>108</sup> ATL, New Zealander 9 February 1864.

Artillery, Commissariat Staff Corps, Military Train, Army Hospital Corps, and the 14<sup>th</sup>, 50<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, 65<sup>th</sup>, 57<sup>th</sup> Regiments.<sup>110</sup> In fact, the majority of these reinforcements would be withdrawn from active service in New Zealand by 1866.

One influence on the increasing likelihood of a policy of withdrawal was the belief in self-reliance on the part of Fredrick Weld, the colony's Prime Minister from 1864 onwards. Weld saw self-reliance as a means of ending the duality of government that existed in the colony. Cardwell, however, insisted that the double government must continue as long as there were Imperial regiments in New Zealand for the purposes of internal defence. Accordingly, Weld pressed to obtain the complete withdrawal of Imperial troops, and to raise a specially trained colonial force as a replacement. Grey, however, was reluctant to release Imperial regiments from New Zealand. In the event, his continuing opposition to Weld's policy began to weaken his influence in the colony, while he was also losing influence in London through his reports to the Colonial Office appearing inaccurate and his effective disobedience of his instructions by delaying the departure of the regulars. Indeed, the prospect of regiments being withdrawn from New Zealand was received warmly within the Colonial Office.

In fact, regiments were slowly removed from New Zealand throughout the period from 1845 to 1870 in the sense that successive British governments were always quick to remove units whenever the circumstances allowed. The

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<sup>109</sup> ATL, Weekly News, 20 February 1864.

80<sup>th</sup>, for example, returned to Australia prior to the outbreak of fighting in the Bay of Islands. They were followed in 1847 by the 96<sup>th</sup>, who were reassigned to Tasmania. 1856 saw a small detachment of the Royal Artillery withdrawn, the New Zealander providing a suitable farewell:

The remnant of the detachment of Royal Artillery which landed in Auckland, 1 January 1846, under the command of Captain Henderson and the Hon. Lieut. Yelverton, having some time been relived, will this day take its departure for England. War, death and discharge have greatly reduced this gallant party. Many of them have cast their lot with us, and have become valuable and deserving colonists. But nine of the fine fellows who arrived ten years since are now about to leave us, under the charge of corporal Broadhurst, who was severely wounded in action with the Natives of the South. We cannot part with these brave fellows without testifying to their admirable conduct upon all occasions.<sup>111</sup>

1858 saw the 58<sup>th</sup> leave New Zealand after many years' service, having been stationed there since 1845. In June 1857 the regiment had first received warning that it was to be sent home. However, it was not until 1858 that this came to fruition. In October 1858, a General Order sent from Melbourne, instructing the 58<sup>th</sup> to commence withdrawing from New Zealand. It was 'to proceed to England without relief, the Officer commanding the Troops in New

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<sup>110</sup> ATL, The Weekly News, 2 January 1864.

<sup>111</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 30 April 1865.

Zealand will take the necessary steps for procuring tonnage for the conveyance of the Regiment to such port as may be intimated in the orders transmitted to him from home'.<sup>112</sup> The first to depart was the commanding officer, Colonel Wynyard.

The New Zealander reported that a farewell ball was held in Wynyard's honour while also paying tribute to the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment as a whole. During the ball, Wynyard gave a speech which highlighted what the regiment had done for Auckland. Wynyard used as an example 'those who ride or drive the shortest road to Manakau should remember that the Kyber [sic] Pass was forced by the 58<sup>th</sup> regiment - spade and pickaxe in hand'. Wynyard concluded by saying that 'these are but a few of the services performed by a Regiment whose gallantry in the field is only equalled by their steadiness and good conduct in quarters'.<sup>113</sup> Two weeks later Wynyard and a large number of discharged soldiers left New Zealand on the Lord Ashley: they embarked from Wynyard Pier with full military honours and a salute from Fort Britomart, while ships in the harbour discharged their guns.<sup>114</sup> The remainder of the 58<sup>th</sup> was also given a lavish send off, with a banquet held in the grounds of Albert Barracks, the men sitting down in series of marquees and tents, and during which the Aucklanders paid tribute to the NCO's and privates. This was followed a week later by the 58<sup>th</sup> marching, behind the band of the 65<sup>th</sup>, through Auckland at the request of a number of the town's inhabitants to the Queen Street Pier, where they embarked on the ships which were to convey them to England. As they departed a gun was sounded on the Mary Ann,

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<sup>112</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 13 October 1858.

which was replied to by the guns of Fort Britomart firing a salvo until the ships were no longer in sight.<sup>115</sup>

The 65<sup>th</sup> was the longest serving regiment in New Zealand, having seen service in Wellington, Wanganui, Taranaki and Waikato during their twenty years. In 1866 the 12<sup>th</sup>, 40<sup>th</sup>, 43<sup>rd</sup>, 50<sup>th</sup>, 57<sup>th</sup>, 68<sup>th</sup>, 70<sup>th</sup> Regiments were all reassigned to other postings. An order despatched in February 1866 reiterated the intent on the part of the British government to withdraw all the regiments, and to do so quickly without interference from the Governor. According to The New Zealander:

Peremptory orders, we understand have been received by the Commander of the Imperial Forces by the late mail from England, insisting on the immediate reduction of H. M. troops In New Zealand, to a strength of 3225 officers and men. This force will consist of 3 regiments of infantry, the 12<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, and 18<sup>th</sup>, 1 battalion of Artillery, and a company of Engineers, with the necessary Commissariat Staff Corps. The regiments first on the list for home are the 43<sup>rd</sup> and 68<sup>th</sup>, - the 40<sup>th</sup>, 50<sup>th</sup>, and 57<sup>th</sup> are to follow immediately, as soon as ships for their conveyance can be procured. This order is said to be independent of any wish the Governor may have in this matter, and is beyond his interference to control, let the circumstances of the colony be what they may.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 20 October 1858.

<sup>114</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 3 November, 1858.

<sup>115</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 13 and 20 November 1858.

<sup>116</sup> ATL, New Zealand Herald, 10 February 1866.



In comparison to the generous coverage of the departures of the 58<sup>th</sup> and the 65<sup>th</sup> when, the 43<sup>rd</sup> was withdrawn it barely made a paragraph in the New Zealander:

The head quarters of H. M. 43<sup>rd</sup> regiment, under orders for transport to England in the ship Silver Eagle embarked on that vessel on Monday. The men numbering nearly 400 rank and file marched into town from Otahuhu during the morning, proceeded by the fine band of the regiment, and after halting in the Albert Barracks for refreshment, they proceeded to the Queen Street wharf. They were conveyed in lighters to the vessel, amidst the reiterated cheers of their friends on the wharf, the band striking up the usual parting airs as the men passed out of sight.<sup>117</sup>

Similarly, the departure of the 68<sup>th</sup> and the 70<sup>th</sup> had also been sparsely reported. Of the 70<sup>th</sup>, the New Zealand Herald reported:

Last night the hired troop ship Ida Ziegler with the headquarters of this regiment on board, broke ground and dropped down to the Heads from whence she will sail at daylight this morning. As the Ida Ziegler passed the men-of-war in harbour, the rigging of several vessels were manned and hearty cheering kept up, which was returned by those on board the troop ship. The band of the 70<sup>th</sup> regt. played "Auld Lang Syne,"

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<sup>117</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 18 April 1866.

“Home Sweet Home”, which was answered by the band of H.M.S. Curacoa. The hired troop ship Siam will embark the left wing of the 70<sup>th</sup> tomorrow morning and sail on Saturday next, which will complete the departure of that regiment.

The departure of the 68th made even fewer lines in the paper;

This morning the left wing of the 68<sup>th</sup> Regiment, in command of Lieut.-Colonel Morant, will march from Otahuhu camp for the purpose of embarking on board hired transport ship Percy, Captain Weatherburn. This ship will leave for Spithead tomorrow and the following officers accompany her:- Lt. Col. Morant, Dr and Mrs Mouatt, Captain Grace, Captain Casement, Major Kirby.<sup>118</sup>

The years 1867 and 1870 saw the last four regiments return, starting with the 14<sup>th</sup> in 1867. Then, finally, in 1870, remaining Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers and the 18<sup>th</sup> returned to Great Britain.<sup>119</sup>

During 1869 many of the colony’s newspapers had begun to comment on the withdrawal of the Imperial forces although the forces themselves seem to have been adopting a ‘business as usual’ policy. One paper, The New Zealand Herald, seems to have taken to commenting on any troop movement

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<sup>118</sup> ATL, New Zealand Herald, 12 January 1866 and 12 March 1866.

<sup>119</sup> Tim Ryan and Bill Parham, The Colonial New Zealand Wars (Grantham House, 1986) pp. 159-162; Dalton, War and Politics, pp. 209-211; John F. Fishburn, ‘Some Aspects of the Anglo-Maori Wars’, Australian Army Journal, 222, March 1976, p. 44.

as an indication that the 18<sup>th</sup> Regiment was finally leaving New Zealand. In January 1869, the paper published its notes on the regiment's movements:

Two companies of the 18<sup>th</sup> regiment, under the command of Captain Marsland and Biggs, marched out yesterday morning from Onehunga, en route for Taranaki per SS Rangatira. The men were played out as far as Newmarket by the regimental band.

Companies of the H and K of the 18<sup>th</sup> regiment in command of Captain Thacker arrived in barracks yesterday evening, between five and six o'clock. We understand that one of the companies (Captain Baker's) will be handed over to Captain Le Motte.<sup>120</sup>

This interest culminated with two reports suggesting that any day now the regiment would depart:

We learn that it is the intention of Major General Sir Trevor Chute, K.C.B., to hold an inspection of the internal regimental arrangements of the portion of the 18<sup>th</sup> regiment at present in Auckland. Tomorrow there will be a general inspection and parade of the whole of the troops stationed in Auckland, including the detachment at present camped out at Point Chevalier, which will be marched into barracks. A general order has been issued for the whole of the 18<sup>th</sup> regiment to be at once concentrated in Auckland, and to make immediate preparation for

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<sup>120</sup> ATL, New Zealand Herald, 5 and 7 January 1869.

embarkation in H M transport Himalaya, which is expected to arrive about the end of next month.

There can be no doubt, notwithstanding the contradictory reports in circulation, but that the 18<sup>th</sup> regiment will at once leave these shores. The Himalaya is now at Wellington, and no doubt will arrive here in a few days, and she can have come for no other purpose than to remove the regiment.<sup>121</sup>

It would be a further year before the 18<sup>th</sup> Regiment left Auckland. However, the New Zealand Herald, in alerting its readers to this eventuality went as far as to print an extract from an unnamed English paper. The extract stated that questions were being raised in Parliament as to the eventual troop withdrawal:

In the House of Commons on April 13<sup>th</sup> Mr Sartoris asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether orders had been sent to New Zealand recalling the 18<sup>th</sup> regiment; and if so when was the regiment to leave the colony; and whether the Governor of New Zealand, notwithstanding the order of recall, if sent, could retain the troops, should he consider their removal at the time ordered, likely to cause the extension of the present disturbances; and if so, for what time and upon what conditions. Mr Monsell in reply, stated that orders had been for the recall of the 18<sup>th</sup> regiment, which was to leave New

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<sup>121</sup> ATL, New Zealand Herald, 22 January and 4 March 1869.

Zealand in May next. When that regiment left there would be no Imperial Troops in the colony. In reply to the second question Monsell had to state that the Governor of New Zealand could not retain the troops, as the instructions given to the governor were definite and precise, and without limitations or conditions.<sup>122</sup>

In a despatch to the then Governor, Sir George Bowen, the Secretary of State, Earl Granville argued that it was wrong in principle for the British government to be responsible for the internal security any longer. Granville argued that withdrawal of the last remaining forces was in the best interests of the colony. Granville clarified his argument by stating that:

These being the sources of the danger to which the Colony is exposed from the Natives it is pressed upon Her Majesty's Government that the task of reducing the natives is beyond the strength of the Colony; and this is conclusively shown both by the experience of the last war, in which you as you have frequently observed, the Colonial forces has the assistance of nearly ten thousand Regular Troops, and by the present state of the North Island, where a few hundred insurgents suffice to impose a ruinous insecurity on large members of settlers, and a ruinous expenditure on the Colony.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> ATL, New Zealand Herald, 22 June 1869.

<sup>123</sup> W. David McIntyre and W. J. Gardner (eds.), Speeches and Documents on New Zealand History (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 235.

The 18<sup>th</sup> Regiment continued in Auckland until 21 February 1870. Its final departure was marked by a farewell ball, which took place on 18 February, at which over 250 Aucklanders were entertained by the band of the 18<sup>th</sup> and the regiment's officers. The combination of Britain's insistence and Weld's self reliance had now come to fruition. In commenting on the end of the regiment's period in the colony, the New Zealander attacked the British government policy:

The departure of the last of the British troops from us is an event of no small importance. The withdrawal of the outward and visible of the Imperial power and sovereignty from among us by the removal of the remnant of soldiers remaining here, is the introduction of a new line of Imperial policy, which if persisted in will work great changes in the Empire of the United Kingdom.

The paper continued in a similar vein on the question of regimental downsizing, since it appeared that there was little actual financial gain for the British:

The men will not be disbanded, neither will a similar number be disbanded anywhere else because the 18<sup>th</sup> being no longer retained in New Zealand. And as the men are to remain in Australia, where there is no need whatever, present or prospective for their services, we can see no great stretch of wisdom, of economy or of justice in removing every soldier from a colony cursed with an Imperial war.

The papers continued in this vein, pointing out that, in the present circumstances, with Te Kooti and Titokowaru still fighting in the North Island, 'we have not been justly and honourably dealt with by England in this withdrawal of the last regiment from New Zealand'.<sup>124</sup>

From a different perspective, the Weekly News was more critical of the 18<sup>th</sup> Regiment itself. The paper suggested 'that the withdrawal of the 18<sup>th</sup> from New Zealand, will be no great hardship' since 'for some years they have been more ornamental than practically useful to the colony'. The paper went on: 'remaining as garrisons in towns of this island, they may have contributed to a feeling of security, but were of singularly little value so far as any real protection to the colonist were concerned'.<sup>125</sup>

Belich has argued that Britain deployed some 10,000 regulars in New Zealand.<sup>126</sup> His figure, however, is not accurate, as the highest number of personnel stationed in New Zealand was the 7,784 officers and men recorded in 1864. Moreover, not all of the troops stationed in New Zealand fought: many were involved purely in garrison duties, Commissariat secondment, road building or training militia or volunteer forces. Primary and secondary sources suggest, indeed, that the biggest force ever put in the field was only in the region of 1,875 men. Belich could only have obtained his figure by amalgamating all the available forces including militia, volunteers and regulars.

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<sup>124</sup> ATL, New Zealand Herald, 21 February 1870.

This chapter has shown that the British government's original plan of only sending troops to New Zealand from Australia as and when required did not work once hostilities began. Relatively speaking the Maori population was not as submissive as the Aborigines and would fight for what they considered rightfully theirs. Heke's actions in the Bay of Islands typified this, and strengthened the colonists' belief that having a permanent military presence in New Zealand would alleviate the fear of a native uprising, especially as other tribes on the North Island had begun to stand firm against the slow settler encroachment onto tribal land. Of the successive governors, Grey was the one who most overplayed the need for more troops to be sent to New Zealand, in order to quell the native uprisings and claim Maori land. Ultimately, however, a growing demand for financial retrenchment at home and increasing belief in self-reliance among New Zealand's own politicians brought the end of the Imperial military presence. That presence was maintained longest at Auckland, on which attention can now be focussed.

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<sup>125</sup> ATL, Weekly News, 6 March 1869.

<sup>126</sup> Belich, New Zealand Wars, p. 15.



The centres of military activity in Auckland were to be Fort Britomart, begun in 1840, and Albert Barracks, which was constructed in 1845. Ultimately, they became the focal point for the interaction between the town's population and the garrison. The approach to housing British troops at home had remained largely ad hoc despite the period of barrack construction in the 1790s. Even during Wellington's long period of effective control, troops were still routinely billeted in inns or alehouses, with stables being used as accommodation for the horses. Indeed, it was not until 1851, with Napoleon III's accession to power in France, that the need for a permanent home for the army became paramount. The eventual site settled on by Lord Hardinge, Commander-in-Chief of the army, was Aldershot; work was ordered to commence in 1853. When, in the following year, war broke out in the Crimea, construction was speeded up.<sup>1</sup>

The situation across the British Empire with regard to housing soldiers varied from territory to territory. In Canada various Imperial regiments were posted to Montreal for over a century (1760-1870) and so some thought had been given to permanent sites for the troops at an early stage. Eventually, Montreal had five barracks situated around the town, the first constructed in 1760 and the last one being built around 1846.<sup>2</sup> Troops posted to the West Indies also needed some form of barrack accommodation. Due to the threat of disease, however, special consideration of the environs had to be taken into account when surveying for a new barrack site in the islands. Roger Buckley mentions examples of both good and bad positioning of barracks. The officers'

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<sup>1</sup> Peter Dietz, Garrison: Ten Military Towns (London: Brassey's, 1986), pp. 9 and 121; Peter Holt, 'The Local Community: Aldershot - A Case Study' in John Sweetman (ed.), Sword and Mace (London: Brassey's, 1986), pp.

blockhouse in Antigua, for example, was well sited with consideration given to the need for shelter from the often-fierce sun, while Up Park in Jamaica was sited badly with damp floors and badly designed rooms. Consequently, instead of housing 50 men, it could only accommodate 36 because hammocks had to be used to lift the soldiers off the floors.<sup>3</sup>

There were similar problems in other colonies. In Natal after 1845 the British forces were faced with a two-fold threat from the Zulus and the Boers, both of whom were thought likely to launch attacks on the newly acquired British territory. In order to counter any possible attack, purpose-built forts were constructed. Thus, Fort Napier at Pietermaritzburg was built to act as a defensive barrier between the indigenous tribes and the colonists.<sup>4</sup> Australia was the exception, as troops sent there originally were charged with guarding prisoners who were being transported, and subsequently the military forces were used to quell local uprisings.<sup>5</sup> Early regimental arguments had led to a delay in barrack construction, although the first was eventually built by 1791. The barracks in Sydney became known as 'The Garrison' in order to distinguish them from the convict barracks and they dominated the centre of town.<sup>6</sup> In all cases barracks were either purpose built, as in Pietermaritzburg and Sydney, or the British government compulsorily purchased existing buildings to be used for military purposes.

Before discussing the construction of the two barracks in Auckland, the situation of the town itself needs to be addressed. Initially, the first capital of

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<sup>2</sup> Senior, *British Regulars*, pp. 3 and 5.

<sup>3</sup> Buckley, *British Army in West Indies*, pp. 328-329.

<sup>4</sup> Dominy, 'Imperial Garrison', *passim*.

New Zealand was located in the Bay of Islands at the settlement of Okiato.<sup>7</sup> However, Governor Hobson decided for a number of reasons to re-locate the capital. A preliminary expedition to survey the coastline was undertaken, which persuaded Hobson to choose Waitemata<sup>8</sup> as the eventual site of what was to become Auckland. Extensive land purchases were undertaken during 1840 allowing the move to happen quickly.<sup>9</sup> This suited Hobson's plans. Firstly, the site was away from the influence of the Ngapuhi tribe, which controlled most of the Bay of Islands. Secondly, it was free of any large Maori settlements and the tribes who lived there were friendly towards the Pakeha (Europeans).<sup>10</sup> Hobson justified the move by stating that:

After mature consideration, I have decided upon forming the seat of government upon the south shore of the Waitemata, in the district of the Thames.

In the choice I have thus far made, I have been informed by a combination of circumstances:<sup>1st</sup> by its central position. 2ndly, by the great facility of internal water communication by the Kaiparato the north and Manakau and the Waikato to the south. 3rdly from the facility and safety of the port.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Gerald Walsh, 'The Military and Colonial Development, 1788-1888' in M Mckernan & M Browne Australia: Two Centuries of War and Peace, p. 44.

<sup>6</sup> Stanley, Remote Garrison, pp. 10 and 44.

<sup>7</sup> Tom Brooking, Milestones: Turning Points in New Zealand History (Dunmore Press, 1999), p. 61.

<sup>8</sup> John Logan Campbell, Poenamo (Auckland: Viking, 1987), p. 200.

<sup>9</sup> Claudia Orange, The Treaty of Waitangi (Auckland: Allen and Unwin, 1987), p. 102.

<sup>10</sup> Brooking, Milestones, p. 61.

<sup>11</sup> McIntyre and Gardner, Speeches and Documents, p. 18.

John Logan Campbell has been credited as the father of Auckland. Campbell's book Poenamo, reprinted in 1973, described the fledgling capital:

It was a wilderness no longer; civilized man had now planted his foot upon the strand and set his mark upon the shore, and was now wresting the wilderness from nature's unreclaimed dominion, and that spot had now a name, and was known as Mechanics' Bay. And then we came to the pretty slopes of the little bay, where white tents, which we could see so plainly from the island, nestled amongst the brushwood, and this spot also had a name also equally unromantic but appropriate- Official Bay, for here the first magnates of the land had squatted themselves down; and then we rounded a point and glided into the Commercial Bay of the capital.<sup>12</sup>

Campbell continued, 'The capital! – a few boats and canoes on the beach, a few tents and break-wind huts along the margin of the bay, and then - a sea of fern stretching away as far as the eye could reach'.<sup>13</sup>

Point Britomart became the official point where the Union Jack was raised and the celebrations to mark the beginning of Auckland took place with the official ceremony on 18 September 1840.<sup>14</sup> The port itself was to be situated at the end of what would become Queen Street.<sup>15</sup> It was from this date that

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<sup>12</sup> Campbell, Poenamo, p. 205.

<sup>13</sup> Campbell, Poenamo, p. 205.

<sup>14</sup> Platts, Lively Capital, p. 14.

<sup>15</sup> Platts, Lively Capital, p. 14.

the laying out of the town began. A contemporary, W Swainson, described how the town was laid out:

The city is built on the northern side of the isthmus which divides the Waitemata from the Manukau, and is bounded on the north by the shores of the former harbour. The site as laid down on the Official Plan, has a frontage on the water of about a mile and half, and extends inland for a distance of about a mile.<sup>16</sup>

The actual planning and layout of the town was undertaken by Felton Matthew. Matthew used Ligar Creek as his starting point and what eventually became Queen Street ran along this line. To the west Matthew decided on an orthodox system of parallel streets as well as two squares. The eastern part of the town was laid out differently, Matthew opting for a series of crescents following the ridge above Queen Street.<sup>17</sup> The editor of the New Zealand Herald and Auckland Gazette, Dr S. M. D. Martin, supposed that Matthew had used Bath as his model.<sup>18</sup> This may well have been the case as certain similarities can be seen in the layout of both towns, most noticeably the crescents.

In the early years of Auckland's existence, there was no organised immigration. Yet, during the first two years the population grew steadily.<sup>19</sup> However, it was not until October 1842 that the first 'official' emigrant ships

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<sup>16</sup> W. Swainson, Auckland, the Capital of New Zealand (Auckland: Wilson and Horton, 1853), p. 27.

<sup>17</sup> John Horsman, The Coming of the Pakeha to Auckland Province (Wellington: Hicks Smith & Sons, 1971), p. 71.

<sup>18</sup> Platts, Lively Capital, p. 28.

<sup>19</sup> Horsman, Coming of Pakeha, p. 71.

arrived from Britain. The Duchess of Argyle and Jane Gifford carried 552 passengers, the majority of whom originated from Scotland.<sup>20</sup> Tom Brooking states that the majority of the passengers were artisans, who were reluctant to learn new skills, while a second group of 92 inmates from Parkhurst Reformatory would give Auckland a name for lawlessness. Brooking notes:

The Parkhurst group did not fit in so well and Auckland became notorious for its high crime rate; visitors commented that every third building seemed to be a grog shop. [By] 1847 one in eight of the population had been arrested for drunkenness. The town reportedly housed twenty eight brothels for a population of 5,167.<sup>21</sup>

Besides the high rate of crime which beset the town, Aucklanders were also susceptible to outbreaks of severe diarrhoea during the summer months, due to the lack of drains or sewers.<sup>22</sup> Brooking also suggests that Auckland did not flourish until Governor Grey had suppressed Hone Heke and Kawiti's insurrection in the Bay of Islands. Grey then achieved expansion by extending the public works.<sup>23</sup> The population of Auckland also achieved a reasonable age-sex balance. There were 78 women for every 100 men in 1843 and children made up 36 per cent of the total population.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Horsman, Coming of Pakeha, p. 71; Brooking, Milestones, p. 61.

<sup>21</sup> Brooking, Milestones, p. 61.

<sup>22</sup> Brooking, Milestones, p. 61.

<sup>23</sup> Brooking, Milestones, p. 61.

<sup>24</sup> Brooking, Milestones, p. 61.

Auckland remained the only town of any size before 1864.<sup>25</sup> As the colony's capital, Auckland naturally housed the seat of government and the military headquarters.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, the majority of the population were connected in one way or another to either the administration or the military. The rest of Auckland's population comprised merchants, auctioneers, storekeepers, hotelkeepers, boatbuilders, carpenters and mechanics. In the local environs small farmers supplied the town with milk and farm produce.<sup>27</sup> Maoris also provided produce to Auckland, their principal farming area being Te Awamutu, where mills were constructed and wheat was grown.<sup>28</sup>

Swainson persuasively argued that the formation of banks had been instrumental in allowing military officers and others such as professional and mercantile men to form a diverse society. But, in what may have been a fashionable phase in Auckland's growth, the military element clearly dominated the town and society.<sup>29</sup> In some ways, Auckland was a colonial equivalent of Aldershot.

Marianne Watson-Smyth's book Deserted Bastions has shown that barracks around Britain tended to follow a pre-determined design, which the Royal Engineers could then readily use across the Empire.<sup>30</sup> This is certainly borne out by the plans of the Auckland Barracks held in the Public Record Office at

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<sup>25</sup> Horsman, Coming of Pakeha, p. 90.

<sup>26</sup> Horsman, Coming of Pakeha, p. 90.

<sup>27</sup> Horsman, Coming of Pakeha, p. 90.

<sup>28</sup> Horsman, Coming of Pakeha, p. 64.

<sup>29</sup> Swainson, Auckland, p. 65. The period in question is 1853.

<sup>30</sup> See Marianne Watson-Smyth (ed.), Deserted Bastions (London: Book Factory, 1993).

Kew.<sup>31</sup> What then was a typical design? The characteristic barracks design during the nineteenth century constructed a large rectangular building, with large windows to maximise the amount of available sunlight, usually with a single entrance. The George Street Barracks in Sydney along with the surviving pictures and drawings of Auckland's barracks bear testimony to this.<sup>32</sup>

Besides having a large military presence, Auckland, was also the religious centre for the colony. Swainson stated that there were three religious centres in 1853, namely St Paul's Church, the Wesleyan Institution, and the Roman Catholic Church.<sup>33</sup> Platts also suggests that, at Onehunga, there was either a Presbyterian or Methodist church.<sup>34</sup> If this was the case then military personnel of most denominations would have been able to attend a church service if they wished.

In New Zealand, of course, it had not been anticipated that a permanent garrisoned force would be required but, with the outbreak of hostilities in the Bay of Islands, the British government had to look at the construction of buildings that would house Imperial troops and supplies. If the hostilities were to continue, having a garrisoned force would alleviate the need to request troops from Australia. To accommodate the increasing number of troops being stationed on the North Island some form of construction needed to be

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<sup>31</sup> See also the appendices.

<sup>32</sup> John F. Kreckler, The Story of Victoria Barracks: From Sydney Cove to Paddington Hill, (The Army Museum Society: Victoria Barracks, 1995) p. 8.

<sup>33</sup> Swainson, Auckland, p. 28.

<sup>34</sup> Platts, Lively Capital, pp. 228-229.



undertaken. Four principal barracks were constructed: Fort Britomart and Albert Barracks in Auckland and Thorndon and Mount Cook in Wellington.

Initially, however, all troops entering New Zealand would disembark in Auckland before being sent to their final postings. This inevitably would entail another sea journey due to the lack of metalled roads in New Zealand. Thus, in the Northern War, when the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment was dispatched from Sydney, it landed at Auckland before being ordered to the Bay of Islands.<sup>35</sup>

After the sacking of Kororareka in 1845 many of Auckland's population feared that a similar fate might befall the capital. In order to placate their fears, additional work was carried out at Britomart Point, under the supervision of Major Bunbury and a Company of the 80<sup>th</sup>. Work on this site had been ongoing since 1840, on what was essentially a disused Pa. Bunbury, who came as military support for Hobson, did not consider Point Britomart the best site for the barracks. He had preferred a higher eminence but Hobson had overridden him. According to Una Platts, Bunbury also worried about getting things underway in Auckland. He feared that, if work was not commenced soon, his men would have to remain in their dilapidated tents for the winter.

Once in Auckland the detachment was broken up into working parties under the direction of George Graham of the Ordnance Department.<sup>36</sup> The new Fort Britomart Barracks formed two sides of a square; one side of which was loop-

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<sup>35</sup> Buick, Hone Heke's Rebellion, p. 190.

<sup>36</sup> Platts, Lively Capital, p. 24.

holed. The building was capable of accommodating 200 men and stores. Cowan provides us with an early description of Fort Britomart:

Fort Britomart, as it is now called, had been an ancient Pa of the Maoris, a deep tongue-like promontory, protected on the landside by a broad, deep ditch and parapet. The military utilised part of these defences; a portion of the parapet was thrown down to fill up the ditch at the entrance. On one side of the interior, an octagonal loop-holed guard-room was erected. A hospital was also built.<sup>37</sup>

The New Zealand Journal noted 'that extensive enlargements were in progress at the barracks by direction of the Ordnance Department in England; and the skilful mechanics of the 80<sup>th</sup> who were actively employed under the direction of Lieut. Bennett, R. E. and Mr Graham R. E., Civil Branch'.<sup>38</sup>

An insight into life in these barracks can be gleaned in one of the few soldiers' diaries kept during this period. Abel Dottin William Best was an ensign of the 80<sup>th</sup> Regiment. His account of the construction of Fort Britomart provides a rare glimpse of conditions, albeit expressed in a picturesque style somewhat lacking in punctuation:

1<sup>st</sup> March 1841. As there was only one other officer at the camp I took my Tour of weekly duty which confined me to the Camp during the

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<sup>37</sup> Cowan, New Zealand Wars, I, p. 34.

<sup>38</sup> Auckland Public Library (hereafter APL), New Zealand Journal (1843), p. 119.

remainder of the week. This is very nasty soldiering no parades drills or anything that is consonant with a military life but instead of these a party of dirty fellows dragging carts of great stones for building foundations & others working as carpenters others again as Blacksmiths and all the Barrack lumbered up with stones, lime handcarts and other filth. The Major building mad and our doctor with the disinterested feeling usual to Scotchmen always grumbling because the Mess house did not get on any quicker that being in fact the only building in any state of forwardness while the men were all in *tents* and he living in a comfortable Rapoo Hut.<sup>39</sup>

Nevertheless, Best also went on to mention that the positions of Government House and the Barracks were well chosen.

The next few years saw continued expansion of Fort Britomart, firstly by Hobson, then, after his death, by FitzRoy. At one point, Best recorded that these barracks were damaged due to unforeseen weather conditions:

March 18<sup>th</sup> 1842. Six pm. We are visited by a tremendous squall. It tore part of the roof off the Barracks levelled the Engineers new House lifting heavy planks off the ground and whirling them into the air like shavings.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Nancy M. Taylor (ed.), Journal of Ensign Best (Wellington: Government Printer, 1966), pp. 278-279. Raupo is a wetland plant, and was used as roofing and wall material for huts.

<sup>40</sup> Taylor, Journal of Ensign Best, p. 336.

The despatches passing between London and Auckland indicate the fact that the barracks were beginning to cost more than was anticipated. On 31 December 1842, Stanley, writing in answer to Hobson's dispatch of 17 March, allowed funds to be made available for the construction of temporary barracks for the troops. Stanley also brought to Hobson's attention the fact that the British government had not failed to notice the large excesses incurred in the estimate originally forwarded by the Officer Commanding Royal Engineer (CRE) at Sydney for the construction of a defensible barrack at the seat of government in New Zealand.<sup>41</sup>

In a later despatch dated 26 January 1843, again addressed to Hobson concerning barrack construction, Stanley cited the letter from the CRE, Lieutenant Bennett, who had suggested that arrangements should be made for ensuring the presence of a number of Military Mechanics in New Zealand, with a view to applying their labour in the erection of the contemplated barracks.<sup>42</sup> The despatch went on to say that this could be accomplished in concert with the Major General commanding the forces in New South Wales. These despatches suggest that the barracks were not intended to be permanent due to the prevailing perception that the ending of hostilities with Hone Heke would allow the troops to be withdrawn to Australia.

By November 1843 Stanley had written to FitzRoy, firstly to acknowledge a despatch from W. Shortland, the Colonial Secretary, but also to query why £27.5s.9¼d had been authorised by the latter to provide temporary barrack

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<sup>41</sup> PRO, WO6/96, Despatch no 1, Stanley to Hobson, 31 December 1842.

<sup>42</sup> PRO, WO6/96, Despatch no 1, Stanley to Hobson, 26 January 1843.

accommodation. Stanley queried this because the money had been paid without an estimate or a plan of the intended building, both of which should have been enclosed in Shortland's despatch. The payment allocated for this would be repaid to the Colonial Chest from Ordnance funds on completion.<sup>43</sup> Along with the rising cost of the construction, problems also arose when the Barrack Master, Richard Derrom, died suddenly on 3 January 1844.<sup>44</sup>

By 1845, the war with Heke had clearly not ceased. This led FitzRoy to write to Stanley, stating that he had taken the responsibility of making the Barracks more defensible and to protect the only magazine in Auckland. FitzRoy proposed to move the magazine into Fort Britomart barracks for a number of reasons. Initially its location had been two miles from Fort Britomart, on the harbour opposite to Auckland, and without adequate protection. FitzRoy emphasised this to Stanley by stating that by 'day or night any person could have plundered or set it on fire' thus destroying all the powder for Auckland. Finally, in the event of the Maoris attacking Auckland, 'it would be necessary to send a boat across the harbour in any weather to fetch powder for the defence of the town!'<sup>45</sup>

FitzRoy had also authorised the enclosure of the barracks. This request had been made by Lieutenant Colonel Hulme of the 96<sup>th</sup> Regiment, 'who stated that without enclosure to the barracks yard and without a place in which he could confine disorderly soldiers, it was impossible to preserve discipline

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<sup>43</sup> PRO, WO6/96, Despatch No 9, Stanley to FitzRoy, November 1843.

<sup>44</sup> APL, Southern Cross, 6 January 1844.

<sup>45</sup> PRO, WO1/433, Despatch No 30, FitzRoy to Stanley, 10, April 1845.

among such young and inexperienced men as those under his command'.<sup>46</sup> The New Zealander for 24 January 1845 had also commented on the growing number of troops now stationed in Auckland and the lack of an enclosed barrack space. The newspaper's opinion was that prudent measures should be adopted in order to preserve order in the town, as well as to prevent any misunderstanding or ill feeling between the inhabitants and the military. The paper suggested that 'in the present state of Auckland without enclosed barracks, it is impossible to prevent the soldiers being in the town, at all times and, hence, the probability of occasional disturbances'. Meanwhile, due to the small size of Fort Britomart, the Commissariat Department was operating from a building in Princess Street.<sup>47</sup>

In April 1845 the Southern Cross published an article on the defence of the town shortly before FitzRoy began the new Albert Barracks. This short piece suggests that much had been done by the Engineer Department to place the Fort Britomart Barracks in a tenable state of defence. The western side of the town, however, was quite unprotected, and Queen Street and its neighbourhood might be ransacked and burnt with impunity. The subject which most claimed the paper's attention, however, was the urgent necessity of having a place within the barracks for warehousing stores and provisions by such inhabitants who chose to deposit them in case the civilian population needed the security of the barracks if Auckland was attacked. The paper suggested that as many as 2,000 persons might need to use the barracks as protection and, without food for the inhabitants and military, they would soon

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<sup>46</sup> PRO, WO1/433, Despatch No 30, FitzRoy to Stanley, 10 April 1845.

<sup>47</sup> PRO, CO213/11, The New Zealander, 24 January 1845.

starve if a siege went on for a long period of time. The paper put the suggestion forward that one or two large, or a few smaller wooden buildings, could contain an immense quantity of food and could hereafter be available to the Ordnance Department for various purposes.<sup>48</sup> As already suggested, Fort Britomart was quite small and it would have been impractical for it to be used to shelter Auckland's population.

By October 1845 Stanley had replaced FitzRoy with the Governor of South Australia, Captain George Grey<sup>49</sup>. It is widely believed that Grey was responsible for the next phase of barrack building in Auckland, but this is not the case. James Cowan, for instance, credits Grey, stating Albert Barracks was constructed under his orders after the conclusion of Heke's war.<sup>50</sup> But, according to War Office records, FitzRoy had already begun to construct the new barracks before he was dismissed. In May 1845 FitzRoy had sent a four-page despatch to Stanley, stating his reasoning for more barracks, the intended location and the buildings to be constructed there. In any case, according to John Sweetman, in an emergency, FitzRoy could have ordered the CRE to erect a military building, providing the order was written and full details were forwarded to the Secretary of State for War justifying his actions.<sup>51</sup>

In view of the impending renewal of hostilities, FitzRoy was obliged to take immediate measures for defending the lives and properties of Her Majesty's

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<sup>48</sup> APL, *Southern Cross*, 12 April 1845.

<sup>49</sup> Bohan, *To be a Hero*, p. 64.

<sup>50</sup> Cowan, *New Zealand Wars*, I, p. 245.

<sup>51</sup> John Sweetman, *War and Administration* (Edinburgh, Scottish Academic Press, 1984), p. 64.

subjects and for maintaining the authority of the government. Thus, it was FitzRoy's decision to incur the serious responsibility of ordering the execution of several military works. These comprised five Blockhouses, an embankment and ditch, a Commissariat Store and additional temporary barracks for 150 men.<sup>52</sup> The provision for more accommodation was deemed vital as the reinforcements sent from Sydney (400 men) were being quartered in the town, in the Court House, in Blockhouses, and on board ship. Such arrangements were considered prejudicial to discipline and, it was thought, should not be continued.<sup>53</sup>

FitzRoy had first commissioned the CRE, Bennett, who died during the initial survey, and George Graham, Clerk of Works, to propose plans and estimates for a barracks capable of holding 500 men with officers' quarters and other requisite buildings. FitzRoy had granted the best site for the purpose to the Ordnance.<sup>54</sup>

It was intended that parts of the work should commence immediately, with the initial buildings constructed of wood on stone foundations while the rest of the work would continue once the war with Heke had ceased. Fort Britomart's position was now deemed objectionable and, even if there had been sufficient space, it was considered a waste of money to continue building there. The new site, according to FitzRoy, was 'excellent in every respect and close to the most commanding site for a castle or citadel'.<sup>55</sup> The location of the new

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<sup>52</sup> PRO, WO1/433, Despatch No 33, FitzRoy to Stanley, 31 May 1845.

<sup>53</sup> PRO, WO1/433.

<sup>54</sup> PRO, WO1/433.

<sup>55</sup> PRO, WO1/433.



site was on high ground near Government House with access from Princess Street.

FitzRoy's choice for the new site is conceivably the same location Major Bunbury initially suggested to Hobson before being ordered to commence work at Point Britomart. This site also complied with new Ordnance policy, which had been introduced in 1841 by Sir George Murray, Master General of the Ordnance. The policy was that new barracks should not necessarily be sited in the most strategic position but in the more elevated and healthier spots.<sup>56</sup> A description of the site in May 1845 emphasises the happy conjunction of both elevation and strategic importance:

This position, elevates three hundred feet above the sea, commands the whole of Auckland, and is not itself commanded. Water is abundant, the soil is good and a healthier place could not be found in any part of the world. The spot chosen for the new barracks (which will commence immediately, and will be ready for one hundred and fifty men, in three months) is about 200 yards in shore of the highest ground by which it will be sheltered from any future firing by shipping.<sup>57</sup>

Compared to the coastal location of Fort Britomart, the new barracks would be inland on, according to Cowan, the large hill known to the Maoris as Rangipuke.<sup>58</sup> Due to their makeshift construction, however, the new works

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<sup>56</sup> Strachan, Wellington's Legacy, p. 61.

<sup>57</sup> PRO, WO 1/433, Despatch No 33, FitzRoy to Stanley, 31 May 1845.

<sup>58</sup> Cowan, New Zealand Wars, I, p. 245.

were susceptible to the forces of nature. The New Zealander reported one incident in the construction of the new barracks in July 1845:

On Sunday last, the weather was exceedingly tempestuous and towards evening the wind increased until it became a complete hurricane. The new wooden structure on the ground lately apportioned by the Ordnance Department for the erection of permanent barracks for a large military force, but being partially enclosed and roofed and on a spot exposed to the whole fury of the tempest was razed to the ground about daylight on Monday morning; but being merely a frame work there can be very little delay in completing a more substantial building.<sup>59</sup>

It is fortunate that the plans for these new barracks survive in the Public Record Office. They outline all the dimensions of the buildings, and what they looked like. The new barracks followed what Hew Strachan describes as 'the usual construction of a soldier's barrack room, which consisted of an oblong apartment, having a door at one end and a fireplace at the other'.<sup>60</sup> The main barrack room (Number One) was to hold 45 men and was 75' long and 21' wide. A two-storey building, it was this structure that succumbed to the elements in July 1845. Barrack room Number Two was smaller than the latter, being 30' long and 21' wide and would accommodate 28 men. On the plans this gave the barracks an L-shaped appearance. An additional wing was subsequently added, turning the profile of the building into a three-sided

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<sup>59</sup> APL, New Zealander, 5 July 1845.

<sup>60</sup> Strachan, Wellington's Legacy, p. 60.

square. This new wing was 50' by 22' and it was envisaged that it would house 54 men.

Other buildings would also be constructed on this new site. These were the cook and washhouse, the meat and bread store, Commissariat Office and the privy. The cook and washhouses together comprised a single storey building with a central chimney; the overall dimensions being 26' by 25' 6", rising 9' high to the bottom of the roof, which rose at an angle of 45 degrees with a length of 14'. The privy was located approximately 15' away from the cook and wash houses and was 8' by 16' 6", with a 5' trench dug underneath the building acting as a cesspool. The last building in this first phase of barrack construction was the Commissariat Office, which was a small part of a larger two-storey building also housing the bread and meat store. Its overall size was 51' by 29'. Internally the dimensions allowing for the storage of bread and meat were 32' by 26' with a 9' ceiling height. The Commissariat Office was sited at one end of this building and was 10' wide by 26' feet long and utilised both floors.<sup>61</sup> All the buildings on the site were of brick and wood construction.

The Royal Engineers were used to both plan and supervise the construction of these additional buildings but the labour used could either be civilian, military, or, as will be shown later, Maori. The Commissariat Store, for example, was erected using the 96<sup>th</sup> Regiment as labour under Hulme's supervision while Philip Turner, the D.A.C.G.,<sup>62</sup> provided the layout and size to

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<sup>61</sup> PRO, MPH77, Plans of Barracks in Auckland, 10 July 1845.

<sup>62</sup> Deputy Assistant Commissary General.

which they should be constructed. From other reports, it would seem the military generally provided the main body of labour in the construction of these barracks. Also enclosed in the reports are the estimates for the total cost of each building. The wing added to the temporary wooden barracks cost £272.1s.9d, while the temporary wooden barracks for 86 men cost £357.11s.6  $\frac{3}{4}$ d. The estimate for the Commissariat store amounted to £328.12s.10 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.<sup>63</sup> The final total for all three buildings came to £958.6s.2d.

The hospital was a two storey building built from scoria. From the evidence held in WO334/17, the hospital was 58' 6' long by 48' wide. The lower storey was divided into compartments and was thoroughly ventilated by several apertures on the lower floor; two hearths were built to provide heat during the winter. The upper story consisted of two large wards each containing 13 beds with an allowance of 1,441 $\frac{1}{2}$  cubic feet of air for each person. A bathroom was also incorporated into the building. The records also contain an exterior sketch of the hospital, which gives an indication of the layout and design as well as ground plans giving its dimensions.<sup>64</sup> The hospital was built using the labour of soldiers of the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment, who were now garrisoned in Auckland.<sup>65</sup> Other buildings that were eventually established on the barrack site were a library, mortuary, theatre and a gaol. Between 1848 and 1849, the Commissariat Department also advertised for carpenters to erect artillery barracks and a military reading room.<sup>66</sup> The first mention in the provincial

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<sup>63</sup> PRO, WO 1/433, Royal Engineer Department estimates and reports, Auckland, New Zealand, 1845.

<sup>64</sup> PRO, WO334/17, Annual Return of the Sick and Wounded of the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment for the period ending 31 March 1848. The sketch of the hospital exterior detached from the original class is held under WO/334/28.

<sup>65</sup> Laurie Gluckman, *Touching on Deaths* (Doppelganger, 2000), p. 56.

<sup>66</sup> ATL, *New Zealander*, 26 June 1848 and 3 February 1849.

newspapers of the Military Theatre came in 1848, ironically stating that the forthcoming show had been cancelled.<sup>67</sup>

While the tenders were being placed for the construction of the barracks, work had already begun on the perimeter wall. This wall was constructed from Bluestone Basalt, which was brought from the Mount Eden quarry<sup>68</sup> about five miles from the barrack site. The height of this wall was 10' and the wall had flanking angles and loopholed faces.<sup>69</sup> This wall was unique as it was not constructed using military personnel but by the local Maori population and civilians, George Graham having placed an advertisement in the New Zealander for tenders by Maoris to work on the boundary wall of Albert Barracks.<sup>70</sup> This alarmed some of the local population as the war in the Bay of Islands was still on going and many were still fearful that they would be overrun.

The New Zealander mentioned these aspiring stonemasons, as well as highlighting the fears of certain members of Auckland's citizens. Clearly the Maori had a capacity to learn, soon grasping the rudimentary basics of carrying brick and mixing mortar and many had now progressed to laying bricks and building walls. Under George Graham's supervision many of them had learnt to work in most cases unsupervised and, according to the newspaper, their work was of a standard 'that it would be difficult to point out any marked difference between theirs and the work performed by European

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<sup>67</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 20 September 1848.

<sup>68</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 9 June 1847; Clough and Associates Ltd Heritage Consultants, Albert Park: Archaeological Assessment, 6 December 1996, p. 2. Basalt is a dark basic volcanic rock.

<sup>69</sup> PRO, WO 344/17, Annual Return of the Sick and Wounded of the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment, for the period ending 31 March 1848.

stonemasons'. A second letter from 'An Observer' indicates that initially 20 Maori were employed to prepare the foundations and dress the perimeter wall. Due to the success of the latter, the number rose to 70, of whom 40 were employed in the quarry. At the barrack site, the remainder were sinking wells and erecting the defensive wall.

The barrack site contained three wells. According to WO334/17, one well was sunk to 66' without actually hitting a water source; tanks were placed in suitable positions to enable an ample supply of fresh water to be gathered. The Maoris were paid according to their experience on a sliding scale; those in the entrance class were paid 2s.0d per day; when they had become good workmen they were paid 2s.6d a day. Finally, those who could undertake finishing work and had acquired a certain degree of dispatch were paid 3s.6d a day. This also had the effect that the Maoris began to adopt a European style of working and maintained regular hours.<sup>71</sup>

By September 1846 the scale of the barrack site was beginning to gain attention from the newspapers. The New Zealander commented:

Several large and substantial buildings have been erected. Under the superintendence of George Graham of the Engineering Department, which by the durability and neatness of their construction, add materially to the appearance of the Settlement. A large bomb proof magazine 50ft by 15 ft in the clear, with a wall 4ft thick, built of stones

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<sup>70</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 18 December 1846.

<sup>71</sup> APL, New Zealander, 9 June 1847.

procured from Mount Eden, many of which are solid and run through, faced on both sides, has been erected by civilian mechanics. In addition to the smaller ordinance store, for daily issue, which was completed some time ago. A stone hospital of two storeys, with accommodation for 40 patients, and with necessary offices, has also been erected by the men of the 58<sup>th</sup> regt., in a manner highly creditable to their industry and skill; the estimated expense of this building is £1300. Very commodious officers quarters are nearly completed at Point Britomart; this building is also of stone, and cost £500. government has also issued directions for the construction of six temporary wooden barracks, each 50ft long, 22ft wide and 10ft high to contain about 30 men each, which are now in the course of erection.<sup>72</sup>

Apart from its strategic military importance Albert Barracks could also be used to shelter the civilian population if there was an uprising by the Maori tribes living in the locality. In 1851 there was such a scare. Some of the officers were living outside the barracks with their families. One officer's son discovered that he could climb the drainpipe in order to gain access into the barracks after the gates had been closed. On one occasion he observed that those billeted inside were in a very excited and alarmed state. He proceeded to inform his father, who after enquiry armed himself and proceeded back to the barracks. The officer's son crawled back into the barracks and followed the troops who were marching out to the top of Constitution Hill to seek out alleged attackers.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> APL, *New Zealander*, 26 February 1846.

<sup>73</sup> Maurice Lennard, 'The Albert Barracks', *Auckland Waikato Historical Journal* 59, September 1991, p. 23.

According to Swainson, writing in 1853, 'The most considerable public buildings are the Britomart and Albert Barracks, having together accommodation for nearly one thousand men'. A Royal Engineer report on engineering duties in New Zealand had also commented on both barracks in 1851:

In Auckland there are about five hundred men; there are some stone buildings, but most of the men are in temporary wooden buildings on Point Britomart and Albert Hill in the rear of it. This latter is a good position for defending the land front of the town; and it is enclosed with a flanked and loopholed stonewall. There is only a slight enclosure to Point Britomart. There are good magazines and storehouses.<sup>74</sup>

The Engineers' report, however, was also quite critical of Fort Britomart. There was no adequate protection for the two thirty two pounder guns that were sited there or any protection for the troops besides the buildings if a ship to shore attack happened. Bennett, the then CRE, had compiled a report on improving the defences. His report suggested that the guns should be covered by an earth parapet 3' high and that an additional field battery be formed for those guns not mounted. Bennett's estimated cost for this was £500. Bennett also implied that, if a concerted attack on Auckland from the sea was to occur, then it was advisable to mount two heavy guns on the North Shore with magazines and barracks as well as one company of Royal

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<sup>74</sup> Papers on Subjects connected with the Duties of the Royal Engineers, New Series, III, 1853, p. 40.



Artillery, assisted by other regiments. The ammunition, shot and shell would have to be obtained from England. Bennett's final estimate was £30,000 if the structure was permanent or, if it was of a temporary nature, £6,000.<sup>75</sup> The report went on to say that 'there has been some difficulty experienced in obtaining sites for ordinary barracks for the troops; the proper military positions have not been selected, and have been sold to private persons'.<sup>76</sup> This statement is very ambiguous and should perhaps be interpreted as applying to the whole of the North Island and not just to Auckland.

To return to Swainson's account from 1853, it describes both barracks, stating that:

The former [Britomart] are built on the extremity of the headland dividing Official and Commercial Bay, and form a conspicuous, but by no means an ornamental feature. The buildings are solid and substantial. The Albert Barracks the larger of the two, are built upon the same ridge, but about a quarter of a mile inland. The Stores, Hospital, Magazine and Commissariat Offices, are built of scoria. The rest of the buildings are of wood, plain in style, and of a sombre colour.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> PRO, WO1/534, Auckland Defences, 1851-1853

<sup>76</sup> Duties of the Royal Engineers, pp. 39-40.

<sup>77</sup> Swainson, Auckland, p. 31.

Swainson noted that, compared to those at Wellington, these barracks were much more extensive, though 'the Auckland barracks have by no means the same neat, cheerful and compact appearance'.<sup>78</sup>

The barracks did not just hold regular military personnel. Under George Grey's governorship, Fencibles were introduced in 1847. These were retired soldiers who arrived to serve as auxiliaries alongside the militia and regular forces. The Fencibles were to be settled in four sites: Onehunga, Howick, Panmure and Otahuhu. Whatever their ultimate destination, however, for the majority, their first point of disembarkation was Albert Barracks. One example of this was the ship *Ramillies* whose passengers were sent from the ship to the barracks while temporary accommodation was erected in Onehunga.<sup>79</sup> William Fox, writing in 1851, spoke of the fencibles' settlements in disparaging terms:

In a military point of view they are altogether useless. Placed as a sort of cordon around Auckland, to protect it from the large tribes to the south and west, but being mere straggling villages, without any form of fortification, if the natives should wish to attack the capital, they would any morning before daylight, walk through the whole of them, and massacre the inhabitants in their beds, and, having seized their arms and ammunition, proceed on their way to Auckland. Regarded in a colonizing point of view, the pensioner system could prove no other than a failure. With the single exception of convicts, it would not be

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<sup>78</sup> Swainson, *Auckland*, p. 32.

<sup>79</sup> Alan La Roche, p. 18

possible to select a worse class for emigration than old broken-down soldiers, stiffened into military habits, or only relaxed by the vices of barracks and canteens.<sup>80</sup>

Albert Barracks was further improved upon by General Dean-Pitt, who was in overall command of the Imperial forces in New Zealand from 1848 until his death in post on 8 January 1851. Pitt inherited, according to Maurice Lennard, barracks that were incomplete. But, by the time of his death, he had added a further wooden barrack constructed to house 900 rank and file. A further 10 men were housed in a stone building called the 'Grenadier Barracks'. Along with the hospital, sergeant's mess room, regimental orderly room and treasury, the latter were constructed of stone. There was also a large stone magazine for small arms ammunition, surrounded by a stonewall. The main guardhouse was situated inside the Princess Street gate.<sup>81</sup>

The year 1861 saw the barracks being extensively used by both Imperial regiments and the male inhabitants of Auckland since most men between the ages of 16 and 55 were now on active service in response to the disturbances in Taranaki and the Waikato regions. James Cowan notes that the citizen recruits were drilled in the Albert Barracks by regular instructors morning after morning until of a sufficient standard to be sent to Otahuhu to join the other militia and regular forces encamped there.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Cited in Horsman, *Coming of Pakeha*, p. 76.

<sup>81</sup> Lennard, 'Albert Barracks', p. 23; PRO, WO334/17, Annual Return of the Sick and Wounded 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment, 1848.

<sup>82</sup> Cowan, *New Zealand Wars*, I, p. 244.

In view of this new increased activity, the Southern Cross ran two advertisements in January 1861, the first from the Royal Engineers Department for providing the construction of a wooden building to house married men in Albert Barracks. The second was placed by the Commissariat Department for accommodation for 100 women and 100 children as near the barracks as possible. On 5 April the Commissariat Department again placed an advertisement for anybody who could let out a house or houses to accommodate eight families as well as a further 47 women and 60 children.<sup>83</sup>

During 1861 men of the Royal Artillery were encamped on the Barrack Square within Albert Barracks. This created much interest among the civilian population as the artillerymen were mounting an Armstrong Gun, in readiness for future action. The New Zealander described the scene:

On Saturday last, the Albert Barrack Square, where the artillery are camped, and their guns and carriages parked, was crowded like a fair, the curious of both sexes flocking to have a look at the far famed Armstrong Gun, one of which had been mounted during the day. Nothing could surpass of both officers and men in explaining the operations of loading, sighting, and working the gun, which is a beautiful piece of mechanism, perfect in every detail, and highly finished. It is a 12 pounder and weighs 8 cwt 2 qrs and 12 lbs. The charge of the powder is 1½ lbs., and the shot is used either as shot or shell, as occasion may require; it is cased in lead, with an iron disc at

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<sup>83</sup> APL, Southern Cross, January 1861.

the butt end from whence seven circles formed of seven pieces of iron, or 49 segments in all, taper towards an iron faced apex, into which a plug is screwed, either with a fuse if charged as a shell, or without if fired as shot. In the event of being compelled to abandon the gun, no spiking is required all that is needed is to carry away the plug, then the gun is totally useless.<sup>84</sup>

The same year saw the start of the withdrawal of Imperial Regiments from New Zealand. As previously stated, the British government had decided that the colony should, and would, become self-sufficient. Due to the cost of maintaining regiments, the British government put forward the proposal that the colonial government should be charged £5 for every regular stationed in New Zealand. This was initially agreed but, in reality, the colonial government defaulted on its payments.<sup>85</sup> Irrespective of that particular outcome, however, the colonial government now had to raise local forces rather than rely on the Imperial Regiments, although some regiments would still arrive or remain to assist the militia and volunteers now being organised to take on the role of colonial protectors. One of the first regiments to depart was the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment, which left Auckland in November 1858,<sup>86</sup> having been stationed there for twenty years.<sup>87</sup>

The camp at Otahuhu was increasingly seen as a supplement to the military accommodation in Auckland though it was really only a mixture of tents and

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<sup>84</sup> ATL, *New Zealander*, 13 March 1861.

<sup>85</sup> Author's Collection, *Appendices to the Journal of House of Representatives*, Despatch No. 139, Gore-Browne to Newcastle, 22 December 1860.

<sup>86</sup> M. H. Wynyard, 'The 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment', *Auckland Waikato Historical Society* 43, September 1983, p. 25.

wooden buildings, and on 4 November 1863, the camp was partially destroyed by a freak storm. An amusing account of the incident was published shortly afterwards, which deserves quotation at length:

The extraordinary scene which presented itself at this camp, between 4 and 5 o'clock today, was of such a kind as almost to baffle description, especially a written one. The sublime was so thoroughly intermingled with the ridiculous, that one scarcely knew which feeling to give way to: regret at the wholesale destruction of property going on before one's eyes, or hearty laughter at the ludicrous incidents occasioned by the hurricane. I am employed in a military department here, and whilst diligently pursuing my peaceful occupation of clerk, was suddenly startled (and startled I was in good sooth) by the most terrific flash of lightning I ever saw in my life, instantaneously followed by a report, which literally shook every building from end to end of the camp to its very foundations. The rain (which had been but slightly only a moment before) commenced forthwith to come down in a rush that was truly appalling. Suddenly up rose the wind, driving all the obstacles before it with resistless fury. The rain literally assumed the appearance of a blinding sheet of spray, in consequence of the tremendous force with which it was propelled by the blast. Then came another fearful flash, followed by a crash I will attempt to illustrate. At this moment my thoughts were of the insignificance of man. What a poor feeble atom he is at best, in the very pride of his strength, with all his warlike

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<sup>87</sup> Platts, *Lively Capital*, p. 201; PRO, WO32/8252, Despatch from Wynyard asking that the 58<sup>th</sup> be withdrawn from New Zealand

appliances. The fiat that wields the sword of the destroying Angel goes forth, and where is he? What is he? When looking through the window facing my desk, I saw a large piece of corrugated iron as big as my room, in full career after four unhappy 2<sup>nd</sup> class militiamen; ever and anon hovering over them like some monstrous bird of prey with outspread pinions, whilst they tore along might and main to escape it. Fortunately, however for them, it struck the angle of the hut, and was so arrested in its headlong progress; but the gallant fellows ran many a long yard, ere they dared to look behind them. The next thing that caught my eye was a cook frantically chevying his pots, in the vain endeavour to catch them; but I soon withdrew my gaze from him, for to my infinite horror, I perceived a horse, with a rope around his neck, rushing at full gallop at the window, which stands low; to my great relief, however, it swerved at the corner of the hut, and rushed across the parade. Well I wonder what next, I thought I, when the door was flung open, and the Quarter-master Sergeant of the regiment scrambled into the office, spun round three or four times, and finally fell down on a stool to fetch his breath. "What's the matter, Quarter-master", said I. I thought at last that something frightful had occurred. When he recovered himself, he ejaculated, "Oh! the Sergeant Major!" "What about him", I put in. "Why, he's blown away bodily, bag and baggage". He rejoined; "and then the lines." "What about the lines?" I remarked by way of reply to his exclamation. He slowly repeated my words in sepulchral tone, adding, "come and see." I went and saw: and such a wreck of huts no one would believe unless they actually

witnessed the scene. As for the Sergeant-Major, it appears that he was writing in his tent when the hurricane set in, and the whole concern was unceremoniously lifted from over him, as if it were an umbrella, whilst his effects were scattered by rude Boreas in every conceivable direction. A sentry who had sought his box for safety and shelter was blown, box and all, for many yards, and when they reached *terra Firma* the box fell over him, crushing his rifle, and making a sickle of his bayonet, whilst he himself was obliged to break open the end of his box and creep out like a giant chick from a shell.

A few minutes subsequently to these startling events, my commanding officer quietly strolled in and coolly enquired what all the sensation was about; and was perfectly astounded when I endeavoured to describe, as well as I could, what I had seen, having seen nothing of it himself whilst quietly ensconced in the quite seclusion of the mess room, so closely confined in its limits was the whirlwind. The cook house and water closets were hurled aloft like bandboxes about the camp. Two soldiers were carried away to the brink of the river and dropped in safety there, whilst some hospital tents borne in shreds completely out of sight, leaving the patients, iron bedsteads, and various utensils all shelter less. This had a curious effect, like the lifting of a curtain at a theatre, exhibiting an al fresco scene improvised. Another eccentric freak of the blast was to unroof a portion of the sergeants mess room and then roll up instantaneously all the blankets from off the beds, twisting them together, and whirling them through the breach in the



roof. Some fire balls or thunderbolts are reported to have fallen in the camp.<sup>88</sup>

The clerk obviously saw the funny side to this potentially dangerous situation.

Two years prior to this storm, as already suggested, Otahuhu had been a hive of military activity. 1861 saw the return of the 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment from Waitara to be garrisoned in the Albert Barracks. It was decided that Otahuhu would hold the rest of the returning regiments consisting of the 12<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup> and 70<sup>th</sup>. As also indicated earlier, the site was initially tented though the Commissariat had already placed tenders for the construction of huts made from kauri timber. However, for the foreseeable future, the men would remain under canvas. During the remainder of 1861, these regiments passed their time by holding athletic competitions. The events ranged from barrow races to throwing the cricket ball, jumping the pole and the 300 yard dash. By December 1861, however, the camp had been disbanded as those stationed there were being sent to Waikato. The majority of the regiments were still under canvas, due to the lack of completed hutted accommodation.<sup>89</sup>

The 58<sup>th</sup> was withdrawn at a time of increasing tensions in the Taranaki and Waikato districts. Due to these uprisings, troops were now passing through Auckland very quickly, in order to engage tribes who had formed the King Movement. Upon disembarking at Auckland in 1863, for example, the 12<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 7 November 1863.

<sup>89</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 11 May, 12 October, and 25 December 1861.

Regiment proceeded directly to Albert Barracks to await orders.<sup>90</sup> The journal of the Deputy Quartermaster General from 1861 to 1864 confirms the continuing use of Britomart and, especially, Albert Barracks, for these purposes. On 11 December 1863, the DQMG had under the authority of the Lieutenant General given over to the Purveyor's Department a large building in Albert Barracks as supplementary accommodation for the military hospital to allow for the sick and wounded being returned from campaigning in Rangiriri. This building would accommodate 100 extra beds.<sup>91</sup>

In the following year, The Weekly News published a piece on Fort Britomart, with a small section on Albert Barracks. The article explained in detail what Fort Britomart held in the way of supplies from frying pans to hospital bedsteads, and listed all the main stores in the barrack complex. Number One Store was termed the Receiving Store (Goods In); this building was 65' by 60', with storage for 1,000 tons of goods. From here they would be transferred to the other buildings on the barrack site. The Numbers Six and Seven Stores were primarily used by the Royal Artillery for the six and twelve pound Armstrong batteries and shot and shell for the smooth bore guns; Number Six Store also held rifles stored ready to be issued to the rank and file as well as officers. Number Three Store was utilised by the Commissariat Department and the Royal Engineers, while the Transport Corps used Number Two Store, where all the equipment for saddlers, farriers, and wheelwrights was kept. Entrenching tools, pack-saddles and field equipment were also stored. Number Eight Store was for general trade; carpenters,

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<sup>90</sup> PRO, WO33/16, Journal of the Deputy Quartermaster General in New Zealand, 24 December 1861 to 7 September 1864

painters, and items used in the repair of the barracks. There was also accommodation for 25 personnel.<sup>92</sup> These barracks had clearly become the main military store for all the Imperial Regiments stationed in the whole of New Zealand.

The paper went on to discuss Albert Barracks but dwelt mainly on the magazine store, stating that all the ammunition for the whole of the forces in New Zealand was stored there. This amounted to 4.5 million rounds of ammunition, with a further 5 million rounds soon to be unloaded in the harbour. The Weekly News added the sobering reflection that, if by an act of sabotage or an accident, the magazine was destroyed the resulting explosion would devastate the majority of the buildings in Auckland. The building was lined in copper, this also applying to the tools used inside and the roof, to cut down the risk of a stray spark igniting the powder.<sup>93</sup>

By April 1864 a gun and militia shed had been constructed in the grounds. This was shortly followed by extra work to the military store, which was carried out by Messrs Combes and Sons.<sup>94</sup> Onehunga also saw some construction work. The Deputy Adjutant-General's Office had placed an advertisement in the New Zealander for the construction of Iron barracks and other buildings.<sup>95</sup> It might be asked why this work was still being carried out on the barracks, when it was clear that all Imperial troops were to be withdrawn?<sup>96</sup> The existing buildings, of course, had been originally envisaged as temporary

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<sup>91</sup> PRO, WO33/16, p. 77.

<sup>92</sup> Weekly News, 5 March 1864, p. 14.

<sup>93</sup> Weekly News, 5 March 1864, p. 14.

<sup>94</sup> Wellington Archives (hereafter WA), Army Department Mss, AD 2/1/1864, Army Department, 1864.

<sup>95</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 20 February 1864.

buildings for use by the regiments involved in the Northern War. These temporary barracks had now been in constant use for over 19 years due to the on-going disturbances and the New Zealand government's insistence that a permanent military presence was required. In effect, they had become a permanent feature of Auckland and it appears that no one considered any other course than to maintain them though it was clearly possible that the local forces being raised to replace the regulars could also potentially make good use of the barracks.

In fact, in 1864, some encroachment onto military land had already been mooted, a process which would culminate in the disposal of the barracks in 1870. Alfred Domett published a article in the New Zealander suggesting that the Auckland Society, 'should have the land near the new commissariat buildings' but that 'a much better site however, be that portion of the reserve round Albert Barracks, opposite to the new commissariat buildings, west of the road from Princess Street to the barrack gate'.<sup>97</sup>

With the ending of hostilities in Waikato in December 1863, the regiments were re-located to either Auckland or Wellington. On the one hand, as the Army Medical Department Statistical, Sanitary, and Medical Reports for 1865 commented, this required additional accommodation at least in the short term:

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<sup>96</sup> G. B. Abel, 'The Albert Barracks, Auckland', Auckland Waikato Historical Journal, 59, September 1991, p. 18.

<sup>97</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 19 July 1864. Alfred Domett, 1811-1887, was a public servant who also had periods of provincial and parliamentary involvement - see The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography: Volume 1, 1769-1869, (Wellington: Bridgett Williams Books, 1998), pp. 109-111.

During the year 1863, it was necessary to supplement the barrack accommodation, which was done partly by the erection of wooden huts, but chiefly by the encampment of the troops pitched in the barrack square.<sup>98</sup>

On the other, it also encouraged the continuation of the withdrawal of the Imperial regiments from New Zealand.<sup>99</sup> Provision of such temporary accommodation, however, was slow. In 1864, regiments were still living in tents and when the annual cricket match was played, the ground was surrounded by a series of tents erected in readiness for the 14<sup>th</sup> Regiment, which was due from Wellington.<sup>100</sup> As troop withdrawal begun to gather momentum, no further work or alterations were carried out on the existing barrack sites. The 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment embarked for its return to Britain on 24 October 1865, although some of the regiment elected to remain behind as settlers, while others joined the militia or volunteer forces.<sup>101</sup> As the Imperial contraction continued, it inevitably quickened the debate as to what use the barracks could now be put.

One building (the Commissariat Store), which was situated just outside the Albert Barracks at the top of Princess Street, was already no longer being used in the role for which it was originally intended. Major M. Tighe of the Auckland Volunteers had suggested that the store be used as a drill shed for the Volunteers as the membership had reached 548 men and, according to

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<sup>98</sup> Army Medical Department, Statistical, Sanitary, and Medical Reports Volume VII, 1865 p. 348.

<sup>99</sup> Army Medical Department, Statistical, Sanitary, and Medical Reports Volume VII, 1865 p. 348.

<sup>100</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 21<sup>st</sup> November 1864.

<sup>101</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 21<sup>st</sup> November 1864.

Tighe, was increasing daily. They needed a place to learn how to drill but, more importantly, learn the art of musketry. On 28 June 1867 Tighe had received a reply from Major Baker<sup>102</sup> on behalf of the DQMG. Baker stated that the estimated value of the building was £1,200. He had taken into account wear and tear, since it originally cost £2,991 to build in 1864. Baker therefore offered the store to the Provincial government for volunteer use - subject to approval by the Secretary of State for War - for £1,200 or it could be leased for £60.00 per annum. If they chose to lease the store then they would have to comply with various conditions:

That the building continue to be periodically inspected by the Royal Engineer Department, and whatever repairs may at such inspections be found to be necessary, shall be promptly performed by the Provincial Government and to the satisfaction of the commander of the Royal Engineers.

That the Provincial Government surrender the building, at two months notice whenever it may be required by the military authorities, in the same condition as when it was handed over to them. Due allowance being made for fair wear and that the Provincial Government shall replace at its cost and in a satisfactory manner, any fittings partitions or doors, which they may cause to be removed in order to adapt the building to the purpose for which they wish obtain it.

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<sup>102</sup> Major T. D. Baker was Deputy Assistant Adjunct General Army.

That in the event of the Imperial Government deciding that the building shall be sold, the Provincial Government shall purchase it at the above named valuation, viz £1,200 less whatever sums may in the meantime be paid by the Province for rent and repairs.

Daniel Pollen, the Deputy Superintendent of Auckland, on receiving Baker's letter, had agreed to lease the store from the Imperial Government, until such times that the necessary funds were released from the Provincial Council. General Pitt had also suggested that the store be insured for its value (£1,200) in case the building was destroyed by fire. The insurance policy was assigned to the Barrack Master for safe keeping, and the store was used as a drill shed for a number of years.<sup>103</sup> There has been some confusion regarding Pitt, for it has appeared strange to some writers that a man who died in 1851 could have signed a document in 1867. According to Major Richard Taylor, however, there is no mystery when it is understood that there were two Pitts in New Zealand. The first had indeed stayed in command until his death in 1851, while the second Pitt commanded the Australians who fought in the Waikato Wars and, afterwards, as part of the Waikato Militia. These Australians, incidentally, also passed through Albert Barracks, where they were assigned with a basic forage uniform consisting of two pairs of blue trousers, two blue serge jumpers and two pairs of boots and a forage cap. From here they were sent to Otahuhu and then into the field.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> APL, Special Documents Collection, 'Correspondence with the Imperial Authorities relative to the acquisition of the Imperial Commissariat Store at the top of Princess Street, for the purpose of a drill shed for the Volunteers of Auckland'.

<sup>104</sup> Conversation with Major Richard Taylor, Trentham Army Base, New Zealand. See also Leonard L. Barton, The Australians in the Waikato War 1863-1864 (Sydney: Library of Australian History, 1979), pp. 15-16.

As more military buildings became surplus to requirements other problems began to become apparent. The Superintendent's Office in Auckland received a communication about defective drainage in the Albert Barracks. The document is dated 24 June 1868, but the enclosed letters covered the period since March 1868. The earliest letter, dated 4 March, outlined the need for some form of remedial measures to the drains so that the general population would not be affected by the problem. This was signed by Dr Young, who was the surgeon of the 18<sup>th</sup> Regiment and a member of the sanitary committee. In a later letter sent by Young to the Chairman of the Town Board, he reported that the 'surface drains from within the barracks discharge their contents outside the barracks walls where no proper drains exist'. Presumably the waste discharged into an open cesspool. According to the Committee this became very offensive in the hot season. Indeed, there might be a chance of an epidemic occurring amongst the civil population. The letter suggested that proper drainage should be installed to curb this particular problem. The Board's reply to Young was as follows:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 5<sup>th</sup> with reference to the defective state of the drainage in the vicinity of the Albert barrack, which was submitted to a meeting of the Board held yesterday. When I was instructed to inform you that the nuisance referred to exists on Government property over which the Board has no control and on which they have no power to expend any funds.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> APL, Special Documents Collection, 'Communication received by the Superintendent from the Military Sanitary Committee in reference to the defective drainage in the vicinity of the Albert barracks', 4 March 1868.



But, as the Barracks were still on Imperial-owned land, the Board did not consider this to be their problem and referred it back to the Military. The outcome is not known.

The problem of the disposing of waste within the barracks had actually been apparent for many years. In 1864 the state of the drain had been considered to be the cause of the death from disease of a sergeant in the barracks. As the New Zealander commented, the problem was an 'intolerable public nuisance':

The public cannot but look with alarm upon an open drain of such a character, debouching into a part of town the most densely populated, and it cannot be doubted but it will become in hot weather the fruitful source of disease and death. The public civilian board however, had no power to enforce healthy drainage over the military land. They had formally complained to the military authorities which they received no reply. Colonel Mould and the barrack master who had stated that formal communications needed to be made. The board were willing to meet the authorities in any way but the neglect was theirs.<sup>106</sup>

Prior to this, in 1859, the CRE had begun to look at ways of solving this problem, suggesting that 'deodorizing pits should be installed as, the majority of the waste came from the barracks and was still discharging into Queen Street. Under the Colonel of the Royal Engineers, a tender had been written

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<sup>106</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 7 September 1864.

with regard to the health of the Auckland's inhabitants'.<sup>107</sup> In fact, Auckland was constructing its own sewer for the town in 1859, but by 1864 the barracks had still not been connected.

During 1869 the Commissariat began to sell off military land to any interested parties, the land being sold in lots at auction at both Auckland and Wellington.<sup>108</sup> The New Zealand Herald printed what it thought was the best use for the Albert Barracks:

people are asking, what is to become of the Barrack Square when the last man of the 2<sup>nd</sup> bat. 18<sup>th</sup> regiment has left us. Little Tommy Eaves, who knows everything and everybody says that the gates are to be carefully locked, so that the imperial authority may not be trifled with even in the absence of the last vestige of means of enforcing that authority. Unwilling and unable to enjoy procession themselves, tis yet said, that the Home Government, emulating the dog in the manger, intend to shut us, the colonial public, out of pleasant lounge and a good cricket ground, for all the world as if we colonists had nor lot nor parcel in the property of the Queens subjects. What we would propose would be that inasmuch as the wooden huts, &c., will be utterly rotten long before we shall require them for military purposes, they should be sold, and the Home Government, who are rather nice in these matters, should be credited with the proceeds, and that the ground should be laid out as a peoples park, and a place of recreation for all classes of

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<sup>107</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 2 November 1859.

<sup>108</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 1869, passim.

the community, within easy reach of our citizens and their families, the barrack square cleared of unsightly encumbrances and planted with choice trees by some understanding landscape gardening, would provide us with a peoples park-small it is true, but more useful to the community in a sanitary point of view than it ever has been in a military one.<sup>109</sup>

Between January and February 1870, when the 18<sup>th</sup> Regiment withdrew from Auckland, both the provincial newspapers and the provincial council had either raised questions, or put forward suggestions as to how best utilise the vacant barracks. A letter from 'Civis' dated 17 January 1870 suggested a number of applications to which the site could be put. Firstly, some of the existing barracks might be used for the new locally raised units. Secondly, there could be a museum with an observatory. Thirdly, the remainder of the barrack site might be a park with pleasant walkways, while retaining the cricket ground. 'Civis' was set against the site being used for 'industrial means'.<sup>110</sup>

Prior to this letter, the editor of the New Zealand Herald, had written an extensive editorial on the troop withdrawal, coupled with the potential uses for the redundant military site:

The 18<sup>th</sup> regiment it is anticipated will have been wholly withdrawn from New Zealand by the end of March. It is variously proposed that the Albert Barracks square should be used as a public park, or leased as

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<sup>109</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 29 December 1869.

<sup>110</sup> ATL, New Zealand Herald, 17 January 1870.

an educational endowment. Sealed tenders are invited for the purchase of four allotments of land in the Albert Barracks, Auckland; tenders to be sent in 31<sup>st</sup> instant. It is much to be desired that our local Government should purchase these allotments at first hand, no matter what may ultimately be decided on as to what is to become of the ground now about to handed over to the colony. Private speculators should not, in this instance, be permitted to cut in and spoil the chance of rendering this site available as one of our public lungs, which they would inevitably do were these allotments to fall into their hands. A farewell ball was given on the 3<sup>rd</sup> instance, in the Albert Barracks, by the band of the 18<sup>th</sup> regiment. A large room in one of the buildings was specially set apart for the occasion, and tastefully decorated with evergreens and bunting.<sup>111</sup>

The Commissariat Department had meanwhile placed advertisements in the main papers for the sale of all the sites in Auckland and Wellington. However, members of the Provincial Government had raised questions as to why it had not purchased this land for the city. One member, Mr Philips, had addressed the question to the Superintendent, requesting him 'to place on the estimates a sum sufficient to purchase the allotments situated in Albert Barracks'. In reply, the Provincial Secretary, stated that:

He would inform the Council what had occurred. When the sale was announced, the attention of the Provincial Government was called to it.

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<sup>111</sup> ATL, New Zealand Herald, 12 January 1870.

The Provincial Government first requested to be informed what allotments were for sale. The whole credit was due to his Honor the Superintendent, who waited on the Governor and on the Imperial Authorities, and the result was, the allotments were withdrawn from sale. It was understood that it would be handed over upon the money being paid which those allotments actually cost.<sup>112</sup>

The Commissariat Department subsequently withdrew all the advertisements for tenders for both barrack sites after authorisation from the Governor.<sup>113</sup> The general consensus was that the site should be used as a park for the public since many of Auckland's inhabitants begrudged having to walk a few miles to the Domain, the largest public park in Auckland. The New Zealander had the last word on how best to use the site. It suggested that the government could use the existing buildings and save on the rent they were presently paying for a private building: the sum of £300 was mentioned. If this was not to be the case, then why not use the building for the Grammar School, which was at present a distance away from the town? This eventually transpired, but the paper still insisted that the grounds be used as a public park. Eventually, this also came to pass.<sup>114</sup>

G. F. Bowen, the Governor during the period of troop withdrawal, had also forwarded a memorandum from the Colonial government concerning the guns mounted on the fort at Auckland to the Secretary of State. He emphasised that the onus was now placed on the Colonial government to defend itself and

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<sup>112</sup> ATL, New Zealand Herald, 26 January 1870.

that sites that were previously under the Ordinance Department should be returned to the Colonial Government. Bowen had approached Major-General Sir Trevor Chute concerning these matters and was informed:

That the dilapidated wooden huts of which most of the barracks consist, and the obsolete guns and stores referred to, are of no intrinsic value and are not worth the cost of removal. Still they would be of some use to the Colony for their sale or removal would render it difficult even to fire the customary salute on Her Majesty's Birthday.

Bowen considered that, 'when the responsibility of that defence is transferred to the Colonies, it is clearly right that the property should be transferred to them also. The same respect should apply to the armament of fort and batteries and even to the stores and appropriated for local purposes'.<sup>115</sup> Bowen's argument was that, if the Imperial troops were to be removed, then all the Imperial owned military land should be returned to the Colony: in this case both the barracks in Auckland. Lennard comments that, when the Colonial government took control of the non-imperial military, they also were given 2,000 Snider rifles and the old muzzle loading cannon. The Snider rifle was introduced in 1867. This rifle was a conversion, cutting away the breech of the arm to allow a breechblock to be hinged upon the right hand side of barrel. A firing pin and spring were mounted in the breechblock. Once some initial problems had been resolved the Snider was more accurate than the

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<sup>113</sup> ATL, New Zealand Herald, 24 January 1870.

<sup>114</sup> ATL, New Zealand Herald, 2 March 1870. Part of the park is still in use to this day.

<sup>115</sup> APL, Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1869, A-NO.1, p. 44.

Enfield muzzle loader, and could fire around eighteen shots per minute.<sup>116</sup> It was used in attacks on Te Kooti and Titokowaru with great success.

The Imperial troop withdrawal culminated in 1870, with the departure of the 18<sup>th</sup> Regiment from Auckland, leaving all the military buildings either empty or in partial use as in the case of the Commissariat store. Julius Vogel, the Colonial Treasurer,<sup>117</sup> was instructed to dispose of the military land. One of the first proposals to utilise some of the buildings arrived on the 10 November 1870, from two of the Grammar School Commissioners asking 'that permission may be granted to use the building within Albert Barracks, known as Grenadier Barracks, for a grammar school'.<sup>118</sup> On the motion of Mr Macready, it was resolved by the City Commissioners 'that the board is of the opinion that it is expedient at present to apply the building to any such purpose'.

Military personnel might have vacated the buildings, but the Albert Barracks could still potentially be dangerous to the civilians living near the site. A letter dated 6 April 1870 from the Superintendent, in reference to the storage of gunpowder in Albert Barracks, stated:

He had already called the attention of the Government to the matter, and enclosing a copy of the letter forwarded to the Defence Minister, and his reply thereon, which stated that a nightly guard would be

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<sup>116</sup> Lennard, 'Albert Barracks', p. 24; Joseph E. Smith, Small Arms of the World (Galahad Books, 10h edn., 1973) pp. 46-47.

<sup>117</sup> Dalton, War and Politics, p. 276.

<sup>118</sup> APL, Auckland City Board of Commissioners, Report of Proceedings, 1-8 1863-1871, Section 8, p. 30.

provided and that a Sergeant and eight Constables had been ordered from the Waikato.<sup>119</sup>

Presumably with trained military personnel no longer looking after the magazine store the risk of an explosion was now more likely than ever before, due to inexperienced persons using the store.

Fort Britomart faced a rather ignominious end, being handed to the Harbour Board as an inducement for building a dock, while the rest of Albert Barracks was given to the City Improvement Commissioners to develop as a recreational centre.<sup>120</sup>

The barracks in Auckland had become the focal point for both the military and the civilian population. Although originally perceived as temporary buildings to house the Imperial regiments engaged in the Northern War, both barracks were to last a further twenty two years. During this time they were extended and improved. Fort Britomart became the barracks for the Royal Engineers and Royal Artillery, and the main military store. Albert Barracks became the main barracks for the regiments of the line. These barracks, by their very size, and dominant position overlooking Auckland, inevitably became a central part of the growing city. They could provide shelter for the local population if necessary and allowed the Military enough space to drill and prepare the militia and volunteer forces, as well as keeping in check some of the more troublesome regiments that passed through their gates. In many respects, an

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<sup>119</sup> APL, Auckland City Board of Commissioners, Report of Proceedings, 1-8 1863-1871, Section 7, p. 36. The letters were not included in the file.



open door relationship developed with the town's population. On the one hand, regiments were thereby potentially more welcome and could benefit the city in both peace as well as war, as will become apparent in succeeding chapters. By becoming permanent, these barracks also symbolised the Imperial Government's intention to stay in New Zealand. On the other, there could be also difficulties as will also become apparent.

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<sup>120</sup> Lennard, 'Albert Barracks', p. 24.

The old adage that 'an army marches on its stomach' applied to any army whether stationed in Britain or the Colonies. In order for regiments to spend periods of time in the field, a regular supply of accoutrements must accompany them. Supply was the function of the Commissariat Department, which was responsible for land and inland water transport and non-military supplies; this included fodder for animals, food for soldiers and administering the Military Chest, a source of funds for military and other specified government purposes in foreign stations.<sup>1</sup> It was staffed by civilians, who were not under direct army control. They were ultimately responsible to the Lords of the Treasury in London<sup>2</sup>, but were expected to 'cooperate' with the forces they were supporting. Wellington, according to Richard Holmes, complained that his Commissariat was lamentable because 'the people who manage it are incapable of managing anything outside a counting house'.<sup>3</sup> The Commissariat Department was often under-resourced for the tasks it was expected to perform. Sir Charles Trevelyan, later Assistant Secretary at the Treasury, was quoted on one occasion as saying 'An army is quite as helpless without a properly trained commissariat as without ammunition.'<sup>4</sup> The failing of the Commissariat was particularly evident during the Crimean War (1854-1856): according to Edward Spiers, James Filder and his Department were 'ill-equipped to support an army of twenty seven thousand men.'<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> PRO, CO323/202, 'Statement of the Heads of Service to be performed by Officers of the Commissariat Department upon Foreign Stations', 26 October 1824.

<sup>2</sup> Buckley, *British Army in West Indies*, p. 287. See also Sweetman, *War and Administration*, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Holmes, *Redcoat: The British Soldier in the Age of Horse and Musket* (London: Harper Collins, 2001), p. 93.

<sup>4</sup> Sweetman, *War and Administration*, p. 40.

<sup>5</sup> Spiers, *Army and Society*, p. 99.

In fact, across the Empire there were only 178 serving Commissariat Officers when the Crimean War broke out in 1854.<sup>6</sup> In the case of India, for example, T. A. Heathcote's work has shown that, when the army went on a campaign, commissariat officers were included with each formation, with duty of purchasing and distributing supplies. Heathcote, however, stresses that there was no permanent machinery for the maintenance of troops in the field in India and supply units had to be formed at short notice.<sup>7</sup>

Whatever its potential failings, however, the Commissariat could play an important role in generating revenue for those home or colonial businesses that became associated with army supply. Potentially, there would be contracts for such commodities as water, building supplies, bread, meat, flour, vegetables and forage. All manner of tenders would be advertised in the local press and, indeed, such is the case in the columns of provincial papers in New Zealand such as The Southern Cross, The New Zealander, The New Zealand Journal, and The New Zealand Guardian. Accordingly, army supply could stimulate economic growth from which both soldiers and civilians would ultimately benefit. This chapter, therefore, seeks to examine how the Commissariat Department functioned in New Zealand, how it procured supplies, maintained supply lines throughout the whole of the North Island in peace and war, and contributed to the economic prosperity of Auckland.

The first instance of the Commissariat Department placing advertisements in the Southern Cross and The New Zealand Guardian was in January 1844,

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<sup>6</sup> Sweetman, War and Administration, p. 44.

<sup>7</sup> Heathcote, Indian Army, pp. 59-60.

primarily to supply Auckland and Wellington with food, meat, flour, firewood and bread.<sup>8</sup> Even before the outbreak of fighting in the Bay of Islands, Philip Turner, Deputy Acting Commissary General (DACG) had sent tender notices out to the Bay of Islands for traders to supply the Auckland District. Until the breakdown of talks with Heke, trade with Auckland and the Bay of Islands had been continuing as normal.<sup>9</sup> Initially the Commissariat Department was located in Princess Street, with the main stores at Fort Britomart, due in part to the small size of the latter, and the fact that the construction of the larger Albert Barracks had not been fully completed. Turner described the terms to which the potential contractor had to adhere when accepting to supply the Commissariat Department:

#### Qualities of the supplies

1<sup>st</sup> All the articles to be of the best quality of the several kinds.

2<sup>nd</sup> The flour to be the produce of clean sound colonial Wheat, from which 20 per cent in bran has been extracted.

3<sup>rd</sup> The bread to be made from the same flour described in the preceding paragraph, and to be baked 24 hours before being issued in loaves of 2lbs each.

4<sup>th</sup> The Fresh Meat to be issued daily, and to consist of Beef and Mutton, in equal proportions to be delivered in fore and hind quarters alternately, when the quantity admits of it. When beef is issued six inches to be cut off the hough and neck bones.

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<sup>8</sup> PRO, CO213/8, Southern Cross and New Zealand Guardian, 27 January 1844.

<sup>9</sup> PRO, CO213/8, Southern Cross and New Zealand Guardian, 22 February 1845.

5<sup>th</sup> The mixed Vegetables for the Hospitals and other establishments entitled thereto, shall be supplied in reasonable proportions of greens, onions, &c.

6<sup>th</sup> The rum to be West India, 5 per cent under proof.

Mode of delivery

7<sup>th</sup> No part whatever of the supplies above specified, shall be received in charge of the Commissariat, but shall be delivered by the Contractor direct, and at his expense, to the persons entitled thereto, at any place within the limits of the town, upon the written order of the Commissariat Officer in charge, or of any person authorised by him for that purpose.

#### GENERAL CONDITIONS

8<sup>th</sup> Each Tender sent in, in consequence of this advertisement, to be accompanied by a statement, signed by two competent persons and expressing their readiness, in the event of such Tender being accepted, to become security for the due performance of the Contract, which will then be entered into. The penalty of the bond to be equal to the amount of two months supplies will be received until the bond has been duly executed.

9<sup>th</sup> Tenders may be sent in, either for the whole of the supplies required, or for any portion of them, except those under the head of 'Hospitals' which must be in all one Tender.

10<sup>th</sup> The Contractor to prepare his own account according to the prescribed form; and on production at this Office, with the requisite vouchers, in a complete state, shall receive payment monthly, by a Bill

upon the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury at par, when the amount is fifty pounds or upwards, when under that amount, payment will be made in cash.

11<sup>th</sup> In the event of any article offered, being objected to, as not agreeing with these conditions, it will be submitted to a Board of Officers, to be appointed by the Officer commanding the Troops, and if rejected by the Board, it will be replaced by the Commissariat Officer, and charged against the Contractor, in the event of his neglecting to do so when required.

12<sup>th</sup> It shall be in the power of either party to limit the duration of the contract by giving in writing a notice of three calendar months, to the opposite party, and to end the contract at the expiration of that period, it being understood that such notice can be given only from the first day of a month, and within the period for which the contract is made or agreed to be made.

13<sup>th</sup> Each Tender to be in duplicate, and marked to be enclosed in an envelope marked "Tender for Meat," "Tender for Bread" &c., as the case may be. No Tender sent in shall be withdrawn or altered, and notice of those accepted shall be given within three days of the time of opening.

In all cases where persons who have tendered, refuse to fulfil their offers upon light or frivolous excuses, it will be competent for the undersigned to decline to receive tenders from them at any future period.

Persons desirous of tendering are requested to apply at this office, where they will be furnished with the forms of tender, and any other information they may require.<sup>10</sup>

Along with these conditions of tender, the Commissariat Department placed a notice for those interested in supplying building materials to the Royal Engineers. Presumably, this was to fulfil the contract to build the new Barracks; it consisted of sand, oyster shell lime, bricks, Kauri timber and shingles.<sup>11</sup>

With the outbreak of hostilities and the eventual sacking of Kororareka, two problems arose. Firstly, any attempt by the British government to halt Hone Heke's obsession with expelling the Europeans would result in a series of expeditions into the interior in order to stop Heke from causing any more trouble and gaining more tribal support. Secondly, Auckland had now lost a key area of trade with the native population. From a military perspective, as Heke went further inland, the British pursuit would be hampered by supply lines being stretched too far, while the Ngapuhi tribe lived off the land. British supplies were brought up by boat, then placed on pack animals for the journey into the interior. Supply dumps were also used, these being housed at mission stations. The principal one used was Kiri-Kiri, this also acting as a field hospital. Major Cyprian Bridge's diary provides an officer's view of the hardships endured by the men of the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment:

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<sup>10</sup> PRO, CO213/11, The New Zealander, 31 January 1846 .

<sup>11</sup> PRO, CO213/11.

June 17<sup>th</sup> 1845

Marched from Kiri-Kiri to Waimate about noon had a most tedious and harassing march owing to the heavy load of ammunition, camp equipment, stores and guns 2 drays broke down and the barrels of ammunition had to be carried in by the men on their backs.<sup>12</sup>

Bridge's diary also mentioned that the Commissariat had become involved in the operations. In an earlier entry dated 14 June, he noted that one of the support ships had run aground. In order to allow the ship to float free, a fatigue party was sent aboard to remove the ordnance and commissariat stores.<sup>13</sup> These forays into the interior were not successful from a supply perspective as those acting on supply lines were hard pressed to keep up with the rest of the expedition. An example of this is the military expedition, which attacked Puketutu, on 8 May 1845. At the time, FitzRoy claimed this as a British victory, while James Belich has claimed it was a victory for the Maoris. It was an inauspicious start for the Commissariat as they had failed to re-supply the camp, leaving many soldiers without food or water for over thirty hours.<sup>14</sup>

The Commissariat Department on its return to Auckland immediately began to display notices for labour and materials for building the barracks and perimeter wall that FitzRoy had ordered to be built.<sup>15</sup> Not all the contractors kept to the contractual obligations. Indeed, during 1845, the Commissariat

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<sup>12</sup> Wanganui Public Library (hereafter WPL), Cyprian Bridge Diary, 17 June 1845.

<sup>13</sup> WPL, Bridge Diary, 14 June 1845.

<sup>14</sup> Buick, *Hone Heke's Rebellion*, p. 120.

<sup>15</sup> APL, *New Zealander*, November 1846.



Department had to re-advertise for firewood, when the supplier failed to deliver.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, during 1846, a Mr Hart was asked to auction off by order of the Commissariat Department a large quantity of damaged biscuits in lots to suit purchasers, as well as empty casks, staves and hoops, which had been deemed surplus to requirements.<sup>17</sup>

By December 1847 a Deputy Quartermaster General (DQMG) had been appointed for New Zealand, Colonel William A. McCleverty. McCleverty remained in overall charge until 1857,<sup>18</sup> and organised the procurement of supplies primarily through advertising in the local newspapers. Indeed, the Sydney Morning Herald in referring to New Zealand in 1847, stated that: 'of course, as everybody is living on the Commissariat expenditure trade is flourishing'.<sup>19</sup> This can be readily interpreted as being due to the scarcity of commercial trading stations in New Zealand other than for military supply. Those who could supply the Commissariat with the necessary supplies could and would make a profit compared to their Australian counterparts. The Commissariat, however, customarily levied a fixed price on goods, which was lower than the commercial market rates.<sup>20</sup> It is conceivable that, during a period of war, many traders would supply the Commissariat in the hope of making a quick profit.

The failure to provide for adequate supplies for front line troops in the Bay of Islands needed to be rectified. This was partially achieved by the appointment

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<sup>16</sup> ATL, New Zealander, June 1845.

<sup>17</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 20 April 1846.

<sup>18</sup> PRO, Army Lists, 1847. There is no mention of Turner in the army lists prior to McCleverty.

<sup>19</sup> Austin, Army in Australia, p. 113.

of McCleverty in 1847, but this was a year after the fighting had ceased. With the increase in numbers of Imperial troops coming into Auckland, a more permanent solution to supplying regiments had to be found in case of renewed fighting with the Maoris. The ending of hostilities between Heke and the British government allowed Auckland to expand far more quickly than Wellington, and Grey speeded up the public works programme to coincide with an increase in the growth of the town's population. Some 500 retired pensioners (Fencibles) arrived in 1847 though, five years earlier, many artisans had arrived from Scotland to start a new life. This initial period of peace also allowed many of Auckland's entrepreneurs to begin to export goods and materials to Australia.<sup>21</sup> Through the expansion of their trade in these years, these traders were then in a good position to tender for contracts arising from the introduction of the Imperial army to Auckland. Moreover, given Auckland's economic growth compared to other towns, they also had the opportunity to supply the majority of forts and barracks that would be established around the country as a whole.

More Commissariat advertisements began to be placed in the papers, and particularly The New Zealander, from January 1847 onwards. The first tender was for meat supplies to the hospital and barracks. In terms of hospital supplies, for example, one tender in March was for dressings. There had also been a notice in February to supply Auckland and the Bay of Islands with general provisions. Through the remainder of 1847, there was the occasional advertisement placed in the paper. On 24 April, for example, the

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<sup>20</sup> Strachan, Wellington's Legacy, p. 58.

<sup>21</sup> Brooking, Milestones, pp. 60-61.

Commissariat, on behalf of the Royal Engineers, placed a notice for 28 working bullocks, four pole drays, 16 yokes, 32 bows and 12 leading chains. Hay was also required for the Royal Engineers as well as coal for the barracks and hospital. At all times, the contractor must have 500 tons of coal available.<sup>22</sup> The Commissariat Department also placed a reminder for those who required to be paid for their services to hand in sealed envelopes to the Commissariat Office. Two months later the annual bread contract was placed and quickly filled. But, on 11 August, it had to be re-advertised as the contractor had terminated his contract. Towards the end of November 1847, one small advertisement was placed for carpenters to frame the Fencibles' cottages, alongside a tender for fresh meat. Quarterly bill payments were now also required.<sup>23</sup>

Many of the regiments that had participated in the Northern War, of course, had returned to Australia once the fighting had ceased. The Commissariat Department now had a surplus, which needed to be sold off; the money raised would then be returned to the Military Chest. In order to facilitate this, the Commissariat Department employed an auction house, Connell & Ridings, to act as mediators in selling the surplus goods. One of the first auctions held in January 1848 sold 11 (first rate) working bullocks, with a similar one being held in June. June's auction included the surplus stores from the government brig, Victoria, which comprised 962 lbs of biscuits, 48 lbs of tea, 30 lbs of flour, 12 lbs of pearl barley, 12 lbs of rice, three bars of

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<sup>22</sup> PRO, CO213/11, New Zealander, April and June 1847.

<sup>23</sup> APL, New Zealander, June 1847.

soap and 96 pints of oatmeal.<sup>24</sup> At the same time, The Royal Engineers had asked for contracts to be tendered by the Commissariat for the building of artillery barracks, and for lining of eight buildings also at the barracks. The final paragraph of the advertisement required builders to erect 20 pensioners' (Fencibles) houses at Howick.<sup>25</sup> There were then no further entries in the newspapers for the rest of 1848.

While the Commissariat looked after the supply of necessaries, another branch of the army, the Ordnance Department, was given the twofold responsibility of maintaining the barracks and supplying the forces with ammunition. This department had since 1822 been given overall control of the barracks in Great Britain. By 1848, it had 233 stations in its charge, and 594 barracks worldwide by 1849. Prior to this, in 1835, the Ordnance had been given the responsibility for further stations in Australia, South Africa, Canada, New Zealand, Gambia, Hong Kong, Honduras, St. Helena, Cape Coast Castle and Nova Scotia. According to John Sweetman, the Ordnance was supplying a total of 111,946 officers and men worldwide.<sup>26</sup> In New Zealand the Ordnance Department began to place advertisements for tenders and proposed building works in the provincial papers in 1848. It was the Ordnance Department, for example, that put forward the plan to extend Albert Barracks as far as Queen Street and enclose the Government Domain. This would have increased the size of the area enclosed by perimeter wall greatly, from 23 acres to between 35 and 40 acres, and would have also covered two streets finally terminating at the Waterloo and Victoria Quadrants. The

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<sup>24</sup> PRO, CO213/8, Southern Cross and New Zealand Guardian, 27 January and 10 June 1848.

<sup>25</sup> PRO, CO213/12, New Zealander, 26 June 1848.

Ordnance also wanted to construct another fort for the protection of the harbour, although this was never achieved and Auckland remained with just the two main Barracks. In September 1848, the Ordnance also placed a notice of tender for contracts for washing and repairing the soldiers' and hospital bedding, sweeping chimneys, emptying and removing soil from cesspools and ash pits.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, the Department during its term in New Zealand was more Spartan in placing notices in the newspapers than the Commissariat.

The following year saw the annual renewal of contracts, firstly, for Auckland and, secondly, for the Bay of Islands. The Auckland contract was primarily for straw for the Hospital and general goods; flour, bread, biscuits, milk, vinegar and rum. The second contract was for supplies to be sent to the Bay of Islands,<sup>28</sup> where, since the cessation of hostilities, a small garrison had been stationed to maintain the peace between the Ngapuhi tribe and the remaining settlers. Auckland was also the scene of on-going Commissariat activities, with the continuation of building works at the barracks, which now required carpenters to construct a military reading room. Further carpenters were also needed to assist in the building work, on an officer's cottage, situated in Panmure.<sup>29</sup> With these notices now placed there was for a period of time a gap in Commissariat and Ordnance activities in these papers. April saw the first notice after a two-month period, a small one placed on behalf of the Royal Engineers for persons who were able or willing to build two dwarf

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<sup>26</sup> Sweetman, *War and Administration*, pp. 62-63; Strachan, *Wellington's Legacy*, p. 60.

<sup>27</sup> PRO, CO213/12, *New Zealander*, July and September 1848.

<sup>28</sup> PRO, CO213/12, *New Zealander*, 27 January 1849.

<sup>29</sup> PRO, CO213/12, *New Zealander*, 3 February 1849.

cupboards and one press. Those persons interested could view the plans being held in the Royal Engineers' Office.<sup>30</sup>

As The New Zealander was a weekly paper, the notices were inserted for a three-week period to enable those interested to apply, and this also allowed those who were situated outside Auckland to tender. This procedure was carried out throughout the year, or when contracts were due for renewal. For instance, on 7 July 1849, The New Zealander was asked to post the notice of termination for the supply of bread, while simultaneously advertising a Commissariat notice for those interested in purchasing 35 water tanks presently lying on the North shore.<sup>31</sup> As seen earlier, when the Commissariat had a surplus of stock it was sold off and the money was recouped. Even livestock when deemed surplus was sold. In August the Commissariat sold a team of working oxen, one dray and gear. The Ordnance Department had also placed another notice for washing and repairing the hospital beds and bedding, and for sweeping the chimneys. In October a notice was even inserted for one Union Jack.<sup>32</sup>

After 1849, regular notices were placed in the provincial newspapers. The cyclical nature of these advertisements meant that many were repeats from the previous years' newspapers which reiterated what the Commissariat and Ordnance required for the coming year. From 1845 to 1855, New Zealand underwent a change of governorship. It will be recalled that FitzRoy was replaced in 1845, by Grey. In 1852 Grey was recalled and subsequently

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<sup>30</sup> PRO, CO213/12, New Zealander, 25 April 1849.

<sup>31</sup> PRO, CO213/12, New Zealander, 7 July 1849.

posted to South Africa.<sup>33</sup> During the interim before the arrival of Grey's successor, Colonel R. H. Wynyard of the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment was the acting Governor. These changes, however, did not adversely affect the way the Commissariat or Ordnance departments operated: it was a case of business as usual. The only advertisement placed in 1852 that was not a repeat of the previous year's was for 40 bell tents for Britomart barracks.<sup>34</sup>

These kinds of regular notices were intermixed with those for auctions held at Fort Britomart, which had become the main Commissariat and Ordnance Stores for the whole of New Zealand. One 1851 auction, for example, was primarily to sell buckets, scrapers, hammocks and hammock cloth. Then, on 21 May and 18 June 1851, the Ordnance Department advertised for 2,000 tent pins, while the Commissariat required 160 woollen shirts, 160 white shirts, 160 pairs of shoes, 160 pairs of pantaloons, 160 handkerchiefs, 160 caps, 374 blankets, 186 palliasses, and 187 [pillow] cases.<sup>35</sup>

The years from 1852 to 1854 were comparatively sparse for notices; the main contract required by the Commissariat was for carpenters to build four sentry boxes, entrance gates and doors in the Albert Barracks along with provision of a reliable transport service capable of carrying water and coal to both barracks, from the beach and coal department.<sup>36</sup> Interestingly, if the Commissariat was not satisfied with the service provided by a contractor it was made public. Thus, the Southern Cross published a letter from the

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<sup>32</sup> PRO, CO213/12, New Zealander, 13 August, 1 September, and 31 October 1849.

<sup>33</sup> Bohan, To Be a Hero, p. 11.

<sup>34</sup> PRO, CO213/13, New Zealander, 11 May 1852.

<sup>35</sup> PRO, CO213/9, Southern Cross, 10 June 1851; *Ibid.*, CO213/13, 21 May and 18 June 1851.

<sup>36</sup> PRO, CO/213/13, Southern Cross, 11 September 1852.

Commissariat in May 1854 rejecting some meat supplied by Mr Walters, the contractor. It agued that the meat was unfit for human consumption. The officers of the 58<sup>th</sup> concurred, placing their own letter stating that they agreed with the Commissariat. Walters, to stop the threat of possible slur on his business, produced a defence that he had subsequently re-sold the meat to the general public with no complaint.<sup>37</sup>

In 1853 Philip Turner, who had been the DACG for some years, returned to England. The New Zealander wrote a tribute to Turner's success, suggesting the close relationship between Commissariat and local businesses:

On the departure of a Public Officer who has fulfilled the requirements of his department so efficiently as Mr Turner late Assistant Commissary General at Auckland, has discharged the onerous and frequently difficult duties which have devolved upon him in this colony, we feel both courtesy and justice demand that the local press should however briefly notice the fact, and bear testimony to the value of his service. Such a testimony can safely be recorded in the present instance. Mr Turner has been nine years in New Zealand, during which period he has been promoted from the rank of Deputy-Assistant to Assistant-Commissary-General. At a time of the war in the North, his efficiency at the Bay of Islands received the marked commendation of commander of the troops, in his official despatches; and since the functions of his department have been performed with uniform

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<sup>37</sup> PRO, CO213/10, Southern Cross, 19 May 1854.



diligence, correctness and impartiality. Mr Turner sails tomorrow by the St Michael for England, followed by many good wishes for his happiness and prosperity, and is succeeded in his office here by Charles Bridgen esq.<sup>38</sup>

Between 1853 and 1856 advertisements placed by the Commissariat were sparse. It was not until December 1856 that advertising for tenders resumed. The tender then offered for 278 perches of scoria for the erection of the powder magazine is important as it shows that building work was continuing at Albert Barracks.<sup>39</sup> There was then another three-year gap before any new tenders were announced, but, unlike earlier years, they were no longer regular. It seems the Commissariat had enough stores and supplies that it could reduce them down to a minimum before re-stocking. Another possible explanation for the Commissariat's inactivity was that the Imperial regiments were being withdrawn and the supplies required to feed, clothe, and equip soldiers were now less. One 1859 tender was for the military prisons, as rations were required for the prisoners. Ration Number One assumed a requirement of 8 ozs oatmeal, 1½ pints of milk, 1 oz salt, and ½ oz soap. Ration Number Two assumed 6 ozs oatmeal, 1½ pints of milk, and 1 oz salt. These were for both the temporary military prison at Albert Barracks and the garrison cell at Fort Britomart.<sup>40</sup> In 1861 and 1863, there were adverts for 100 hospital beds and 200 trestles, while it was clear in the latter year that there was still ongoing building work within the barracks: 'Commissariat store required for the Albert Barrack near the front entrance. Store for military store

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<sup>38</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 13 April 1853.

department at Britomart point on the site of the officers mess establishment. Store for military store department at Britomart point at the back of the gun shed'.<sup>41</sup>

In 1855 there had been a shift in the seat of government, Grey deciding to relocate it from Auckland to Wellington in 1865. This did not adversely affect contractors to the military in Auckland, however, as the size of the barracks available in Auckland, persuaded the military to leave the military headquarters and stores at the former capital.

The Commissariat may have been responsible for supplying the front line regiments but the onus of delivery was placed on the civilian contractors. In some cases the contractors, with the view of making a quick profit, delivered sub-standard equipment. Richard Stowers, for example, cites one complaint in December 1859:

I have the honour to inform that nine pairs of boots out of the quantity supplied by you at Wellington for the use of Major von Tempsky's force which arrived here in October last have turned out to have to have wooden soles - two pairs out of the nine were issued and returned, the remaining seven are as received from you.

These boots are painted and to outwards appearance were similar to the other boots wherefore I feel sure you knew nothing about it. But I

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<sup>39</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 10 December 1856.

must request you as soon as possible send me free of expense nine pairs of boots similar to the remaining portion which have been issued and instruct me where I am to send the nine pairs of condemned boots.<sup>42</sup>

Stowers comments that a boot maker had obviously made some quick money out of the New Zealand government. The Deputy Quartermaster's Journal provides an insight into the military's main suppliers, while the contemporary Cyclopaedia of New Zealand, provides a comprehensive list of minor suppliers. A further publication also usefully lists some contractors, The Appendices to the Journals to the House of Representatives, having a return of contracts appendix over a two-year period from 1 October 1862 to 31 October 1864. The DQMG Journal covers the period from 24 December 1861 to 7 September 1864, and thus includes the main period of regular involvement in campaigning and the logistics of supplying the army in the field. In a sub section on provisions, forage and lighting materials, it lists the main suppliers and their obligation to supply certain provisions. The journal concentrates on flour, bread, biscuit, fresh meat, salt meat, groceries, vegetables, rum, tobacco, limejuice, forage and lighting materials.

The main contractor for flour to 31 March 1864 was J. Macfarlane. After the completion of the contract it was re-tendered for the new financial year starting in April, the price having been set the previous year at £13.19s.0d a ton. In Auckland flour was selling on the open market for £30 a ton. This

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<sup>40</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 28<sup>th</sup> December 1859.

obviously meant that many of the contractors were working at a substantial loss and they attempted to default on their obligation to supply flour. The DQMG had no choice but to terminate their contract and invoke the penalty clause written into their contracts. However, it also meant that the Commissariat might have no choice but to pay the open market price, or the price that the contractors deemed acceptable. The Commissariat overcame this problem by importing flour from Tasmania at £20 a ton, the flour being duly delivered to Waikato Heads. On the next contract, however, the Commissariat was obliged to pay £24.8s.0d a ton for flour in Auckland.

During peacetime and war alike, the supply of fresh bread was satisfactorily effected. There was a problem, however, in the production of the field ovens to bake bread. Messrs. Vickery and Masefield had been beset by problems in building and supplying them, in the words of the DQMG, 'with sufficient rapidity'. Fortunately, a lull in operations during 1863 allowed them to rectify this problem. From November 1863 ovens were located at Queen's Redoubt and every post at which troops were located. By 1865, there were 26 Commissariat-contracted bakers in New Zealand and in one month they could produce an astonishing 314,287 lbs of bread, the highest quantity produced by one bakery at Tauranga being 46,005 lbs.<sup>43</sup> Biscuit was chiefly manufactured in Auckland by Charles Canning, the contractor, and was of fair quality. Some was obtained from troop ships, and some, of very superior quality, from Sydney.

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<sup>41</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 16 February 1861 and 7 November 1863.

<sup>42</sup> Richard Stowers, Forest Rangers (Hamilton: Stowers, 1996), p. 158.

<sup>43</sup> PRO, WO33/16, Enclosure No. 6, Return showing the quantity of flour issued and bread produced at commissariat bakeries', June 1865.

According to the DQMG, the first large-scale contract was for fresh meat. This was again supplied by J. Macfarlane, whose contract commenced on 1 October 1863. Macfarlane supplied live cattle to the Commissariat at Otahuhu. They were then driven to the various posts and slaughtered by the Commissariat butchers. This contract answered the main purpose, that there should be a supply of fresh meat to the troops. But there were problems with this arrangement. If the cattle were driven for a long period of time then they would naturally lose weight. Some of the militia butchers had opportunities to be dishonest and sell the cattle illegally, while, in some other cases, the cattle would wander off and become lost in the bush. The Deputy Commissary-General, therefore, had to alter the contract from fresh meat to slaughtered meat. Macfarlane agreed, as the price that the Commissariat paid was higher than that in the Auckland market: Macfarlane received 11¼d per lb while Aucklanders were paying between 10d and 1s.0d per lb. Salted meat has been mentioned earlier, while cured beef was obtained from New South Wales at three pence a pound.

Groceries were issued in detail to each post by R. Simpson, the main contractor to 31 March 1864. From April 1864, however, the new contractor was W. J. Young, who despite the initial setback of not being properly prepared to carry out such an undertaking, caused the department few problems in the longer term. There was insufficient transport to carry the supplies at first, but once these setbacks had been overcome, Young became very proficient at his job. The supply of rum, however, was to cause greater

problems. At the outbreak of hostilities the Lieutenant General Commanding authorised a free ration of rum to the troops in the field at a rate of one gill per man per diem. Rum, however, was very heavy to transport and was an even heavier temptation to those who transported it. In some cases, indeed, it was intercepted en-route and never reached its final destination. Remaining requirements such as tobacco, limejuice, forage and lighting materials were issued as and when regulations allowed. Tobacco was issued in bulk only, on the requisition of commanding officers. The total monthly requisition was not more than 1 lb of tobacco for each smoking soldier. Limejuice was issued along with the salt meat but, due to the regularity of the supply of fresh meat, it was not apparently consumed by many of the soldiers. Forage had to be acquired from Auckland due to the scarcity in the field. Candles were also issued as a ration, while officers had the privilege of drawing composite candles in the proportion of 1 lb composite for 2 lbs mould.<sup>44</sup>

The DQMG's journal deals primarily with the supply of food and essentials for the soldiers in the field or stationed in barracks. In addition, there were also civilian contractors who tendered for Commissariat contracts not associated with food, equipment, or clothing supplies. Auckland over a two-year period saw a period of considerable military growth in the expansion of military buildings and the equipment deemed necessary for the continued effectiveness of the army in New Zealand. The Returns of Contracts from 1 October 1862 to 31 October 1864 provide an insight into, firstly, the tendering process for providing new buildings; secondly, that for other miscellaneous

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<sup>44</sup> PRO, WO 33/16, pp. 465-468.

equipment required by Imperial and Colonial forces; and, finally, the cost of each requisite item. These papers also show how the contract was obtained through public or, in some cases, private tenders.

No contracts for any specific military purpose were tendered in 1862, but in 1863 the ledger begins to show military contracts. In August 1863, James Murray, by private arrangement, was paid £320.0s.0d to make cavalry saddles, presumably for colonial units. Between the months of October and December 1863, there were contracts for building work to be undertaken within the grounds of Albert Barracks. Two of these were won by public tender while the third was a private tender. On 16 October Messrs. Coombes and Son carried out woodworking on the Militia stores, while James White had secured the contract for the brickwork. Coombes and Son were paid £800.0s.0d for their work while White received £359.0s.0d. Additional work was again carried out by Coombes and Son in December, when a new store was required in addition to those already built at Albert Barracks. A private tender was employed to enable this store to be erected and for these services Coombes was paid £143.13s.0d.

The following year (1864) began with a renewed phase of building work at Albert Barracks and Onehunga. On 10 February in a private tender, Coombes and Son erected a gunshed at Albert Barracks, which cost £90.2s.0d. Similar work was being carried out by William Philcox at Onehunga. Philcox had succeeded by public tender in securing the contract to construct Iron barracks, and other buildings to accommodate the regiments sent there

though, as previously related, Onehunga was principally a tented camp. Philcox was paid £5794.0s.0d. In March 1864 Coombes and Son were paid £122.0s.0d for erecting a galvanised Ironshed and latrine, along with fittings to the Storekeeper's office, which were situated within the grounds of Albert Barracks, this was a private tender. Medical supplies were also required for the field and garrison troops. T. B. Hill secured by public tender the contract to supply the Colonial Forces, being paid £477.8s.10d. Between May and August 1864, some 16 military contracts were awarded, the majority by public tender. Most were for work outside Auckland for military camps that were being or had been established.

One such contractor, W. G. Bunting, was required during June 1864 to remove two Blockhouses from Mount Eden and Ponsonby Road then re-erect them at a new location, which was not specified. Bunting had secured this contract by private tender and was paid £35.6s.0d for his time and service. Two military camps, Ngaruawahia and Alexandra, both required hospitals, and both these tenders were issued publicly. The first of these was won by Richard Dickson, who on the 12 July began construction on the hospital at Ngaruawahia. In August Walker and Co began work on the hospital at Alexandra. These tenders were worth £888 and £364 respectively.

August 1864 also saw an intense period of building on other outlying camps, notably Kirikiriroa, Maungatautari, Alexandra and Cambridge. At Kirikiriroa, Menzies and Co, Green and Parson, and Thomas Lourie Robb were the principal contractors and were charged with the construction of ten huts.



Menzies built eight, while Green and Parson erected two. Menzies also had to provide two storerooms while Robb began the task of building a new hospital. In all, Menzies received £658, Green and Parson £100, and Robb was paid £377.4s.6d. Two builders, Kenneth Lamond and Walker and Co, were to provide huts at Alexandra and Cambridge. Lamond was to supply eight at each camp for the cost of £360, while Walker and Co built four huts costing £160. Similarly, William McDougall was paid £377 for the erection of a hospital at Kirikiriroa. In August, J. H. Flatt supplied forage, stabling and a store for Alexandra for £478.15s.0d.

These contractors had all applied to advertisements in the provincial newspapers. What is not clear is whether these were the lowest tenders accepted, as no evidence has been uncovered to show how many tenders were required for each contract.<sup>45</sup> Overall, the total expenditure paid from the Commissariat Chest amounted to £7,774.15s.0d.

On occasions, the Commissariat Department suffered from theft. Maize and oats, for example, were stolen from the Commissariat Transport Corps stores in August 1864, and a reward of £20 was offered for any information as to its whereabouts.<sup>46</sup> Commissariat personnel had also undergone some changes, with the appointment of a new Commissary General, Commissary General Drake being transferred from Port Elisabeth in New South Wales to New Zealand, as the scale of reinforcements being sent to New Zealand

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<sup>45</sup> Author's Collection, Return of Contracts from 1 October 1862 to 31 October 1864 (Wellington, 1865), pp. 8-12.

<sup>46</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 20 August 1864.

necessitated an experienced individual overseeing the supply of the regiments.<sup>47</sup>

The expansion of Auckland had by now allowed the Commissariat Department to become less dependent on the small number of businesses that were already established and supplying them. More companies could now tender and in all probability supply the Commissariat Department with any necessary essentials. The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand shows who many of these new traders were, although the majority of businesses listed only started up after the final withdrawal of the Imperial Regiments had been completed. The largest business in Auckland was City Flour Mills, whose premises were located in Shortland Street. Initially, they had begun trading at Epsom, then due to further expansion another mill was acquired at Onehunga. This company manufactured two brands of flour the 'Snowdrift' and 'Tulip', and also provided biscuits to the general public. It is possible that City Flour Mills may have been an alternative supplier of biscuits to the DQMG. Certainly, one grocer with a military background was Thomas William Doonin, who during the Waikato War had attained the rank of Garrison Quartermaster and Acting Paymaster to the Auckland Militia. Doonin established a business in Queen Street in 1865, subsequently relocating to Hobson Street, and, finally, in 1870 moving to Karangahape Road. As already indicated, J. Macfarlane, whose premises were located in Fort Street, had already forged close ties with the military, winning contracts for the supply of flour and meat.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> ATL, Weekly News, 26 March 1864.

<sup>48</sup> APL, Cyclopaedia of New Zealand, II, pp. 389, 408, and 409.

As also already indicated, the transfer of the capital from Auckland to Wellington, did not adversely effect the economy of the former. Albert Barracks and Fort Britomart continued as normal in quartering, training and supplying the Imperial and locally raised forces. With more troops increasingly in the field, there came a point when temporary accommodation became unserviceable and was either replaced or repaired. John S. Barn, for example, successfully obtained the contract to supply and repair tents. Barn's establishment was actually located in Wellington, and he was contracted to supply tents at a rate of £11 to £12 to the General Government, for a period of a year.<sup>49</sup> Newspapers, especially the Daily Southern Cross, continued to have advertisements placed for suppliers to provide equipment or provisions. This was also a period of change with many of the Imperial regiments beginning to be withdrawn either to other postings or returning to Britain. The task of defending the country, now fell to the militia, volunteers, friendly Maori of the Kupapa Arawa<sup>50</sup> (Flying Wing), and the Armed Constabulary. The remaining Imperial forces continued to assist as and when required.

The tendering process, however, did not change significantly during this period, surviving forms showing that the title of Senior Commissariat Officer was simply crossed out and replaced with that of the Acting Quartermaster General, Militia and Volunteers. The schedule of tenders for provisions and forage on 10 May 1866, for example, shows that seven contractors were successful in supplying these locally raised forces. These were John Nelson

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<sup>49</sup> WA, AD1/1/1866/623.

<sup>50</sup> Ryan and Parham, Colonial New Zealand Wars, pp. 174 and 178.

for fresh meat; J. Macfarlane for meat, maize, and hay; D. Henderson for grocery ration and firewood; J. Young for fresh meat; Bell Brothers for maize, oats and bran; W. Kelly for bread, grocery ration, composite candles and mould candles; and J. Goldsworth for firewood. These particular supplies were issued at Tauranga and Miranda redoubts.<sup>51</sup>

During Gore-Browne's troubled period of governorship (1855-1861), the Commissariat began to function much more as a proper department. Outlying forts and barracks now had an acting Commissariat officer assigned to facilitate the procurement of supplies that would accompany the regiments into the field. The First Taranaki War (1860-1861), according to Morrell, was paid for out of the Commissariat Chest. Interestingly, Colonel McCleverty (DQMG) was quoted as saying 'that the difficulties with the natives were encouraged by the settlers at New Plymouth for the purpose of obtaining the military to eat up their produce'.<sup>52</sup> The Commissariat's expenditure covered militia, volunteers, Imperial regiments' wages, allowances and rations. The sums should have been repaid from the Colonial Treasury but, in reality, this did not occur. Moreover, Browne, who had hoped for a quick decisive victory, found the field commander, Colonel Gold, was unable to travel any distance as he had cumbrous trains of Commissariat carts escorting him.<sup>53</sup> As the war continued, The Times on 20 December 1860 published a report from an Auckland correspondent criticising the cost of the Commissariat:

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<sup>51</sup> WA, AD1/1866/4730, Tender sheets.

<sup>52</sup> A. J. Harrop, England and the Maori Wars (Whitcombe and Tombs, 1937), p. 46.

<sup>53</sup> W. P. Morrell, British Colonial Policy in the Mid-Victorian Age (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 244, 264.

It seems that the Imperial Government do not yet realize what will one day be clear enough to them, that the surest economy is in sending a force sufficient to put an end once and for all to these Maori Wars. I say no more because I am persuaded you all believe us in England to wish for troops merely for the sake of the Commissariat expenditure.<sup>54</sup>

This letter is very ambiguous and could be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, if more Imperial regiments were introduced into New Zealand, the economy would improve as the Commissariat would require more supplies. Secondly, the colonists could effectively control the Maori threat without any outside assistance, but this did not actually happen. This confrontation lasted a year but had already begun to have ramifications within the colonial government and the Church. Archdeacon Octavius Hadfield had written to F. W. Chesson, secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society, condemning the war. Hadfield also commented that 'since the arrival of a large number of troops, the war feeling has increased, or rather, the desire for commissariat expenditure'.<sup>55</sup> Hadfield's perception of the war was that it was good for the economy but not for the indigenous population. With peace overtures being sent to the tribes, a peace treaty was signed on 8 April 1861.<sup>56</sup>

What became apparent after the Taranaki War was the problem of transport. The Crimean War had shown that the need for a Military Train was paramount in order to enable supplies and equipment to be moved quickly and efficiently. New Zealand was no different although no detachments of the

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<sup>54</sup> Harrop, *England and Maori Wars*, p. 109. Abridged from the full page.

<sup>55</sup> Harrop, *England's Maori War*, p. 140.

Military Train served there between 1861 and 1864. The Commissariat had also arrived at the conclusion that a specialist transport agency was required, establishing what became known as the Commissariat Transport Corps. In a memorandum dated 4 July 1861 the Commissariat advised Cameron that:

There being no organized transport established in this command, a nucleus of corps, capable of extension to provide for the wants of the public service, was felt to be indispensable; in pursuance of this necessity, following plan has been adopted to organize and train such a corps.<sup>57</sup>

The enclosure outlined how this was to be manned. This Corps was based at Penrose Farm and consisted of Assistant Commissary General Bailey, Captain De Quincy, Lieut. Armstrong, Ensign Pherson and Quartermaster Withers. Initially, Armstrong also had under his command five officers, two sergeants, one drummer, and 43 rank and file.<sup>58</sup> Penrose Farm was used as a training depot and had been leased from Messrs. MacLean for a nine-month period with the possibility of extending the lease if required. Renting this site cost £700 per annum, and was necessary as no government land or wasteland was available.<sup>59</sup> Overall, the staff of the corps eventually consisted of the directors in charge, one Adjutant, one Paymaster and one Quartermaster. A company would consist of one Officer, one Staff sergeant, five other sergeants and 100 private soldiers as drivers. The staff pay of the

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<sup>56</sup> Tim Ryan and Bill Parham, *Colonial New Zealand Wars*, p. 207.

<sup>57</sup> PRO, WO33/17A, Correspondence relative to Commissariat operations during the disturbances in New Zealand, Enclosure No 2.

<sup>58</sup> PRO, WO32/8259, Report from Lt. General Cameron on distribution of troops and requesting reinforcements, 4 July 1861, Enclosure 3 in No. 37, 1861.

corps in addition to regimental pay and allowances was to be on the scale of officers 9s.6d per diem, non-commissioned officers 2s.6d, and private soldiers 1s.<sup>60</sup>

The War Office agreed with this piece of military initiative. Edward Lugard in a letter to Cameron dated 26 April 1862 endorsed the idea:

I am directed by the Secretary of State further to acquaint you that he approves of the augmentation of the Commissariat Transport Corps, reported in your letter of the 30<sup>th</sup> January last, upon the understanding the additional expense thereby incurred is to be borne by the Colony of New Zealand.<sup>61</sup>

It is interesting to note that the additional expense was to be incurred by the Colony not the Commissariat Chest.

On 30 January 1862, Cameron put some emphasis on the use of the Commissariat Transport Corps in the construction of the Great South Road, which was built from Auckland to Wellington. Its role was that of supplying cartage to the workers, as the need for them was now greater, due to the distance from Auckland. Many smaller camps now needed to be kept stocked with provisions and materials along this road:

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<sup>59</sup> PRO, WO33/16.

<sup>60</sup> PRO, WO33/17A.

I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of the right Honourable Secretary of State for War, that in consequence of the distance from Auckland of the various camps now occupied by the troops on the Great South Road, and the cartage required for road material on forming the new line, I have found it absolutely necessary to authorise the augmentation specified in the margin, to the Commissariat Transport Corps and to make the following appointments to the corps viz.:- Captain Turner 65<sup>th</sup> regiment, Lieutenant Leonard 65<sup>th</sup> regiment Lieut. Clarke 40<sup>th</sup> regiment.

I have also at the recommendation of the Commissariat Officer in charge, sanctioned the following alterations in the rates of extra pay to the non-commissioned officers, of the Commissariat Transport Corps from the dates specified.

Staff sergeants 2s 6d per diem

Sergeants 2s 0d instead of 2s 6d from the 9<sup>th</sup> inclusive (this applies to the above)

Corporals 1s 4d

Lance Corporals 1s 2d from the 1<sup>st</sup> instance inclusive.

I beg to observe that on the first organization of the corps no distinction was made between the pay of staff and other sergeants, and no provision was made for Corporals and lance-corporals; but it has since been found necessary to increase the number of NCOs in order to place under their supervision the small convoys constantly moving

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<sup>61</sup> PRO, WO33/17A.



along the road now in course of construction and as a remuneration for the responsibility devolving upon them, I have authorized these rates of pay to be issued.

As regards the rank of Lance-Corporal, to which it is not unusual in the service to attach additional pay I would observe that the position of the men holding this rank in the Commissariat Transport Corps is exceptional as they have no prospect of promotion in that Corps, and will ultimately return to their duty as privates and but for the slight addition to their pay which I have sanctioned there would be inducement whatever to them to undertake the duties of a non-commissioned officer.

I trust therefore, that the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for War will approve of my proceedings.<sup>62</sup>

After this reorganisation, the Commissariat included a Deputy Commissary General (DGC) in Auckland; three Assistant Commissaries General (ACG), one responsible for coordinating transport; and eight Deputy Assistant Commissaries General (DACG), four in Auckland, and one each in New Plymouth, Wanganui, Wellington and Dunedin. They were assisted by ten non-commissioned officers and soldiers. Yet, according to the Deputy Quartermaster-General, 'this strength was barely sufficient for the ordinary garrison duties in time of peace'.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> PRO, WO33/16, Cameron to the War Office, 30 January 1862.

<sup>63</sup> PRO, WO33/16, Enclosure 1 in No 214.

Although the Taranaki War was fought over a short period of time, it had cost the Commissariat a lot of money. H. Stanley Jones, DCG, in a paper for the House of Representatives, indicated both how much this war had cost the Commissariat Chest and, secondly, the financial shortcomings of the Colony in refusing to reimburse the Commissariat. Prior to this, the Colony had already agreed to pay £5 per man for its military defence. By 1862, the total amounted to £26,000 per annum but the actual total expenditure was far higher. According to Jones; 'the sums expended in this colony, rendered to the end of October last, and the contribution of £5 per man to 31<sup>st</sup> March, 1861, amounted to £123,71018s.0d, but the Treasury claim is for £193,180.5s.6d.' Stanley believed that the higher figure was due to the cost of the iron barracks at Taranaki. He had issued payments amounting to £76,450.16s.10d. Accordingly, the colony was now in debt to the Commissariat Chest to the tune of £269,631.2s.4d. Stanley's only recourse to lower this debt was to suspend all further payments on behalf of the Colony. This covered Militia purposes at Taranaki and the working parties still employed on the Great South Road.<sup>64</sup>

The following two years saw Commissariat expenditure continuing unabated. A statement of claims to the 30 September 1862 shows the increase in the overall amount accounting for pay, rations to 30 June and 30 September, Her Majesty's troops' contribution, road making and hire of steamers totalling £195,233.17s.5d. When added to what was already owed, the total amount payable back to the Commissariat Chest was now £207,367.1s.8d. In addition

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<sup>64</sup> Author's Collection, Appendices to the House of Representatives, Papers relative to Military Expenditure, Deputy Commissary General to the Private Secretary, 2 September 1862.

to more expenditure on road construction, the chest was also used to pay for provisions, forage, fuel and light. The total for provisions on road making from 30 December 1861 to 31 April 1862 came to £13,271.8s.10d. Indeed, by the end of September 1862, the amount due from the colony for army services had reached £58,402.1s.3d with no sign of the colony paying the outstanding amount.<sup>65</sup> Between May and June 1865, Commissariat expenditure at the Military Headquarters in Auckland and Out-stations had risen to £80,539.<sup>66</sup>

At one point, H. Stanley Jones of the Commissariat and Governor Grey clashed in public over the use of the regiments in New Zealand. Jones believed that Grey was intent on using Imperial troops as a means to acquire more land for settlement. Jones argued that 'the Imperial troops are not to be employed either in conquering new territory or in defending that already conquered and leaves the General Officer Commanding the troops [Chute] wide discretionary power in the employment of troops'. Jones continued by arguing that the war had been borne largely by the home government and that the debt due by the colony for troops, supplies was running at £16,000 per month. Grey defended his position and blamed the Commissariat for the heavy expense, citing losses of provisions during the Wanganui campaign. General Chute for his part claimed ignorance as he had arrived after his predecessor, Cameron, had already left. Chute's excuse was that he had 'inherited' the present problem. It is unclear how the problems were rectified

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<sup>65</sup> APL, Appendices to Journal of House of Representatives 1862-1864, Papers relating to proposal as to expenses arising out of the war in New Zealand, Volume 13, pp. 86, 474.

<sup>66</sup> PRO, WO33/16, Enclosure 7, Rough Statement of Military Expenditure in New Zealand for the month of June 1865, at Head-Quarters, and for the month of May at Out-stations.

but it would appear that the Commissariat believed it was bearing the cost of keeping the regiments in New Zealand longer than they were needed.<sup>67</sup>

By 1864 the Commissariat Transport Corps numbered 41 officers, 125 non-commissioned officers and 1,341 men, totalling 1,507 all ranks. Together with 1,516 horses and 728 bullocks the total number of transport animals available was 2,284.<sup>68</sup> Initially, this transport service was beset with problems. The Weekly News commented, stating that 'the General may be anxious to advance; the troops may be eager for the duty; but it is the commissariat that is the great difficulty'. The paper went on to say that the interior of New Zealand lacked roads, especially in the disturbed districts, while many of the rivers and creeks did not have bridges. The only paths were singletrack ways, which were ideal for a lightly equipped soldier, but not for the carts of the Commissariat. The Weekly News noted that since Rangiriri:

The military force has been inactive on account of the imperfect manner in which the transport service has been performed; and furthermore, we are compelled to say that owing to a want of foresight and comprehensive arrangements at the first, thousands of pounds worth of supplies have perished.

The paper's argument was that, if depots had been built along the way, then the transport would not now be stretched to its present limits and this would have allowed the campaign to be further ahead. Towards the end of the

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<sup>67</sup> ATL, New Zealand Herald, 12 January 1866.

<sup>68</sup> PRO, WO33/17A.

passage, however, the paper acknowledged that, since the Commissariat had started using the Maungatawhiri river, this had allowed 50 tons of supplies to leave this depot each day and 25 tons per day could now be delivered to the advance camps. This needed to be improved upon, however, if Cameron was to be expected to finish his campaign in the summer. The turnaround time for the transport service was a month to six weeks for every 20 miles of advance.<sup>69</sup>

The year 1864 finally saw the introduction into New Zealand of a Military Train. The Military Train was established in Britain in 1856 because of the lessons learnt in the Crimean campaign.<sup>70</sup> The 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion, Military Train arrived at Auckland on 22 February 1864, on the Empress. It consisting of 288 NCOs and men, In addition, the ship carried Lieut. Clayton of the 68<sup>th</sup>, Ensign Garland and one private of the 43rd Regiment, 14 NCO's and men, and six women and 12 children of the Army Hospital Corps. The party as a whole was landed at Auckland and told to proceed to Albert Barracks to occupy the tents vacated by their predecessors'.<sup>71</sup> On the joint recommendation of Colonel O'Brien, commanding the battalion, and Assistant Commissary General Bailey, Director of the Commissariat Transport Corps, it was arranged that the Military Train should undertake responsibility for transport from Auckland to Onehunga and Drury.

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<sup>69</sup> ATL, Weekly News, 30 January 1864, p. 12.

<sup>70</sup> Sweetman, War and Administration, p. 54; Ryan and Parham, Colonial New Zealand Wars, p. 162.

<sup>71</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 23 February 1864.

Shortly after the introduction of the Military Train and the establishment of its headquarters at Penrose Farm, advertisements were placed in the New Zealander:

Horses wanted heavy draught and riding horses are called for the commissariat. A board of officers will be at Penrose Farm, today and tomorrow for fixing the price of animals offered.

Originally transport duties on the route between Auckland and Onehunga and Drury had been carried out by hired civilian transport at a cost of £2,000 per month. In addition to taking over this, the Military Train also for a period of time performed a portion of the land transport between Drury and Queens Redoubt, furnishing a convoy on alternate days with the Commissariat Transport Corps.<sup>72</sup> The New Zealander commented that:

the military train... left Otahuhu for Auckland yesterday. Part of the men accompanied the baggage and the rest called at Penrose Farm for the horses. The remaining three companies are expected to follow. It is said that they will be employed in the conveyance of commissariat stores between Auckland and Otahuhu. Ample tent room has been provided for in the barrack square.<sup>73</sup>

With the increased military traffic now using the rough roadways built around Auckland, the civil authorities asked the Military Train to carry equipment to

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<sup>72</sup> PRO, WO33/17A.

<sup>73</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 25 February and 2 March 1864.

metal the Grafton road due to the high amount of wear to which it was subjected. However, the Lieutenant General disallowed this because 'that transport is a necessary part of the military establishment, maintained in the colony to its direct advantage'. Thus, the Auckland Council had to fund the repairs themselves, which were duly authorised.<sup>74</sup>

According to A. J. Harrop, during the incursion into the Waikato, the Commissariat Department encountered problems supplying rations to the forces. In a report dated 23 April 1864, DACG Robertson stated that; 'the department was called upon to ration one thousand two hundred men, but this number increased rapidly until it peaked at seven thousand men'. According to Robertson this was 'without timely notification'. Most of the civilian population were either directly or indirectly involved in Commissariat supplies. Men of military age could be excused from militia service providing they could produce a certificate from the Deputy Commissary General. Robertson was also critical of some of the rations; he cited as one example; fish-fed pork. He commenting that it 'looked excellent in the cask, but when cooked, it was quite nauseous, emitting a powerful fish like smell'. Soldiers were also given a vegetable ration, consisting of a pickled onion and a pound of potatoes for which the soldiers were deducted 1½d a day from their pay.<sup>75</sup>

The actual ration consisted of:

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<sup>74</sup> ATL, *New Zealander*, 20 July 1864.

<sup>75</sup> PRO, WO33/16, pp. 461, 466.

Fresh meat one pound, bread one and half pounds, rum one gill, tea sixth of an ounce, coffee third of an ounce, sugar two ounces, pepper one and three sixths, potatoes one pound, onions half pound.<sup>76</sup>

When regiments were active in the field they were assigned Commissariat officers. During the advance of Ngaruawahia, for example, the Commissariat was deployed in the following manner:

Overall command Deputy Assistant Commissary-General Marshall  
Deputy Assistant Commissary-General Jones at Ngaruawahia, the main field depot for the headquarters force.

Acting Deputy Assistant Commissary-General Lieutenant Toker, 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment, at Whata, Whata.

Acting Deputy Assistant Commissary-General Lieutenant Morris, 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion 12<sup>th</sup> regiment, at Te Rori.

Acting Deputy Assistant Commissary-General Ensign Heyland, 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment, at Ngahiapouri.<sup>77</sup>

The termination of hostilities in the Waikato region meant that a large military force was distributed over the area. This necessitated the continuance of a large Commissariat establishment. As the forward momentum had now ceased, a regular system of supply could be organised. This made the supply of provisions, equipment and ammunition less precarious.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> PRO, WO33/17A, Soldiers rations and approximate cost and various forage during the Waikato Campaign in the Province of Auckland, 1863-4.

<sup>77</sup> PRO, WO33/16, p. 462.

<sup>78</sup> PRO, WO 33/16, p. 464.



During its time in Auckland, the Commissariat received complaints of not adhering to the regulations for tendering for produce. Indeed, there was one protracted exchange between February and September 1864, which throws considerable light on how contentious the awarding of contracts could prove. It is worth reproducing the principal correspondence at length. It began with an article in the New Zealander in February:

Business this week has been dull, although from the amount of commissariat work everything looks brisk enough. The sales by auction have realised fair prices, but this is chiefly owing to the fact that the lots were just large enough to tempt the retailer to purchase without overstocking himself. The absence of the Militia and Volunteers from the town and the uncertainty attending their return has a depressing effect on our trade in general. We are sorry to notice a rumour that appears daily to gain ground respecting the mode of purchase adopted by the commissariat. It is positively asserted that a great number of articles (excluded from the contracts) are bought from one firm alone, although tenders might and should have been invited for them. If this is true, we beg to protest in the most emphatic manner against any such mode of business on the grounds of it engendering a suspicion of favouritism, and of its being unfair to other parties in the trade; who have at any rate, as much right to supply H. M. forces the favoured firm alluded to – every person has a right to do all the business he can, but no Government be it Imperial or General, has a right to allow the party

supplying it to do so at his own prices, unless such prices had been accepted by it, after tenders had been called in the regular way. We trust the authorities will prevent this in future, if it has really taken place, and of which we have little doubt.

Subsequently, a letter signed by 'Fair Play' agreed with the newspaper's comment:

I was very pleased to see that in your commercial article on Saturday last you drew attention to the private purchases made by the commissariat from one firm in Auckland. The fact of the officers of this department not being under colonial control is no reason why they should not spend the public money to the best advantage - and it is well known that they do not- indeed to my mind, the press will not be doing its duty if it does not speak out, please or displease whom it may. The commissariat would have killed all the troops in the Crimea if it was not for the Times and so here the commissariat is the greatest difficulty in the general's way. I would like to see the return of the goods that have been destroyed between Auckland and Ngaruawahia, and to know what reason would have been given for its destruction.

The Commissariat did not learn from its mistake and in April a long letter appeared from 'A Settler' outlining more grievances concerning military contracts and government expenditure:

I was glad to see your remarks exposing the waste of public money on steamboats, but there are many other wasteful expenditures going on that this Colony, and Province will feel ere long.

The commissariat contracts are looked upon by many as a matter that does not concern us, but I fear to our cost, we shall find that we must pay a great portion of the military outlays.

I would therefore, ask whether you can give your readers any information about the contract for supply of meat to the troops.

I believe sometime ago a Mr S. had the contract, and that he gave every satisfaction to all concerned, supplying good meat at 7¼d per lb. It is said that this gentleman made offer to the commissariat to continue the supply to the troops at the same rate, but was told his offer could not be accepted, unless by public tender.

Some months ago advertisements appeared, and I believe, offers were made and accepted, for the supply of fat live cattle for use of the troops. The contract I believe, was 5½d per lb.

It is reported that this contract is cancelled, for what reason I cannot say, and I am not aware of the commissariat having called for tenders for the supply of meat for the use of the troops!

It is reported, but surely it cannot be true, that a private arrangement, by verbal agreement has been entered into, for the supply of meat for the use of the troops. It is further stated that 11¼ d per lb. is actually paid to those who have made this fortunate private contract. In addition it is believed that these contractors are to retain the contract for above one year, dating from the commencement of their supplying the troops; and that the commissariat at a distance of 18 miles from Auckland provides all stock-yards, &c., and does all the killing and slaughterhouse work free of cost to the contractor.

I hear that some concerned in this fortunate contract have purchased a large herd of cattle lately at market at about 22s per cwt., and that it is a rare thing for cattle to realise more than 5½d per lb at market. The meat price in Auckland is, I believe from 6d to 8d per lb., according to the joint supplied; how is it that the troops are paying much more for the meat they get? Do they get meat of far superior quality than the public?

I trust that I may not be misunderstood as reflecting against any tradesman making as good a bargain as possible; but I maintain that where the hardworking man is likely to be eventually the paymaster, and where there is every prospect of heavy taxation on the industry of this Province, we are justified in asking the press, or those that can do so, to throw some light on our heavy expenditure. This meat contract, to the least has something mysterious about it.

The editor's response to this letter was as follows:

In so far as contracts are entered into with, and relate solely to, Imperial Governments, and we are to be satisfied out of Imperial funds, we are supposed to have nothing to say about them. But if there be any of those contract made, the payment for which will ultimately fall upon this colony, that is a point in which we are all concerned. The colonists have in such case an undoubted right to be made acquaintance with the nature and extent of every one of these transactions. The public service, in an economical and other point of view, would be benefited by the adoption of an open and above board system of dealing with these matters. The practice introduced some years ago by the Provincial Government ought certainly be adopted whether expenditure of colonial money is involved, namely, that of publishing the accepted and rejected tenders as soon as possible after the work or supply has been let.<sup>79</sup>

The Commissariat continued to be publicly belittled, 'Old Practical' outlining what he thought was wrong with the department and the waste of supplies. His view was firmly rebuffed by another writer who in all probability was the Commissary General himself writing under the pseudonym of 'Tomahawk'. Again, it is worth recording these at length as they provide two distinctly

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<sup>79</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 13 February and 9 April 1864.

different views on how the Commissariat Department operated. First, 'Old Practical':

This is perhaps with its expenditure, requirements, and consequences, the most enormous of all our present establishments here; and perhaps we have none in which more blunders are committed, and the only palliative which I hear is, "well they did the same in the Crimea".

I call it a blunder to reduce the spirits twenty to thirty per cent in Auckland, to bring it down to its proper standard, and thus pay £10 or £12 per ton for shipping water to the Waikato.

I call it a blunder to pay £10 to £15 per ton for the conveyance of goods, when it could be done for little more than £2 per ton. I call it blundering to let casks, bags, and numerous articles lay and rot when they might be sold, at all events for something. I call it blundering to remove a department from a convenient to an inconvenient situation, merely to serve private ends. I call it a blunder when thousands of bushels of oats are missing, and no one seems responsible for them. These and a hundred other blunders of the Commissary Department as at present conducted.

But now we have a real live Commissary General none of your D.C.G., A.C.G., D.A.C.G's., we may I have no doubt, room for improvement. If any one establishment or department more than another requires a

sound head, a good judgement, with a vigorous determination to carry out the designs of the establishment, in all their integrity as regards the Department itself, and the people for whose benefit the machinery was formed, it is the commissariat. The past blunders in the department have been enormous, and the waste extravagance, and plunder beyond conception. Surely with a well devised and wisely carried out machinery these things need not be, but the saving of money, even by preventing reckless waste, never seems to had a moments consideration, either with he head or the subordinates. A most valuable officer was lost when Mr De Moulin left the Commissariat, which he never should have been permitted to do, and would never have done, had he meet with ordinary encouragement instead of exactly the reverse. The loss of an old public servant well up in every detail of such an enormous establishment is not easily remedied. Many parts of the Department are carried out well, and so might the whole be with a good comprehensive head. On the whole our troops have been well supplied both as to quality and quantity. Of course there may have been some few exceptions, which cannot be wondered at, when various up stations are so difficult to supply.

I know nothing of our new officer, Mr Commissary Drake, but taking for granted that he is gentlemen of some mind and grasp, we have good reason to expect a considerable improvement in the entire Department under his management.

When we see gentlemen with salaries of from £200 to £300 per annum becoming comparatively rich in a short time- when we see them purchasing houses and land, and entering into various speculations- there is a reason to fear that there is a screw loose somewhere, and the sooner such cases are looked into the better. It is not only in the Waikato Regiments that defaulters might be found if a sudden pull up were to take place. But now let us hope that after the squander of thousands of pounds some improvement may be made.

'Tomahawk's' reply on the 1 September, whether penned by Drake or some other of his officers, was addressed to the newspaper from within the Department and stated how the Commissariat was operated.

I trust you will permit me to make a few remarks relative to "Old Practical's" article upon the management of the Commissariat Department in New Zealand, which appeared in your publication of the 19<sup>th</sup> instant which only reached me yesterday.

The charge of wilful waste will hardly hold good, when it is considered that during active service in the "field" it was matter of almost insurmountable difficulty to procure sufficient storage for the vast amount of Commissariat supplies at the several out stations. Consequently losses which the utmost care could not prevent, have no doubt occasionally occurred. It would be impossible, under such



circumstances, to erect magazines possessing all the perfections to be found in a populous and improving city.

It is not a “blunder” as “Old Practical” so dogmatically asserts, for the head of the department at Auckland to take care that spirits for the use of the troops are of the regulated quality and strength before leaving his charge. Did he not do so, your correspondent would doubtless be the first to charge that officer with negligence in deputing to subordinates his own.

Had “Old Practical” taken the common sense step of arming himself with some knowledge (be it ever so little) of the internal arrangements of the Commissariat, and of the many various and unforeseen obstacles, which though apparently trivial to the eye of the inexperienced, daily arrive to oppose a progressive improvement as well as the difficult and intricate nature of the Commissariat duties, he would, I think, have reflected a little before bringing such sweeping charges against a public system.

It is with pain that I find in the columns of a paper so justly and so widely influential as the New Zealander an aspersion so unfounded as that conveyed in the last paragraph of the communication in question. It is indeed a grave thing to charge any man with wilful misrepresentation, and I should not hastily do so towards your correspondent, who has not hesitated to bring vague criminal charges

against the members of an honourable profession. But, Sir, it is not to be borne that a gentleman should shelter himself under the etiquette of the press, that he might with greater impunity fling his slanders against hard working public servants. Even should these boldly alleged frauds have any existence, save in "Old Practical's" prolific imagination, it would be better him, as an honourable man, to lift the veil which conceals the guilty, than to attempt to brand the characters of many eminent men with the shame and degradation which will assuredly fall upon the guilty if there be any such as he describes.

Another thing: An officer of rank and acknowledged ability and unimpeachable integrity, is relieved in his responsible office by a senior officer, "Old Practical" cannot for the life of him, resist the temptation of making this simple event a pretext for sullyng a reputation unstained by one unworthy act.

I would not have ventured to trespass so lengthily upon your valuable space, were it not that the acknowledged respectability of the New Zealander might perhaps lend a merit to the article under notice, of which it is intrinsically unworthy.<sup>80</sup>

Clearly, certain sections of Auckland's population thought the Commissariat incompetent and badly mismanaged, using the example of the previous Crimean experience where the Commissariat failed to supply regiments with

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<sup>80</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 18 August and 1 September 1864.

winter clothing and provisions. In New Zealand it was alleged that they wasted provisions through the comparative lack of storage facilities. It is also clear, however, that underlying the criticism was also commercial rivalry, in itself a tribute to the economic significance of military contracts. In reality, the system seems to have worked with successful tenders being published in the weekly papers. The Commissariat, however, did not seem to publish details of all those who had tendered. Indeed, as if to suggest the possibility of a 'closed shop' approach, T. Holmes, a butcher located in Auckland, when advertising in the provincial papers stated that he was the sole supplier of meat to the 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment.<sup>81</sup>

By early 1869 the Commissariat had begun only to tender for what was absolutely necessary. Towards the end of 1869, they had begun to auction off most of the stores in Fort Britomart. The successful auctioneer was another Auckland firm, Samuel Cochrane and Son.<sup>82</sup>

Before leaving the question of the economic value of the military to New Zealand in general and to Auckland in particular, it should be noted that, as in Pietermaritzburg, the military contributed directly to the communications infrastructure. Mention has already been made of the Great South Road. Generally, at the time troops first appeared in Auckland, the roads were unmetalled tracks likely to turn to gelatinous mud during wet weather. Una

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<sup>81</sup> ATL New Zealander, 26 October 1859.

<sup>82</sup> ATL The New Zealand Herald, 5<sup>th</sup> November 1869 and 5<sup>th</sup> January 1870.

Platts, for example, records the 'troublesome' Horutu Creek, which ran down the centre of Queen Street and caused major problems after any storms.<sup>83</sup>

Grey attempted to solve some of the problems by using the Fencibles on road construction after 1847, promising them a year's employment on building roads, clearing acre allotments, fencing, drainage and bridges.<sup>84</sup> In addition to the Commissariat, regulars, too, however, were able to supplement military pay with work on the Great South Road.<sup>85</sup> In the case of the 57<sup>th</sup> Regiment, between 736 and 936 men were employed on road making on a daily basis during 1848, receiving 10s.0d a day in addition to military pay.<sup>86</sup> Indeed, the army's medical establishment believed road construction an essentially healthy task for soldiers.

This chapter has shown that the Commissariat played an important role in the development of Auckland's economy. Without military contracts many businesses may have foundered early on and a considerable amount of additional income was derived from supplying the army. Indeed, in some respects, the conflict in New Zealand could be seen – and was seen by a number of contemporaries - as a lucrative affair. So long as there was fighting between Imperial regiments and the Maori, supplies would be required. With the eventual withdrawal of the Imperial regiments from 1866, businesses, which originally supplied the Commissariat, began to supply the locally raised forces instead. Many businesses may well have become full time suppliers to these various forces. The role of suppliers was not just to provide provisions

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<sup>83</sup> Platts, *Lively Capital*, p. 76.

<sup>84</sup> Alan La Roche, *The Royal New Zealand Fencibles, 1847-1852* (Waiuku, 1997), p. 65.

<sup>85</sup> Nona Morris, *The Journal of William Morgan* (Auckland: Auckland City Council, 1963), *passim*.

<sup>86</sup> PRO, WO334/17.

and essentials, but, on some occasions, to supply the front line troops or deliver equipment to the various posts in and around the Auckland district. The Commissariat itself also appears to have coped better with supply and demand in New Zealand than those who supported the troops in the Crimea. But then, the force serving in New Zealand was considerably smaller and the conditions very different.

The economic benefit of the military presence in Auckland, therefore, was considerable although this chapter has perforce presented something of an impressionistic picture. It is not possible to provide the precise figures concerning the military contribution to the civil economy of Auckland due to the apparent lack of detailed information on the colonial budget currently available. It is conceivable that a fuller picture may emerge in future if sufficient financial data comes to light. If the economic role of the garrison was beneficial to Auckland, however, there were other aspects of the military presence that were potentially more harmful.

Overseas postings in the nineteenth century resulted in many regiments being stationed in a hostile or subdued country for a number of years. Many of the recruits who joined in the event of an overseas posting would serve their entire length of service without ever returning to Great Britain. This enforced period away meant that many new recruits, and those with many years of service would, at some point, succumb to local diseases. In military terms any soldier who had completed 21 years' service was according to Hew Strachan 'worn out'.<sup>1</sup> There were diseases borne by insects - malaria, typhus, and yellow fever – with which to contend, as well as water borne diseases - typhoid, dysentery, and cholera. In addition, there were also viral diseases such as smallpox,<sup>2</sup> with even greater power to decimate entire regiments more effectively than fighting against any of those human enemies they had been sent to subdue.

From a military viewpoint one of the more infamous postings in terms of losses of soldiers to disease was the West Indies. Roger Buckley argues that smallpox had the power to gravely weaken the British garrison in the West Indies virtually on its own, due to its extreme contagiousness.<sup>3</sup> Buckley draws this conclusion from the statistical work carried out by Dr. Henry Marshall and Lieutenant Alexander Murray Tulloch, two reforming army officers who carried out health studies of where British troops were posted. Their 'Statistical Reports on the Sickness, Morality, and Invaliding among the Troops' covered Ceylon, the Tenasserim Provinces (Burma), the Mediterranean, the United Kingdom, British America, Sierra Leone, the Cape of Good Hope, the western

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<sup>1</sup> Strachan, *Wellington's Legacy*, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Smallpox is a viral disease caught by contact with other persons.

coast of Africa and Mauritius. These reports were subsequently published in those Parliamentary Papers relating to the respective country, and provided the evidence required for reforming the living standards of regiments posted abroad. Tables stated how diseases spread through garrisons and suggested possible cures to curtail the high mortality rates in many of the countries occupied by Imperial forces.

The other killer of soldiers was drink. From Waterloo through to the Crimea, the British army and drink had become in many respects semi-symbiotic. The soldier required drink to help him get through the day and many regiments had gained the reputation of being hard drinkers. Drink, like tropical or sexually transmitted diseases, would achieve the same results, but over a longer period of time, in shortening the lives of many soldiers. The Horse Guards and those commanding the regiments, however, did not discourage drink. Official encouragement was given in the barrack canteen where, due to peer pressure, many recruits would become indoctrinated into the habit of drinking.<sup>4</sup> A paragraph written in The Times in 1848, but perhaps significantly reproduced in The New Zealander, highlighted the problem of canteens in barracks and is worth quotation at length:

We have seen with great satisfaction an announcement of the intention of Government to prohibit for the future sale of intoxicating liquors in the canteen. If this regulation should be carried out, it will be found one of the best that ever was adopted for preserving the character and

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<sup>3</sup> Buckley, British Army in West Indies, p. 318.

<sup>4</sup> Strachan, Wellington's Legacy, p. 66.

contributing to the happiness of the British soldier. Hitherto the canteen has offered him ready opportunities for contracting habits of dissipation and idleness, which, indeed he must have found it very difficult to avoid; for being isolated from worthier means of occupying his leisure, drinking becomes almost a necessity his only resource. It argues a long and culpable indifference to the respectability of the lower ranks of the army that they should have been until now abandoned to such a debasing employment of their time, when off duty a taproom could afford. No care was taken to supply them with a better indulgence than that of ministering to a ruinous propensity, which proverbially brings every description of vice, as well as the utmost misery, in its train. By the regulations heretofore existing, the privilege of tempting the soldier to turn drunkard is a matter of contact between the Government and the keeper of the canteen. Who, having purchased his right, felt himself at full liberty to make the most he could of it? The sale of intoxicating liquor was of course the most profitable part of the trade, for the habit of drinking is rapidly acquired, and when it seizes its victim, it speedily absorbs all his means. Thus the soldier was encouraged in a vice which to transfer every farthing he possessed to the pockets of those by whom the materials for gratifying his degrading propensity were supplied. We think the Government will have acted most properly in prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors; for any regulations that might be prescribed in order to allow it under certain conditions would almost certainly be abused.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 22 March 1848.



Barracks were, or could be perceived as, prisons. Bored soldiers without female company were for the most part confined to barracks to protect the civilian population. It is therefore not surprising that soldiers drank to occupy the inactive time between engagements or drills.<sup>6</sup> The rum ration was a means of issuing a set amount of drink to the soldier. This was in part diluted with three parts water, and amounted to a gill or a pint each day, or three and half gallons a month. Many hard-drinking soldiers would acquire stronger drink, as in the West Indies, from the slave population, which in turn was being supplied from their owners who were looking to make a quick profit at the soldiers' expense. These actions on the part of the few pushed up the incidence of drink related-deaths in the regiments.<sup>7</sup>

In terms of nursing the wounded, British soldiers were, in general, nursed by male orderlies, although, in some cases, wives and camp followers did assist the orderlies in tending to the wounded. The latter practice, however, had largely disappeared by the time of the Peninsular War when women ceased to help or be employed as nurses; they were re-designated as cooks, or washerwomen. By 1832 eight years before the first regiments were sent to New Zealand, women were no longer employed in any capacity in regimental hospitals. By the end of the seventeenth century, staff hospitals had come into use and were of two kinds: the fixed hospital which eventually developed into the general hospital, and the marching hospital, which became known as the 'flying hospital'. The latter was fairly autonomous, with its own tentage and

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<sup>6</sup> Laurie Barber, Garry Clayton, and John Tonkin-Covell (eds.), Sergeant, Sinner, Saint and Spy: The Taranaki War Diary of Sergeant William Marjouram, R.A. (Random Century, 1990), p. 2.

transport wagons. These flying hospitals, however, were abandoned during the Peninsular War as they obstructed the roads. This was to create a problem in the Crimea when the staff surgeons, acting as medical officers to brigades, had to apply to the Commissary General for transport to evacuate the sick and wounded.<sup>8</sup>

This chapter will look at the health of soldiers and regiments posted to New Zealand, either in the field or in barracks. Disease had much less of an impact during hostilities in New Zealand than in other colonial wars, largely because of the more favourable climatic conditions and natural surroundings, including the flora and fauna, which were less likely to induce disease. New Zealand certainly had extensive tracks of native bush but, apart from a few poisonous plants, it had no poisonous snakes or reptiles, and no malaria carrying insects. The Maori population, by contrast, had no natural resistance to 'imported' diseases, introduced into the colony by the soldiers and settlers. These introduced diseases would infect many villages, and in some cases were more effective at halting any uprisings than any military counter-measures. Introduced diseases included syphilis, gonorrhoea, tuberculosis, measles, rubella, mumps, smallpox, cowpox, chickenpox, influenza, whooping cough, and phthisis (pulmonary consumption). While all of these were obviously introduced by infected Europeans, the common rat was also quite adept at bringing new diseases into New Zealand through the ports.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Buckley, *British Army in West Indies*, p. 284; Strachan, *Wellington's Legacy*, p. 66.

<sup>8</sup> Madeleine Masson, *A Pictorial History of Nursing* (London: Hamlyn, 1985), pp. 49-50.

<sup>9</sup> Gluckman, *Touching on Deaths*, p. 21.

With more regiments being called upon to see active service in New Zealand, the positioning and location of the barracks had to be carefully considered to ensure the health of the soldiers who would be stationed in Auckland. Of the two main barracks, Albert Barracks was the better sited of the two in health terms. Marshall and Tulloch had put forward proposals that new barracks should be situated away from potential areas that would allow diseases to infect the garrison. They stipulated that barracks should be placed on raised land, preferably a hilltop with its own supply of water, while the buildings themselves should be open and well ventilated.<sup>10</sup> Albert Barracks met with the new specifications because, when FitzRoy commenced the construction, he had chosen the new location with due care and consideration, allowing for the new requirements in barrack building. In comparison, Fort Britomart had been built with purely military needs in mind at a time when there was a high risk of war, and there was no adequate provision to house the troops, an existing Pa located on the harbour shoreline being used to provide military accommodation. Both barracks, however, had an adequate supply of fresh water provided by wells. Both also had extra water delivered by the Commissariat to supplement the existing supply.<sup>11</sup>

The generally healthy situation was fortuitous, for medical provision in Auckland was sparse. The first hospital was erected in Fort Britomart by Major Bunbury, who was in overall charge of the construction of this barrack. Bunbury had brought with him from Sydney a wooden building, which may

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<sup>10</sup> 'Statistical Reports on the Sickness, Morality, and Invaliding among the troops serving in: Ceylon, Tenasserim Provinces, Mediterranean, United Kingdom, British America, Sierra Leone, Cape of Good Hope, Western Coast of Africa and Mauritius', Parliamentary Papers (London: Clowes and Sons), C2, L2, B, 2B, 3B2, 2A, 2E, 3B, 4C.

<sup>11</sup> See chapters 3 and 4 above.

have been intended to be used in Kororaraka. Instead it was used in the barrack grounds as a small hospital catering for civilian and military needs.<sup>12</sup> The second military hospital was situated in Albert Barracks. This was constructed in 1847, and built of scoria. Documents in both WO 334/17 and WO 334/28 give thorough descriptions of this building. It will be recalled from previous chapters that the hospital was a two-storey affair catering for 26 patients. The dead house was a convenient distance away from the main living quarters to cut down the risk of disease and the hospital was situated in the southwestern part of the barrack grounds in a healthy location enclosed by a white piquet fence.

A surviving sketch of the hospital shows it to have had a greyish exterior, possibly due to the scoria used in the construction. The building had 27 windows and a main entrance. The ground plan, which also survives, reveals the following dimensions: Lower Storey: Store Room, 10' 9" by 22'; Eye Ward, 12' 3" by 22'; Kitchen, 14' 3" by 18'; Surgery, 16' 9" by 14' 6"; Large Ward for 13 beds, 22' by 44'. Upper Storey: Two Wards, each 44' by 22'; Sergeants Room, 9' 9" by 14' 6". Overall length of building: 58'; width, 48'; thickness of walls, 24"; height of wards, 10'; height of the main entrance hall, 10' 6". Two fires provided heating for the hospital.<sup>13</sup>

There were also military field hospitals, which would have consisted of tents and one possible building. These were located at the two other major military sites, Otahuhu and Queen's Redoubt. Howick, a Fencible village, also had a

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<sup>12</sup> Gluckman, Touching on Deaths, pp. 22 and 55.

hospital built inside the stockade. Auckland had a third hospital located in Symonds Street, and a militia hospital was established in Parnell, a suburb of Auckland.<sup>14</sup>

Medical provision was by 1860 provided by the Army Medical Department, which consisted of regimental and colonial surgeons; they were attached to army units between 1860 and 1866. This department was also joined by the Army Hospital Corps, which arrived in Auckland in 1861, leaving New Zealand in 1870. Military hospitals were also established in New Plymouth, Napier and Wanganui.<sup>15</sup>

Despite the provision made, conditions were not necessarily satisfactory. A report on Auckland's military hospital provision in 1865, commented, firstly, on the makeshift living quarters and, secondly, the hygiene:

It is to be regretted that, concomitantly with this makeshift accommodation, a proportional increase was not made to the ablution, latrine and urinal provision. This has remained without proportional increase. A certain portion of the permanent barrack-buildings has, during the year, been made over for the use of the hospital. This is the best arrangement that could be made, having in view the exceptional character of the circumstances which caused the authorities very legitimately to object to spend money in erecting a proper hospital, but

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<sup>13</sup> PRO, WO334/17, Annual Returns of the sick and wounded for the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment, period ending 31 March 1848; *ibid.*, WO334/28, Royal Engineers report of the sick and wounded, 1861.

<sup>14</sup> Gluckman, *Touching on Deaths*, p. 57, La Roche, *New Zealand Fencibles*, p. 53.

<sup>15</sup> Ryan and Parham, *Colonial New Zealand Wars*, p. 162.

it is needless to say that the auxiliary accommodation thus gained, being as it was, without the requisite outbuildings which ought to belong to an hospital, was at best very far from perfect.<sup>16</sup>

When hostilities began in the Bay of Islands, the wounded were taken on board H.M.S. Hazard while the dead were buried in the nearest churchyard. Those injured would have received gunshot, tomahawk, spear or patu wounds. During the initial fighting in and around Kororareka, the majority of the dead and wounded were from the 96<sup>th</sup> Regiment. It will be recalled that the British had established two blockhouses on Maiki hill in readiness to counter any attack from Heke. When the attack happened both blockhouses sustained dead and wounded. Buick cites Privates Miller, Giddens, Jackson and Ireon as being killed, Cowan revealing that they were all shot. The lower blockhouse sustained just one casualty. It is feasible to suggest that, on hearing shots being fired further up the hill, those defending this post were given time to ready themselves against the attack. Kororareka was also a scene of fighting; the combined forces of seamen and soldiers fared no better in holding the town with ten seamen, marines and privates of the 96<sup>th</sup> being killed while the wounded amounted to 23. The most senior casualty was Acting Commander David Robertson who, in the retreat, was shot through both legs and his right arm. The wounded along with the non-combatants were transferred to the ships in the harbour and, from there, returned to Auckland to receive medical attention.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Army Medical Services Museum, Army Medical Department: Statistical, Sanitary, and Medical Reports VII, 1865, p. 348.

As the campaign progressed, it was not feasible to have ships constantly travelling between Auckland and the Bay of Islands conveying the sick and wounded. Accordingly, the Kiri-Kiri mission station became a field hospital where, according to Tom Gibson, 'the wounded received proper medical attention'.<sup>18</sup> This allowed the sick and wounded to convalesce prior to the journey back to Auckland. Kiri-Kiri was located on an estuary, which allowed supplies and equipment to be off loaded relatively easily, and troops to be disembarked without fear of a sudden Maori attack. Cyprian Bridge writing in his diary after the battle of Ohaeawai on 1 July 1845 recorded:

The two surgeons spent half the night attending to the wounded. Many were very severe, and several amputations were performed. I went round the tents, in almost all of which there were two or more wounded men.

Bridge offered to help whilst the surgeons worked on the more serious cases.<sup>19</sup> The medical arrangements at Ohaeawai and throughout the Northern War were not very advanced. Besides the primitive surgical techniques, there was also a shortage of tentage and drays to evacuate the wounded. Bridge noted that it took seven days to evacuate the 70 wounded soldiers six miles to their base at Waimate Mission Station.<sup>20</sup> This casts doubt on Gibson's assumption that the medical conditions were very good.

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<sup>17</sup> Buick, *Hone Heke's Rebellion*, pp. 66,76; Cowan, *New Zealand Wars*, I, pp. 33,28.

<sup>18</sup> Gibson, *Maori Wars*, p. 42.

<sup>19</sup> WPL, Bridge Diary, 1 July 1845.

<sup>20</sup> WPL, Bridge Diary, 8 July 1845.

The New Zealander published the casualty lists for the military forces after the attack on Ruapekapeka Pa on 31 January 1846:

H. M. S. Castor

Killed seven seamen, wounded ten seamen and two marines

H. M. S. North Star

Killed one marine, wounded two seamen

H. M. S. Calliope

Killed one marine, wounded one marine

H. M. S. Racehorse

Wounded one seamen

H. E. I. C. S. Elphinstone

Wounded one seamen

H. M. 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment

Killed two privates, wounded ten privates

H. M. 99<sup>th</sup> Regiment

Killed one private, wounded one private<sup>21</sup>

The medical field force had comprised two doctors – Kidd of the 99<sup>th</sup> and Pine of the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment. Pine had also seen earlier action against Heke, he and Dr Galbraith of the 99<sup>th</sup> having tended the sick and wounded in the aftermath of the attack on Heke's Pa at Puketutu.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> PRO, CO213/11, New Zealander, 31 January 1846.

<sup>22</sup> PRO, WO 1/433, Government Gazette, V, 18, 7 July 1845.



With the establishment of semi-permanent Imperial forces in New Zealand, accurate records needed to be kept, so that the health of the regiments posted there could be monitored in Britain. The earliest reported deaths were non-conflict related and concerned two privates. The first, John Woodman, a private in the 96<sup>th</sup> Regiment, was found face down below the watermark in Official Bay. The verdict dated 4 May 1844 states, 'accidentally suffocated and drowned when a small boat capsized'. The second was Daniel MacDonald, who was confined to barracks, having answered roll call at the Guard House under the influence of liquor. Later in the night, he had gone missing after a fishing trip. Three soldiers were sent to look for him and saw a body lying in water below a high cliff, called Battery Point. The body on examination showed signs of grievous bodily harm. The verdict issued on the 16 May 1844, however, was that MacDonald had accidentally fallen from a cliff, about 50' high, at Battery Point.<sup>23</sup> Drink also resulted in the death of a soldier serving in the 96<sup>th</sup> Regiment, a private who had succumbed to the effects of drink and died outside the Victoria hotel after falling asleep. The coroner's report noted that 'it appeared by the evidence that he went into the tap very much intoxicated with a comrade'. The jury returned the verdict, 'died from the effects of intemperance'.<sup>24</sup>

The military report on the sick and wounded pertaining to the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment in 1848 provides the relevant statistical evidence to show how healthy the regiment was during its tour. The 58<sup>th</sup> was stationed across the North Island. At Auckland, where the regiment maintained its headquarters, it had 19

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<sup>23</sup> Gluckman, *Touching on Deaths*, pp. 128-9.

<sup>24</sup> APL, *New Zealander*, 13 September 1845.

officers, 591 men, 99 women, and 158 children. In the Bay of Islands there were 6 officers, 199 men, 17 women, and 32 children. The Southern District (Wellington) also had a detachment, which consisted of 5 officers, 80 men, 8 women and 14 children. The surgeon in charge in the Bay of Islands was Robertson, while the detachment of the 58<sup>th</sup> posted to the Southern District fell under the jurisdiction of the surgeon of the 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment.<sup>25</sup>

In the preceding year, a number of men had been admitted to hospital; those who remained were included in the statistics for the 1848 report and amounted to 17. In general, 260 men were hospitalised and 277 otherwise treated during the year. Discharges were in the region of 250 with five deaths. By March 1848 those remaining in hospital had risen slightly to 22 men. Proportionately the number of deaths to sick amounted to 1:86, while the proportion of deaths to troop strength was 1:82. Soldiers reporting to the hospital as sick on a daily basis averaged 16. Overall the average time spent in hospital by the wounded or sick of the 58<sup>th</sup> was 17 days.<sup>26</sup>

Transmittable diseases that affected the 58th Regiment were quite diverse, requiring different amounts of recuperation before soldiers could return to full health. Pneumonia, for example, tended on average to incapacitate for 36 days, while bronchitis was treatable in one or two days. Those afflicted by Hepatitis generally recovered in 11 days. Catarrh was quite virulent amongst the Regiment with 12 acute cases and 29 chronic cases, of whom 19 were discharged and allowed to recommence light duty. The report also cited one

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<sup>25</sup> PRO, WO334/17.

fatal case of apoplexia, Private William Breason, who was already hospitalised having been shot in the hip in 1845. Similarly, there was one fatal case of Phthisis pulmonalis, the victim being Private William Power. Diarrhoea was also quite common due to the differences in drinkable water and diet between the field and in barracks: there were six reported cases, which required on average six days to recover.

Sexually transmitted diseases were prevalent throughout the army and New Zealand was no exception. There were two cases of syphilis, the same private being treated twice, and one outbreak of Scrofula,<sup>27</sup> which required 25 days in hospital. The most chronic form was gonorrhoea with five cases over the year. In comparison with England, where the annual number of admissions into hospital amounted to 929, New Zealand had 638 admissions.<sup>28</sup> This comparison used a cross section of commonly caught diseases as a means to gauge the admissions. The report on the 58<sup>th</sup> also commented favourably on road making as a means of preserving men's health.<sup>29</sup>

There were some cases of soldiers and officers being murdered by civilians. The earliest documented case was recorded in the New Zealander, concerning the death of Lieut. Robert Snow, from H.M.S. Dido, his wife and child. Snow and his family were murdered in their house, which was situated on the North shore (Devonport), on 25 October 1847. A coroner's inquest was

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<sup>26</sup> PRO, WO334/17.

<sup>27</sup> Scrofula: A glandular disease, also a form of tuberculosis.

<sup>28</sup> PRO, WO334/17, Annual returns of the sick and wounded for the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment, period ending 31 March 1848.

<sup>29</sup> PRO, WO334/17.

formally opened in Devonport. The wounds to the back of the head which resulted in their deaths were from either a spear, tomahawk or knife. The perpetrator(s) proceeded also to burn the bodies and house to disguise the true cause of death. Two days later, the New Zealander published its report into the deaths and presumed that an argument with a Maori over some Raupo was the cause. The family were buried with full military honours. It later emerged, however, that a white named Burns was responsible for the murders. Burns initially confessed then subsequently retracted the confession at his trial but he was found guilty and hanged on 17 June 1848.<sup>30</sup> Another case classed as murder, since it was not at a time of war, occurred when a detachment of 20 men from the 57<sup>th</sup> was ambushed by a party of Maoris, who were devotees of the new cult of Pai-marire. Captain Lloyd and several soldiers of the detachment were killed. Lloyd, along with the other men, was decapitated, their heads smoked and used as a means to stir up more tribal support for this new religion. The assailants were eventually tried and hanged for their crimes.<sup>31</sup>

From 1848 to 1860, the only real insight into the health of the military in Auckland comes from a series of coroners' reports. The reason for this gap of 12 years in the military records appears to be that it was a prolonged period of peace, and the subsequent reduction in the numbers of the regiments stationed in Auckland presumably made regular reports less necessary. These reports, placed in chronological order by Gluckman, cover 384

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<sup>30</sup> APL, New Zealander, 27 October 1847; Gluckman, Touching on Deaths, pp. 142-144.

<sup>31</sup> Cowan, New Zealand Wars, II, p. 16.

inquests into military and civilian deaths during these years.<sup>32</sup> In 1860, however, the army began to use the W. O. 823 form issued by the Statistical Branch of the Army Medical Department.<sup>33</sup> This allowed the army statisticians to correlate all the returns and provide the War Office, with an accurate record of the health of those regiments, including wives and children on the strength, assigned to New Zealand.

There are, however, some independent studies for the blank years. Dr A. S. Thomson, Surgeon of the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment, carried out one such survey over a two year period from April 1848 to April 1850, when troop strength in the colony amounted to nearly 2,000 men. His findings showed that the mortality rate per 1,000 men was lower in New Zealand than in any other major garrison post in the British Empire. While the annual rate of admissions into hospital was 921 per 1,000 soldiers in Britain, it was only 464 per 1,000 in New Zealand. The only medical complaints that were more prevalent in New Zealand were ophthalmic diseases, of which there were twice as many as in Britain.<sup>34</sup> Thompson attributed the good health of the soldier to the climate and the quality of the troops' accommodation.

Swainson, the contemporary chronicler of Auckland in 1853, commented on Thomson's findings:

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<sup>32</sup> The details of inquests are taken from Gluckman, Touching on Deaths, passim.

<sup>33</sup> This form was standardised and all regiments were obliged to complete and return it to the Army Department. Examples are found in PRO, WO 33/6A.

<sup>34</sup> Thomson, Story of New Zealand, II, Appendices.

Assuming the returns to show correctly the comparative healthiness of our troops in Great Britain, and at various foreign stations, it does not necessarily follow that they correctly exhibit the comparative solubrity of the climates of the countries to which they were late, so far at least as regards the community at large: and for this reason, that our troops are for the most part lodged in barracks; and that the health of the men is influenced by the manner in which they are lodged, as well as the climate in which they may be stationed; and that the barracks vary considerably in the several important particulars of size, ventilation, construction, and position. This result, therefore, might easily follow - that men stationed in a bad climate, but lodged in barracks erected on a well chosen site, spacious, dry, well ventilated, well drained, and supplied with good water, may have fewer hospital diseases and less mortality, than men stationed in a good climate, but lodged in barracks in a bad situation, close, confined, ill drained, and badly constructed.<sup>35</sup>

Coroners' inquests when opened, unless specified, were not usually held in the barracks. Many were held in hotels, public houses and some outlying settlements such as Onehunga and Howick. The only reported case publicised in 1848 was when an inquest was convened at the new hospital in the military barracks. Private Benjamin Stirling of the 58<sup>th</sup> had died in his sleep. After being informed that the examining doctor, Bannatyne, had discovered that the vessels of the brain were greatly distended, the jury recorded death by 'a visitation of god'.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Swainson, *Auckland*, pp. 51-52.

<sup>36</sup> ATL, *New Zealander*, 2 February 1848.

The intervening years up to 1860 saw 14 cases relating to military deaths; of these four of the deceased died from the same ailment. The common medical term for explaining a death with no pre-conceived medical condition was apoplexy.<sup>37</sup> Each of these four deaths was attributed to apoplexy. Another death was attributed to natural causes and one was a murder - an argument between two privates of the 58<sup>th</sup> resulted in the death of Francis McKeowen, who was stabbed through the heart. One suicide, David Begg of the 58<sup>th</sup>, cut his own throat, the verdict being temporary insanity. There were also two cases of drowning and two accidental deaths. Edward Huggins fell from a cart and was crushed on 19 December 1848; while James Cook, Gunner, Royal Artillery, died from injuries received when a bucket and its contents fell on him on 26 January 1860. Cook was working at the bottom of a well when the accident occurred. The last of the accidental deaths was that of David Connors, 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment, who died of sunstroke while on parade on 9 March 1858.<sup>38</sup> In 1855 there was an inquest into the death of Robert Mowbray, who was of 'advanced' years, and collapsed and died in the Commissariat Office. Mr Adam of the Commissariat Office stated that the deceased had entered complaining of breathing problems. The coroner recorded Mowbray's death as another 'visitation of god'.<sup>39</sup>

The New Zealander had reported a similar case of a sudden death in the Military Barracks in 1856:

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<sup>37</sup> Apoplexy is technically characterised as the sudden inability to feel or move, caused by a rupture of the brain artery.

<sup>38</sup> Gluckman, Touching on Deaths, pp. 149-258.

<sup>39</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 4 April 1855.

About half past 8 am on Sunday, as Stephen Chandler, a private in the 58<sup>th</sup>, was engaged in raising water from the well, he complained of a pricking sensation in the side, and had scarcely re-entered the barrack-room, where he fell down apparently dead, and directly after being conveyed to the Military Hospital, he was found to be dead. Two days before he had complained of being unwell, but after being in hospital a day, was discharged at his own wish. On a post mortem examination, it was found that the rupture of a blood vessel in the abdomen was the cause of death.<sup>40</sup>

Along with Chandler's death another accident occurred which required medical attention. Major Thompson of the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment was riding through the southern gate of Albert Barracks when his horse suddenly shied and threw the Major completely, stunning him. Thompson made a full recovery, having only received a concussion.<sup>41</sup> 1858 saw three more instances of military deaths reported by the New Zealander. Between March and June, a Pay Sergeant, Corporal and a Band Master all died suddenly, each requiring an inquest. All the dead men were from the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment. Pay Sergeant Connor collapsed while on parade and subsequently died. The inquest concluded that Connor died from de soleil attended with disease of the heart. The sergeant was buried with full military honours. The second case concerned Corporal Marden, who was thrown from a flat-bottomed dinghy. According to survivors of the same incident, Marden was a good swimmer,

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<sup>40</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 30 July 1856.



but developed cramps and subsequently drowned. A verdict of accidental death was recorded. The third case concerned Band Master Davis, who died of a burst blood vessel due to overworking. The coroner stated that Davis had been 'living for a few years with delicate health'. Davis was also buried with full military honours.<sup>42</sup>

From 1859, Imperial regiments in New Zealand were once again involved in fighting against the indigenous population. The Inspector General of Hospitals' Regulations laid down the correct procedure for dealing with casualties:

When an army is about to take the field the Director General of the Army Medical Department will select a competent Medical officer, to be attached to the Quartermasters General's Department, to act as Sanitary officer of the army and as sanitary advisor to the department.<sup>43</sup>

In order for Governor Gore Browne to launch an offensive against Wiremu Kingi in the Taranaki War more regiments were required. Browne was sent three extra regiments to complete his task and Auckland now became a centre of activity with many regiments passing through to their new postings at Wellington, Wanganui, Napier, New Plymouth, or, being stationed either in the barracks, or billeted in the tented camp at Otahuhu. On average, there were 4,890 officers and men on active duty at any one time in 1861.

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<sup>41</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 20 December 1856.

Consequently, Auckland's military hospitals were also scenes of activity, with personnel from the Royal Artillery, Royal Engineers, and 12<sup>th</sup>, 57<sup>th</sup>, 70<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, 40<sup>th</sup> and 65<sup>th</sup> Regiments all requiring some form of medical attention.

The Annual Return of the Sick and Wounded, of the troops in New Zealand, covering 1 January to 31 December 1861,<sup>44</sup> provides statistical evidence to ascertain how many troops were hospitalised during the year, deaths in and out of the hospitals, and mortality rates of troops between certain ages. This was calculated in five-year blocks. Women and children on the strength were also taken into account. During the course of the year troop strength did not vary very much: at its lowest there were 3,306 troops in New Zealand during January, reaching its highest figure of 5,649 in October. By comparison, Auckland's civilian population in 1861 was 9,000.

Proportionately over the same period of 1861, the number of troops admitted to hospital also varied, January again seeing the lowest total with 130 admitted, the highest number of 389 admissions was in August, and it dropped back down to 249 in December. On average the mortality rate in hospital equated to just over three deaths per month, the total figure being 42. Those dying out of hospital amounted to 26, with an average of two deaths per month. January saw deaths out of hospital reach seven, while the worst figure reached for dying under medical care was six in October. These figures were then compartmentalised into five-year age blocks to ascertain if any specific age group were more susceptible to an early death. Among those

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<sup>42</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 31 March, 17 April, and 2 June 1858.

<sup>43</sup> PRO, WO33/6A, Inspector Generals of Hospital Regulations, Pt II, 1858, p. 141.

under 20 years of age there were three deaths in hospital; among those aged 20 to 24, 16 deaths in hospital with ten outside; of those aged 25 to 29, eleven under care and nine not in care; of those aged 30 to 34 years of age, six deaths in hospital and six outside; of those between 35 to 39, four in Hospital; and of those aged 40 years of age, two and one respectively.

Officer strength during this period amounted to 236, of whom during the course of the year no fewer than 110 required medical attention. Of these, 107 were discharged, one died and two remained under care. There were 383 women who were married and on the strength, of whom 140 were treated. Of these, 131 were discharged, four died, and five were still receiving care. It was inconceivable, of course, to think that soldiers would abstain from sex with either their partners or with women off the strength, i.e. camp followers, and prostitutes. The combined regimental figures for children on the strength amounted to 724 and, of these, 244 were admitted for treatment. Those discharged amounted to 221 with 19 deaths and four still requiring further treatment as the year ended.

There were also cases when soldiers with many years service went insane. These men were separated from their regiments for treatment. The two main forms of mental diseases that affected the Imperial army were dementia and melancholia.<sup>45</sup> During the course of the year there were nine cases, of these

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<sup>44</sup> PRO, WO334/28.

<sup>45</sup> Dementia is defined loss of mental capacity, accompanied by disturbances in emotion and behaviour. The onset is gradual. It could be caused through syphilis. Melancholia is characterised as a state of profound depression, which may be accompanied by physical disorders.

five were dementia, one melancholia, and three that could not be categorised.<sup>46</sup>

Other medical returns were more specific showing where each regiment was stationed and how healthy they were at the time the report was written. During 1861 eleven regiments, corps or units were billeted in Auckland and Otahuhu comprising Royal Artillery, Royal Engineers, 12<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, 57<sup>th</sup>, 65<sup>th</sup>, 70<sup>th</sup>, Commissariat Staff Corps, Army Hospital Corps, Military Staff Department and General Staff.<sup>47</sup>

The Royal Artillery arrived in New Zealand from England in March 1861. They proceeded to be billeted in the Albert and Fort Britomart barracks from 6 March. The Royal Artillery's average troop strength was 244, which was small in comparison with other units and allowed more comfortable living conditions with only 29 men to a barrack room.<sup>48</sup> During their tour of duty in Auckland, there were 178 admissions into the military hospitals. The Royal Artillery personnel like other regiments were prone to diseases that were prevalent throughout the Imperial army. Having journeyed from England, many soldiers had inadvertently brought infectious diseases with them into New Zealand. The close confines of the sea journey, followed by being placed in barracks, meant that any infections would spread rapidly to other regiments situated near them. There were 35 cases of typhoid or typhus-like symptoms, with one death and ten cases requiring hospitalisation. The Royal Artillery also recorded eight cases of diarrhoea, three of phthisis pulmonalis and eleven

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<sup>46</sup> PRO, WO334/28.

<sup>47</sup> PRO, WO334/28.

cases of zymotic diseases,<sup>49</sup> while the combined cases of tonsillitis, influenza, ophthalmia and rheumatism amounted to 25,<sup>50</sup> with one case of orchitis.<sup>51</sup> The Royal Engineers had also returned from Taranaki, and remained in Auckland for the rest of 1861. There were only 60 NCOs, yet no fewer than 42 of them were hospitalised in November 1861.<sup>52</sup>

During their tour of duty in Auckland, the Royal Artillery had one drink related death. An inquest was held in the garrison library at the Albert Barracks, to hear the verdict on the death of Charles McLeary, aged thirty, formerly a gunner. Prior to his death McLeary had a reputation for hard drinking. The deceased had been examined by William Temple, who was the Assistant Surgeon and in medical charge of the battery at Auckland.<sup>53</sup> The verdict was death by excessive drinking. A similar inquest was also opened in Otahuhu, on Michael Tierney, aged 35, a private with the 70<sup>th</sup> Regiment. Tierney had died according to Thomas Oliver Hession, the 70<sup>th</sup> Regiment's Assistant Surgeon, of excessive drinking.<sup>54</sup>

There had been for many years a temperance movement in New Zealand. What, however, has been hard to ascertain is whether many regimental personnel subscribed to this movement. In 1861 at least, when the Band of Hope and Total Abstinence Society celebrated on the Government Domain, they were entertained by the band of the Rifle Corps and some

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<sup>48</sup> PRO, WO334/28.

<sup>49</sup> Zymotic diseases includes all infections and contagious diseases caused by germs.

<sup>50</sup> PRO, WO334/135, Annual Return, Sick and Wounded, 1861; *ibid.*, WO334/28.

<sup>51</sup> Orchitis is inflammation of the testes and is related to syphilis.

<sup>52</sup> PRO, WO334/28 and WO334/135.

<sup>53</sup> Gluckman, *Touching on Deaths*, p. 280. This case first mentioned electrogalvanism CPR.

<sup>54</sup> Gluckman, *Touching on Deaths*, p. 281.

representatives were present from the army and Royal Navy. The army, however, was represented only by Sergeant Harrison, a member of the movement, who accompanied 50 children of the regiments in Auckland. By contrast, there were six naval representatives. The Southern Cross commented that 'these noble veterans have as the public well know, upheld the honour and dignity of their country on the recent occasions at Taranaki, although they have dispensed with their grog'. The meeting was pronounced a success and it was hoped that many more meetings would be held.<sup>55</sup>

Drinking, however, was never fully eradicated from either the army or the civilian population. Indeed, local brewers had begun to produce beer that tasted better on the palate and, by 1862 a new brewery had opened which was considered to produce a superior beer to any previously brewed in New Zealand. A report into this new brewery was published in the New Zealander:

We trust that the disagreeable sensation which has for so long a time connected itself with the very thought of colonial ale will no longer be felt, and that during the coming summer, when a light pure ale is almost a necessary that this will drive out the wretched stuff known as colonial beer.<sup>56</sup>

In fact, public houses, hotels and other hostelries had not appeared in Auckland very quickly and there is no apparent link between the subsequent rise in the number of licensed, or unlicensed, premises and the expansion of

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<sup>55</sup> ATL, Southern Cross, 8 February 1861.

the military presence. Nonetheless, when more regiments were stationed in Auckland, there was a marked increase in both cases of drunkenness and also drink-related deaths. Accordingly, in addition to those other economic effects of the military presence noted in the previous chapter, hostelrys of one kind or another did benefit from the military presence irrespective of whether their increasing appearance in Auckland was not necessarily directly stimulated by military demand. The Royal Engineers' surgeon, writing in 1861 on the effects of intemperance, was very critical of the licensing system, and the 'want of proper policies to prevent the sale of bad liquor'. The surgeon stated that:

No less than twenty-five deaths out of hospital have occurred during the year a large proportion of which was due to intoxication. Due to the use of unwholesome liquors, colonial beers and the host of deleterious compounds exported to the colonial market, but which in the absence of canteens cannot be effectively prevented.

He concluded that 'there is no doubt that many lives might be saved were it possible to stop this abominable vice'.<sup>57</sup>

There was no difference in the procedures for inquests when soldiers who died were on some form of detached service from their units for whatever cause. Gluckman notes that in one inquest held in the main military gaol the jury consisted of six prisoners and seven Aucklanders. Two inquests were

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<sup>56</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 6 September 1862.

<sup>57</sup> PRO, WO334/28.

held at Mount Eden Gaol, which was situated between Otahuhu and Albert Barracks. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Mount Eden was also the main quarry site, which had supplied the building materials for the perimeter wall around the barracks. In the first case, an inquest was held to ascertain the cause of death of William Neill, whose regiment was not named. The deceased had been crushed by a large rock, which had been dislodged by a passing cart. The verdict was given by George Elmsley Will, the Staff Assistant-Surgeon at Auckland. A second case concerned Eugene Donovan, formally of the 39<sup>th</sup> Regiment, who had been incarcerated the previous March for habitual intemperance. Donovan's death was recorded as being caused by insufficient nourishment.<sup>58</sup>

Other regiments which had been involved in the Taranaki War also began to arrive in Auckland. The 12<sup>th</sup> Regiment had arrived in April 1860 from Sydney, with five officers and 135 men. The regiment was further reinforced in July 1860 by a further five officers and 105 men with orders to proceed to Taranaki, where they remained until the ending of hostilities in April 1861. The 12<sup>th</sup> then proceeded to the tented camp at Otahuhu. Generally the health of the regiment was good; the average troop strength was 295, with the average daily sick count amounting to only five. There were five recorded deaths, which consisted of two accidental drownings, one killed in action and two deaths from asthma. The deceased personnel were one officer and four privates. Soldiers and officers based at Otahuhu would not have travelled to the military hospital in Albert Barracks as this camp was equipped with a

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<sup>58</sup> Gluckman, *Touching on Deaths*, pp. 284-286.



small field hospital situated on the Great South Road. In the event of serious illness or operation they would have been transferred to Auckland.<sup>59</sup>

The 57<sup>th</sup> was also housed at Otahuhu. Since it was primarily a tended camp, the most common form of complaint arose from chest infections due to the dampness of the climate in winter. The health return indicates that the 57<sup>th</sup> were at Otahuhu from 26 January to 20 February 1861, during which time hospital cases amounted to 27. By comparison, the returns of the show that the 14<sup>th</sup> Regiment was not as healthy, due in part to the time spent in the field, and an array of diseases was recorded against them. Cases of Zymotic diseases amounted to 77, with six cases of ophthalmia, six of tonsillitis, three of syphilis and one of gonorrhoea. When the regiment moved from Albert Barracks to Otahuhu the incidence of disease spiralled with 296 cases and six deaths - one officer and five privates.

The 65<sup>th</sup> arrived in Auckland in April 1861, remaining until December and being billeted in the Albert Barracks. The number of men in rooms amounted to 33 and, like most of the regiments posted to New Zealand, they suffered from the usual ailments; there were 57 cases of diarrhoea, and eight cases of influenza. STD amongst the troops was more common, with five cases of syphilis and 17 cases of gonorrhoea. In total the 65<sup>th</sup> suffered 482 cases of various diseases, with 34 deaths, comprising three officers and 31 privates. The number of days spent in hospital was also proportionally higher than the

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<sup>59</sup> PRO, WO334/135 and 139, Annual Return, Sick and Wounded in Auckland, 1862

other regiments from April to December 1861, the total number of admissions amounting to 8,074 with the highest figure being 1,019 in September.<sup>60</sup>

In 1862, regiments were billeted differently. The 12<sup>th</sup>, 40<sup>th</sup>, 65<sup>th</sup>, and 70<sup>th</sup> were all assigned to Otahuhu while the Royal Engineers and Royal Artillery were living in Albert Barracks and Fort Britomart. Regardless of the living environment, however, all the men were inflicted by the same recurring ailments. Diarrhoea accounted for 65 cases for the year, while ophthalmia was quite virulent with 141 cases from three regiments - 12<sup>th</sup>, 65<sup>th</sup>, and 70<sup>th</sup>. Cases of alcohol-induced sickness were low. The Royal Artillery had only eight cases; five were admitted to hospital, while three were treated indirectly. The 40<sup>th</sup> also had nine soldiers admitted to hospital for treatment for drink-related incidents.

Living accommodation varied considerably. The barrack rooms in Albert Barracks had been constructed to house 45 men but, during 1862, the Royal Engineers during their tour in Auckland allocated just 15 men to a room. For these soldiers, it meant that they were living in a far healthier environment than those in tents at Otahuhu. Admissions into hospital varied during the year, this depending in part upon where they were posted. Admissions for the Royal Artillery peaked with 297 admissions in August dropping to 35 in February. Men of the Royal Engineers averaged 17 days in hospital. Of those posted to Otahuhu, only the surgeon of the 12<sup>th</sup> kept note of the number of days in hospital, which amounted to an average of three days, while the

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<sup>60</sup> PRO, WO334/135.

monthly admissions peaked at 237; the lowest was 39. Cases of STD were low, the two worse affected regiments being the 65<sup>th</sup> with 20 cases of gonorrhoea and the Royal Artillery with 15, consisting of both gonorrhoea and syphilis. Five soldiers from the 65<sup>th</sup> also suffered from furunculus (boils), which was treatable. Understandably, cases of rheumatism were significantly higher at Otahuhu than Auckland, the 12<sup>th</sup>, 65<sup>th</sup> and 70<sup>th</sup> all reporting cases amounting to three, four and 14 respectively. The Royal Engineers had only three cases for the year.<sup>61</sup>

Deaths during 1862 that required a coroner's inquest amounted to three, occurring between January and July 1862. The most serious of these was the murder of John Helsin at the advance camp near the Waikato on 21 January. The inquest was held at the Military Encampment, Otahuhu. The deceased had been stabbed twice near the heart and belly. This wound allowed a portion of the small intestine to protrude, which the Assistant Surgeon, Andrew Thomas Neill Carberry, on examination pushed back into the patient's body. Carberry sent for Dr Robertson of the 40<sup>th</sup> Regiment to assist him. The patient was then removed to the camp hospital at Otahuhu, but due to the wound to the belly the patient died. Austin Bruen, Staff Assistant Surgeon, who had cared for Helsin prior to his death had carried out the post-mortem examination, but could not state what sort of weapon might cause the injuries. The subsequent investigation found that Daniel Burke, a soldier in the 71<sup>st</sup> Regiment, had stabbed the deceased with a pocket knife, with the intention of killing him. Burke was convicted of murder by a jury of five

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<sup>61</sup> PRO, WO334/139.

soldiers of the 40<sup>th</sup> Regiment and a civilian foreman. The two other inquests occurred in June and July. The first on 17 June, dealt with George Sexton, who had fallen from a bridge near Hobson's Point. Sexton's death was reported as a fatal fracture to the skull. The second case was of a Commissariat Staff Corps Sergeant, James Hanson, who had died from a violent fit.<sup>62</sup>

The regiments stationed in Auckland were relatively healthy, with the majority of soldiers suffering from curable ailments, which the regiments may have brought with them from previous postings. Apart from the rise in eye diseases there was no serious health risks in this posting. The climate and natural environment were conducive to a healthy lifestyle. Sexually transmitted diseases were also not as high as in other parts of the Empire. Regiments would have brought many of the infected soldiers with them when they were posted to New Zealand. Entirely new cases of STD were not prolific in New Zealand since regiments did not have easy access to those parts of the colony where venereal diseases were most likely to be encountered. Kororareka had been characterised as the brothel of the Pacific until its destruction by Heke, but Aucklanders were not inclined to allow brothels in the fledgling capital so the instances of STD were low.

By contrast, the report of the Committee upon Venereal Disease in the Army and Navy, published in 1863, showed how serious this problem was elsewhere. The report noted that, in 1861, the loss of service from this

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<sup>62</sup> Gluckman, *Touching on Deaths*, pp. 288-298

disease for the year 1860 was equivalent to the withdrawal of every soldier from the strength of the army for a period of more than eight days. Dr Maclean stated that 'it was the equivalent to the withdrawal of two battalions from service in Great Britain every year'. Of 1,000 soldiers surveyed, 369 were diseased. The worst affected stations were Portsmouth, Aldershot, Hong Kong, Malta and Gibraltar.<sup>63</sup>

But what of the soldiers' diet? Did it contain the relevant calorific intake for an active soldier to work at his peak. Hew Strachan has written that the soldiers' diet was regular and sufficient, but its main drawback was its monotony and that it provided insufficient calories for daily hard work.<sup>64</sup> The ration for each man consisted of a pound of bread and a pound of meat. Vegetables had to be purchased separately and soldiers contributed 3d from their pay for this additional supply of food; coffee and sugar was also deducted from this money.<sup>65</sup> While in barracks men were allocated three meals a day, when in the field this may have varied depending on regimental duties. One officer writing about life in the field in New Zealand noted that the cook's helmet contained a stew, but did not comment as to how it got there.<sup>66</sup> Coffee and bread were provided twice a day, at breakfast and the evening meal, while dinner was soup, meat and vegetables. The third meal had been introduced by many regiments in an attempt to reduce drunkenness and to 'still the pangs of the stomach'.<sup>67</sup> Rum was issued twice a day at midday and three in the afternoon, the health returns noting that as the 'temperance men cannot

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<sup>63</sup> PRO, WO33/12, Report of Committee Upon Venereal Disease in the Army and Navy, 1863.

<sup>64</sup> Strachan, *Wellington's Legacy*, p. 57

<sup>65</sup> PRO, WO334/17.

<sup>66</sup> Col. G. Hamilton Browne, *With the Lost Legion In New Zealand* (Werner Laurie, 1910), p. 73.

make use of this, the commissariat allows them one penny a day'. Soldiers had to drink the rum under the watchful eye of an officer near the tub from which it had been poured; because the commercial value of rum was 6d the Commissariat did not want a soldier storing up rum then selling it on for a profit. Those not in attendance lost their ration and it was thrown to the ground.<sup>68</sup>

Stoppages - the deduction of monies at the source - applied to all men in the regiments and were duly scaled to match seniority. There also seems to have been differences of payments between each regiment stationed in Auckland. A sergeant in the Royal Artillery was stopped 4s.8d for messing, while a sergeant in the Royal Engineers was only stopped 2s.11d. The 14<sup>th</sup> and 57<sup>th</sup> Regiments were stopped 4s.8d, and the 65<sup>th</sup> 3s.6d. In theory, stoppages for rations were fixed by the War Office at 4½d at home and 3½d aboard. The disposable income of a sergeant in the Royal Artillery amounted to 13s.4½d a week. A private in the same corps had 5s.4 ½d a week. It was barely enough to live on.<sup>69</sup>

Between 1863 and 1864 there were a series of military deaths that required a coroner's inquest. Of these, two were attributed to drowning, another soldier was crushed by his own transport, while a private died from excessive drilling.<sup>70</sup> There is one more inquest, which Gluckman has not mentioned as it fell outside the Auckland coroner's jurisdiction. This incident occurred in

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<sup>67</sup> Strachan, *Wellington's Legacy*, p. 58.

<sup>68</sup> PRO, WO334/17.

<sup>69</sup> PRO, WO334/28.

<sup>70</sup> PRO, WO334/28.

Taranaki on 4 May 1863, when a detachment of troops were ambushed at Tataraimaka, while preparing to escort a commissariat supply convoy. Prior to this in April, the government had been warned to give up its claim to the Waitara Block as failure to do so would result in hostilities commencing in May. The Maoris succeeded in killing the nine men in the escort. The soldiers of the Commissariat transport service testified that they heard gunshots and discovered the bodies of the patrol on the beach. Had they acted more quickly, the deaths might have been avoided. The fatal wounds had been inflicted by gunshot, tomahawk and spear. As this again was a time of peace, the verdict was that they had been 'cruelly and barbarously murdered on the public highway'. The jury were critical that:

The Government had information pertaining to the dangerous state of the road to Tataraimaka and had withheld it, that sufficient precautions were not taken to guard against such murderous attacks from the natives of the disaffected district.<sup>71</sup>

With sporadic fighting continuing in Taranaki, outbreaks of hostilities started to occur in the Waikato area. At the battle of Koheroa on 17 July 1863, 12 soldiers from the 2/14<sup>th</sup> Regiment were listed as either wounded or dead. These fatalities were all listed as due to musket wounds. One private, James Gilligun, died at Queen's Redoubt some 22 hours after the altercation due to lacerations of the intestines. William Smith died in the field due to a gunshot wound to the left thigh, severing the femoral artery. The remainder were all

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<sup>71</sup> PRO, WO32/8260, 'Inquest on Officers of 57<sup>th</sup> Foot murdered by Natives at Taranaki', pp. 5-42; Ryan and Parham, Colonial New Zealand Wars, pp. 207-8.

injured with wounds to the legs, arms, shoulders and fingers. During the Waikato Wars the base hospital was at Auckland.<sup>72</sup> As fighting spread casualty figures began to rise. In an engagement near Keri-Keri, Captain James Ring of the 18<sup>th</sup> Royal Irish Detachment lost one dead and three wounded in an attack at Pukekewereke. Ring and the remainder of the detachment were rescued and suffered no further casualties thanks to the intervention of the 65<sup>th</sup>, who were in the vicinity. The death toll came to six with the causes of death recorded as being shots to the head or torso.<sup>73</sup>

In August 1864, the New Zealander published a report on what it termed a 'shocking injury' to a soldier of the Commissariat:

A sad calamity happened yesterday to private Dooley of the 40<sup>th</sup> regiment serving in the commissariat corps. He had come to town to visit his family on resuming his duties at Penrose. He was attacked by the infuriated beast (a bull) at Newmarket which gored his left side. He was punctured between two of his ribs it is thought that it passed through his lungs.<sup>74</sup>

The paper stated in later editions that the soldier made a full recovery.

Dr A. W. MacKinnon, the surgeon of the 57<sup>th</sup> Regiment was mentioned in the coroner's report in relation to the death of Dooley. In the previous year, MacKinnon had proposed a commission to report on the construction of barracks and hospitals in New Zealand. In the aftermath of the Crimean War,

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<sup>72</sup> PRO, WO33/12, Despatches from Cameron.

<sup>73</sup> PRO, WO33/12.



he had also been appointed the Senior Medical Officer and, consequently, the Sanitary Officer on the General Officer Commanding's Staff between, remaining so until 1866. This was the only the second time that this appointment had been made.<sup>75</sup> Mackinnon made a series of detailed recommendations:

#### Barrack Huts

Each hut should contain from 20 to 25 men, at from 400 to 450 cubic feet per man, and from 35 to 40 feet superficial area. They should be arranged at distances of twice their height from floor to ridge; and a space round each hut should be paved and channelled for surface drainage. The floor should in all cases be boarded, the boards being raised about a foot of the ground, and a free current of air allowed to pass underneath. Care should be taken not to heap earth against *the sides* of the huts. The huts should have windows on both sides, and a door, protected by a porch at either end, with a window over such door. Ventilation should be provided by raising the ridge boards along the whole length of the hut, and by leaving an air space under the eaves, provision being made for closing part of the opening during very cold weather. Stoves or fire places required for warming the huts in cold weather should so be constructed as to admit warmed fresh air into the huts.

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<sup>74</sup> ATL, *New Zealander*, 2 August 1864.

<sup>75</sup> Sir Neil Cantlie, *A History of the Army Medical Department* (Churchill Livingstone, 1974), II, p. 258.

### Hospital Huts

If the hospital be large, the huts should be arranged en echelon, so as to receive the full benefit of the prevailing winds. The floor timbers should be raised above the ground, to allow free circulation of air beneath the floor of the hut. The space between the ground and the floor boards should be from 15 to 18 inches above the ground level. The distance between two adjoining huts should not be less than twice the height of the huts floor to ridge. The space per bed for each patient should be, near as may be, 600 cubic feet, and between 50 to 60 superficial feet; the space should be disposed as to allow five or six feet at least from foot to foot of the opposite beds. The most convenient size of hut would be for 20 patients. Ventilation should be provided for, by raising the ridge boards all along the roof, and by an air space under the eaves; means should be provided for closing the openings, to ensure that the amount of ventilation so obtained is suitable for the season. The best method of warming is by open fireplaces of brick or stone, with chimneys of the same material, with a chamber round the part which contains the fire, so arranged as to warm fresh air to be admitted to the hut. If these cannot be constructed, iron stoves may be used, but they are no means desirable. There should be an end window over each door, or which there should be two at each end. These doors should be protected by an outside porch about 5 to 6 feet wide, carried the breadth of the hut, but with roof placed so as not to interfere with the end windows. The

porch at one end may be used as a night chair, to be removed and emptied from the outside.<sup>76</sup>

Mackinnon also made a series of hygiene-related suggestions. His recommendations were that sanitary police should be appointed in every camp; incinerators should be set up to burn camp waste; every soldier should be issued with a toothbrush; and salt meat should be abolished and replaced by preserved meat and tinned soup. The Commissariat would issue fresh vegetables, butter and cheese. Mackinnon's suggested changes met with stiff resistance by officers of the line, who saw no reason to change the existing system due to the lack of executive power that Mackinnon wielded. Matters reached a point when the only course left open to Mackinnon was to appeal to Lieutenant General Duncan Cameron, who ordered his officers to comply with the Senior Medical Officer's orders.<sup>77</sup>

Besides Mackinnon, another key medical figure was James Mouat, Deputy General of Hospitals and Principal Medical Officer for the Imperial troops in Australia and New Zealand. Mouat's views on sanitary conditions seem to have differed from those of Mackinnon. Indeed, in 1861, Mouat addressed the subject of an unnamed army hospital where he had observed unhygienic practices:

I differ from you entirely also the good sanitary condition of the hospital the ventilation being in my opinion defective and the hospital prior to

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<sup>76</sup> PRO, WO33/12, 'Suggestions drawn up by the Barrack and Hospital Commission for the Construction of Barracks and Hospitals in New Zealand', pp. 2-4.

the removal of a number of wounded to another building. Crowded, close, offensive and not over clean. Soiled linen and clothing on the men's beds. I draw the Major General to the case of two serious injuries the amputation of a foot the patient died of tetanus with the wound being left. The other a compound fracture of the femur the patient private Rawson I was informed to be removed from the hospital atmosphere to save his life.<sup>78</sup>

In 1863 there was a dispute between Mouat and Mackinnon. Mouat argued that Mackinnon had overestimated the required provision for barrack and hospital accommodation. Indeed, Mouat suggested that Mackinnon did not know the present circumstances in New Zealand:

The director general is mistaken in representing the number of men for whom barrack and hospital accommodation had to be provided at 500. this would lead to the supposition there was existing accommodation of any kind, whereas there was ample room for the increased force intended to retain in the colony at that time. And I have General Cameron's authority for stating that my temporary absence was of no material consequence, as I was within reach, and had volunteered to return at a moment's notice if required and there were several experienced Medical officers on the spot of nearly twenty years standing.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Cantlie, History of Army Medical Department, II, p. 258.

<sup>78</sup> ATL, James Mouat Mss, MS-Papers-0913, Letter to Army Medical Dept., Melbourne, 30 April 1861.

It can only be assumed that Mouat had returned to Australia; the exact site in question was again unnamed.

Regimental Surgeons were also noted for their bravery outside the confines of hospitals. The battle of Rangiriri on 20 November 1863, illustrated this with the awarding of the Victoria Cross to Assistant Surgeon William Temple of the Royal Artillery. In the following year, Assistant Surgeon William George Nicholas Manley, also from the RA, was awarded the Victoria Cross for his conduct during the assault on a rebel Pa near Tauranga.<sup>80</sup> Between 1866 and 1867 there were a series of actions with Imperial regiments pitted against Maori forces. No medical records appear to exist, however, from which to ascertain the health of the regiments on active service during this period.

The New Zealander printed one report in August 1864 on the death of private stationed at Otahuhu, who had died from exposure. The paper claimed that:

On Saturday evening a soldier apparently in a state of intoxication went into a house near the cemetery near Otahuhu. The inmates not relishing the intrusion, placed him outside the gate. Next morning they found him lying where they had placed him the evening before and lost no time in sending word to the camp. On the arrival of the military party the unfortunate man was found to be dead. The paper stated his name as Patrick Donovan, private 14<sup>th</sup> regiment.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> ATL, Mouat Mss, MS-Papers-0913.

<sup>80</sup> Cantlie, History of the Army Medical Department, I, p. 4; Ryan and Parham, Colonial New Zealand Wars, pp. 210-211.

<sup>81</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 20 August 1864.

A coroner's inquest was opened earlier that year into the death of a private of the 18<sup>th</sup> Regiment. Private Martin Cousins was found lying face down in Shortland Street; he was lifted to the kerbside and his collar loosened by a police constable. Cousins was taken to the military hospital, Albert Barracks, where he was pronounced dead. The jury returned a verdict of death due to excessive drinking.<sup>82</sup>

The amalgamation of the Health returns for 1867 provides an overall picture of troop strength across the island as a whole. Imperial units consisted of Royal Artillery, Royal Engineers, Military Train, and the 12<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> and 50<sup>th</sup>. January had the highest number of soldiers with 3,222 bearing arms. Of these 985 were admitted to hospital with eight deaths, five deaths occurring in hospital and three outside. By the end of December 1867, 524 patients were still hospitalised. Officer strength was 96 and, of these, 47 were admitted; five officers remained from the previous year bringing the figure to 52 during the course of the year. Of the total admitted, 50 officers were discharged, one died and one remained in hospital. Women on the strength amounted to 247, of whom 53 were treated: 50 were released after treatment, one died. Children admitted to hospital amounted to 459 and, among these, there were seven deaths. WO344/35 notes that, due to the entire 57<sup>th</sup> Regiment being in barracks, and that the total numbers did not exceed regulations, married soldiers were allowed lodging money to provide themselves with lodgings in the vicinity of the barracks.

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<sup>82</sup> ATL, Weekly News, 16 January 1864.

The Military Train arrived in Auckland in January 1867 remaining until March. During this three-month period there were 90 hospitalisations; of this figure eleven patients were brought forward from the previous year. Those fit for service and discharged were 87 from a regimental strength of 276. Wives attached to the Military Train amounted to 40, with two deaths and eight admissions. Other regiments had a higher percentage of hospitalisations due to general ill health or soldiers receiving wounds in action against the Maoris.

The 12<sup>th</sup> Regiment also arrived in Auckland in January, and were billeted in the Albert Barracks. Regimental troop strength was 684. Some 22 soldiers were still in hospital from the previous year and another 155 required hospital treatment during the year. Some 133 admissions occurred during their tour of duty in Auckland. The 12<sup>th</sup> also had two deaths - one in hospital and one outside. Officer strength was 26; of these eight required treatment. Illness amongst women and children was quite low in comparison to their numbers since of the 65 women, only six were treated for ailments. Children were more susceptible to disease with 14 admissions from a total of 95 on the strength.

The 18<sup>th</sup> Regiment had the largest number of soldiers in 1867 with 847, of whom 598 were admitted to hospital. Officer strength was 75 with 31 admissions, of whom 29 were returned to active duty. Of the 100 women on the strength, 28 were treated with one death. Some 179 children were also on the strength and, of these, 25 were treated, 20 being released with five

deaths. Of all the regiments listed, there was only one instance of a maniacal case, a private from the 18<sup>th</sup> Regiment.

The two remaining units were the 57<sup>th</sup> and the Staff Corps. The 57<sup>th</sup> had a troop strength of 675 and, during the course of their stay, in Auckland 79 required time in the military hospital. Officer strength was 79 with 26 being recorded as having spent time in the hospital. Of the 63 women on the strength six required treatment, while of the children 19 were admitted and discharged from a recorded total of 106. The Staff Corps had 80 men: 24 required treatment. Among the 29 officers, there were seven admissions. Women and children amounted to 36 and 88 respectively with seven women and ten children requiring treatment.<sup>83</sup>

After 1866 there was a large scale reduction of Imperial forces stationed in the New Zealand. By 1868 the only regiment of the line left was the 18<sup>th</sup> Royal Irish Regiment. The 18<sup>th</sup> had arrived in Auckland in November 1867 and were sent to the Albert Barracks. Due to the size of the regiment there was a problem of overcrowding. The design of the barracks allowed between 28 and 45 men to a room with enough living space not to feel overcrowded. When the 18<sup>th</sup> took over residence of the barracks these rooms had to accommodate 302 men. Regimental health was reasonable in the circumstances. There were 275 cases of illness, the most prevalent being 23 cases of ophthalmia, 46 cases of STD, 12 case of bronchitis, and 11 cases of spasmodic cholera. The regiment's men spent on average 18 days sick in the

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<sup>83</sup> PRO, WO334/35, Annual Return of Sick and Wounded, 1867.



hospital. The army statisticians calculated this the equivalent to 225.68 soldiers over the year. Drunkenness was high in relation to other units with 29 cases of habitual drunkenness over the year.<sup>84</sup>

The 18<sup>th</sup> was to remain in Auckland until it departed in 1869 and the medical returns for that year deal solely with this regiment. Regimental strength was 689, and there were 571 admissions over the year. Officer strength was 32, 19 of whom required either some form of treatment or hospitalisation. Families were included in the 1869 report, having been omitted from that of the previous year. Women and children totalled 328; 91 women were admitted with 87 discharges and one death recorded. Mortality rates were high among children with 13 recorded deaths. The 18<sup>th</sup> had five manic patients. Of these cases, two had relapses, both being diagnosed as having dementia twice in the course of the year.<sup>85</sup> An inquest was also opened into the death of Major Tighe of the Auckland Volunteers. Tighe had died at home in his sleep; the jury on hearing the evidence from his widow returned a verdict died of natural causes. The autopsy showed that Tighe's lungs were very green to the point of being gangrenous.<sup>86</sup>

The only common theme that arises from these reports is that the latrines and places for ablution were woefully lacking in both barracks in Auckland. Reports noted that there were still no baths for the soldiers after successive requests, and that the latrines still had to be emptied by hand. Many naturally

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<sup>84</sup> PRO, WO334/148 Return of Sick and Wounded, 1868.

<sup>85</sup> PRO, WO334/57, Return of Sick and Wounded, 18<sup>th</sup> Regiment, 1869.

<sup>86</sup> ATL, Weekly News, 4 July 1868. Tighe had lobbied for the use of the commissariat shed for musket practice - see chapter three.

considered this to be an offensive duty. Bathing was carried out at the waterfront or local bays at high tide, while face and hand washing was carried out using bowls, ten men being allocated to a bowl.

In general, therefore, any regiment posted to New Zealand would remain relatively healthy usually with only the diseases that they had brought with them. The flora and fauna were not hazardous to the health of the soldier in the field and the positioning of the barracks in Auckland complied with the current medical thinking. In comparison with Australia, West Indies, India, and Africa, regiments posted to New Zealand had a good chance of returning with a full complement, the only casualties being those lost in action, through old age or long-term illness.

A. S. Thomson, the surgeon of the 58<sup>th</sup>, stated that 'the soldiers stationed in New Zealand enjoyed better health than soldiers stationed in any other portion of Her Majesty's colonial possessions'.<sup>87</sup> Thomson justified this by doing a cross comparison with Britain, and then with the health records from other military stations. Thomson cited the example of soldiers with diseases of the lungs. In Australia, for instance, 133 men were admitted with eleven deaths. In other stations - Canada, Malta and Britain – there were 157, 126, and 171 admissions respectively; of these deaths amounted to 15, 16, and 15.<sup>57</sup> By comparison, in New Zealand there were only 94 admissions, resulting in five deaths. Thomson subsequently narrowed the parameters of this study by comparing New Zealand with Britain, again using the example of

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<sup>87</sup> Thomson, *Story of New Zealand*, p. 46.

<sup>57</sup> Thomson, *Story of New Zealand*, p. 322.

diseases of the lungs - 1,044 men were admitted to military hospitals in Britain in comparison to 505 in the military hospital at Auckland though, clearly, the garrison in Britain as a whole was considerably higher than that in Auckland.<sup>58</sup> The information given in this chapter for the health of regiments in New Zealand is generally persuasive although it might conceivably be possible with further research to make a more direct comparison between the health of individual regiments such as the 58<sup>th</sup> in different stations. Much would depend, however, on the availability of regimental returns.

Tate's research on the American frontier army shows that STD were quite virulent, along with cholera and smallpox. Scurvy was also very prolific, due in part to the blandness of the rations supplied though, its effects were countered in many forts by recourse to local produce such as watercress and cactus.<sup>59</sup> Standard surveys such as the War Office used to correlate the health of the army in Britain, however, were not used in the United States. Accordingly, it is not possible to gauge overall how healthy the American army was in comparison to that of Britain. Returning to Britain, Mitchell's study of Windsor draws similar conclusions to those of Thomson. The usual ailments were STD and cholera with the highest military mortality rates for Berkshire being smallpox related.<sup>60</sup> General ailments for which soldiers were treated consisted of rheumatism, consumption, chronic coughs and diseases of the lungs.<sup>61</sup> New Zealand was also very healthy in comparison to the Cape of Good Hope. Between 1822 and 1836 Marshall and Tulloch's survey showed

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<sup>58</sup> Thomson, *Story of New Zealand*, p. 321.

<sup>59</sup> Tate, *Frontier Army*, p. 179.

<sup>60</sup> Mitchell, 'Problems of Garrison Town', pp. 124, 112.

<sup>61</sup> Mitchell, 'Problems of Garrison Town', p. 128.

that the common diseases native to the Cape - fevers, diseases of the lungs and liver - were high; of an aggregate strength of 1,651 men in the garrison over this period, 796 were treated with 23 deaths.<sup>62</sup> The Cape was in many respects similar to the West Indies in terms of a higher than average mortality rate.

To a great extent, New Zealand could be compared to being posted to Great Britain. If an overseas posting can be compared to New Zealand then Canada would be the nearest counterpart, having a temperate climate and similar flora and fauna. New Zealand was not the death sentence to which some regiments were subjected.

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<sup>62</sup> Statistical Reports on the Sickness, Morality, and Invaliding among the troops serving in: Ceylon, Tenasserim Provinces, Mediterranean, United Kingdom, British America, Sierra Leone, Cape of Good Hope, Western Coast of Africa and Mauritius', Parliamentary Papers (London: Clowes and Sons), C2, L2, B, 2B, 3B2, 2A, 2E, 3B, 4C.

This chapter will discuss two particular aspects of the experiences of Imperial Regiments posted to New Zealand, which reveal both the seedier side of military life and also the army's social face as presented to the community of Auckland. In terms of regimental discipline, there could be three results when a soldier committed military crime: flogging and transportation were the preferred sentences in especially severe cases. If the soldier could be dealt with 'in house' within the regiment, and without the need to convene a court martial, then the sentence would usually entail confinement to barracks and knapsack duty. Alternatively, and similar to what the American Prison Service would term a chain gang, prisoners could be used to break rocks at the Mount Eden Quarry or clear the route for the construction of the roads between Auckland and Wellington.

In terms of the relationship and even interdependence between the army and the local community of Auckland, there was multi-faceted interaction on many levels. At one level, as already examined, in order to supply regiments, the Commissariat required civilian tradesmen to provide the necessaries. At another level, an activity such as sport provided a different kind of interaction; soldiers and officers formed cricket clubs, for example, and regularly played matches against each other as well as against Aucklanders. Horse racing and boating events were equally prevalent. The army on display provided a chance for many civilians to see how the regiments drilled and trooped the Colour. Many regiments held sporting days principally to allow soldiers to relax, but these drew civilian spectators. Regimental bands provided the population with weekly performances of music held within the grounds of the

Government House. For the officer class, balls and politics allowed them to play an ever-greater role in the shaping of Auckland through interaction with the colonial elite.

Turning first to discipline, in order for regiments to function as single or semi-autonomous units, discipline needed to be instilled into the new recruits during basic training. Thus, when soldiers were placed in a hostile environment, they could carry out their duties to the best of their abilities. In the periodic conflicts in which the British army fought during the eighteen and nineteenth centuries, strict regimental discipline was often the key factor in achieving an overall victory. A breakdown of military discipline could occur, however, during periods of inactivity, or long periods of garrison duty. Desertion was one of the more common crimes that prevailed throughout the army either at home or aboard. Many soldiers went absent without leave (AWOL), while insubordination against senior officers and drunkenness were other common charges brought against soldiers. A listing of 410 deserters from army, navy or marines in New Zealand between 1840 and 1863 is included as Appendix I below.

Edward Spiers argues that 'traditionally the army relied on retributive punishments to deter crime and curb the excesses of drunken behaviour'.<sup>1</sup> Flogging was the most common form of punishment used by the army during this period. Initially, flogging had been only used in times of war and it was not until 1713 that courts martial were given the legal authority to instigate

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<sup>1</sup> Spiers, *Army and Society*, p. 62.

corporal punishment in times of peace for immorality, misbehaviour or neglect of duty.<sup>2</sup> A century later saw the first reduction of the number of lashes to 1,000; in the past, the number had been at the discretion of the officer in charge.<sup>3</sup>

By the mid-nineteenth century, flogging as a form of punishment had become unpopular with prominent civilians, who had begun to lobby Parliament for its abolition. Two of the main advocates of retaining flogging, however, were the Duke of Wellington and the Duke of York, who saw the practice as 'indispensable'. Even limiting the number of lashes was seen, according to Brigitte Mitchell, as likely to undermine the authority of a commanding officer.<sup>4</sup> Due to external pressure, Horse Guards reluctantly began to reduce the number of lashes allowed, leading to the final abolition of flogging in 1881.<sup>5</sup> Another form of punishment that became equally detested was branding. This took two forms: 'BC' for Bad Character, and 'D' for Deserter. Branding was applied by a hot iron, or a set of needle points puncturing the skin, which was then filled by a mixture of indigo and India ink. This mark was placed either on the hands, arms, or chest. Branding as a form of punishment was abolished in 1871.<sup>6</sup> Horse Guards' justification for branding was to prevent fraudulent enlistments and as a means of identifying deserters who attempted to re-enlist. Transportation was also used to remove unruly soldiers from the army and, in severe cases, when the sentence of murder had been commuted.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> A. S. White, 'Flogging in the Army', *JSAHR* 78, 1941, p. 114.

<sup>3</sup> Richard L. Blanco, 'Attempts to abolish branding and flogging in the army of Victorian England before 1881', *JSAHR*, 187, 1968, p. 139.

<sup>4</sup> Mitchell, 'Problems of a Garrison Town', p. 150.

<sup>5</sup> Blanco, 'Attempts to Abolish', p. 145; White, 'Flogging', p. 115.

<sup>6</sup> Spiers, *Army and Society*, p. 62; Blanco, 'Attempts to Abolish', p. 137; Buckley, *British Army in West Indies*, p. 206; Knight, *Go to your God*, p. 21.

<sup>7</sup> Spiers, *Army and Society*, p. 62.

Apart from capital punishment by firing squad or hanging, other forms of corporal punishment included recourse to the wooden horse, running the gauntlet, and breaking on the wheel. Roger Buckley adds to this list: boring the tongue with a hot iron and the strappado, in which the victim's hands were bound behind their backs, then they were raised from the ground by a rope tied to the wrists. This was abruptly released, then arrested with a painful jerk, often dislocating the shoulders before the men reached the ground.<sup>8</sup> Peter Burroughs suggests that minor disciplinary offences were punished by commanding officers; these officers had the power to confine men in the defaulter's room for specified periods or in solitary cells, with no windows or light. They might also prescribe additional guard duties, fatigues, forced marches or punishment drill.<sup>9</sup>

When regiments were posted overseas there were some instances in which regimental discipline collapsed, leading to mutinies such as that at Fort Napier in Natal in 1887 mentioned previously.<sup>10</sup> In New Zealand, it will be seen that a few soldiers were tried for attempted mutiny but there was never any serious breakdown in regimental discipline resulting in mutinous behaviour on the part of the troops. Documented evidence for courts martial is sparse, but evidence can be uncovered in the WO90 series at the PRO, which lists the courts martial for home and aboard. During the Northern War, a court martial was held in Auckland to ascertain the conduct of the officers

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<sup>8</sup> Buckley, *British Army in West Indies*, p. 206.

<sup>9</sup> Peter Burroughs, 'Crime and Punishment in the British Army, 1815-70', *English Historical Review* 100, 1985, p. 557.

<sup>10</sup> Dominy, 'Imperial Garrison', pp. 149-160.



whose uselessness, according to FitzRoy, 'caused the loss and destruction of Kororareka'.<sup>11</sup> The two officers concerned, Ensign Campbell and Lieut. Edwin Barclay, both from the 96<sup>th</sup> Regiment, were accused of cowardice and neglect of duty. Ian Wards has argued that, in both cases, inexperience was the key factor in the failure of these officers during the fighting in and around Kororareka.

The court martial was held between 14 and 18 August 1845. The court was told that both officers had conducted themselves in a cowardly behaviour and had been dressed in civilian clothing. The charges brought against Ensign Campbell were neglect of duty and cowardice while guarding the flagstaff on Maiki Hill. Campbell was severely reprimanded and found guilty of evacuating the blockhouse on the grounds that he was absent when it was taken. Campbell was acquitted of the charge of cowardice. Ensign Barclay was also charged with neglect of duty and cowardice; it was understood that Barclay had taken shelter while under fire and withdrawn his detachment before ascertaining that the town's populace was properly protected.<sup>12</sup> Barclay was acquitted of the charge of neglect of duty.

In the aftermath of the razing of Kororareka, the blame for the British failure to halt the incursions of Heke and Kawiti required scapegoats. With the courts martial of Campbell and Barclay, the government was provided with an opportunity to shift the blame for incompetence and poor organisation to the

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two inexperienced officers and exonerate itself. Given the low number of regiments stationed in New Zealand, this was the only court martial for the year. Neither fighting nor regimental strength had escalated sufficiently to permit any breakdown of discipline. With more regiments being stationed alongside militia and Fencibles again, the cases of military crimes brought before the Judge Advocate General's Office (JAG) began to rise.

In June 1845, the Supreme Court in Auckland heard a case of alleged riotous behaviour and the wilful destruction of a civilian's home. Privates James Smith, William Gutteridge, John Ford and Benjamin Knowles of the 96<sup>th</sup> Regiment were indicted for riotous behaviour and wilful destruction of a house owned by Thomas Henderson. Another private, James Styles, was brought before the court for theft of some money but, due to conflicting evidence from the eyewitnesses, he was acquitted. Ford and Gutteridge were found guilty of both riotous behaviour and wilful destruction and sentenced to 18 months' hard labour, while Smith and Knowles were acquitted.<sup>13</sup>

With the increase of regiments stationed or using Auckland as a staging post before being posted to their final destination, the town could have been an epicentre of regimental rivalry. In turn, this could have affected the civilian population but, in fact, disturbances involving civilians were avoided.

A year after the courts martial of Barclay and Campbell, further cases began to be brought to the JAG office, involving the 99<sup>th</sup> and 58<sup>th</sup> Regiments. Four

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<sup>11</sup> Ian Wards, *The Shadow of the Land* (Wellington, 1968), p. 126.

<sup>12</sup> PRO, WO90/2, Courts martial, home and aboard; *Ibid.*, CO213/11, New Zealander, June 1845; WO 1/433.

privates from the 99<sup>th</sup> - Shea, Bailey, Morris and Lane - were transported for life, one for striking an officer and the others for desertion. August saw a further four - Privates McNally, Brearley, Robinson and John - brought before a general court martial for mutinous behaviour. When the sentences were passed, three were given 14 years, and the fourth was transported for life. Private Clements, of the 58<sup>th</sup>, along with three privates from the 99<sup>th</sup> - Callaghan, Chambers, Ridgley - were all convicted for mutinous behaviour, and transported.<sup>14</sup> When the sentence was transportation, however, what is uncertain is where they were transported to as courts martial records do not state the prisoners' final destination.

As already suggested, desertion was the most common crime during the 30 years that Imperial Regiments were stationed in New Zealand. In comparison with some of the other colonies such as Canada, when a soldier who deserted might evade capture by crossing the border to another country,<sup>15</sup> this was not possible in New Zealand. To avoid being re-captured, a deserter would either have to head inland and join a Maori tribe not loyal to the government, or try and gain a passage on a ship to the Australian mainland, or the Pacific Islands. Both mainland Australia and Van Diemen's Land were under British jurisdiction and, if the offender was caught, he would be subsequently tried under British law. If an offender managed to gain a passage to one of the islands in the Pacific, the journey was often fraught with danger due to the volatile nature of the ocean. Of the many soldiers who deserted in New Zealand, only one seems to have evaded capture long

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<sup>13</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 7 June 1845.

<sup>14</sup> PRO, WO90/2. 1846.

enough to serve with Titokowaru in this chief's campaign against locally raised and Imperial forces in 1860. The soldier in question was a deserter from the 57<sup>th</sup>, Kimble Bent. Bent survived long enough to tell his story to the historian, James Cowan, in the 1920's.<sup>16</sup> The majority of the deserters were re-captured and tried before a general court martial.

During the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment's tour of duty in Auckland, there were several cases of soldiers being sentenced for various crimes. Privates McGregor and McKnash were brought before a court martial for striking an officer. Both received gaol sentences, McGregor 18 days, McKnash ten months. A further three privates were also brought before a court martial: Ashe for disobeying orders, Brady for striking an officer, and Farley for striking a sergeant. In comparison to the previous cases, the sentences meted out were more severe. The two who had struck superior officers, were transported for life and branded with a 'D', while the other was sentenced to seven years. These cases had been heard before the court on 16 December 1847.<sup>17</sup>

1848 saw courts martial being held in different locations. Auckland was still the main military headquarters, but Wellington also had regiments stationed at Mount Cook and Thorndon Barracks. During the course of the year there were five cases, all for desertion, with other charges also brought against the offenders. Three cases from the 58<sup>th</sup> were heard in Auckland. Privates Johnson and Streck were tried for desertion. Johnson was also charged with

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<sup>15</sup> See Senior, British Regulars.

<sup>16</sup> Belich, New Zealand Wars, p. 272; Ryan and Parham, Colonial New Zealand Wars, p. 94.

<sup>17</sup> PRO, WO90/2, 1847. It is not stated in the report that these soldiers deserted; they may have been summarily branded.

stealing hospital necessaries and sentenced to 15 months, while Streck was transported for nine years. Thomas Duck was brought before the court in October 1848 for desertion; Duck was branded and transported. The Wellington sessions saw two soldiers from the 65<sup>th</sup> tried and sentenced: Privates Brady and Dalton. Brady had struck an officer and was transported. Dalton was also transported for 14 years for desertion and losing necessaries.<sup>18</sup>

There were occasional instances of soldiers being brought before the Supreme Court in 1848. Privates Jonathan Pellet and James Cornwall of the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment were sentenced to fifteen years and transported for 'feloniously and violently stealing from Daniel Sinclair a purse containing silver coins'. They were charged with highway robbery.<sup>19</sup>

Cases that did not warrant being brought before a court of inquiry were dealt with within the regiment. If a soldier offended, the punishment was awarded in proportion to the offence. The character of the offender, and the frequency with which they had offended then modified this. For minor offences the soldier would be confined to barracks and carry out a knapsack drill for seven days. For aggravated cases the soldier would be confined to cells for 168 hours. If the crime warranted corporal punishment then flogging was used to deter the offender from committing further crimes. Soldiers would receive 50 lashes with the men being back on duty within ten days. In the event of a soldier committing a serious crime subsequently brought before a court

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<sup>18</sup> PRO, WO 90/2, 1848.

martial, the punishment was confinement with or without hard labour. Hard labour consisted of breaking stones for the construction of the Great South Road (Auckland to Wellington). In several cases the confinement of the prisoners was deemed too long, resulting in a breakdown in the prisoner's health.<sup>20</sup>

The surgeon of the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment noted how crime had begun to rise in Auckland, but stated that this was not due to the heightened military presence. In theory, military crime was liable to be much inflamed by the profile that soldiers had amongst the civilian population. In fact, the civil population was itself highly susceptible to crime. During a 13 month period, (November 1846 to December 1847), 1,083 cases were brought before the Resident Magistrate. These cases, consisting of both of civil and criminal cases, involved a fifth of Auckland's population. The cases were extremely varied. Some 86 involved disputes between Europeans and Maoris, Maoris being defendants in 34 and Europeans in 52 cases; and three additional cases were when both parties were Maoris. The remaining 994 cases were confined to Europeans. These consisted of 25 for assault, 15 for breaches of peace, 155 for cattle theft, 25 for larceny, five for malicious injury to property, 26 breaches of the Merchant Seaman's Act and five for vagrancy.<sup>21</sup>

For some soldiers the drudgery of drilling or fighting became so tedious that the only recourse was to deliberately break the law, which would result in them being transported. In 1849 The New Zealand Spectator and Cooks

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<sup>19</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 2 September 1848.

<sup>20</sup> PRO, WO334/17, Annual Return of the Sick and Wounded of the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment.

Strait Guardian brought this to the attention of its readers through a case that occurred in Wellington. Private Connolly of the Light Company of the 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment committed a crime that resulted in his subsequent transportation. Connolly armed himself with a musket and entered the house of a Mr Townsend and demanded monies from the guests. Connolly persuaded the tenants to part with their belongings when he discharged his musket, leaving the premises with 4s.0d and an overcoat. Later the same night, Connolly again entered another premises, where he stole a pair of trousers and a further amount of money (2s.0d). It was not until the following morning that the police were called and an arrest made. In the interim, Connolly had already given himself up to the military guards at Mount Cook. The reason for these crimes was that Connolly wanted to be transported; it transpired that a few months prior to this several soldiers of the 65<sup>th</sup> had been transported to Van Diemen's Land and, shortly after landing, were given tickets of leave. These soldiers had written to their former comrades of 'their present way of life as being everyway so preferable to their former condition'. Connolly was not alone in committing premeditated crimes: several soldiers from the 65<sup>th</sup> had carried out similar offences with the intention of being transported. The paper argued that, if convicts were given tickets of leave upon landing, then, transportation ceased to be a punishment. The proper procedure was that, having served a portion of their sentence and having displayed good conduct, criminals could then qualify for the ticket of leave.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> PRO, WO 334/17.

<sup>22</sup> PRO, WO 213/16, New Zealand Spectator and Cooks Strait Guardian, 4 July 1849.

With the courts martial sessions returning to Auckland, the Acting Judge Advocate, J. Grimwood, Major of Brigade, presided over a case of drunkenness brought against an officer of the 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment, Major William Johnston, who had been charged:

For highly un-officer like conduct in having on or about the 12<sup>th</sup> May, 1849, at or about the hour of 11 o'clock in the forenoon been drunk in the officer's mess house at Wellington.

Lieut. Colonel Wynyard, in weighing up the evidence against the prisoner, found Johnston not guilty. Major General G. D. Pitt, having looked at the evidence, asked the court to re-think its verdict. Pitt issued the following statement:

After a careful perusal of the evidence produced in this case against Brevet Major Johnston, 65<sup>th</sup> Regt., I cannot coincide in the opinion of the Court that he was 'not guilty' of the charge preferred against him. The Court will therefore re-assemble and re-consider their verdict: it appearing to me to be of little moment how an officer or soldier may get drunk, if he be proved to have been intoxicated when for duty.

Wynyard and the Court re-evaluated the evidence and still found Johnston not guilty. In summing up, Wynyard stated that 'Johnston was a man of temperate habits, but of a most excitable disposition, with a constitution impaired by long and arduous services in India and China'. The court was



unanimous in its opinion that the prisoner was labouring under great excitement, not intoxication. Johnston was released, exonerated and returned to full military duties.<sup>23</sup>

The remainder of 1849 saw several soldiers from the 65<sup>th</sup> and 58<sup>th</sup> charged with various misdemeanours. Michael Fitzgerald, 65<sup>th</sup>, was tried and sentenced to 50 lashes, stoppages and twelve months in Gaol for habitual drunkenness and theft. Patrick Early from the same regiment as Fitzgerald was found guilty of striking an Ensign and theft. Early was transported for life. Three soldiers from the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment were also tried before a court martial - Privates Parker, Glen and Lappen. Glen and Lappen were sentenced to seven years for desertion, and Parker received 14 years for discharging his musket at another soldier: they were all transported and branded.<sup>24</sup>

The most significant case was that of Lieutenant Owen Wynne Gray. Gray had brought six charges against a fellow officer, Captain Charles Henry Montessor Smith, the senior staff officer of the Enrolled Pensioners. It was after this earlier court martial that Gray had to stand at his own trial for incompetence. The case lasted 18 days. Gray had instituted proceedings by submitting charges against Smith:

- 1 Embezzling Government money, 2 aiding and abetting discontent among the pensioners at Howick, 3 attempting to tamper with one of the Prosecutors witnesses, 4 In having become acquainted with

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<sup>23</sup> PRO, CO213/12, New Zealander, 2 November 1849; WO90/2, 1849.

<sup>24</sup> PRO, WO90/2, 1849.

accusations defamatory to his character as admitted by him to Government, besides asserting that a brother officer was one of his accusers, yet taking no steps either public or private, against the individual, belying as stated by him his character, 5 falsehood, 6 in having had his five pre-emption acres of land as also his forty acres of land, ditched and fenced out of the Government Treasury.

The court, having heard the evidence reached a verdict of not guilty. Wynyard, however, was damning of Gray and the two drunken witnesses he had produced, namely Pensioners William Maclunlay and John Lynch. Consequently, Gray was ordered to stand before a court martial himself to explain why these charges had been brought against another officer. Gray's court martial was held on 2 April 1849. Gray was charged with:

scandalous and infamous conduct, unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentlemen, in getting up and attempting to support, in an unjustifiable and improper manner disgraceful charges against his senior officer Captain Charles Henry Montessor Smith, Staff Officer New Zealand Pensioners.

Gray was found guilty of the charges brought against him and Daniel Bolton, Lieut. Colonel Royal Engineers, in summing up, sentenced Gray to be:

Severely reprimanded in such manner as the Major-General Commanding the Troops may be pleased to direct, and further, to be

removed from and rendered incapable of again serving in the Pensioner Force in New Zealand.<sup>25</sup>

Gray was stopped a year's pay and held no further positions within the military. The court seems to have taken the view that officers should not bring charges against fellow officers whether the accusations were based on fact or falsified.

Towards the end of 1849 there was a reduction in the forces stationed in New Zealand. Regiments that had been used in the Northern War were recalled to Australia as the perceived threat to Auckland and the settler population had passed. Military crime fell: for the year 1850 there were only two courts martial held in Wellington and Auckland. Colour-Sergeant O'Donnell, 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment, was found guilty of embezzlement. O'Donnell had withdrawn money from the regimental savings bank with a forged order. The court found O'Donnell guilty and he was reduced in rank and transported for seven years. The court martial held in Auckland heard the case of Private William Mkenney, 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment. Mkenney, while in a state of intoxication, had struck a superior officer. The court found Mkenney guilty and he was transported for seven years.<sup>26</sup>

For a period of three years there were no instances of courts martial held in New Zealand. This coincided with the extended peace between Pakeha and Maori, until hostilities began again in 1859 with the first Taranaki War.

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<sup>25</sup> PRO, WO90/2, 1849; bid., CO213/12, New Zealander, 26 April 1849.

<sup>26</sup> PRO, WO90/2, 1850.

Regimental strength was low with two regiments - the 65<sup>th</sup> and 58<sup>th</sup> - stationed in Wellington and Auckland, these were sub-divided to man the outposts at New Plymouth, Wanganui and Kororareka.

In 1854 three soldiers from the 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment were tried before a general court martial in Wellington. They had all deserted, and two had carried out crimes (thieving) against civilians and the regiment. Privates Domoly and Darcy were sentenced to 50 lashes, branded and transported; Domoly for seven years, Darcy for life. The third prisoner, Dorau, (?) was also branded and transported for 14 years.<sup>27</sup> Auckland by the following year had seen higher instances of crime within the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment. Courts martial heard seven cases, six from the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment and one sapper. On 8 June the sapper, Private Harrison, was sentenced to six years' penal servitude for desertion. The six cases from the 56<sup>th</sup> Regiment were varied for two reasons; firstly, for the length of sentences, secondly, the actual crimes committed by the prisoners. Privates Scott and McCullagh were brought before a general court martial held between 7 and 8 July to hear the charges brought against them of disgraceful conduct and desertion. Both were found guilty and were summarily sentenced. Scott received 50 lashes and penal servitude, while McCullagh was given two years' hard labour. The court martial reassembled on 21 June to sentence Privates Healy and, once again, Scott. Healy was charged with being drunk, disobeying orders and violence, Scott for desertion. Both prisoners were found guilty of the crimes and sentenced to hard labour and four years' penal servitude. Thomas Smith was sentenced in June for

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<sup>27</sup> PRO, WO90/2, 1854.

wilful mutilation and the loss of ammunition. Smith was committed to six months' hard labour for his crimes. The last case for 1855 concerned Thomas Knowles, who, after disobeying orders, was sentenced to six months' hard labour.<sup>28</sup>

The desertion list published in the January 1856 edition of The New Zealander listed four men, all from the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment. Privates James Nudd, Oliver Shelford, William Crowe, and Joseph Dunlop had all deserted between 5 November and 20 December 1855. The paper also carried descriptions of the deserters, where they enlisted and their previous occupations. By way of deterrent, J. Greenwood, Major of Brigade, published an extract of the Mutiny Act, outlining the charges that could be brought against those persons who had either assisted or hidden these deserters:

Any person who shall in any part of Her Majesty's dominions, by words or any other means whatsoever, directly or indirectly procure any soldier to desert, or shall by words or by any other means whatsoever attempt to procure or persuade any soldier to desert, and any person who, knowing that any soldier to be a deserter, shall conceal such deserter, or aid or assist such deserter, in concealing himself, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour, and shall, on conviction thereof, be liable to be punished by fine or imprisonment, or both, as the Court before which such conviction shall take place may adjudge.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> PRO, WO90/2, 1855.

<sup>29</sup> PRO, CO213/15, New Zealander, 9 January 1856.

The diversity of these sentences suggests the court had taken into account whether the prisoner was a first time or repeat offender. The courts martial reports do not state this, however, and, without any primary evidence, this is purely supposition.

Auckland possessed two gaols, which held all prisoners either awaiting or serving sentences. The main gaol was in the grounds of Albert Barracks, with the second gaol situated at Mount Eden. These gaols would also accommodate prisoners from Otahuhu, New Plymouth, Queen's Redoubt and Te Awamutu. Wellington, Napier and Wanganui either sent prisoners to Wellington or held them in stockades. The military prison in Albert Barracks was located in the centre of the barracks, between two wells. This allowed the gaol to be effectively covered by the sergeants' quarters and the main barracks in the event of an attempted breakout. This gaol could accommodate 28 prisoners and equated in size to the small wing of the main barracks (30' by 21').<sup>30</sup>

An exterior picture exists of Mount Eden and it is feasible to suggest that, if the Royal Engineers built the gaol, then they would have followed a standardised design. The gaol, therefore, would have been the same size as the main prison. The prisoner returns for 1867 show that Mount Eden held 15 prisoners for various offences,<sup>31</sup> so it would not have been far off the size of the main prison. In 1856 a detailed report was published on the Mount Eden Gaol, which did not reflect on it favourably:

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<sup>30</sup> The size of the prison was taken from the plan of Albert Barracks. See APL, Auckland Regional Committee of New Zealand Historic Places Trust, 8,1, April 1979.

It would be the height of discourtesy were we to pass unnoticed or undescribed so right royally proclaimed as our new prison. Well then;- the stockade at Mount Eden is situated about mid distance down the Kyber Pass Road. It is a sort of auxiliary gaol, in which it is intended to employ prisoners therein confined in breaking metal for macadamizing our roads and streets. The building itself is a wooden one, of two storeys, strongly constructed; of eighty feet in length, by twenty in width. It contains twenty four cells on its two floors, ranged on either side of narrow dismal passages; they are substantially framed of timber and plated with iron. These cells are dimly lighted and badly ventilated by small iron gratings fixed rear the ceiling; and during the brightest sunshine of the brightest day, they are as dark and dreary as the heart of the most sombre worshipper of the worst system of prison discipline could possible desire. The stockade is surrounded by a plank fence which has been set up after the zigzag style something like the form of the trenches by which the allied armies approached Sebastopol. Upon the same crooked principle, at an establishment and inspection cost of only seven and a quarter percent on the outlay this fence has been constructed. Ground plates have been laid on a rough dry stone wall, and to these the heels of planks of twelve or fourteen inches length, by two inches in thickness, have been fastened the top secured by wall plates bolted together, the zig of the other, and thereby to sustain the entire surface of this vast wall. Theory, however is one

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<sup>31</sup> National Archives, Wellington (hereafter NA), IA-14-21, Return of Military Prisoners, Auckland, 1867.

thing practice is another; and a large portion of the unhappy fabric has twice succumbed. Of course under a supervision of 'seven and quarter percent' this downfall could be the work of no common agency; and accordingly, in certain quarters there have been whispers that the crater at Mount Eden was specially engaged to effect the disastrous overthrow. Be this as it may, the very precarious supports afforded by the zigzags are no longer to be trusted to; and artisans have since been employed to shore up the walls by fixing short abutments of planking against the acute points of some of the inner angles. The workmanship of the stockade itself is in no doubt, sound and substantial, but its internal design does but sorry credit to the philanthropy of the projectors.<sup>32</sup>

The next three years (1857-1861) saw an increase in military crime during the First Taranaki War. Prior to this, in 1860, there had been no reported courts martial. The majority of these cases were held in Auckland with one court martial held in Wellington. In 1856 William Fairworthy of the 58<sup>th</sup> was brought before the Resident Magistrate for slaughtering a pig in his own home. Fairworthy pleaded ignorance, but the Resident Magistrate inflicted a nominal fine of 1s.0d costs, with a warning that the highest penalty was a £1.<sup>33</sup> In the following year, two privates of the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment were tried for felony and theft. Private Gilbert was brought before a court martial on a charge of felony,

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<sup>32</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 27 August 1856.

<sup>33</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 6 August 1856.



but was found not guilty. Private Neshau was found guilty of theft and was sentenced to two years' hard labour.<sup>34</sup>

The following year, three cases were held in Auckland with a subsequent case being heard in Wellington. Of the cases held in Auckland, one was a repeat offender, namely Private Robert Neshau. Neshau, while already serving the prison sentence previously imposed, was brought before a court martial for insubordination and bad language. The court martial found Neshau guilty and he was sentenced to four years' penal servitude; the sentence was passed on 12 February 1858, but it is not clear whether this was to run concurrently. In March and July two privates from the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment were tried for similar crimes. Private Thomas Cunningham was sentenced to serve four years' penal servitude for being drunk and insubordinate towards a superior officer. Cunningham's colleague, Private James Ustace, was given a similar sentence for the same offence in July. The case held in Wellington concerned Private William Madden, 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment. Madden was sentenced to four years' penal servitude towards a superior officer.<sup>35</sup>

In 1859 and 1860 two cases were brought before a court martial, both being held at the Military Headquarters, Auckland. The defendants were from different regiments. Private Stephen Allington, 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment, was sentenced to four years' penal servitude for violent behaviour towards a commanding officer, the court martial passing sentence on Allington on 27 June 1859. Captain T. R. Hack, 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment, was tried before the Auckland court

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<sup>34</sup> PRO, WO90/3, 1857.

<sup>35</sup> PRO, WO90/3, 1858.

martial for failing to obey orders. Hack was dismissed from the service and allowed to sell his commission. Hack, however, was subsequently reinstated in 1865, being placed on half pay.<sup>36</sup>

Regimental troop strength between 1859 and 1861 was high due to the war being fought in Taranaki. The cessation of hostilities in April 1861 allowed Imperial regiments to be withdrawn back to New Plymouth, Wellington, Wanganui and Auckland. In Auckland the influx of troops now assigned to peacetime duties meant that the barracks and tented camps would become tense with regimental rivalries surfacing and, with the pressure of a combat situation being lifted, many soldiers with excess time on their hands began to offend. During the year there were 13 cases brought before a court martial, ten were heard in Auckland, while the remainder were held in Wellington and New Plymouth.

These ten cases heard at Auckland and Otahuhu and were not restricted to one regiment. The cases involved men from the Royal Artillery, Royal Engineers, and 14<sup>th</sup>, 65<sup>th</sup> and 70<sup>th</sup> Regiments stationed in Auckland and Otahuhu. The Royal Artillery was billeted in Fort Britomart during 1861 and, during this period, many were quite prolific in their breaches of the law. There were eight cases of mutiny; of these five were sentenced to penal servitude, one for corporal punishment, with two imprisoned with or without hard labour. Violence to superior officers and insubordination amounted to three; they were sentenced to imprisonment. Desertion, disobedience, and being drunk

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<sup>36</sup> PRO, WO90/3, 1859-1860.

on duty while under arms were minor crimes and were treated as such. Four soldiers were given prison sentences with or without hard labour. Habitual drunkenness was high with 11 cases heard; along with the statutory prison sentence, the offenders forfeited beer money or their pay. Miscellaneous crimes, such as quitting or sleeping on post, AWOL, and disgraceful conduct came to 13. These offenders were all given prison sentences with or without hard labour. The total number of cases for the Royal Artillery amounted to 38.<sup>37</sup> Even during the journey to New Zealand some personnel of the Royal Artillery had attempted mutiny. A general court martial assembled at Auckland on 23 April 1861, at which seven men of the Royal Artillery were found guilty of mutiny on the passage from England on board the ship Norwood. Gunner William Wilson received seven years' penal servitude; J. Baggs, four years' penal servitude; M. Gregory five years' penal servitude; D. Russell, four years' penal servitude; Driver D. Cullen, five years' penal servitude; Gunner J. Calderwood, two years' imprisonment with hard labour and 50 lashes; and W. Neil, two years' imprisonment with hard labour.<sup>38</sup>

The Royal Engineers appeared well disciplined. However, men of the three remaining regiments serving in Auckland - 14<sup>th</sup>, 65<sup>th</sup>, and 70<sup>th</sup> - were also brought before court martial for various offences. Three soldiers were charged with habitual drunkenness and sentenced to solitary confinement.<sup>39</sup> Privates Joseph Whitehead and Joseph Travis, 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment, were sentenced to two years' hard labour for striking a superior officer. Eight cases were also heard concerning an attempted mutiny, four men being from the

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<sup>37</sup> PRO, WO 334/135, Health Returns, 1861-1862.

<sup>38</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 23 April 1861.

65<sup>th</sup> Regiment. The sentences for these offenders varied from between two to seven years' penal servitude. One also received an additional fifty lashes. A further two young soldiers from the 65<sup>th</sup> were tried for being drunk on active service; they were each sentenced to 50 lashes. When the punishment had been carried out the men were taken to the military hospital.<sup>40</sup>

Courts martial were simultaneously being held at Otahuhu dealing with offenders from the 14<sup>th</sup> and 70<sup>th</sup> Regiments, mainly to do with insubordination and drunkenness. Privates Harrington, William Seymour and Mark Claufield were tried and sentenced for several misdemeanours. Harrington received six years' penal servitude for insubordination; Seymour 112 days' hard labour and 50 lashes; and Claufield 160 days' hard labour with 50 lashes for abusive language to an officer. From the 14<sup>th</sup> Regiment, both Joseph McGuinness and James McNeill were found guilty of insubordination towards a superior officer while under the influence of alcohol. McGuinness was given 730 days and McNeill received a year's sentence with hard labour as well as the statutory 50 lashes.<sup>41</sup>

Military crime continued to increase between 1862 and 1863, with more frequent courts martial held at Otahuhu, Queen's Redoubt and Pokino, a small settlement south of Auckland. The total number of courts martial for both years amounted to 24; these did not include the cases heard in Wellington, Wanganui and New Plymouth. The majority of the cases dealt with soldiers being drunk and insubordinate, and the punishments meted out

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<sup>39</sup> PRO, WO334/135, Health Returns, 1861-1862.

<sup>40</sup> ATL, *New Zealander*, 6 April 1861.

included two death sentences. The preferred sentence was hard labour with a prison sentence as a means to discipline the soldier. The first case of the year was heard at Otahuhu on 20 January 1862 to hear charges brought against Private Arthur Kelly, 14<sup>th</sup> Regiment. Kelly had struck a superior officer while drunk and, for these crimes, the court sentenced Kelly to four years' penal servitude. The two forward camps of Pokino and Drury held two courts martial to hear charges of theft and indecent conduct brought against two Privates. Private James Doyle, 15<sup>th</sup> Regiment was found guilty on 18 March of theft. Doyle was sentenced to four years in gaol without hard labour. The hearing at Drury on 25 April found Private Patrick Gormau, 40<sup>th</sup> Regiment, not guilty of indecent conduct.

The remainder of the cases for 1862 were held at Otahuhu. Between June and July, seven cases were held at the Military Headquarters, comprising two from 14<sup>th</sup> Regiment and one each from the Royal Engineers, 12<sup>th</sup>, 40<sup>th</sup>, and 70<sup>th</sup> Regiments. Lance-Corporals Thomas Kuipe and Thomas Brown were sentenced for miscellaneous crimes. Kuipe, while drunk on duty, had allowed the prisoners under his guard to escape and was sentenced to two years' hard labour. William Brown had shown violence towards a superior officer; Brown was sentenced to 336 days' hard labour. Sapper Thomas Brownwater, RE, had shown violence towards a superior officer and, due to the seriousness of the crime, was given the death sentence, along with Private Mark Claufield of the 70<sup>th</sup> Regiment. It is not stated if these sentences were for the same offence. The court martial commuted the death sentence,

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<sup>41</sup> PRO, WO90/3, 1861.

Claufield receiving 14 years' penal servitude, and Brownwater two years' hard labour. The remaining two cases concerned two privates from the 12<sup>th</sup> and 40<sup>th</sup> Regiments. John Kelly, 12<sup>th</sup>, and William Bryce, 40<sup>th</sup>, were charged with being drunk and violent behaviour. Kelly received 50 lashes and 168 days' hard labour. Bryce also received 50 lashes as well as three years' hard labour. The last case of the year saw Private Henry Fleming, 14<sup>th</sup> Regiment, tried for being AWOL with an additional charge of attempted robbery. Fleming was flogged and sentenced to 168 days' hard labour.<sup>42</sup>

By 1863 tensions between Pakeha and Maoris had begun to rise in Taranaki in what was known as the Waitara Block. The Maoris in this region had issued a warning to the government that, if they did not give up their claim, the settlement of Tataraimaka would be attacked. May saw the first instance of fighting when nine soldiers were killed in an ambush near Tataraimaka. Tribes in the Waikato had also begun to resent settler infringements on tribal land.<sup>43</sup> This meant that Imperial and militia forces had to fight on two fronts in order to maintain peace. This created problems of stretching supply and communication lines, with regiments being used in a dual role of providing protection for Commissariat carts as well as maintaining enough soldiers to maintain a superior force in the field.

For the regiments stationed at Auckland, Otahuhu and Queen's Redoubt this meant a period of intense organisation preparing to de-camp and march inland. Soldiers unwilling to fight broke military law to avoid frontline duty.

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<sup>42</sup> PRO, WO90/3, 1862.

<sup>43</sup> Ryan and Parham, Colonial New Zealand Wars, pp. 207-208.

Privates John Bumbell, 14<sup>th</sup> Regiment, and Patrick Doolan, 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment, were brought before a court martial to hear the charges of drunkenness and attempted violence. Bumbell was found guilty of being habitually drunk along with attempted violence towards other personnel in the regiment. He received 50 lashes and 168 days' hard labour. Doolan was found guilty of being drunk while on duty. Doolan received a similar sentence but was not flogged. Instead his wages and beer monies were stopped. The advance camp at Queen's Redoubt also held a court martial to hear the charges brought against Thomas Armstrong, 18<sup>th</sup> Regiment. Armstrong was sentenced to 672 days' hard labour along the statutory 50 lashes for striking a superior officer.

Civilians who joined the locally raised militia or volunteer forces were also expected to abide to military rules and regulations. When these were broken the guilty party would be sentenced under military law and, in some cases stand before a court martial. The militia had been authorised under the provisions of the Militia Ordinance of 1845 in response to the outbreak of hostilities in the north. European men aged between 18 and 60 were liable for service within a distance of 20 miles from their place of residence. This act was revised in 1858 and made militiamen liable for active within a 13 mile radius and, by 1862, some 1,400 men were under arms in Auckland, Wellington, Wanganui and Taranaki. The militia was called out during the Waikato War but was not used effectively due to the limited radius of service.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Ian McGibbon (ed.), The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 331.

Corporal William Foster of the Waikato Militia, while stationed at Otahuhu, verbally and physically struck a superior officer. Forster was reduced in rank, and sentenced to 84 days' hard labour. Private John Sinclair, also of the Waikato Militia, was found guilty of being drunk on duty, and for this offence was given 168 days' hard labour. Privates Fred Walker, 70<sup>th</sup> Regiment, and Patrick Quinnen, 43<sup>rd</sup> Regiment, were tried for drunkenness, the court noting that Walker was an habitual drunkard. They were sentenced respectively to 336 and 672 days with hard labour, Walker was being given an additional 50 lashes. Towards the end of 1863 there were two more serious cases. Two Privates from the 43<sup>rd</sup> Regiment showed scant regard for military protocol when they broke regimental law. Lewis Foster, while attempting to desert from Otahuhu, discharged his rifle on his pursuers. When he was subsequently captured, Foster was flogged and given 368 days' hard labour. Matthew Lennon was sentenced to four years 'penal servitude for kicking an officer and inciting insubordination in a prisoner.'<sup>45</sup>

Auckland itself had not been severely affected by any breakdown of military discipline. If this had occurred, then the impact would have in all probability affected the relationship between the army and the civilian population. Instances of civilian mistrust were seen in Sydney and Natal, where the breakdown in military discipline had led to rioting and the destruction of public property.<sup>46</sup> The officers in charge of the regiments posted to New Zealand seemed to have kept a tight rein on the soldiers' discipline. The crimes that were committed were not of a serious nature and impacted within the

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<sup>45</sup> PRO, WO90/3, 1863.



regiment rather than on the civilian populace. Martial law was only used to provide the military with the legal justification to quell any potential uprisings and was issued by the Governor and was not used to control dissatisfaction within the regiments. The majority of the cases brought before the courts martial were drink related, with other cases of a more varied nature making up the remainder of the hearings.

After 1864 New Zealand is no longer mentioned in the WO90 series held in the PRO though, of course, there was a military presence for another six years. Returns from 1869 for Mount Eden Gaol showed that military prisoners from both services were still being held awaiting suitable transports home.<sup>47</sup> If military crime was being recorded, the cases were not being sent back to either Horse Guards or the Colonial Office, but dealt with within the military command in New Zealand.

In the last year for which military crime was recorded, there were 18 cases, of which the majority concerned men from the 14<sup>th</sup> and 43<sup>rd</sup> Regiments. Private Johnson Fitzgerald, 14<sup>th</sup> Regiment, was sentenced to 672 days' hard labour, while serving at Queen's Redoubt for anonymously writing a threatening letter to an Ensign, and using abusive language towards a superior officer. Towards the end of January, Private Edward McEnvoy of the same regiment, was tried before a court martial and sentenced to four years' hard labour plus stoppages. McEnvoy was an habitual drunk and, during one drunken escapade, gained access to a rifle and threatened to shoot a sergeant. March

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<sup>46</sup> Dominy, 'Imperial Garrison', chapter 4; Stanley, Remote Garrison, chapter 2

<sup>47</sup> NA, IA-14-21, Return of military prisoners, Auckland, 1869.

saw the court sitting in Auckland and Otahuhu to hear the remainder of the cases; there were also a further two cases at the advance camp of Drury involving militia forces.

Lance-Corporal Richard Martin and Private James Murphy of the 60<sup>th</sup> Regiment, were charged with indecent conduct and breaking from a military escort. Martin was given 672 days' hard labour and Murphy received eight years' penal servitude. William Ward, RA, had also broken from a military escort, being sentenced to four years' hard labour. A case heard on 26 March saw Private Michael Ryan, 18<sup>th</sup> Regiment, found guilty of threatening to shoot a superior officer. Ryan was given eight years' penal servitude for his actions.

Another court martial was convened to hear the charges brought against Thomas Allen of the Military Train. The court was informed that Allen was an habitual drunkard and, while in a drunken stupor, had verbally abused a superior officer. Allen was found guilty and sentenced to four years' penal servitude. Two separate cases concerning the 43<sup>rd</sup> Regiment were heard between 3 and 23 May. Privates Moses Gutteridge and George Joy pleaded guilty to disobeying orders given by a commanding officer; both soldiers were sentenced to 672 days' hard labour. Three privates of the 18<sup>th</sup> Regiment were found guilty of disobeying orders - James Greenwood, Thomas Hunter and James McDermott were sentenced to 672 days' hard labour. McDermott received an additional sentence of four years' penal servitude for striking an officer. Two courts martial were held in Otahuhu during June. Private Owen Keeffe, 14<sup>th</sup> Regiment, was sentenced to four years' penal servitude for

stabbing another soldier. Private Thomas Keenan also of the same regiment, received 730 days' hard labour for discharging his rifle and wounding a soldier from the same regiment. Two Corporals of the 1<sup>st</sup> Waikato Militia stationed at Drury were also brought before a court martial for failing to obey orders. John McMurray was found guilty and given 336 days' hard labour and reduced to the ranks. John McEvan was found not guilty of the same crime and retained his rank.<sup>48</sup> A private of the Military Train was sentenced to three months' hard labour after stealing from a clothes line belonging to Margaret Carroll, three shirts to the value of 9s.0d and 2½ pairs of stockings.<sup>49</sup>

So far this chapter has looked at regimental crime, but crime was not always contained within or confined to units. Fraud was another form of crime prevalent in New Zealand. A court of inquiry, for example, was opened on 20 May 1867, and sat until August 1868, to investigate alleged charges of fraud against acting Commissariat officers. The court heard that the system of drawback certificates was fundamentally flawed. Drawback certificates allowed the contractor to be given a commuted allowance instead of issuing supplies duty free. This system allowed the contractor to be paid twice; firstly, by the Commissariat and, secondly, by the government using the same certificate due to the failure of the commissariat to collect these dockets. As this enquiry progressed, the departments implicated blamed each other in an attempt to shift the investigation away from their department. The auditors accused the Commissariat Officers of carelessness, likewise the Commissariat discriminated against the Colonial Officers by believing the

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<sup>48</sup> PRO, WO90/3, 1864.

accusations brought against them without prior investigation. The court blamed all parties in due proportion for not ensuring that the correct procedure was used to stop the duplication of payments. The court also cited three civilian contractors who benefited from this fraud – Messrs. Garlick, Somerville and MacFry, all from Auckland. The court recommended that these persons should be investigated by the Collections Department to see if a public prosecution could be sought. The court put forward proposals that storemen in charge of the Commissariat stores should retain the drawback certificates, to stop this occurring again. The Commissariat had known about this problem, but had failed to take any precautions to prevent fraudulent claims by unscrupulous contractors.<sup>50</sup>

Military gaols, like their civilian counterparts, provided the prisoners with rations and clothing, which consisted of two pairs of trousers, two check shirts, one blue serge shirt and cap, a half year's bedding and one pair of boots. Prison rations varied depending upon the payment that a soldier received. Returns from the Mount Eden Gaol from 1 April to 14 November 1866 show that costs allowed for rationing varied from £4.5s.3¾d to £2.17s.9¾ d. The total charge for each prisoner was between £12.13s.9¾d and £12.17s.9¾d, with an additional charge for clothing added. In comparison to the soldiers' wages of 1s.1d per diem with an additional 6d stopped for rations, the prisoners actually had a healthier lifestyle than their counterparts.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> ATL, *New Zealander*, 1864.

<sup>50</sup> NA, IA-14/29, Abstract of papers relating to drawback of duties on rations for Regimental and Naval messes.

<sup>51</sup> NA, IA-14/29, Returns of rations, clothing and sea kit supplied to Military Prisoners of H. M. forces undergoing imprisonment in H. M. Gaol, Mount Eden from 1<sup>st</sup> April 1866 to 1<sup>st</sup> March 1867; Strachan, *Wellington's Legacy*, p. 57.

Overcrowding, however, was becoming a problem in the smaller of the two gaols, due to the number of prisoners being held there. This necessitated the use of the stockade at Mount Eden to house inmates. In an attempt to curb the problem, Fredrick Whitaker of the Superintendent's Office had written to the Colonial Secretary in Wellington in 1865, suggesting transportation, not to mainland Australia or Van Diemen's Land but to England. Prisoners could be sent back on troopships, which, according to Whitaker, would 'afford a cheap and convenient opportunity'.<sup>52</sup> It had been used in the previous year with great success. The legality of transportation of prisoners to England was then raised when an investigation into Whitaker's solution was carried out by the Chief Justice, George Alfred Arney. Prior to an attempt to put Whitaker's policy into practice, the Chief Justice found on closer investigation faults and ambiguities in the wording of the form authorising transportation and declined to authorise it. This curtailed the transportation of eight prisoners who had been readied for the sea journey. The Chief Justice's argument was that two prisoners ordered for transportation would have finished their sentences before reaching England. Firstly, if Private Patrick Murphy, who had been sentenced to four years' penal servitude in 1861, was transported, then his sentence would finish during the journey home on board the Maori. Thus, he would have been held in illegal custody before the ship reached England. The second case concerned Private McMahan, who had been given a similar sentence and was nearing its completion. If left to serve the remainder of his

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<sup>52</sup> NA, IA-14/21, Return of Military Prisoners, Auckland, 14 November 1865.

time in New Zealand then, according to the Chief Justice, McMahon would soon obtain an early remission.<sup>53</sup>

The form itself revealed irregularities in relation to the relevant section of the Mutiny Act. This had been copied from an old edition and had been misprinted from the original, which also had been misprinted. If these forms were to have any legality then a comparison needed to be sought with a correct and up to date copy of the 19<sup>th</sup> Section of the current Mutiny Act. The Chief Justice commented:

You will find discrepancies, not merely of type or in form, but in substance discrepancies in those essential parts on which depend the relative powers functions and duties of the Secretary of State, the Governor and the Supreme Court Judge.<sup>54</sup>

This order was in most cases signed by the Chief Justice on the notification of the Officer Commanding the Forces; this was carried out on an informal basis. If, on the recommendations of the Chief Justice, a new procedure was needed, or if the sequence was circumvented, then the order was rendered invalid. This system was to be applied to military prisoners tried either in a civilian or a military court. Military personnel who had previously ordered the transportation of prisoners had omitted the authorisation of the Chief Justice due in part to the ambiguity of the wording of the order.

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<sup>53</sup> NA, IA-14/2, Letter from Chief Justice.

<sup>54</sup> NA, IA-14/21, Letter from Chief Justice

The issue had arisen largely from financial considerations. Transportation in some respects could prove a way of sending home troops without the costly expense of paying their passage. Indeed, another suggestion was put forward to return those on long term sentences.<sup>55</sup> There was also the financial cost of maintaining military prisoners in New Zealand. The colonial government was being charged £5 for the upkeep of every Imperial Soldier. If, then, a soldier was no longer in service, the onus on looking after these prisoners should not fall on the colony, thereby saving money. The financial imperative is certainly borne out by a letter in 1869 from the Chief Warden of Mount Eden Gaol, B. L. O'Brien, to the Superintendent of Auckland, Daniel Pollen, requesting the amount due for the maintenance of the prisoners in military gaols.<sup>56</sup>

During 1865 some 11 prisoners were detained at Mount Eden Gaol for various offences. The most prevalent crime was insubordination; six soldiers were given sentences of between eight and five years with subsequent dismissal from military service. Two cases dealt with highway robbery: two privates from the 12<sup>th</sup> Regiment, James Murphy and Charles Kelly, were committed to court between 1 and 2 August 1865. Both men were found guilty of the charge and gaoled for seven and four years respectively. The remaining cases consisted of minor crimes of threatening behaviour, abusive language or theft.<sup>57</sup>

Prison numbers began to fall after 1865 due to regimental withdrawals from New Zealand. In 1866 seven regiments were recalled to serve in other parts

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<sup>55</sup> NA, IA-14/21.

<sup>56</sup> NA, IA 14/21, Letter from B. L. O'Brien, 2 April 1869. This letter has no return attached.

of the Empire, leaving just the 14<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> in New Zealand in addition to Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers. By 1869 only one prisoner was incarcerated in the military gaol in Auckland. Private Edwin Standing, 12<sup>th</sup> Regiment, had been sentenced in 1867 for breaking, entering and stealing from a warehouse. Standing had stood trial in the Supreme Court at Auckland, where he had been found guilty and imprisoned for two years with hard labour. Being the only prisoner, his ration and clothing allowance was higher than average. Indeed, the prison return for the period from 8 October 1868 to 1 April 1869, reveals the cost of his upkeep as £26.8s.10d, nearly double what prisoners were receiving in the early part of 1860; of this £6.5s.9d was allocated towards clothing.<sup>58</sup>

Mount Eden, however, continued to receive prisoners until midway through 1871. Naval prisoners, for example, were held there while awaiting transportation to England.<sup>59</sup> The last documented military prisoners for Mount Eden were held between 1 April 1869 and 31 March 1870. Three prisoners had been gaoled for desertion. Two from the 18<sup>th</sup>, John Fitzgibbon and William Gordon(?), were sentenced to four and nineteen days respectively. The third offender, Alexander Wilson, 14<sup>th</sup> Regiment, had also deserted. Wilson's regiment had left New Zealand in 1867 and, in all probability, he had absconded before the regiment's departure. If this was the case then it had taken the authorities three years to re-capture him. Wilson was given 27 days

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<sup>57</sup> NA, IA-14/21, Return of Military Prisoners undergoing their sentences at the Mount Eden Gaol, 6 November 1865.

<sup>58</sup> See chapter 5 for a ration schedule.

<sup>59</sup> NA, IA-14/21, Lushington to the Under Secretary of State Colonial Office, 5 August 1871.



in the gaol. The ration bill for these three men during this period amounted to £2.10s.0d.<sup>60</sup>

Military crime in New Zealand and Auckland was not as severe as in other parts of the Empire. The military presence in Auckland did not encroach too heavily on the civilian population and there were neither the kind of military riots witnessed in Pietermaritzburg or anything remotely resembling the coup that befell Governor Bligh in Sydney in 1808. In any case, Australia was much more volatile as evidenced by the battle of Vinegar Hill on 4 March 1804 ending a New South Wales convict uprising.<sup>61</sup> The crimes committed in New Zealand were minor such as insubordination and desertion. They were punished with the standard mandatory sentencing. In the rare instances of serious crime and, if the death sentence had been applied, it was commuted to transportation. What cannot be addressed due to the scarcity of primary evidence is, firstly, how many cases of military crime passed through the civil courts and, secondly, how many military crimes affected the Pakeha and Maori populations. It is hard to ascertain precisely but, judging by the cases discussed, it would appear that regiments posted to New Zealand were better behaved, or better controlled than those elsewhere.

Crime within units was instigated by a small minority, which by its actions, it could potentially tarnish the reputations of their regiments. Fortunately, in Auckland, it would seem interaction between soldiers and civilians was

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<sup>60</sup> NA, IA-14/21, Return of Rations supplied to the military prisoners from 1<sup>st</sup> April 1869 to the 31<sup>st</sup> March 1870.

<sup>61</sup> Stanley, Remote Garrison, pp. 22-24.

relatively carefully supervised, which raises the issue of civil-military relationships generally.

Soldiers on furlough would either relax by remaining within the environment of the barracks or frequent one of the many hotels that had been opened. As suggested previously, it is not necessarily the case that the growth of 'hotels' in Auckland was initially aimed specifically at soldiers. Nonetheless, as more troops were stationed in Auckland, more hotels had opened up within the vicinity of the barracks in the hope of enticing soldiers away from the regimental canteen. From 1841 onwards, Auckland had a number of what were termed 'grog shops'.<sup>62</sup> Many of these were of tented construction erected on plots of land in readiness for the eventual wooden building designed to replace these temporary structures. The first specifically built hotel was the Royal, situated in Princess Street, which was owned by Mr Samuel Wood and opened for business in September 1841.<sup>63</sup> By the end of 1841, a total of 15 more hotels had been erected in preparation for the perceived population growth prior to the Northern War of 1845. The growth of hotels continued with a further 66 built between 1841 and 1870; of these numerous hotels, the most popular was the Grosvenor Hotel first licensed as the Governor Brown in 1856. Situated on the west side of Hobson Street, opposite Kingston Street, this hotel provided accommodation for officers whose regiments were fighting in the Waikato War. Sir George Grey also

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<sup>62</sup> APL, *Drink Up Please: A Guided Walking Tour of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Inner City Hotels* (1986).

<sup>63</sup> *Drink up Please*, p. 1.

stayed there, as well as delegates from the many Maori tribes who visited Auckland.<sup>64</sup>

Publicans' licenses issued in April 1848 show the increase in grog shops, hotels and public houses. On 22 April some 12 establishments had their licences renewed. There were also a further eight new applicants for a licence. In the previous week, there had been 20 new applications for a liquor licence. Thus, even the heaviest drinker could have a drink on virtually any street in Auckland or in the vicinity of the barracks.<sup>65</sup> By 1854 this had not changed too much except that there were fewer publicans applying for licences and the licensing bench had introduced a clause barring any landlord who had sold liquor to 'natives'. In one case a public house owned by William Bacon and located in Chancery Street, according to Major Hume, should not have its licence renewed. Hume believed many disgraceful transactions - some of which interfered with military discipline - had occurred there during the year. The licence was refused, not from Hume's objection but because the building itself was deemed too small. On 22 April 1854 a report into drunkenness revealed that during the previous year, a total of 180 Europeans had been convicted for drunkenness, equating to 1:67 of the European population, including seamen.<sup>66</sup>

Soldiers who remained within the confines of the barracks could entertain themselves with games, the more popular being quoits, fives, chess, draughts and cricket. Towards the end of Imperial occupation, Albert Barracks had

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<sup>64</sup> Drink up Please, p. 3.

<sup>65</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 15 and 22 April 1848.

been provided with a small library housed in a wooden hut, which was well stocked with over 1,600 books, periodicals and newspapers.<sup>67</sup> Entertainment was also provided within the barracks: a theatre put on plays for both military and civilian audiences. Auckland's first theatre was constructed in 1844 and consisted of a room on the second storey of a building owned by Messrs. Brown and Campbell. It was situated in Shortland Crescent, a short distance away from the Barracks entrance.<sup>68</sup> Due to its size the military theatre was used more frequently. In 1851, for example, plays included 'Benefit of a Widow', 'Man about Town' and the 'Blind Boy'.<sup>69</sup> Besides the theatre, the garrison also held open days for the general public.

The New Zealander reported on one such event in April 1847. The Commanding Officer of the 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment, Lieutenant Colonel Gold, had given his men a day's amusement on the grounds of Albert Barracks. The paper commented that, due to the fine weather, there was a large civilian turnout to watch the day's proceedings. The Governor and his wife were present and many other guests were greeted by senior officers and assorted gentry. The sports day consisted of foot and hurdle racing, commencing at 1.30 p.m. and concluding at 5.30 p.m. The paper listed the winners in each event:

1<sup>st</sup> flat race, ¼ mile, 1<sup>st</sup> Private John More, 2<sup>nd</sup> Corporal Sands.

2<sup>nd</sup> flat race, 1-8<sup>th</sup> mile, 1<sup>st</sup> Private James Moran, 2<sup>nd</sup> William Riley.

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<sup>66</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 19, 21, and 22 April 1854.

<sup>67</sup> PRO, WO334/57, Health Returns for the 18<sup>th</sup> Regiment. All the medical reports attest that all soldiers partook of some form of recreation.

<sup>68</sup> Platts, Lively Capital, p. 84.

<sup>69</sup> PRO, CO213/9, Southern Cross, 4 July 1851.

3<sup>rd</sup> flat race, 100 yards, 1<sup>st</sup> Private William Hunter, 2<sup>nd</sup> Alex Gracey.

Hurdle race, 200 yards, 1<sup>st</sup> private John Moore, 2<sup>nd</sup> Joseph Tidswell.

Sack race, 100 yards, 1<sup>st</sup> Private James Bannon, 2<sup>nd</sup> Drummer James Doran.

Wheelbarrow race, 100 yards, 1<sup>st</sup> Private Patrick Jingling 2<sup>nd</sup> James Noble.

Quoits, Quartermaster-Sergeant Henshaw and Orderly- room Clerk G Gray.

Wrestling, Corporal J. Toole and Private Christopher Cuff.<sup>70</sup>

The prizes were awarded by the Colonel and his Officers and, according to the paper, 'the men dispersed highly delighted with their day's amusements'.

During its time in Auckland, the regimental band of the 58<sup>th</sup> played at St Paul's during a Sunday service. This seemed to have upset many of the congregation as the band had replaced the normal organ music. One church goer commented:

On Sunday last to my great surprise, Sir, the band of the 58<sup>th</sup> regt. Performed at the periods usually devoted during the service to psalmody: thus superseding the use of the organ, and preventing the congregation from joining in this most solemn, and enjoined part of public worship.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> PRO, CO213/11, New Zealander, 10 April 1847.

The editor of the New Zealander agreed that organ music was sufficient for the Sunday service.

The following year, the 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment was posted to Wellington and replaced in Auckland by the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment. This regiment, along with a party of Royal Artillery, were required to maintain order and help in the recovery of property not damaged in a fire, which engulfed Government House on Friday 23 June 1848. Owing to their speed in response and the close proximity of the building to the barracks, most of the Governor's library and furniture as well as papers from the Private and Native Secretary's offices were saved.<sup>72</sup> The New Zealander stated that 'within an hour the entire structure, with the exception of the chimneys, was burnt to the ground'. The 58<sup>th</sup> and the Royal Artillery were not required to act as firemen since Auckland did not possess a fire engine to halt the spread of the fire, which had originated from the butler's room. During the interim, while the building was re-built, the Governor stayed at General Pitt's house.<sup>73</sup>

This was not the first instance of soldiers acting as firemen. In 1845, men of the 96<sup>th</sup> did so, according to The New Zealander, when:

on Tuesday evening last the inhabitants of Auckland were alarmed by a fire breaking out, at the slaughter house and premises of Mr Buckland in Albert Street. The quantity of fat on the premises occasioned for a time, great flames, threatening much danger to the

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<sup>71</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 24 February 1846.

<sup>72</sup> PRO, CO213/12, New Zealander, 24 June 1848.

surrounding houses. The soldiers of the 96<sup>th</sup> were quickly on the spot, and with the exertions of the other inhabitants, prevented any extension of damage beyond Mr Buckland's own premises.<sup>74</sup>

Another incident involved the local militia force:

on Friday afternoon the house between the government house and cemetery in which the weaving of the native flax had been carried on at great expense of his Excellency, was burnt to the ground, and all the machinery destroyed. The Militia were at the time on drill, near the block-house, under Captain Atkins, who, on observing smoke issuing from the premises, proceeded with his men most promptly to the spot. Sergeant Harnett 58<sup>th</sup> drill sergeant to the Militia, and some privates rushed into the burning mass, and succeeded in rescuing several boxes containing money and personal property.<sup>75</sup>

A letter to the editor of the New Zealander much later in 1853, raised as to whether the earlier fire at the Government House had been deliberate since no one had ever been caught, and other public buildings had also been fired.<sup>76</sup>

The regiments stationed at Auckland were also required on occasions to provide due civic pomp. Graham Dominy argues, in the case of Fort Napier in

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<sup>73</sup> PRO, CO213/12, New Zealander, 24 June 1848.

<sup>74</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 7 June 1845.

<sup>75</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 12 July 1845.

<sup>76</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 30 March 1853.

Natal, that pageantry hid the Colonial authorities' weakness in suppressing the indigenous African population. Dominy suggests 'the same could be said of the many military ceremonies, church parades, colonel's inspections, colour parades, all of which reinforced military codes of behaviour, regimental identity and group loyalty'.<sup>77</sup> If Dominy's argument is applied to the Imperial Regiments posted to Auckland then the argument is valid to a point. The few reported occasions on which the army was publicly paraded were as honour guards to the new Governors, or as escorts for funeral processions. Auckland, however, did not have the same problems which were encountered in Pietermaritzburg and, consequently, when the army was paraded it was not used to overawe the indigenous population.

In the case of half yearly inspections, which the public was invariably invited to attend, the New Zealander provided an insight into that in 1849:

This Military Spectacle underwent a double representation on Saturday last; the performers, in the morning, being the 58<sup>th</sup> regiment, equipped in light marching order, and the same gallant corps, with the Royal Artillery, in heavy order, in the afternoon. His Excellency [Pitt] appeared to enjoy the display quite as much as any one, encouraging the Rutlanders to throw a little more spirit into their second charge than that which they had exhibited in their first. To which they duly obliged.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Dominy, 'Imperial Garrison', pp. 174 and 176

<sup>78</sup> PRO, CO213/12, New Zealander, 3 January 1849.



This exercise was not to puff out the Imperial chest, but to show the public how disciplined regiments were in simulated battle conditions. In essence, it was to demonstrate how the regiments were providing protection for the colony. Other instances of the military exhibiting a public face occurred in 1850, when a monument was erected to honour the dead of the 99<sup>th</sup> Regiment. Colonel Despard, Major Ainsworth and other officers of the garrison laid the first stone of this monument, which was designed by Mr A. Dawson of the Royal Engineers, who intended the monument to be 60' high. The cost of the monument was found by subscription amongst the men and officers of the 99<sup>th</sup> Regiment and, according to the *Southern Cross*, 'when completed it will be a ornament to the locality'.<sup>79</sup> When the Lieutenant Governor, Major General Pitt, died, the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment provided the funeral cortege. Pitt's body was taken from his home and, as this occurred, the guns at Fort Britomart began to fire a salute in Pitt's honour; the procession passed Albert Barracks towards the cemetery. Pitt was buried with full military honours near to the grave of the first Governor of New Zealand, Captain Hobson.<sup>80</sup> The only other form of perceived military pageantry, was the weekly regimental band performance, which took place twice a week during the summer within the grounds of Government House. These concerts would last for two hours with music ranging from Strauss to Rossini.<sup>81</sup>

The longevity of the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment's time in Auckland meant that the band performances became an integral part of the social life of the citizens of Auckland. When in 1855 the regiment was withdrawn, the New Zealander

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<sup>79</sup> PRO, CO213/9, Southern Cross, 9 July 1850.

<sup>80</sup> PRO, CO213/9, Southern Cross, 10 January 1851.

wrote an eloquent appreciation of the regiment and, in particular, the regimental band's performances:

The weekly performances of the band of the 58<sup>th</sup> which for the last eight or nine years, have regaled the visitors of the government domain were brought to a close on Thursday. In all human probability, it will never again be the lot of any of the present inhabitants of Auckland to listen to the sweet sounds so long discoursed by the 58<sup>th</sup> and which were wont to cheer so many of their summer afternoons. We almost regret that we should not have been forewarned of the termination of these long familiar, but too little appreciated open air concerts, in order that we might have enabled to take a formal farewell of the able musicians who have ministered to our enjoyment and in so many ways, contributed to the limited entertainments of our city. At our balls they have been indispensable. At our concerts they have invariably occupied an honourable and prominent place. And our public dinners they have conferred an interest upon the entertainments which without them would have been deprived of much of their effect. As far as the concerts in the domain are concerned we can only thank the band for the gratification afforded us in times past; wishing them all happiness and honour in whatever quarter their Queen and country may require their services.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> All the Newspapers carried a schedule of the weekly band performances.

<sup>82</sup> PRO, CO213/15, New Zealander, 19 May 1855.

As in the case of other regiments in Auckland, the 58<sup>th</sup>, too, had acted as fire wardens, working alongside the newly formed fire brigade and assisting either by providing crowd control or men to help quell the fire.<sup>83</sup> The 58<sup>th</sup> prevented one serious fire in Shortland Street, when a shop owned by Mr W. S. Grahame burst into flames. The regiment, which had been marching back to Albert Barracks, returned with an engine to pump water into the fire. The intensity of the fire meant that the soldiers were also using the beach front and a nearby river to provide enough water to quell the fire. The soldiers were hampered in their attempts to halt the fire due to the tide being out. To stop the fire spreading, wet blankets were thrown on the surrounding buildings to prevent them catching fire. It was finally brought under control at midnight; the damages were in the region of £10,000.<sup>84</sup>

Similarly, during March 1855, the 58<sup>th</sup> and the Royal Artillery, were called upon to stop a number of fires spreading through Auckland. Of the documented instances, a French polisher's shop was deliberately set on fire, while the auctioneering building of Connell and Ridings caught fire after a cigar was thrown into a box. In both cases minor damage was caused to the buildings.<sup>85</sup> W. S. Grahame was so impressed by the services of the 58<sup>th</sup> and RA in saving his establishment that he raised a subscription, which both parties declined, although taking a percentage of the monies given as administration charges for returning the money to the donors.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> PRO, CO213/15, New Zealander, 28 March 1855.

<sup>84</sup> PRO, CO213/10, Southern Cross, 9 December 1854.

<sup>85</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 14 and 28 March 1855.

<sup>86</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 20 January 1855.

During May an annual holiday celebration was held in Auckland and the regiments stationed in Albert Barracks provided a military display for the town's population. The New Zealander again invariably provided a report on each year's proceedings. In 1855, for example, shortly after 11 a.m., the troops of the garrison began to assemble in the following order: Royal Artillery under Captain Travers, a detachment of Sapper and Miners, the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment under Major Nugent, with the 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment providing the rear guard. The assembled crowd was in the region of between 1,500 to 2,000 and was given a display of trooping the Colour. The crowd was also treated to a display of artillery practice and musketry. The day culminated with the troops marching past Colonel Wynyard in quick and slow time and, after giving a general salute, ending the proceedings.<sup>87</sup>

Social interaction between the military and civilian population was not restricted to tattoos or band performances, there were also balls. These balls provided a means for officers and the colonial elite to interact. Colonel Wynyard was a keen advocate of balls and, according to Una Platts, 'seemed to have the means to entertain in a lavishly hospitable manner'.<sup>88</sup> Wynyard during his stay in Auckland regularly entertained the town's population and officers at his residence with fancy dress and other balls. During the course of the year many other balls were held either in the Masonic Hall or Auckland's now numerous hotels.

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<sup>87</sup> PRO, CO213/15, New Zealander, 26 May 1855.

<sup>88</sup> Platts, Lively Capital, p. 154.

The size of the barracks ground and its relative flatness made it an ideal area to play cricket. Cricket brought Aucklanders, ordinary soldiers, and officers together to face a common foe. The most successful civilian club was the Albion; on many occasions, it met and, in some case, defeated regimental teams. The newspapers would invariably publish the scores of these matches. On one occasion, the 65<sup>th</sup> Regiment was beaten by the Albion by 91 runs to 88.<sup>89</sup> During the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment's tour of duty, the regiment publicly challenged the Albion Club to a return match for 'a prize of bat and ball' by placing an advertisement in the Southern Cross. After being beaten previously by 140 runs to 94, the Albion accepted the re-match but again lost to the 58<sup>th</sup>. The final score was not published but the paper stated that, 'the civilians will not permit them to repose in undisputed possession of their laurels'.<sup>90</sup> The fanaticism with which the regiments and civilians played cricket was shown by how the regiment garrisoned at the Albert Barracks cared for the ground. The Southern Cross in 1856 showed the lengths that were taken to achieve the perfect pitch:

The military cricket club, preparatory to the sports of next season, have displayed much industry and perseverance in the construction of the cricket ground. In a space 63 yards long, by 15 broad, the sods have been carefully raised and the ground underneath levelled; the sods then replaced and the surface rolled over by a heavy iron roller. The result has been a fine level sward, large enough for a full field, and admirably adapted to the manly sport for which it is designed. It will no

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<sup>89</sup> PRO, CO213/11, New Zealander, 13 February 1847.

doubt be the scene during the ensuing and future seasons, of many a well contested match.<sup>91</sup>

Sport provided a means to mingle with the general population and, in doing so, showed that soldiers could interact without drink being involved.

Colonial politics was also an area in which the more politically minded officers became involved. Lieut. Colonel Wynyard was no exception and, during the period of transition between Grey and Gore Browne, had acted as a temporary Governor until Browne's arrival in September 1855.<sup>92</sup> It was also during Wynyard's term of office that the General Assembly met for the first time. Wynyard continued to play a key role in local politics and was re-elected on several occasions as Lieut. Governor. The Southern Cross, for reasons which are unclear, was against Wynyard running for this post, going as far to print the names of all the men of the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment who had voted for him, as well as the civilians who had sided with him to run for the Civil Superintendent's post.<sup>93</sup> Wynyard had the right to allow soldiers 'elective franchise' through residing a certain time out of barracks, or to hinder them from leaving barracks during polling time. It was entirely at the discretion of Wynyard.<sup>94</sup> The apparent smear campaign was unsuccessful and Wynyard duly took up his new position. This vendetta against Wynyard lasted for four

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<sup>90</sup> PRO, CO213/10, Southern Cross, 18 February 1853.

<sup>91</sup> ATL, Southern Cross, 29 July 1856.

<sup>92</sup> Gibson, Maori Wars, p. 71.

<sup>93</sup> PRO, CO213/10, Southern Cross, July 1853.

<sup>94</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 1853.

weeks during the period of electioneering in Auckland. Wynyard held this post for a period of three years, tendering his resignation in 1855.<sup>95</sup>

Wynyard was clearly popular with the Aucklanders, who named a pier after him.<sup>96</sup> The New Zealander described the pomp and circumstance in which Wynyard excelled:

The Previous Wednesday being Queen Victoria's birthday a ball was held in her honour, although the weather was not good it rained for most of the day. The Royal Artillery discharged a twenty one gun salute from Point Britomart at noon this was followed by feu de joie by the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment which had previously been assembled in review order in the square of the Albert Barracks. At two o'clock his Excellency Colonel Wynyard, as Officer administering the Government, held a levee at the council chambers where his Excellency was received by a guard of honour of the 58<sup>th</sup> regiment, under the command of Captain Cooper. This was followed in the evening by a ball, which was attended by upwards of 400 people. The band of the 58<sup>th</sup> played and many new polkas, gallops were introduced by his Excellency.<sup>97</sup>

Wynyard's reasons for entering politics may have been to better himself in society in the eventuality of a return to Britain. A career in politics was certainly a respectable achievement for an officer leaving the forces.

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<sup>95</sup> PRO, CO213/15, New Zealander, 20 January 1855.

<sup>96</sup> PRO, CO213/15, New Zealander, 1855.

In relation to the military presence Auckland's population had continued to expand. With the discovery of gold on the South Island the population in Auckland reached a figure of 20,000. With prospectors using Auckland as a staging post before departing for the town of Dunedin located on the South Island, this also necessitated a military presence to be sent there to maintain peace.<sup>98</sup>

It might be argued that growing communities need some focus as a means of developing a common interest. This was achieved in Auckland through horse racing and the Auckland Regatta, in both of which the military participated. Officers at Otahuhu certainly hunted. Indeed, New Zealand was no exception in terms of a pastime generally associated with officers. Officers encamped at Otahuhu had begun to organise hunts to while away the time. These usually were held on private land. It is not clear what they actually hunted but wild pigs seem the most likely quarry. The Otahuhu hunts were a regular occurrence until the regiments withdrew from New Zealand.<sup>99</sup>

Other officers turned their attention to horse racing, instigating what was to become known as the 'Garrison Cup', the prize being the Garrison Plate. This also became a regular feature of the Auckland scene until the last regiments were withdrawn in 1870. In 1848 the officers named horses and riders on the day.<sup>100</sup> In the following years this was not allowed with the newspapers

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<sup>97</sup> PRO, CO213/14, New Zealander, 1855.

<sup>98</sup> PRO, WO334/36, Health Returns for Regiments serving in New Zealand, 1868.

<sup>99</sup> ATL, New Zealand Herald, 3 February 1866.

<sup>100</sup> PRO, CO213/12, New Zealander, 1848,



naming the riders three weeks before the event took place. In 1852 three officers of the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment were named on the Auckland Race Committee, with Wynyard being the patron.<sup>101</sup> Horse racing provided Aucklanders and the military with a day of rest and relaxation.

By contrast the Regatta did not attract as much attention from the military. These annual boats races were held in the Waitemata Harbour, with the local inhabitants racing each other in different classes of boats. Captain Parrett of the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment was the only listed military person to be on the committee in 1850 and he took part in the event.<sup>102</sup> Military personnel may have not been involved in the Auckland Regatta but Fort Britomart played an important role in the racing. In 1853, for example, the guns of the Fort were fired 30 minutes before the first race was held. However, if the guns were not heard then the races had been postponed.<sup>103</sup> These events were not discontinued when the troops were withdrawn and many successfully continue to the present day.

There were also other occasions for competition. In January 1853, The New Zealander published a report of a foot race between the military and the town's population:

A foot race for £5 a side distance 300 yards came off on Saturday morning in the Albert barracks. The competitors were James Sheehan a carter and Charles Hoare belonging to the military. The ground was

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<sup>101</sup> PRO, CO213/13, New Zealander, 1850; *ibid.*, CO213/14, New Zealander, 1853.

<sup>102</sup> PRO, CO213/13, New Zealander, 1850.

measured off from the post used for metrological observations to the eastern entrance of the barrack square. The men had a fair start, but Sheehan soon shot ahead and came in the winner by at least 12 paces.<sup>104</sup>

This was not normal military practice but it helped alleviate boredom in the barracks.

Regiments also remembered soldiers who had left the service and settled in New Zealand and, through ill health, had passed away. Though not as elaborate as the ceremonial of Pitt's funeral, when soldiers died they were still given a full military burial. Examples of this are seen in the local papers:

Died on Friday 10<sup>th</sup> Mr Pilkington late barrack serjeant at Auckland.  
His remains were interred with military honours on Sunday last.

Similarly:

#### Military funeral

We are requested to state that various members of the different corps in the garrison purpose attending the funeral of Mr George Sellers formally of the 58<sup>th</sup> and lately of the armed police force, as a mark of

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<sup>103</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 26<sup>th</sup> January 1853.

<sup>104</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 15<sup>th</sup> August 1864.

respect to the deceased and on account of his daughter being married to private Kane of the 65<sup>th</sup>.<sup>105</sup>

Marriages were also mentioned sporadically, the most notable being that of the DACG, Philip Turner, who married Catherine Victor, the daughter of the CRE, Captain Marlow, in August 1864.<sup>106</sup>

1869 saw a royal visitor when the Duke of Edinburgh undertook a tour of the islands. A ball was held in his honour at Fort Britomart. All the necessary preparations were undertaken to ensure that Auckland shone when the Duke visited:

The preparations at the ball room in Fort Britomart are rapidly approaching completion, the promenade is roofed and walled in a manner that will render it waterproof. The gas is laid on and the burners are in their places. The decorators are at work on the heavy ties beams, covering them with white paper, which very much relieves the previous sombreness of the room. The orchestral arrangements are in progress, and during our visit men were busy in all directions in pushing on the work. One great advantage the ball room in Fort Britomart possesses is that it stands on its own grounds, which by a little exertion may be kept clear of the numbers that otherwise would be besieging the doors of the building, hoping to get a peep, through

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<sup>105</sup> ATL, New Zealander for 1847 and 1845.

the slightest chink or cranny of our illustrious guest. The committee, we are informed are sanguine of a success in everyway. The sale of their tickets is progressing most satisfactorily and they have reason to anticipate by far the largest attendance that will have ever been known on any occasion in this our city of Auckland.<sup>107</sup>

There was one other service provided by the garrison that should be mentioned and is implicit in the role of Fort Britomart's guns in starting regatta races. Like Fort Napier in Pietermaritzburg, or the celebrated 'Noon Day Gun' at Hong Kong, there is some evidence that Britomart's guns were used to signal the time of day at either noon or 8 p.m. The first reference to this is in 1842, in a letter to the Auckland Standard:

The inhabitants of Auckland have hitherto been much inconvenienced by the want of a public clock. To remedy this defect, a large gun has been mounted at the Barracks, which punctually at eight o'clock each evening will open its brazen throat and give us a warning of the time. The admirers of punctuality will then have an opportunity of regulating their time with all the precision formerly obtained by a visit to the HORSE GUARDS. We believe the public have to thank the gallant Major [Bunbury] who commands the troops, for this polite attention to their convenience; but whoever may have merit of suggesting the plan, is in the possession hereby of the best thanks of the citizens.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 20 June 1846.

The next indication was in 1848 when 'Tempus' raised the question of a time piece or the firing of a gun to signal the time. Some 11 years later, Colonel Mould approached The New Zealander asking whether the Aucklanders preferred apparent or mean time. The paper commented:

We announced the other day that a black ball is now hoisted, and let drop, at twelve o'clock precisely each week day at Fort Britomart; but omitted to remind our readers that the time given would be 'apparent' or the sun's time, and not the corresponding 'mean time' or the time which is shown by the clock, and the various differences of about ten minutes between apparent and mean time.<sup>110</sup>

Mould suggested that whichever of the two times Auckland preferred, he would adapt the system to accommodate this. In the event, they chose apparent over mean time.

To conclude, this chapter has shown that the military played an important role in the social life of the capital with officers and the regimental band being used to provide a public face on many civic occasions. This public face of the army was welcomed by the inhabitants of Auckland and the instances of military crime affecting the wider population were negligible. Indeed, crime was low in proportion to Britain and, as stated before, it was only a small minority who were likely to give regiments a bad reputation. The available evidence shows that military crime in Auckland was of a minor nature. The

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<sup>107</sup> ATL, New Zealand Herald, 10 May 1869.

<sup>109</sup> APL, Auckland Standard, 22 August 1842.

majority of cases brought before the courts martial consisted of desertion, drunk while on duty, robbery. There were also cases of mutiny, or charges brought against other officers.<sup>108</sup> Punishment for offences in the majority of cases consisted of flogging, transportation and gaol that were deemed sufficient, unlike those highlighted by Roger Buckley in the West Indies.<sup>109</sup> However, what cannot be ascertained is how high or low military crime was in relation to civilian offences. Due to the scarcity of primary evidence, indeed, the only civilian source available shows that Auckland had a high crime rate during a period of low military activity.<sup>110</sup>

Auckland had a good working relationship with the military posted there and its regiments provided the 'pomp and circumstance' that the colony needed to enhance its status within the Empire.

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<sup>110</sup> ATL, New Zealander, 16 December 1848 and 19 January 1859.

<sup>108</sup> P. 258.

<sup>109</sup> P. 257.

<sup>110</sup> P. 263.

It has been demonstrated that, initially, the British government was reluctant to station regiments in New Zealand. The intention was to send them across from New South Wales as and when necessary. The main drawback with this was that, in the time taken to send troops, there was a possibility of a wide scale massacre of the settler population in the event of a native uprising. The policy changed almost immediately with the outbreak of hostilities against Hone Heke. Subsequently, the only real massacre of whites resulted from the heavy handed approach by members of the New Zealand Company at Wairau in 1858, which resulted in 22 European lives being lost in retaliation for the death of Te Rangihaeata's wife, who was shot in an initial exchange of fire.<sup>1</sup>

Auckland gained from the military presence that continued until 1870.

Perhaps the most important sector of the population to gain were small to medium businesses such as grocers, butchers, and builders due to the Commissariat Department's policy of publicly tendering through the newspapers for supplies, and the construction of barracks and other military buildings. For some, the military presence represented a quick profit. For the majority of the establishments in Auckland, however, the Commissariat contracts provided a regular income. Some shops circumvented the Commissariat by supplying directly to regiments, using this to attract more civilian business by advertising the fact in the provincial papers. The Commissariat itself was prone to very public mistakes, with cases of favouritism and the wastage of provisions during campaigns. If letters to

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<sup>1</sup> Paul Moon, FitzRoy: Governor in Crisis, 1843-1845 (Auckland: David Ling Publishing, 2000), p. 82.

editors are to be believed, the Commissariat was as inefficient in New Zealand as in the Crimea. However, this was not the case. Mistakes were made but they were quickly and efficiently put right and were on the whole isolated cases. The Commissariat routinely disposed of surplus stock, using the many auction houses that had opened in Auckland. This had a two-fold effect of generating revenue for the department and allowing miscellaneous items such as horses, biscuits, and carts to be bought by the general public. To some extent, assessment of the economic impact of the garrison must be speculative in the absence of readily available figures on the civilian economy as a whole. At the very least, however, the Commissariat allowed many businesses to prosper past a period when they might otherwise have become bankrupt due to the lack of other trade within Auckland's environs.

The other 'face' of the Commissariat was to count the cost of maintaining the Imperial regiments in New Zealand, and in some cases publicly highlight any concerns over the use of them. Thus, in 1866, it was argued that in the Wanganui campaign it was costing £16,000 per month to keep the army in the field in what was essentially a land grabbing exercise by Sir George Grey. It was suggested that the home government had needlessly wasted money.

Besides the Commissariat involvement within Auckland, civil-military ties were close in sport and general recreation. Cricket was in many respects one sport that broke through class barriers, allowing officers and privates to compete together against local civilian teams. Indeed, some regiments' obsession to win at all costs went as far as removing and relaying the turf on the Albert



Barracks cricket ground in order to ensure that the pitch was perfectly level. This is borne out by the photographic evidence of cricket matches played between the regiments and civilians. Cricket, however, was not the only sport to cross social barriers. Horse racing, hunting and regattas were popular pastimes. The inception of the Garrison Cup, for example, allowed the soldiers and officers to either bet or take part in the yearly horse races, while the committees usually consisted of a cross section of military and civilian personnel. Regiments themselves held annual sports days with foot races and shooting competitions along with trooping the Colour and mock battles.

As in any other town with a large military presence, the main pastime for the average soldier was drinking. Auckland was no different and ale houses, hotels and some brothels were all present in the vicinity of Albert Barracks. Meanwhile, officers held balls, which were well subscribed and frequently written about in the newspapers. Civic ceremony was provided by the military bands, which were used at many functions and regularly provided entertainment within the grounds of the Government House. This socialisation allowed the more wealthy Aucklanders to mingle with the Governor and senior military personnel. The regiments stationed in Auckland also acted as firemen and were utilised on many occasions to assist in halting potentially destructive fires in a town largely consisting of wooden buildings.

Colonial politics allowed some officers to prepare themselves for a potential role in the Westminster Parliament. New Zealand experienced a period when the acting governor was also a high ranking military officer, with Colonel

Wynyard of the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment occupying the position, although many of the provincial papers were opposed, presumably through fear of an abuse of power by someone wielding both civil and military authority simultaneously. In fact, Wynyard's term of office passed without any confrontation with either the Aucklanders or any hostilities with the Maoris. Wynyard's popularity as well as the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment's long posting in Auckland meant that strong civil-military links were formed. Of all the regiments posted to Auckland, the 58<sup>th</sup> was the best remembered.

New Zealand, in comparison with some other colonies, did not experience any severe military disturbances. The majority of the crimes carried out by soldiers in Auckland were 'military' and did not adversely affect civil-military relations. Of those brought before general courts martial or the Supreme Court, many were deserters or thieves. Sentencing was in proportion to the crime. Transportation from New Zealand to Van Diemen's Land or Norfolk Island was the most severe punishment though, in some instances, those transported found conditions in Australia more conducive than the courts had imagined. Minor crimes did not cause any long-term resentment between the town and the garrison. Another reason for the low levels of crime was that New Zealand was the most distant British colony and any ships would have either sailed to Van Diemen's Land or mainland Australia, where the chances of deserters being re-captured were great. The only other option for a fugitive was to head inland. Those tribes loyal to the British would have returned fugitives and taken the reward. If the escapees travelled into the King Country they would have been treated as no better than a slave. Of the deserters who

managed to 'remain at large', Kimble Bent is perhaps the most well known. Unfortunately, the evidence for civil crime is fragmentary, preventing a fuller assessment of how it might compare with the incidence of military crime in Auckland.

Coupled with the low instances of crime and good relations between Aucklanders and the military, New Zealand was also a relatively healthy posting, certainly when compared to other imperial outposts such as the West Indies. The indigenous flora and fauna would not usually pose any threat to health. Indeed, many of the those diseases that could prove fatal if not treated arrived with the regiments, sexually transmitted diseases being perhaps the most prolific. The majority of the wounds received on campaign were treated either in a field hospital or at the main hospital situated within Albert Barracks. Even the positioning of the barracks within Auckland had been carefully thought through. When FitzRoy commissioned the new barracks, prevailing medical thinking included locating the barracks inland in a healthier rather than purely a strategic position. The site itself was large encompassing 23 acres and was designed to keep the soldier healthy. There were no real instances of overcrowding, although some regiments were tented within the grounds. Other military sites including Otahuhu, which consisted of huts and tents, were used as transit camps for regiments on the move.

Though not located with regard to medical opinion, Fort Britomart was also deemed to be healthy. Indeed, the only criticism on the part of Auckland's

population of either barracks was the Albert Barracks drains, which discharged into Queen Street, with no apparent regard for the healthy disposal of waste material. This problem was never fully solved in the 30 years that the barracks were occupied, with sporadic outbreaks of diarrhoea affecting soldiers and civilians alike. Although some improvements were made to the drains, they were never connected to the civilian sewage system. In many respects, this was the only contentious issue between the military and Auckland's population. How far the health of the military personnel may have differed from that of the civilian population as a whole remains a matter for further investigation, requiring examination of civilian health censuses should they be available.

After the imperial regiments had fully withdrawn, Albert Barracks was utilised, firstly, as a grammar school then, secondly, converted into a police station before being demolished and turned into a recreational area.

On the whole, the picture is one of a good working relationship between the military and the population of Auckland. Indeed, it could be argued that, despite the initial reluctance to send troops to New Zealand, from the perspective of both soldiers and civilians, the civil-military relationship was a model one within the Empire.

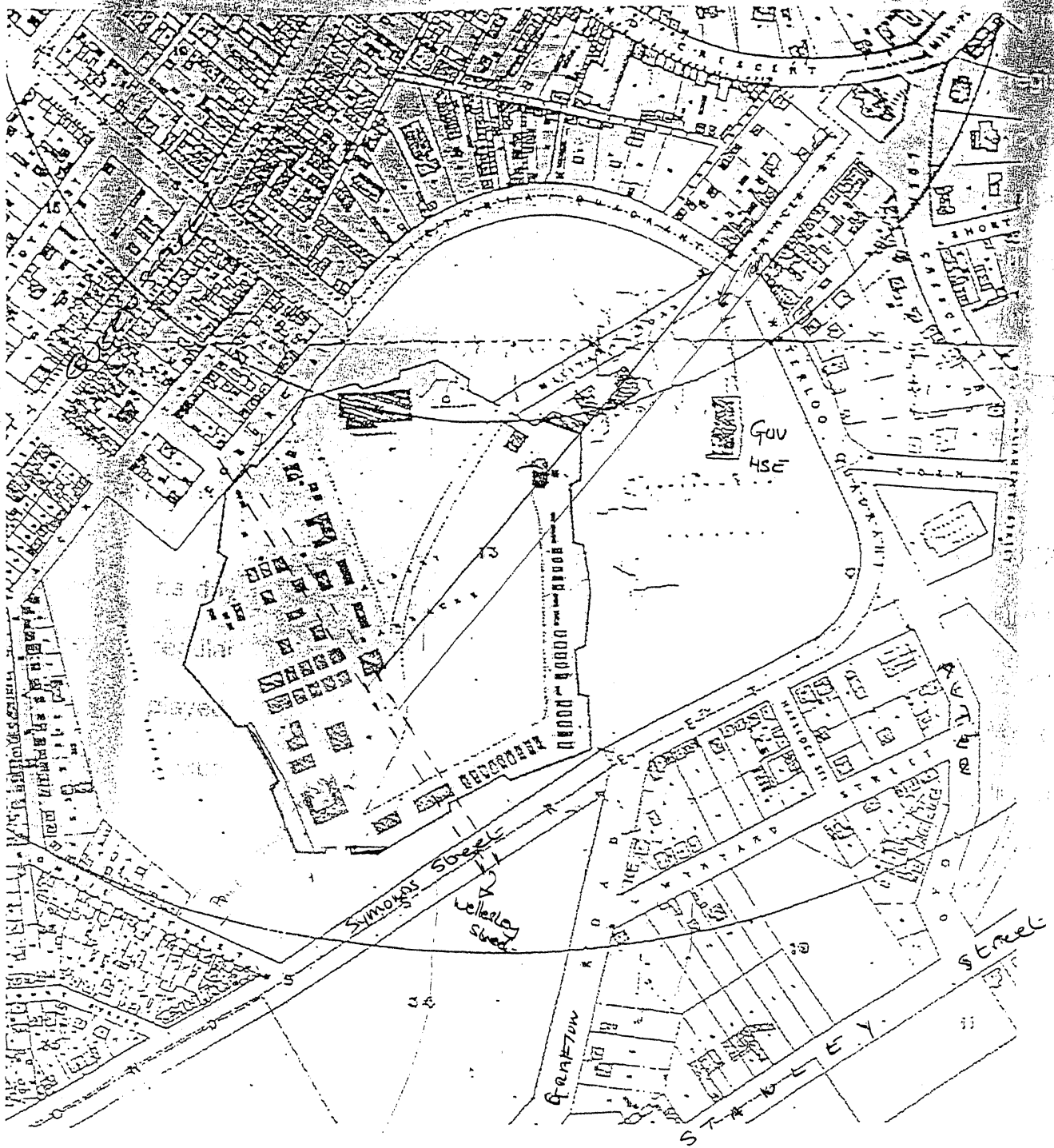
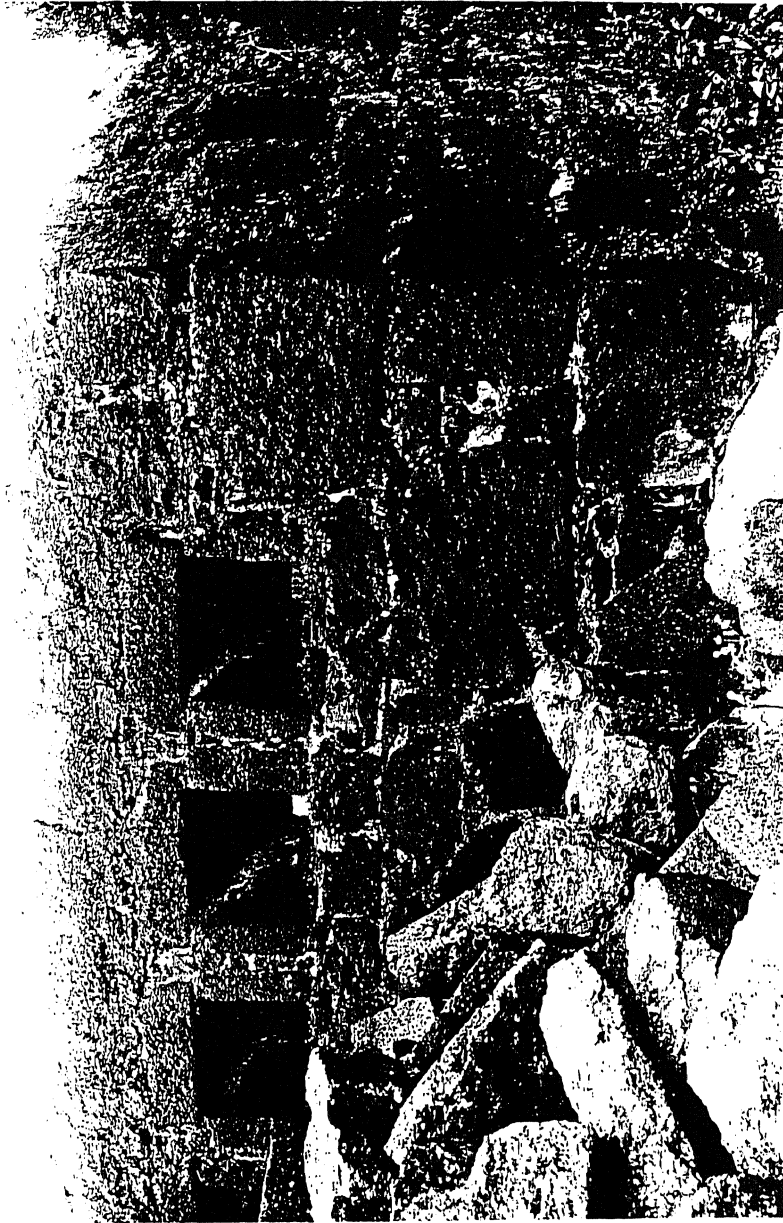
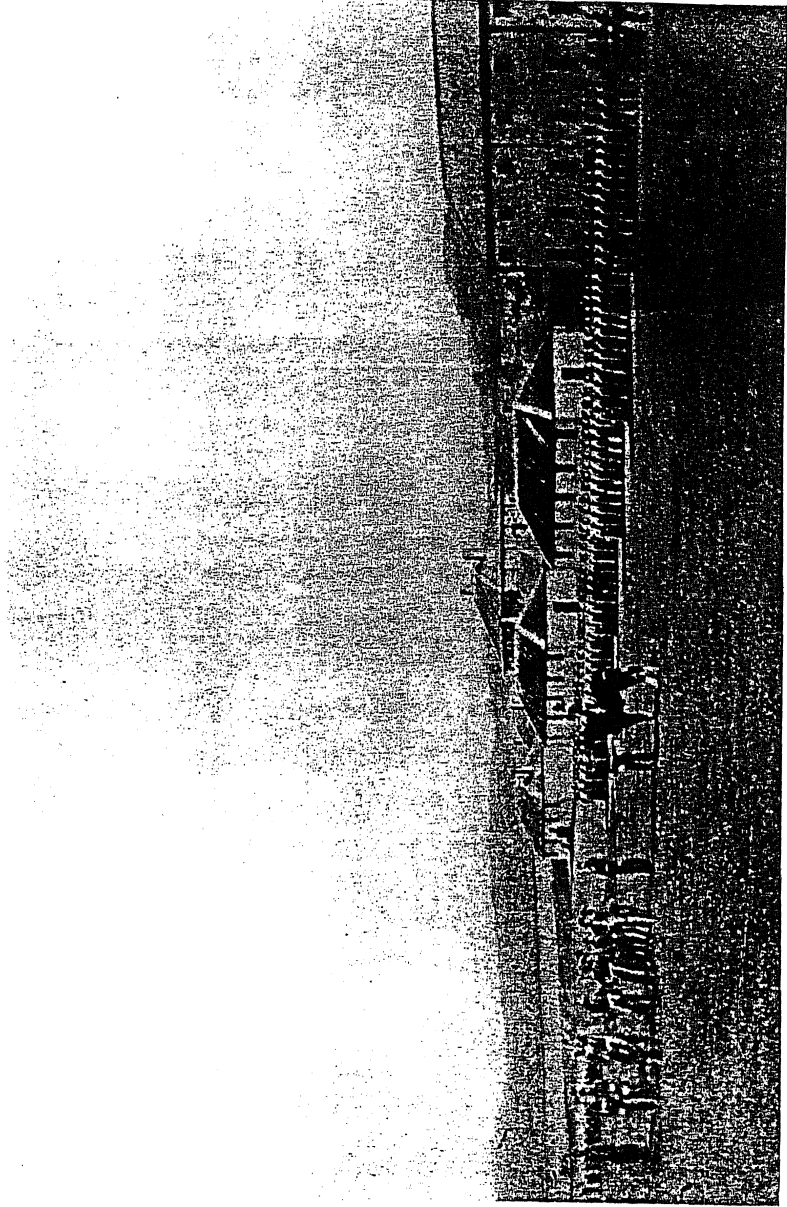


Figure 1. Plan of Albert Barracks (1866) (APL).





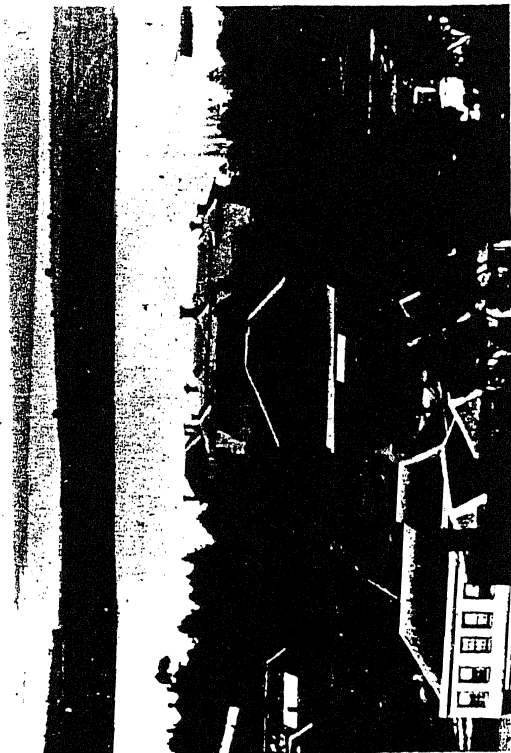








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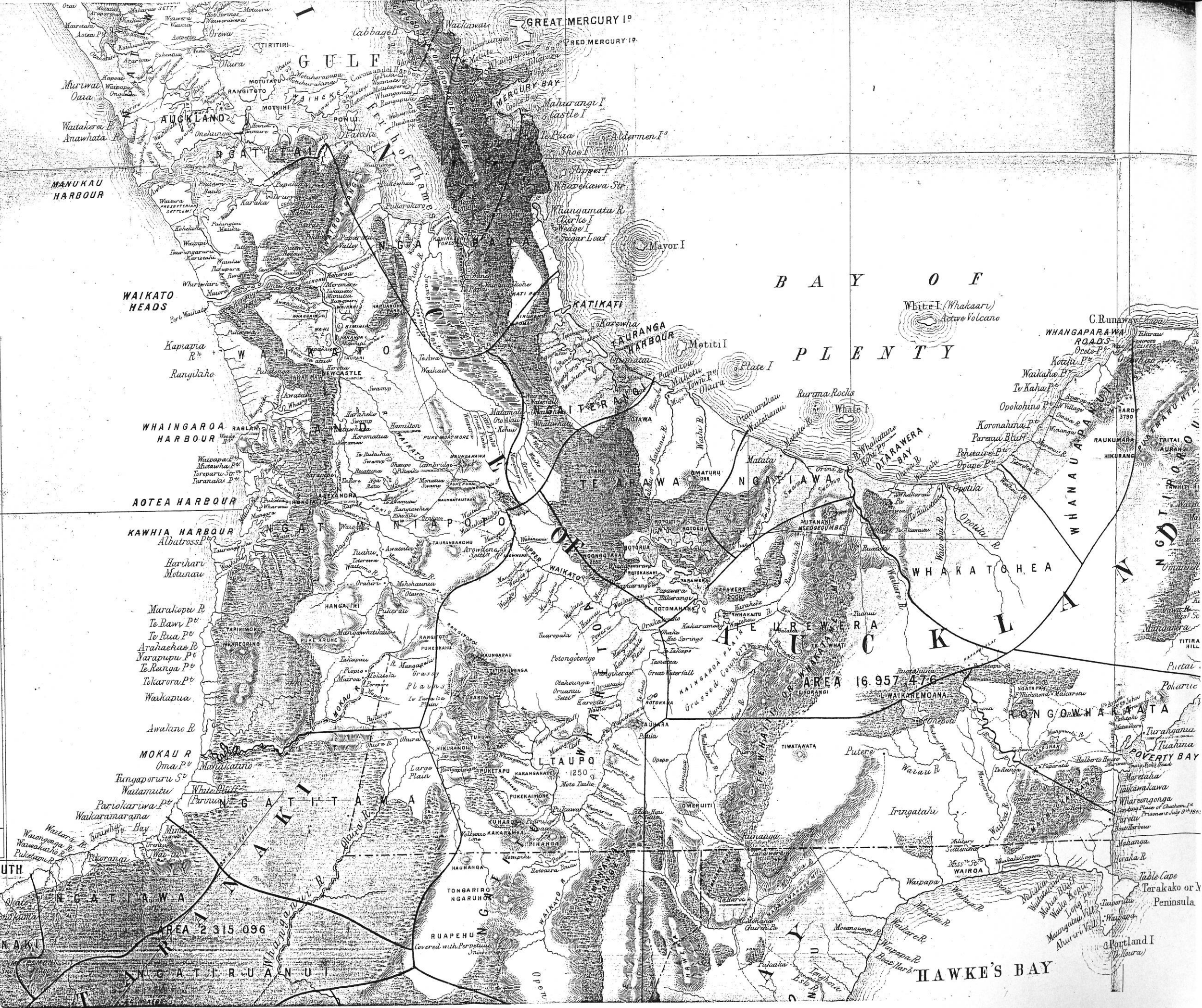
**REFERENCE.**

Boundaries and Names  
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 Do — Green  
 Confiscated Do — Yellow  
 of Armed Constabulary Station underlined, as of Imperial Troops } Patea  
 — Gold Fields —  
 where Rocks are found at the which Gold veins could be expected Coloured Brown  
 Gold has actually been found ○  
 Localities where Gold may be found Red; Dots —

**CONFISCATED LAND.**

Area and Extent of Land Confiscated Acreage

Waikato, including Settlements	about	1 217 437
Waikato, including part of Motiti I set apart for Natives	about	275 800
Bay of Plenty (Opotika) about		440 000
Bay of Plenty Province, about		386 560
Waikato & Wellington Provs (save of original Settlements)	about	1 624 640
<b>Total</b>		<b>3 884 437</b>



**NEW PLYMOUTH**

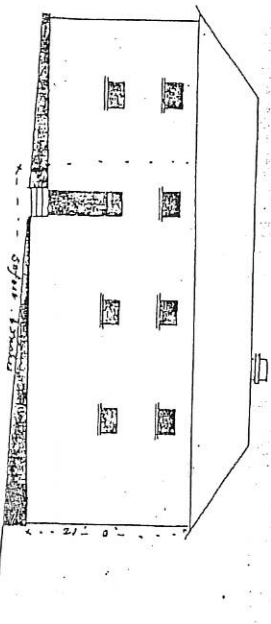
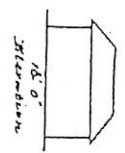
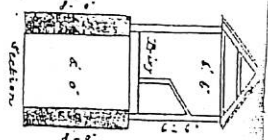
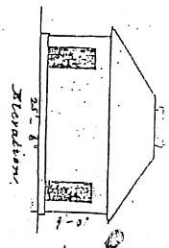
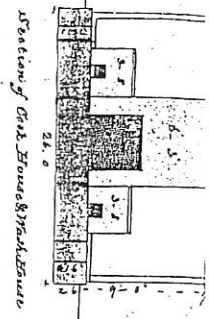
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 Warea

Cape Egmont  
 Whakaturiri  
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 Harriet Bay

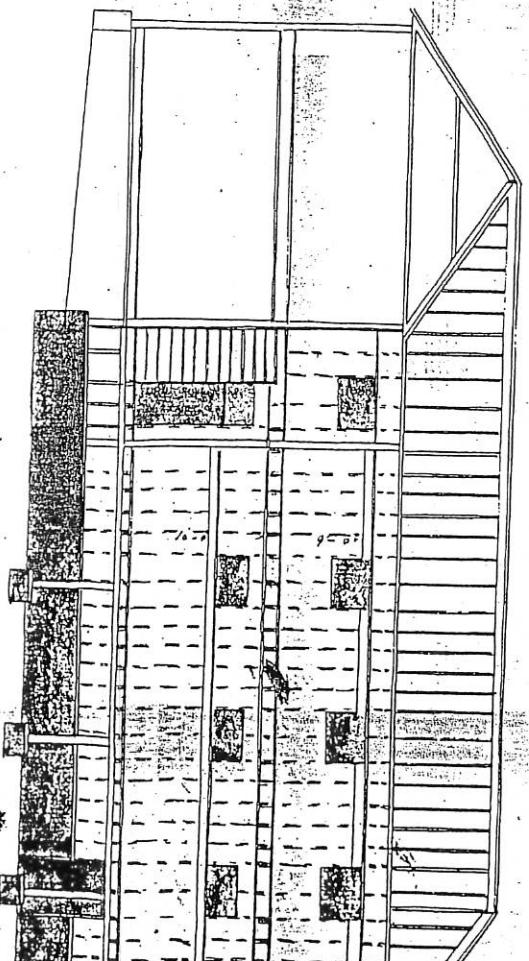
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HAWKE'S BAY

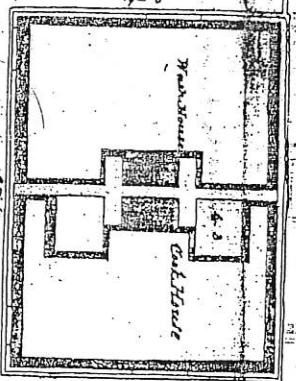
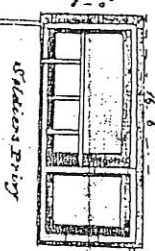




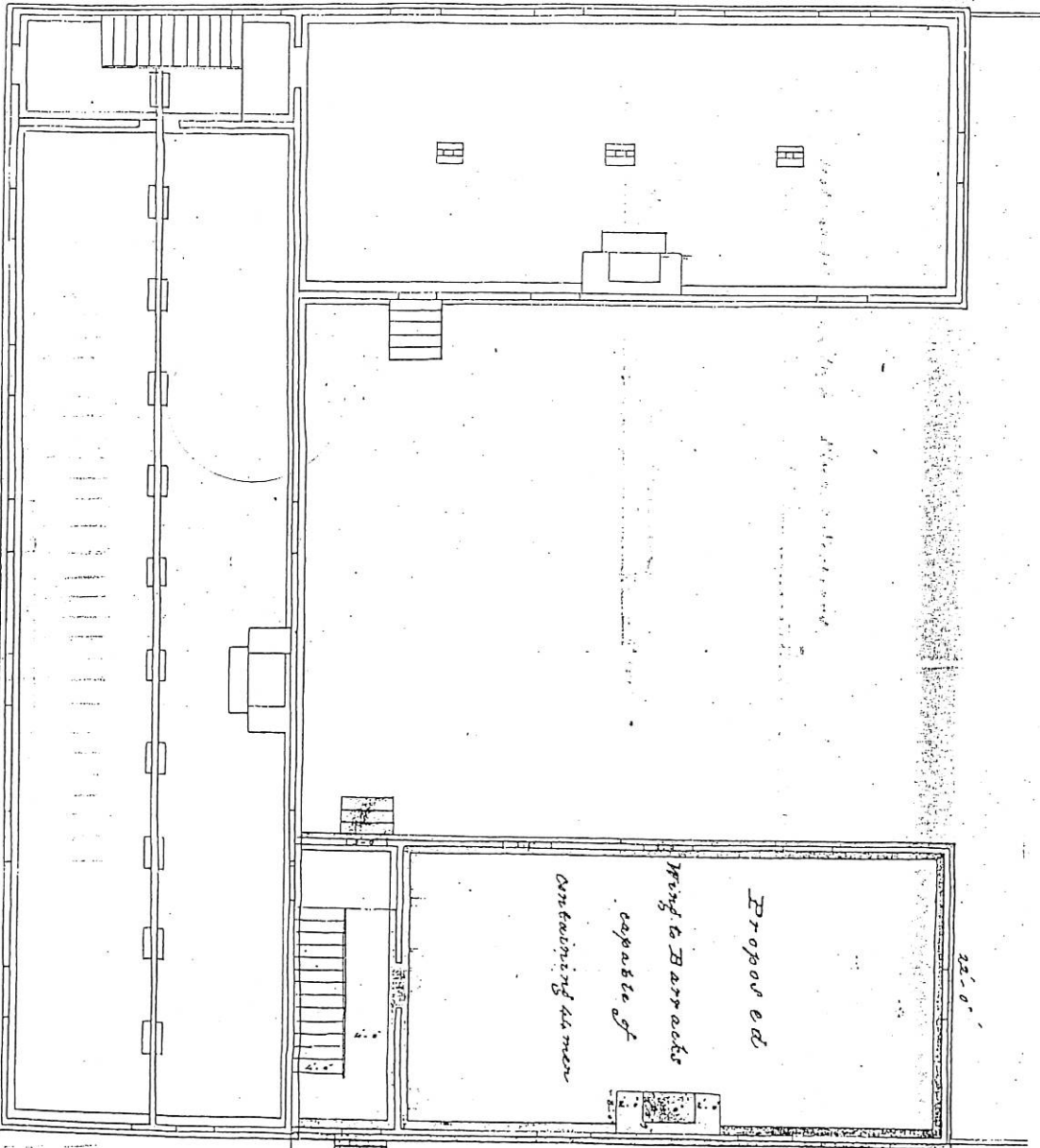
Side Elevation of Barracks



Section of West Wing to Barracks

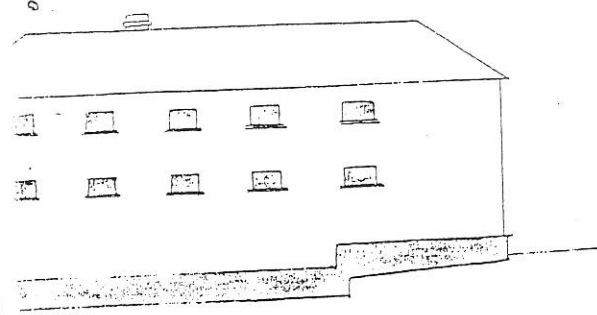


Main House

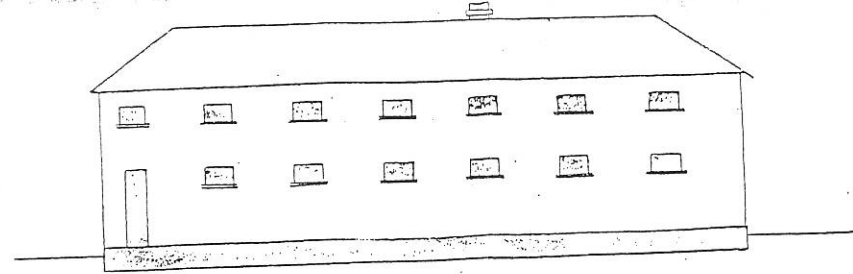


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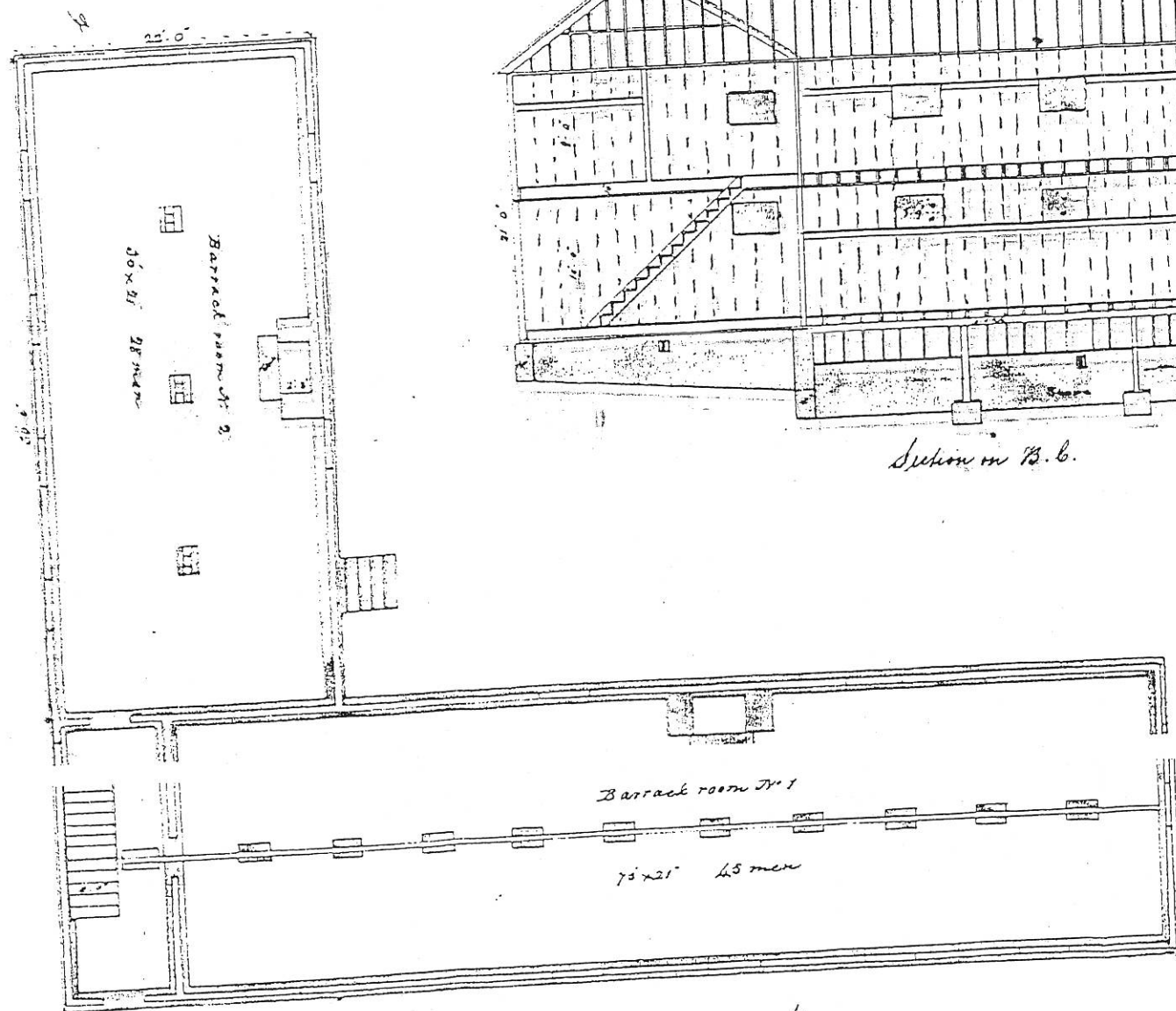
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 Date ...



Elevation of Hodson Barracks. Auckland



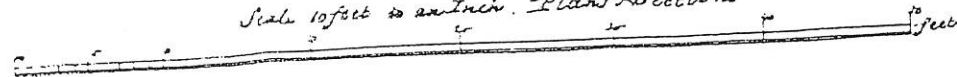
Elevation of Hodson Barracks. Auckland. New Zealand.



Section on B. C.

Plan of Temporary Hodson Barracks.

Scale 1/32nd to architect. Plans & Sections

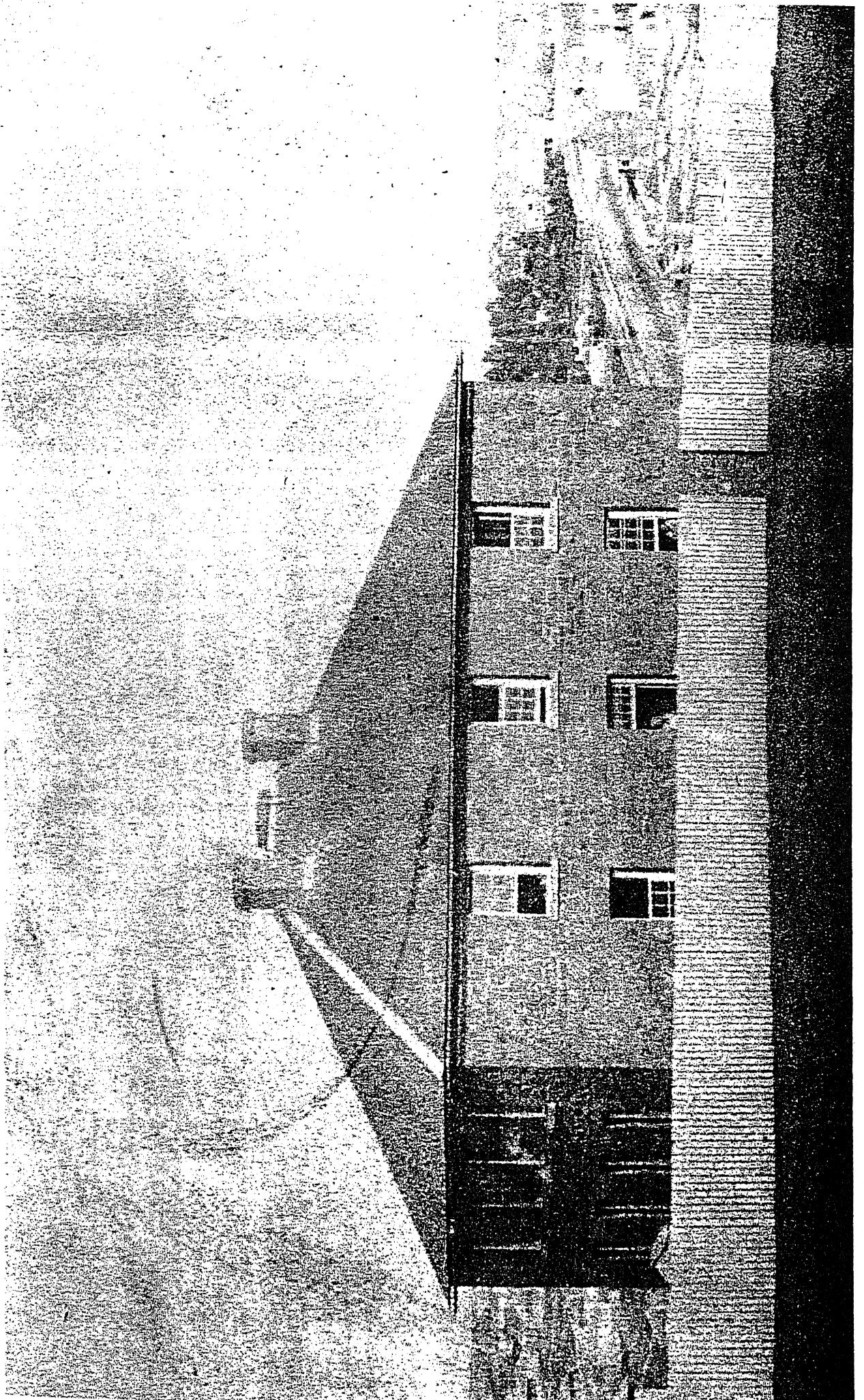




WO/33/16 DQMG journal revised.

Inclosure 6 return showing the quantity of flour issued, to and bread produced at Commissariat Bakeries in New Zealand during the month of June, 1865, in Auckland and May in other provinces. H Stanley Jones dated July 7<sup>th</sup> 1865

Station	Number of bakes	Number of ovens	Flour produced ILBS	Bread produced lbs
Otahuhu	5	2	19,675	25,643
Galloway's Redoubt	1	1	3,070	3990
Waikato heads	1	1	2600	3446
Queens redoubt	2	4	6618	8600
Ngaruawahia	4	2	12953	17,390
Whata Whata	1	1	2598	3410
Rangariri	1	1	3620	4711
Te Rore	3	3	12450	14,889
Te Awamutu	6	6	40,000	55,720
Ranglawhia	1	1	5200	6509
Ohapou	1	1	2400	2807
Raglan	1	2	3300	4300
Thames	1	1	4940	6851
Tauranga	8	4	33,700	46,005
Maketu	2	1	4,800	6512
Patea	10	5	31,900	39,000
Waioitara	2	1	8,000	10,459
Manawapou	5	2	10,650	13,500
Waingongoro	5	2	12,744	16,575
Mahoetahi	1	1	3,400	4420
Te Arai	1	1	1,500	2010
Pukerahu	2	1	2,190	2918
Oakura	1	1	1400	1862
Tataraimaka	1	1	2700	3593
Stony river	1	1	2400	3321
Warea	2	1	4,313	5,846
total	69	48	239,721	314,287



## Appendix 1

### Deserters

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The entries below are extracted from Rae Sexton, The Deserters (Australasian Maritime Historical Society, 1998).

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Where the info is available the format is in the order of;  
Name-Rank-Age-Date & Place of Desertion-Place of Birth-Place of Enlistment-Last Ship-Occupation.

ABBREVIATIONS USED:= OS = Ordinary Seaman; AB = Able Seaman; Enl = Enlisted; RM = Royal Marines; Mil = military

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ADAMS William, Boy, 18y 21June 1861, Wellington. Chatham  
ALEXANDER James, ship Corporal.32y, 13Apr1861 in Auckland. Born Dunmore  
ALLEN George 26, 5-9-1862 Otahuhu. Born Armagh Enl Banbridge  
ALMY Charles, AB,25y, 15Dec 1861 in Auck, Dartmouth  
ANDERSON William 31y, 5-10-1862 Otahuhu. Born Ayr, Enl Liverpool.  
ANNEAR William, OS, 21y, 4Dec1862, born Cornwall,Last Ship=Pelorus  
ARCHER Andrew 22y, 26-1-1863, Born Wicklow, enl Dublin(3rd desertion)  
ARGENT George, OS, 21y, 30-1-1861 in Wellington. Born Caterham  
ARNOLD Henry,Private RM, 32y, born York, LS= Curacao  
ARNOLD Henry T., OS, 30y, 21Dec 1861, born Derby  
AUSTEN John 22y, 25-Feb-1863 Auckland. Born NSW, Enl Melbourne

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BACON Charles AB, 24y, 14July 186. born Ire. Last Ship= StJean d'Acre  
BACON Joshua 27y, 17 Nov 1861, Auckland. Born Lincoln, Enl Hull.  
BAKER James 25y, 7Dec1861 Otahuhu. Born Newcastle, Enl Manchester.  
BAKER William 24y, 5Sept 1862 Otahuhu. Born Douglas Hants  
BALDRY Charles 26y, 22 Oct 1862. Born Norfolk. Labourer  
BALL John, 20y, 20-9-1862 Otahuhu. Born Kildare. Enl Liverpool  
BALL Thomas AB, 24y, 9-10-1862. born Somerset, LS = Iris  
BARTLEY James, 20y, 3Feb1856 Bay Of Islands.Born Sligo Enl Glasgow  
BASSNETT John 26y, 15Feb1856 BayOfIslands. Born Chester Enl Liverpool  
BAXTER Henry 22y, 8Feb1863 Wanganui. Born Northampton. Enl Peterborough  
BEACHAM John 21y, 25Dec1861 Otahuhu. Born Surrey, Enl Melbourne  
BELL Henry John,29y, 3-12-1862 Otago,Born Durham, Enl Cork. Engineer  
BENVENUTO George 22y, 13Dec1862, Otahuhu. Born & Enl Manchester  
BINGHAM Henry AB, 22y, 27 Dec 1862 in Auckland. Born Dublin.

BISHOP Samuel OS, 26y, 8 Jul 1861. Born Brighton, LS=Brittania  
BORLAND Joseph 26y, 26 Sept 1862. born East Indies, watchmaker. Enl Melb.  
BOSTON Richard, stoker, 7Jan 1861, Welligton. Hull  
BORTHWICK Adam, Gunner RMA, 23y, 17-6-1861. Born Haddington  
BRACKETT Joshua 20y, 11 Feb 1859 Auckland. Born Derry Enl Liverpool.  
BRADLEY George 23y, 1-2-1862 in Pokino. Born Dublin, carpenter  
BRADY John 28y, 25 Feb 1856 Wellington. Born Meath Enl Dublin  
BREEN Patrick 26y, 26-4-1862, born Limerick, Clerk, enl. Melbourne  
BRENNON James 24-10-1861 in Wellington, born Cumberland. labourer  
BROOKS John 24y, 9-8-1855 wellington. Born & Enl Cambridge  
BROOKS Thomas Gunner RMA, 21y, 17Jun 1861. Born Middlesex  
BROOM Alexander 32y, 5Nov 1858, Wanganui Civil Prison. Born & Enl Bristol  
BROWN David 27y, 11Dec 1858, Auckland. Enl Bristol. Speech Impediment  
BROWN John, Drummer, 21y, 27-4-1863 Otahuhu. Born Middlesex. Enl, Rawulpinder  
BROWN Patrick 34y, 22-12-1852 Dunedin. Born Galway, Enl Cork  
BRYAN Cornelius 33y, 6-1-1862 in Point Chevalier. Born Cork Enl London  
BRYAN Patrick 26y, 26May 1862, Born Ire, Enl Melbourne. Labourer.  
BURKE Robert, 19y, 1-2-1862 Pokino. Born & Enl Dublin. Carpenter.  
BURNS John 32, 5 Nov 1862 Otahuhu. Born Lancaster. Groom  
BYRNE Edward 25y, 29 Jan 1856 Bay Of Islands. Born Wicklow Enl Dublin  
BYRNE Thomas 21y, 6-2-1863, Mil. Prison Otahuhu. Born & Enl Drogheda.  
BYRON John 27y, 30Jul 1862, Born Wexford. Joiner. Enl. Melbourne

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CAHILL Daniel 31y, 23-2-1863, Auckland. Born & Enl Cork.  
CAHILL Robert 23y, 29-10-1862. Born Carlow, Enl Melbourne. Butcher  
CAITHNESS Michael, 23y, 3-3-1859 Auckland. Born Dundee, Enl Edinburgh  
CALLAGHAN Daniel 22y, 4-1-1863 Auckland. Born Hull enl Liverpool.``  
CAMPBELL Alexander 20y, 6-6-1862, Auckland. Born Dumbarton Enl Glasgow  
CAMPBELL Angus Ab 20y, 26-6-1862 Born Glasgow. Last Ship=Excellent  
CAMPBELL Henry QuarterMaster 27y, 21-6-1861. Born St. Johns.  
CAMPBELL John 21y, 27-May 1862, Auckland. Born & Enl Glasgow  
CAMPBELL JoSeph 21y, 12-10-1861 in Wellington. Born Dublin Enl Armagh.  
CARVER William 22y, 29-9-1862 Born Flint Enl. Liverpool  
CASEY James 23y, 2-1-1863 Auckland. Born & Enlisted Dublin.  
CASSIDY Frederick AB 24y, 15-8-1860 Mauakau. Born Jersey  
CHAMBERLAIN William 25y, 10-3-1846 Auckland. Enl Coventry From Leicester  
CHARTERS John, 16y, 28-10-1862. Born Essex. Enl Melbourne. Bandboy  
CHILDS James 29y, 4-3-1862 Auckland. Born Essex. Enl Brentwood.  
CLARIDGE George 25y, 22-4-1849 Wellington. Enl Chatham  
CLARIDGE James 21y, 8-1-1861 Wellington. Born Warwick Enl Worcester  
CLARKE E.J. 33y, 6-11-1862 Auckland. B. Lincoln, Enl Cambridge. Bricklayer  
CLARKE Henry 29y, 25-10-1862 Auckland. Born & Enl Manchester. Mechanic  
CLARY James 26y, 15-12-1862 Auckland. Born Tipperary, Enl Liverpool,  
CLAVELL John, Boy, 18y, 13-3-1861 Auckland, Born Guernsey

COATS Charles 21y, 6-10-1861 Napier, Born Hampstead, Enl Luton  
 COCKROFT Samuel 27y, 20-8-1862 Auckland. Born Lancaster Enl York.  
 COFFEE Michael 26y, Otago. Born Galway Bay, enl. Buttevant  
 COLAESBANK William 25y, 9-12-1861 Otahuhu. Born & Enl Liverpool.  
 COLEHAN John 26y, 9-11-1861 Auckland. Born Galway Enl Manchester, Tailor  
 COLLINS George, Sapper, 25y, 14-6-1851 Auck. Born Sussex. Brickmaker-miner  
 COLLINS Henry 23y, 20-1-1861 Auckland. Born Berlin. Musician.  
 COLLINS Thomas H OS 20y, 7-12-1862, Born Portsea, Last Ship Cordeli  
 COLREN HUGH ab 24Y, born Aberdeen. LS = Iris  
 CONDON Michael, Gunner, 23y, 9-12-1862 Auckland. Born Cork Enl London  
 CONNELL James 22y, 15Dec1862. Born Tipperary Enl Killkenny  
 CONNERS Daniel 21, 20Nov1861 Wellington. Born & Enl Limerick.  
 CONNOLLY John F. Serg. 31y, 10-12-1861 Auckland. Born Mayo Enl Liverpool  
 CONNORS Patrick 25y, 20-9-1862, Otahuhu. Born & Enlisted Dublin  
 CONROY Peter 21y, 10-12-1862. Born Galway. Enl Melbourne.  
 CONWAY Frederick 20y, 29-9-1845 Wellington. Born Mayo Enl Manchester  
 COOK John, 21y, 5-7-1862 Born Newcastle, Enl. Melbourne  
 COOPER John 21y, 12-5-1862 Auckland. Born Cumberland Enl Whitehaven  
 CORBETT Henry 27y, 7-12-1861 Auckland. Born Lancaster Enl. Manchester  
 COSGROVE James 35y, 25-12-1858 Auckland. Born Monaghan, Enl Armagh  
 COSTELLO THOMAS OS, 22y, 30Jun1861. Born Queens Co.  
 CREBER Joseph 19y, 15-2-1856 BayOfIslands. Born Devon Enl. Weymouth. Painter  
 CROWLEY Timothy 33y, 4-3-1862. Born & enl Cork.  
 CUFF Christopher 26y, 17-11-1848 Wellington. From Dublin  
 CUMMINS John, drummer 19y, 15-2-1856 BayOfIslands. Born Oxford.  
 CUNNINGHAM J. AB 21, 21-6-1861 Auckland. Born London.  
 CUNNINGHAM Patrick 27y, 6-10-1862 Otahuhu. Born Port Louth Enl Dublin.  
 CURSON Charles 21y, 9-3-1846 Auckland. Enl Wisbeach. from Herts.  
 CURRY Thomas 27y, 8-10-1861 Auckland. Born Mayo Enl Liverpool  
 CUSACK M 22y, 15-1-1861 Napier. Born Clare, Enlisted Limerick

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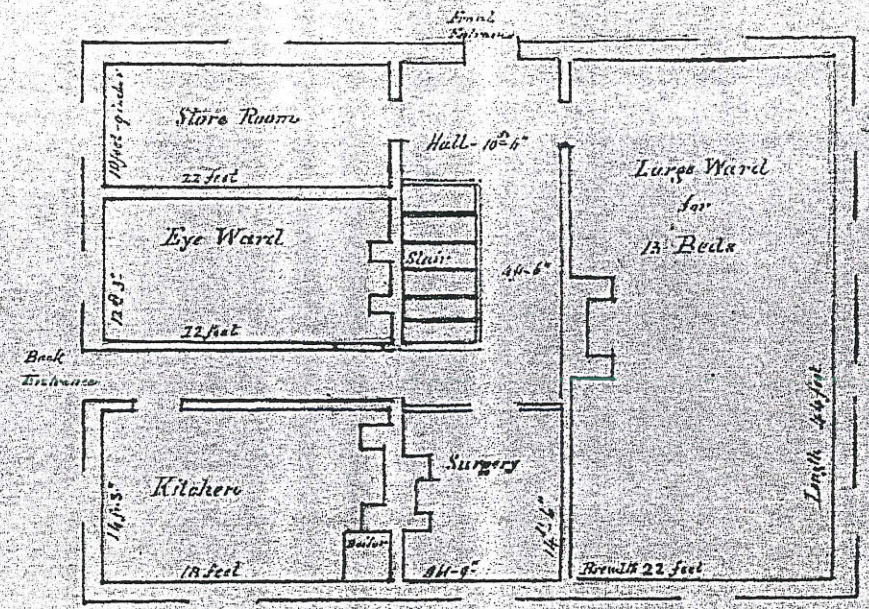
DAILY John 26y, 5-2-1856 BayOfIslands. Born Kerry. Enl Liverpool. Waiter  
 DALTON Edward AB, 23y, 30-1-1861 Wellington. Born Portland  
 DALY Andrew 21y, 6-12-1861 Auckland. Born Cavan.  
 DALZIEL William 24y, 24-3-1854 Auckland. Born Lanark, Enl Glasgow. Mason  
 DANAHER John 30y, 28-1-1863 Dunedin. Born & enl Limeerick  
 DANIELS James 27y, 24-11-1863 Dunedin. Born Ireland.. Enl Tipperary  
 DAVEY William AB 25y, 28May1861 Auckland. Born Plymouth  
 DAVIES Francis OS, 20y, 1-6-1861 Auckland. Born Worcester.  
 DAVIES William 22y, 23-10-1862 Auckland. Born Ayr, Enl Glasgow  
 DEAN William 24y, 26-8-1861 Auckland. Born Galway Enl Melbourne  
 DELANY Jeremiah 24y, 2-1-1863 Auckland. Born Queens Co. Servant  
 DELVIN John 22y, Auckland. Born Armagh. Weaver  
 DEMPSEY Daniel 20y, 9-11-1861 Napier. Born Tipperary, Enl Clonmel

# MILITARY HOSPITAL

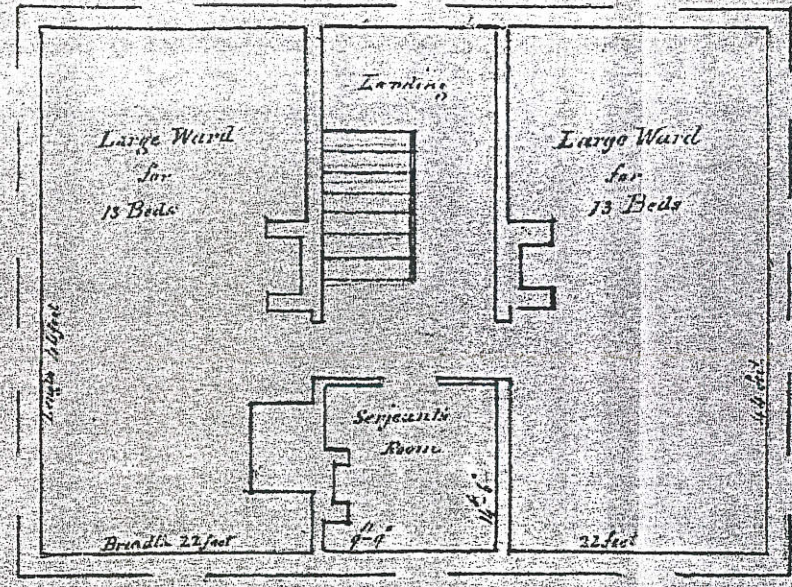
AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND

Built A.D. 1847

Plan of Lower Story



Plan of Upper Story



- Length of Building... 44 feet
- Breadth... 22 feet
- Thickness of Walls... 16 inches
- Height... 22 feet
- Height of Wards... 10 feet

DERHAM Richard A. AB 28y, 14-7-1861. Born Gloucester. Last Ship St Vincent  
DERKINS Fredeerick 28y, 1-9-1862. Born Stafford enl Melbourne.  
DEVELIN John 33y, 7-4-1862 Otago. Born & enl Cork.  
DEWARE James 23y, 28-5-1862 Auckland. Born Fifeshire, Enl Cork.  
DILLON Patrick, 28y, 15-6-1861 Auckland. Born Waterford, Enl Manchester.  
DIXEY William AB 24y, 6-2-1862 Auckland. Born Sudbury  
DIXON Michael 24y, 25-12-1862. Born Westmeath, Enlisted Dublin.  
DONNELLY James 19y, 6-6-1855 Auckland. born and enl Liverpool  
DONAGHAN Michael 23y. 11-12-1856 Wanganui born Wexford.  
DONNAGHUE Michael 20y, 9-10-1862. Born & enl Kerry  
DONOVAN Charles 28y, 14-8-1861 Auckland. Born Tipperary, Enl Clonmell  
DOOLEY Joseph AB, 25y, 31-8-1861. Born Dublin Last Ship St Jean D'Acre  
DORAN James Drummer 19y, 14-9-1849 Wellington. Enl Bolton Born Cork.  
DOVEY John 24y, 8-12-1857 Wellington. Born Gloucester. Enl Bristol.  
DOWE Daniel 24y, 27-3-1861 Napier. Born Dundee. Enl Stirling  
DOWNEY Henry 18y, 26-10-1862 Auckland. Born Lancaster Enl Liverpool. Collier  
DOWNS William, BIA, 19y, 7-12-1861. Born Hants, Last Ship = Asia  
DOYLE Edward 23y, 15-3-1862 Otago.. Born Lancaster  
DRISCOLLE Richard 23y, 13-1-1859 Auckland. Born Gloucester, Enl Westminster  
DUKWORTH Thomas 26y, 28-3-1862 Otago. Born Lancaster enl Manchester  
DUFF James 21y, 21 Feb 1859, Born Mayo Enl Barnsley.  
DUFFY Hugh 26y, 1-6-1854 Wellington. Born Tyrone enl Armagh  
DUNCAN James, Sail Crew, 16-3-1862 Auckland. Born Inverness  
DUNDON John 22y, 1-9-1862 Born and enl Tralee, Kerry. Baker  
DUNN John 31y, 7-1-1863 Auckland Born Kildare, Enl Liverpool

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ELLIS F 28y, 7-1-1863. Born Essex, enl Melbourne. Labourer.  
ENGLAND Rudolphus 22y, 19-9-1862, Born Tipperary, enl. Nenagh. Servant  
ETHERINGTON Wm Jos, Drummer, 16y, 11-3-1863 Auckl. Born M'ssex, Enl. Melb.  
EVANS Thomas 27y, 21-7-1862, Born York, enl Liverpool. Labourer.

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FANALE Thomas 21y, 26-12-1857 Auckland. Born Dublin, enl Liverpool. Labourer  
FARREL John 23y, 20-11-1861 Wellington. Born Kildare, enl Naas. Baker  
FERNBACK John, 27y, 4-11-1861 Auckland Born Montreal, enl Liverpool. Barber  
FINDLAY James 30y, 29-1-1859 Napier. Born Aberdeen enl. Liverpool, cabinetmaker  
FINDLAY James 27y, 26-1-1856 Wellington, 2-10-1854. Born Dublin Enl Manchester  
FINN Charles 19y, 3-2-1856 Bay of Islands. Born Sligo, enl Glasgow  
FITZPATRICK M 28y, 30 Dec 1861 Auckland. Born Kilkenny, Enl Cork. Clerk.  
FLANNELLY John, 29y, 25-2-1856 Wellington. Born & Enlisted Mayo. 3rd dessertion  
FLYNN Thomas, 29y, 29-12-1862 Mangatawhiri. Born Fermanagh Enl Rochester  
FOGARTY Edward 24y, 1-3-1851 Wellington. Born Dublin Enl Leeds. carpet weaver  
FOSTER A. Boy, 16y, 4-4-1863 Auckland. Born Liverpool Enl Melbourne

FRANKLYN James 33y, 15-1-1863 Otahuhu. Born Galway, enl Leeds  
FRASER George, 26y, 28-3-1863 Otahuhu. Born Edinburgh. Shoemaker

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GALLAGHER William, AB, 24y, 12 Feb 1861 Picton. Born Glasgow  
GIBSON George. 2-12-1862 Pokeno.no description  
GLEADHILL Joseph, 32y, Gunner, 7-1-1863 Auckland. Born Halifax. labourer  
GOODING James, 18y,10-12-1861 Otahuhu.Enl Melb,born Middlesex. Bricklayer  
GORDEN Richard, 23y,, 12-2-1863, Auckland. Enl Melbourne born Ayr  
GORDON George J.Leutenant. 31y, 30-1-1861 Wellington..  
GORMON Michael 19y, 23-5-1855 Auckland. Born Huddesfield, York.  
GRANGE George, 28y, 10-6-1861 Auckland. born Surrey. labourer.  
GRAY Henry 25y, 25-4-1863 Otahuhu. Bom Herts. Woodman.  
GREY Issac, AB, 24y, 4-4-1861 Manakau. Born Somerset

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HADDOW Archibald, 22y, 26-9-1861 Auckland.Born Lanark. engineer.  
HALE George, 27y, 14-1-1863 Dunedin. Enl Tiperary. Born Carrick-on-Sun,Ire.  
HAMILTON John, AB, 25y, 30-1-1861 Wellington. Born London  
HANLON Bernard, 25y, 12-2-1863 Auckland. Enl Melbourne born Monaghan.  
HANNA Francis 23y, 3-12-1858 Napier. Enl Jersey, Born Belfast. Sailor  
HANRAHAN James, 21y, 26-10-1862. Enl Melbourne, born Kilkenny.  
HARDGROVE Peter 23y, 9-11-1857 Wellington. Born Clare.  
HARBERT Edward, AB, 21y, 13-3-1862 Aucklnad, Born London  
HARDING James 27y, 22-8-1850 Wellington Born St. Helen's, Cornwall  
HARDY William, 22y, 15-9-1861 Otahuhu. Born Lancaster, labourer  
HART Thomas 26y, 21-9-1862 Otahuhu. Born Barony, Lanark  
HASKINS James 22y, 26-1-1859 Aucklnad Born Gloucester  
HASSLEDON Humphrey,20y, 15-1-1855 Aucklandrn Lancaster. Enl Liverpool.  
HAWTHORN Nathaniel, 20y, 22-5-1861 Wellington  
HEALD John 24y, 9-9-1857 Wellington. Enl Barnsley, Born Doncaster.  
HENNESSEY Daniel, 27y, 15-8-1862 Auckland. enl Dublin born Kilkenny. servant

HENNESEY M, 19y, 2-1-1863 Auckland. born Kilkenny  
HERBERT Thomas 24y, 10-9-1862 Pokeno. Born Limehouse Middlesex. Groom  
HEWAN Robert 19y, 29-1-1856 Bay Of Islands Born & Enl Liverpool, plasterer.  
HILL Joseph 20y, 9-3-1846 Auckland. Born Huntingdon  
HINCHEY Michael,34y, 20-10-1862 Otahuhu. Born Clare. servant  
HOGAN Matthew, 22y, 14-1-1862 Napier. Born Tiperary.  
HOLDING Francis,Boy 1st class, 18y,15-2-1861 Wellington.Born Landport  
HOLMES David, OS, 22y, 31-8-1861.Born Sussex. LS=Assistance  
HOPLEY John, OS, 21y, 3 Feb 1862 Auckland. born Stockport  
HOUSOM George, OS, 34y, 14-7-186. Born Midhurst, Sussex.



HOWARD John 24y, 29-6-1861 Auckland. born & enl Liverpool. Miller  
HOWARD William, 25y, 15-1-1863 Otahuhu. Born & enl Burnham, Essex. shipwright  
HOYS H J. OS, 22y, 30-1-1861 Wellington. Born Deptford  
HUGHES Dennis 21y, 6-3-1862 Otago. Enl and born Manchester. labourer  
HUMPHRIES John 27y, 10-1-1858 Wellington. Enl & Born Liverpool.  
HUNT John, gunner, 22y, 21-3-1862 Auckland. Enl Little Ely. born Cambridge  
HUNTER Joseph, 18y, 5-4-1863 Otahuhu. Born & Enl Cork.  
HUNTINGDON John, AB. 23y, 1-6-1861 Auckland. Born Cheshire  
HYNES George Pratt, 17y, 3-6-1854 Wellington. Born St. Lucia, West Indies.  
HYNES James 20y, 29-1-1853 Wellington, Born Ballincolig, Cork

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IMES John 19y, 29-5-1855 Auckland. Enl & Born Liverpool  
ISHERWOOD Robert 30y, 24-8-1861 Auckland. Born Bolton. engineer

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JACKSON John 20y, 10-3-1846 Auckland. Born Newton, Derry.  
JAMES Charles, OS, 20y, 11-2-1862 Aucklnad, born Bickley  
JAMES John 28y, 9-9-1857 Wellington. Born Gloscester Enl Liverpool  
JARMAN James 20y, 13--5-1855 AuckLAND. born Steeple, Cambridge.  
JEFFERY William, OS, 20y, 31-12-1861. Born Ryde, Isle Of Wight. LS=Asia  
JENNION William 27y, 13-8-1862 Pokeno. Born Lancaster  
JEROME Frederick (alias Ben EGAN) 28y, 3-11-1861 Auck. Born Chester, baker  
JOHNSON James, OS, 21y, 30-1-1861 Auckland. Born Montrose  
JOHNSON William 28y, 10-2-1840. Born Tomacork, Wicklow.  
JOHNSTON Thomas, 25y, 20-4-1863 Auckland. Born Doncaster. Blacksmith  
JONES Daniel 22y, 6-9-1861 Auckland. Born Flint, enl Liverpool  
JONES Miles, 20y, 20-11-1862 Wanganui. Born & Enl Wexford  
JONES Richard, caulker 34y, 27-2-1862 Auckland. Born Devon  
JONES Thomas, 11-3-1863 Otahuhu. Born Essex  
JONES William, 19y, 23-10-1862 Auckland. Born Devon. labourer  
JONES William 31y, 27-1-1859 Aucklnad. Born Flint. Tailor.

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KEATING William, 22y, 23-8-1862. Enl Cork, born Warwick.  
KELLOWAY Walter, AB, 24y, 31-8-1861. Born Isle Of Wight. LS=Euryalus  
KELLY Charles 25y, 1-10-1859 Napier. Born Strokes Town, Roscommon.  
KELLY James 26y, 11-12-1856 Wanganui. Born Killcoe, Down. Labourer  
KELLY John, 21,y, 24-1-1863 Wanganui. Born Cork. Enl Fermoy  
KELLY John, 24y, 20-10-1862 Otahuhu. Born Clonmel, Tipperary. Plasterer

KELSO John, lance serg. 22y, 8-12-1862 Drury. Born Lanark. Tailor  
KENEDY Thomas, 28y, 30-1-1863 Queens redoubt. Born Dublin.  
KENNEDY Martin 23y, 29-1-1856 Bay Of Islands. Born Drangan, Tipperary.  
KENNY Daniel 28y, 6-10-1861 Otahuhu. Born Scarfit. Enl Manchester  
KENNY Michael, 23y, 6-12-1863 Auckland. Born & Enl Manchester  
KENYON John, OS, 21y, 27-12-1862. Born Bodmin. LS + Pelorus  
KERNELL Joseph 26y, 12-4-1859 Auckland. Born Manchester. Blacksmith  
KIRKPATRICK William, 20y, 2-9-1862 Wellington. Born & Enl Liverpool. Painter  
KIRWELL Walter 26y, 28-1-1853 Wellington. Born Loughbrickland. Down

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LANGL Carl, AB, 23y, 30-1-1861 Wellington. Born Heligoland  
LAURENCE Philip, carpenters crew, 22y, 20-8-1861 Auckland. Born Essex  
LAWTON John, 29y, 19-4-1863 Otahuhu. Born Chester. Weaver.  
LAY Wiliam 18y, 29-1-1856 Bay Of Islands. Born Sherwood, Notts  
LEARY Arthur 24y, 24-11-1858 Auckland. Born & Enl Cork.  
LEATHAM Thomas 23y, 6-11-1861 Otahuhu. born Westmoreland  
LEECH Henry 23y, 9-3-1846 Auckland. Born Middlesex, coachsmith  
LEWIS Charles, AB, 27y, 28-5-1861 Auckland. Born Gosport.  
LEWIS David, AB. 24y, 15-8-1860 Auckland. Born Swansea  
LITTLER S 23y, 8-7-1862 Otahuhu. Enl Liverpool. Born Manchester  
LUMB George Green, 31y, 1-11-1862 Otahuhu. Born York. engine-tender  
LYCETT James, 21y, 1809-1862. enl Melbourne, born Limerick

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MCALLISTER William, 21y, 8-12-1862 Drury, enl & born Dublin. tailor.  
MCCANN James, 20y, 23 Oct 1862, Auckland. Born Dublin.  
MCCLUIN Peter 21y, 19-4-1851 Wellington. Born Kilmacrenan, Shoemaker  
MCCRIMMON Charles, 21y, 14-1-1862 Wellington. Born Argyle. Moulder  
MCDONALD James 30y, 7-12-1861 Otahuhu. Born St James, Dublin  
MCDONOUGH M. 21y, 10-11-1862 Otahuhu. Born Tuam Glaway, enl Liverpool.  
MCDUGALL Simpson, 21y, 27-10-1862. Enl Dublin, born Tipperary  
MCDOWELL Joseph, 26y, 14-7-1862 Otahuhu. Born Kilkeel, Down. Shoemaker  
MCELROY Thomas, 25y, 28-10-1862 Otahuhu. Born Killegar, Queens Co.,  
MCENTEGART Thomas, 31y, 26-2-1863 Pokeno. Enl Liverpool, born Forfar  
MCGEARY Patrick, 25y, 15-2-1863 Auckland. Enl Melb, born Armagh. Groom  
MCGEE Edward, 27y, 1-9-1861 Otahuhu. Born Downpatrick, Down. Labourer  
MCGREARTY Joseph, 21y, 4-4-1863 Auckland. Born & Enl Dublin  
MCGUIRE John 24y, 13-2-1859 Auckland. Born St. Thomas's Dublin. labourer  
MCKENIN John, 22y, 8-1-1862 Wellington. Born Londonderry. Seaman  
MCKENZIE Richard 23y, 4-1-1859 Auckland. Born Liverpool  
MCKERNAN Owen, lance corp. 21y, 17-2-1862, Wanganui, born Monaghan

MCMANOMY James, 22y, 15-9-1861 Otahuhu. Enl & born Sligo. labourer  
MAHER John, 27y, 30-7-1862. Enl Melbourne, born Kildare. Tailor.  
MALLING Patrick, 24y, 28-9-1858 Napier, Born Aggaderg Down. Enl Bainbridge  
MANN Alexandeer 25y, 9-10-1850 Wellington, Born Lanark  
MARWICKE John OS 26y, 31-8-1861. Born Brighton LS= Assistance  
MARLOW Patrick 25y, 7-7-1855 Wellington. Born Salford, Lancaster, Groom  
MARSH Henry, Boy 1st Class, 18y, 30-1-1861 Wellington. Born Deal  
MARSHALL Thomas, 18-2-1863 Otahuhu. details unknown.  
MARTIN Andrew, 30y, 11-1-1862 Otahuhu. Born Louth. labourer  
MARTIN Henry, 28y, 15-9-1861 Otahuhu. born Kent  
MARTIN John, 31, 24-1-1863 Auckland. Enl Glasgow. Born Donegal  
MARTIN Robert, 23y, 26-9-1862. Enl Melbourne, born Falkirk, Stirling  
MEAKINS Henry W. OS 21y, 17-6-1861. Born Deal, LS = Britannia  
MEURCHIER Sylvanius, 22y, 27-11-1862 Pokeno. Born Dover. labourer.  
MEYER John, 28y, 14-3-1855 Wellington. Born St. Johns Essex.  
MILLER Allan, OS, 19y, 16-8-1861 Auckland. Born Paisley.  
MILLS James, C.Mate, 39y, 28-5-1860. Born Lambeth  
MILLS Thomas, 31y, 4-1-1863 Otahuhu. Born Lancaster enl Manchester. labourer  
MOORE John, 33y, 4-9-1862 Otahuhu. Enl Glasgow. Born Carlisle  
MORRISEY John 28y, 19-12-1861 Auckland. Born & Enl Liverpool.  
MORRISON Robert 20y, 20-4-1851 Wellington. Born Derryloran, Tyrone.  
MOSS Thomas, 30y, 25-5-1862 Napier, Born Yorkshire. Tailor  
MULHERN William 21y, 18-12-1861 Auckland. Born Belfast. tailor  
MUNROE George, 25y, 1-3-1862 Pokeno. born Stirling. Baker.  
MURRAY Denis, 23y, 15-10-1857 Auckland. Born Dublin Enl Liverpool  
MURRAY Edward, carpenters crew, 23y, 20-8-1861 Auckland. Born Glasgoow  
MURRAY Patrick 33y, 24-11-1858 Auckland. Born Cavan, Mayo. Enl Drogheda

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NEIL Darby 21y, 11-6-1847 Wellington. Bapt. Poulpeasty, Wexford.  
NEVILLE George, 29y, 12-8-1862 Otahuhu. Born Cork, baker  
NEWBY John, 20y, 18-11-1862 Wellington. Born Walton. Wheelwright.  
NIXEY Francis, 18y, 1-9-1847 Wellington Born Middlesex. Sailor  
NOCTOR Denis 22y, 29-1-1856 Bay Of Islands. Born Glenaley, Wicklow  
NOLAN James, 20y, 20-8-1862 Otahuhu. Enl Dublin born Lancaster. Fell cutter  
NORTHOVES George, 21y, 20-3-1862 Wellington. Born Dorset, labourer

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OAKLEY John, 23y, 28-10-1862. born Suffolk. Labourer  
O'BRIEN Daniel, 32y, 29-1-1863 Pokeno. Born Cork  
O'DONALD Denis 22y, 13-2-1846 Auckland Born & Enl Dublin.  
O'LOUGHLIN John 24y, 14-10-1861 Otahuhu. Born Ratorpie, Galway. labourer

O'NEILL John, 23y, 23-8-1862 Otahuhu. Born & Enl Dublin. shoemaker  
ORAM John, AB, 28y, 12 May 1861 Auckland. Born Chatham  
O'TOOLE Patrick, 24y, 9-11-1862. Enl Melbourne. born Wexford. carpenter  
OTTEWELL Edward, 18y, 14-7-1861. Born Ripley, Derbyshire. LS= Majestic

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PAGE Henry, Carpenters Crew, 25y, 14-7-1861. Born Opton. LS=St.Vincent  
PARKINS Joseph, 23y, 29-10-1862. Enl Melbourne, Born Carlisle. clogmaker  
PERKINS Thomas 27y, 1-11-1862 Otahuhu. born Preston Lancaster.  
PICKFORD George 22y, 4-7-1858 Napier. Enl Tralee, born Ratto, Kerry  
PIERCE Lot, 22y, 15-2-1856 Bay Of Islands Enl Liverpool Born Chester  
PIKE Edward,gunner,24y, 9-2-1863 from Auckland.Enl & born Taunton.whitesmith  
PINDY John 27y, 14-3-1855 Wellington. Born Upper Clunch, Tiperyary. sweep  
PRINCE Edward C. 25y, 26-5-1862 Pokeno. Born & enl Sydney. Riding master  
PROSSER Ephraim24y, 5-9-1862. Enl Dublin. Born Bath, Somerset  
PURDON George 27y, 11-6-1855 Auckland. Enl & Born Liverpool.

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QUINN Walter 34y, 21-1-1863 Pokeno. Born Draugan Tippeary. labourer

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REA James,23y, 11-11-1863 Auckland. enl Manchester born Lancaster, clerk  
READ John J., 26y, 15-10-1862. Enl Melbourne, born Hobart  
READY John, 20y, 14-1-1862, Napier. Born Limerick  
REDDY Bernard, 27y, 16-2-1863 Otahuhu. Born Tullow. Labourer  
REDMOND Bernard,22y, 17-7-1859 Auckland. Enl Cardiff.Born Dublin. Shoemaker  
REID William, 28y, 5-5-1861 Auckland. 1-2-1858. Born Middlesex  
REVILLE Alfred, OS 21y, 30-3-1862 Auckland. Born Mitcham  
RICHARDS Thomas,32y, 12-2-1863 Otahuhu. Born Middlesex. Hatter.  
RICHARDSON Joshua AB, 24y, 16Mar 1862 Auckland. Born St.Shields.  
RICHARDSON John 19y 15-2-1856 Bay Of Islands. Enl & Born Heytesbury Wilts  
RICHARDSON William OS 20y, 14-7-1861. Born Harwich. LS = Britannia  
ROBBINS James, AB, 25y 21-6-1861 Auckland. Born Norfolk  
ROBERTS Daniel 21y, 5-2-1858 Wellington.Brn Chatham Kent, 'Smith.  
ROBERTS William 20y, 15-2-1856 Bay Of Islands. Born Flint. Servant  
ROBINSON Charles, 21y, 22-10-1862. Enl Melbourne, Born York. Clerk  
ROBINSON Edward,24y, 11-6-1861 Otahuhu. Born Bethnel Green. sailor  
ROCKS Michael, stoker 25y, 4-7-1861 Auckland. born Ireland  
ROFFEY Henry G. OS, 24y, 30-8-1861 Pelorous Sound. Born Lambeth  
ROLFE Charles 21y 29-7-1850 Wellington. Born Middlesex. Shoemaker

ROYLE George 29y, 28-5-1862 Otahuhu. born Chester. labourer  
RUNDLE Aaron 29y, 6-2-1857 Wanganui. Born Hereford. enl Chatham.

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ST THOMAS Thomas 27y, 9-8-1862 Otahuhu. enl & born Liverpool  
SAUNDERS Michael 33y, 13-7-1861 Auckland. Born & enl Cork  
SHAW Ard, 23y, 9-1-1863 Wanganui. Enl Liverpool born Askrigg, York.  
SHEAN John, 27y, 30-1-1863 Pokeno. Born Cork. shoemaker  
SHEDLOW Stephen, 26y, 4-2-1849 Wellington. Bapt St. Mary's, Notts. Papermaker  
SHELDON Henry, AB, 24y, 4-4-1861 Auckland. Born America  
SIRREL Charles, OS, 23y, 9-10-1862 Born Jersey, LS = Elk.  
SMITH Frederick 26y, 5-11-1861 Auckland Born Suffolk. groom  
SMITH Henry, 26y, 27-4-1863 Otahuhu. Born & enl Cork. labourer  
SMITH John, 26y, 17-6-1861. Born Morayshire, LS = Victoria & Albert  
SMITH Lancelot, sapper, 28y, 23-3-1863 Auckland. Born Norfolk. Carver  
SMITH Thomas, 31y, 29-1-1859 Napier. Born Stirling. Carpenter  
SMITH Thomas, 25y, 27-8-1861 Auckland. Born Wyke, Dorset.  
SMITH William 24y, 27-10-1862. born Longford. Stonemason  
SOULTER David, 27y, 3-10-1861 Otahuhu. Bron Forfar.. millwright  
SPENCER Thomas, 19y, 20-1-1861 Napier. Born Derby, Moulder  
STANSFIELD Ebenezer, 25y, no date Otago. Born Roscommon  
STARKEY William, Lance Serg, 22y, 2-9-1862 Wellington, born Warwick, bitmaker  
STEPHENS Charles AB, 23y, 16-3-1862, Auckland, Born St. Johns.  
STEPHENSON William, 23y, 8-11-1861 Otahuhu. Enl Glasgow, born Liverpool.  
STEVENS Peter 32y, 16-12-1861 Otahuhu. born Lanark. Plasterer  
STEVENS William P. colour Serg. 34 26-12-1863?. Born Galway  
STRANGE William, 28y, 22-7-1862 Otahuhu. Born & enl Manchester  
STRETTON Joseph, 27y, 2-2-1863 Auckland. Enl Oldham. born Chester. joiner  
SULLIVAN Florence 24y, 4-1-1859 Auckland. Born St Ann's Cork.  
SUMMERS John, 30y, 8-6-1862 from Camp Martins Farm, Auck. born Wexford

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TAMPUN George B1A, 19y, 4-7-1861 Auckland. Born Walton, Suffolk  
TASKER Joseph 25y, 13-10-1861 Auckland. Born Beacon, Mayo. labourer  
TAYLOR Henry P., AB, 12-5-1861 Auckland. Born Bristol.  
TAYLOR William 19y, 1-11-1862 Otahuhu. Born & Enl Banbridge.  
THOMPSON John, 29y, 6-2-1863 Auckland. Born St. Catherines, Dublin.  
TOBE William, 30y, 7-2-1863 Napier. Enl Liverpool born Cardiff. joiner  
TOLLEND Francis, AB, 28y, 14-2-1861 Napier. Born Plymouth  
TOWNES Edward 24,, 30-6-1861 Penrose. Born Essex. labourer  
TRAYNOR Francis 25y, 14-7-1862 Otahuhu. Born Liverpool  
TREGARTHEN Melville, shipwright, 22y, 17-6-1861, Born Penzance

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ULRICH Adalbert, 23y, 9-1-1863 Wanganui., born Sawenford Germany

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VASEY Martin 31y, 4-1-1863 Otahuhu. Born Galway. enl Manchester. Tailor

VERLEY Thomas, Private RM, 20y, 17-1-1862 Manakau, Born Essex.

VINE Charles, 28y, 24-1-1862 Otahuhu, born Sussex, labourer

VOLLER James, AB, 22y, 30-1-1861 Wellington. Born Portsmouth

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WAIDE James, lance Corp, 25y, 3-10-1861 Auckland. born Renfrew, carpenter

WAKEFIELD Thomas 22y, 3-12-1858 Napier, born East Coker, Somerset.

WALDSWORTH Peter, 33y, 5-2-1863 Auckland. born & enl Pendleton, Lancaster.

WALKER James 23y, 30-9-1857 Wellington. Born Dublin

WALLACE Robert, Boy 1st class, 17y, 30-1-1861 Wellington, born Brighton

WALSH Andrew, 28y, 30-1-1863 Dunedin. Enl Manchester, Born Queens Co.

WALSH John, 21y, 27-1-1856 Bay Of Islands. Born Youghal, Cork.

WALSH Richard, 28y, 21-1-1863 Pokeno. Born Limerick. shoemaker

WALSH Patrick 21y, 15-12-1862 Auckland. born Tipperary

WARD Charles, 30y, 16-12-1862 Otaga. Born Dubin. bricklayer

WARD William, river, 25y, 26-9-1862 Auckland. Born Southampton

WATKINS Bazett, AB, 22y, 15-12-1861 Auckland, Born Sudbury

WATTS Arthur, OS, 20y, 21-6-1861 Auckland, Born Woolbridge

WATTS Issac, stoker, 23y, 30-1-1861 Wellington. Born Cornwall.

WALSH R, 28y, 21 Jan 1863 Pokeno. Born St Marys, Limerick. Shoemaker

WESTON James, AB. 24y, 15-12-1861 Auckland. Born Eastbourne

WHITE Joshua 28y, 2-12-1861 Pokeno. Born Stonehouse, Devon. Labourer.

WHITE Patrick 20y, 3-11-1847 Wellington. Born Kerry.

WILCOXON Peter 22y, 14-3-1851 Wellington. Born Maclesfield, Chester

WILKINSON David. 19-2-1863 Camp Otahuhu.

WILKINSON James, AB. 25y, 13 Mar 1862 Auckland. Born Preston

WILLIAMS James 25y, 25-5-1862, Pokeno. born Salop. sawyer

WILLIAMS Robert, 35y, 16-2-1863 Otahuhu. Enl Dublin, born Somerset.

WILLIAMS William 16y, 3-6-1854, Wellington. Enl & Born Canterbury Kent

WILSON James, 25y, 6-11-18? Otahuhu. enl Manchester. Born Cheshire.

WILSON John, OS, 25y, 21-6-1861 Auckland. Born Goole

WILSON John, OS, 23y, 20-6-1861 Born Dumfries. LS = St Vincent

WINDLY George, 31y, 6-1-1863 Camp Mangatawhiri. Born Epping

WISE William 21y, 15-2-1856(?) Bay of Islands. Born Wicklow enl Dublin

WOLF Louis, 1-9-1862, Enl Melbourne, born Hanover

WOODS Willia, drummer, 19y, 2-2-1863 Point Chevalier. Born London. Painter  
WYATT John 24y, 15-4-1859 Wellington. Born Derby, Cratemaker

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YATES Henry 35y, 10-1-1858 Wellington. Born & Enl Coventry. Ribbon Weaver  
YOUNG William, corporal, 25y, 9-4-1848 Wellington. Bapt. Antrim. weaver



Governor's Hobson's Grave Symonds Street Cemetery, Auckland.





General Dean Pitt's Headstone, Symonds Street Cemetery, Auckland.



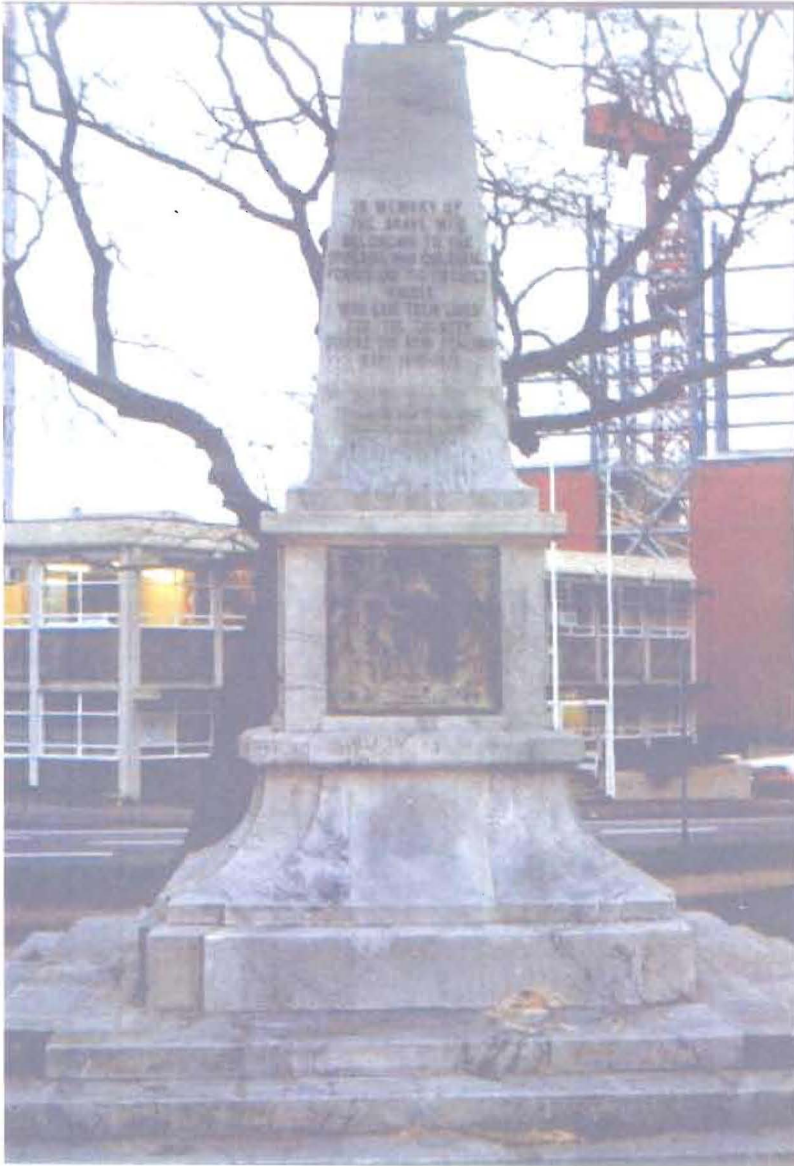
Two graves. The first is the grave of the Wife of the Assistant Commissary General Braithwaite, Symonds Street Cemetery, Auckland. The second is dedicated to Sedborough Payne?, Ensign, 58<sup>th</sup> regiment, Symonds Street Cemetery, Auckland.



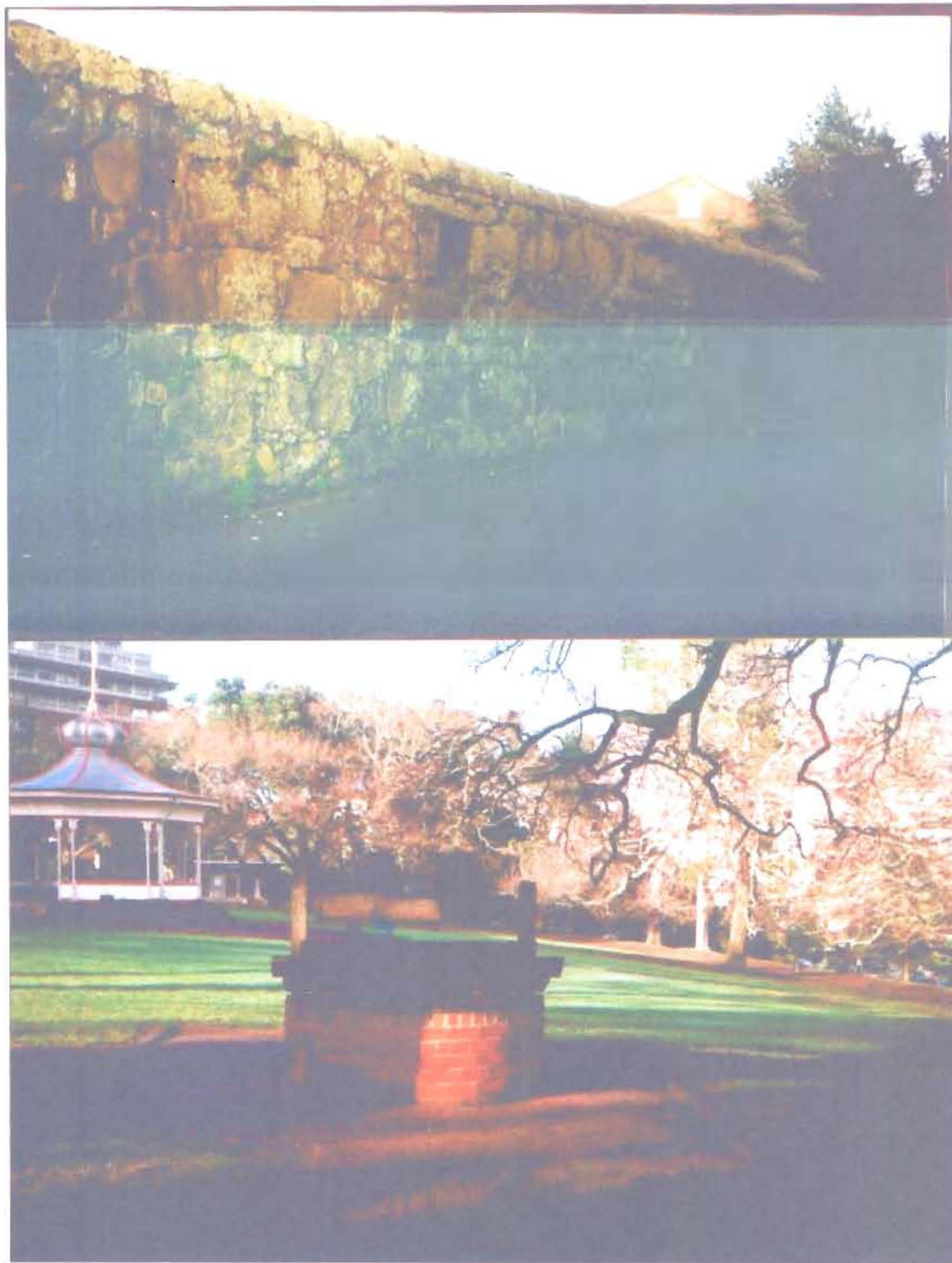
The restored Government House, Auckland. Now used by the University of Auckland.



Fredrick Maning's monument, Symonds Street, Auckland.  
Maning wrote *Old New Zealand* and was also a Judge.



Memorial to those who fell in the Maori Wars 1845-1872. Symonds Street, Auckland.



Two pictures from Albert Park and, Auckland University. The first is a section of the surviving perimeter wall. The second is of one of the restored wells which supplied water to the barracks.

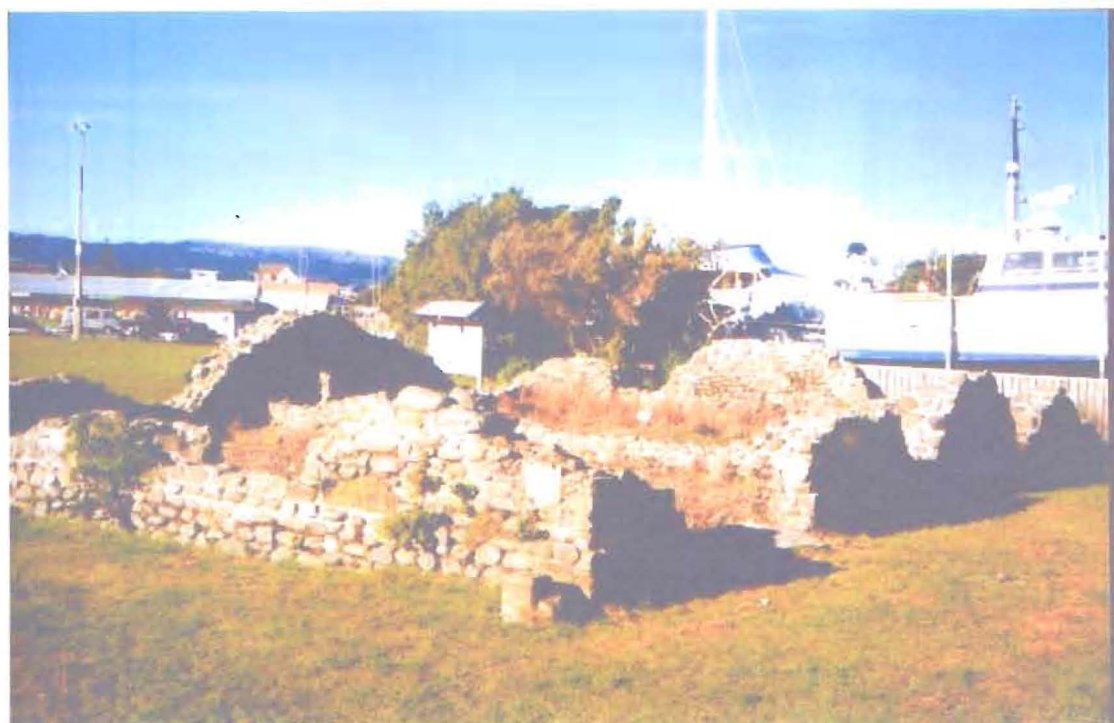


This hotel is reputedly the oldest in Auckland.

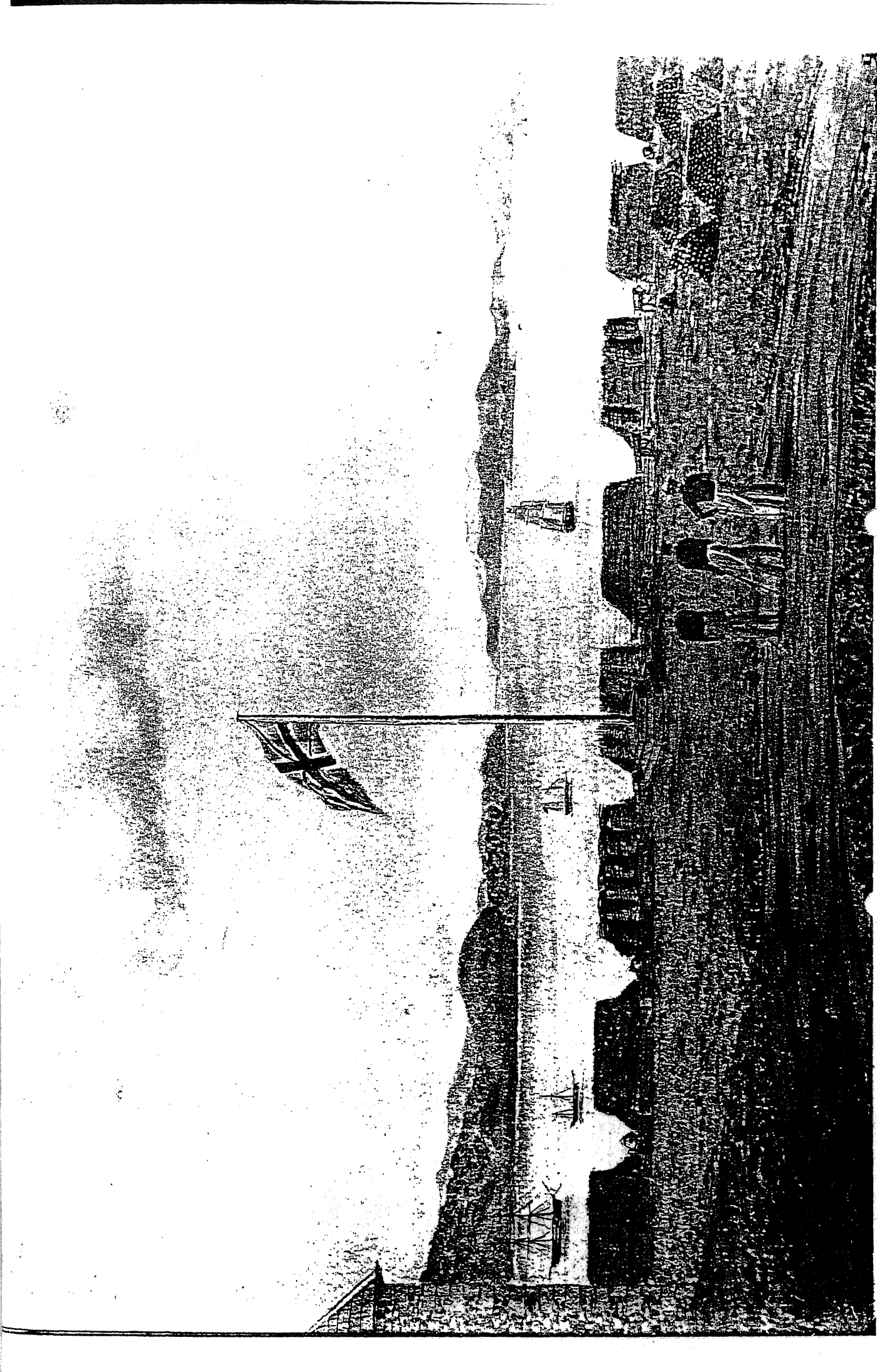


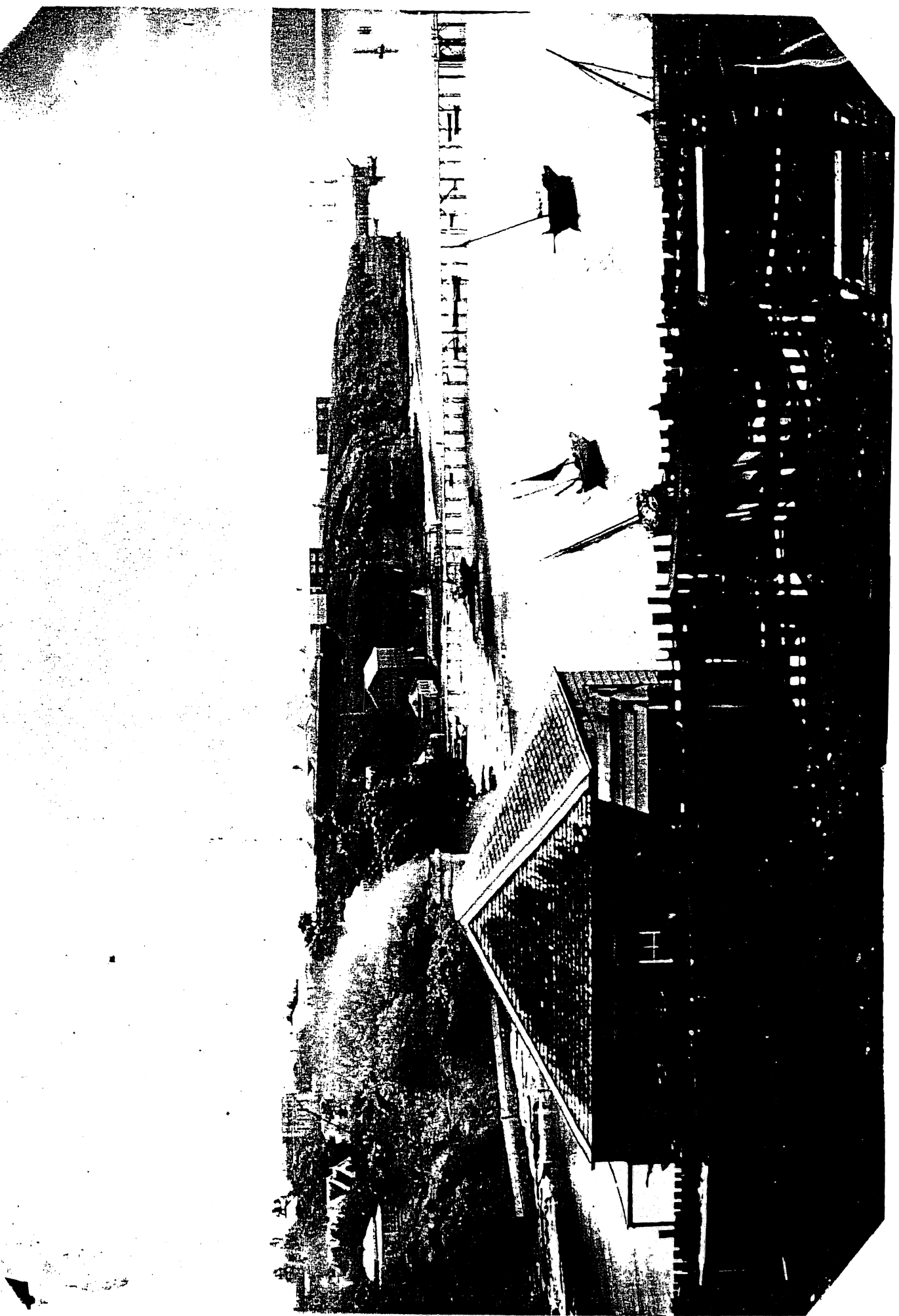
Grave stone to mark the deaths of Leading Seaman William Robertson of HMS Calliope and, Private Thomas Tuite 99<sup>th</sup> regiment, who died while in the Battle Hill engagement, Horo-Kiwi, 6<sup>th</sup> August 1846.

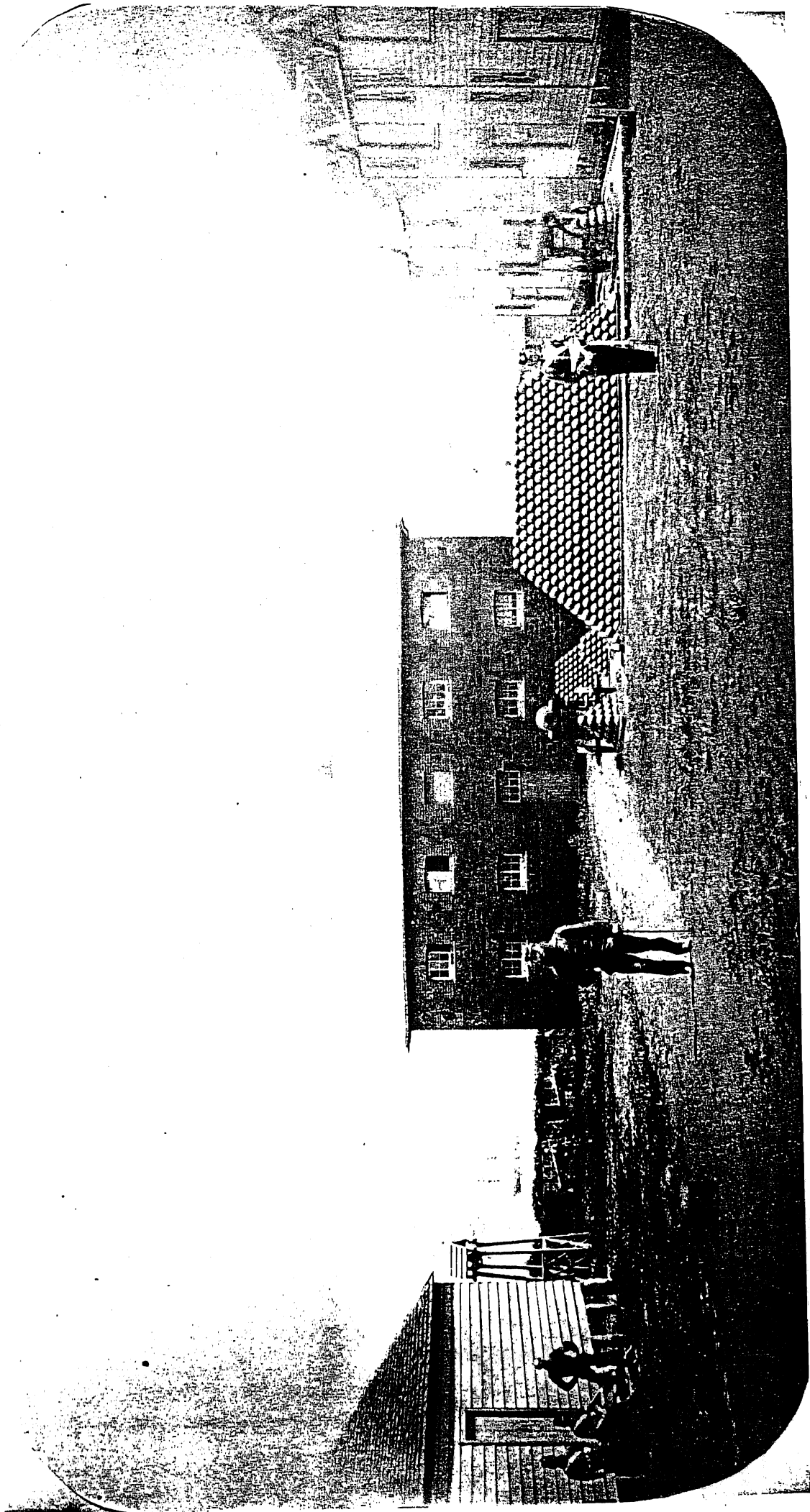




Remains of the Paremata Barracks, Porirua. To the North of Wellington, used during the operations to capture Te Rangihaeata and Te Rauparaha.

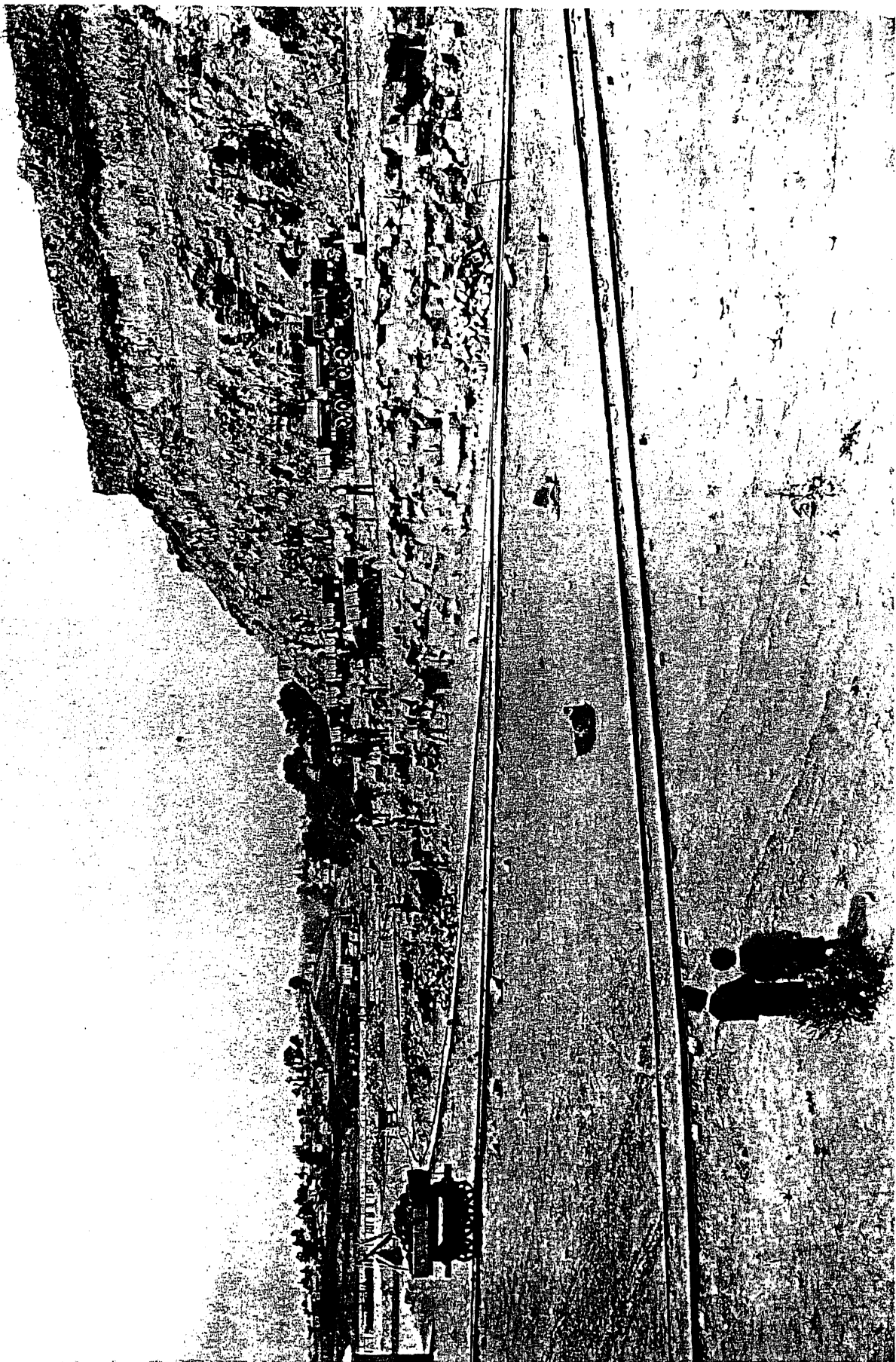


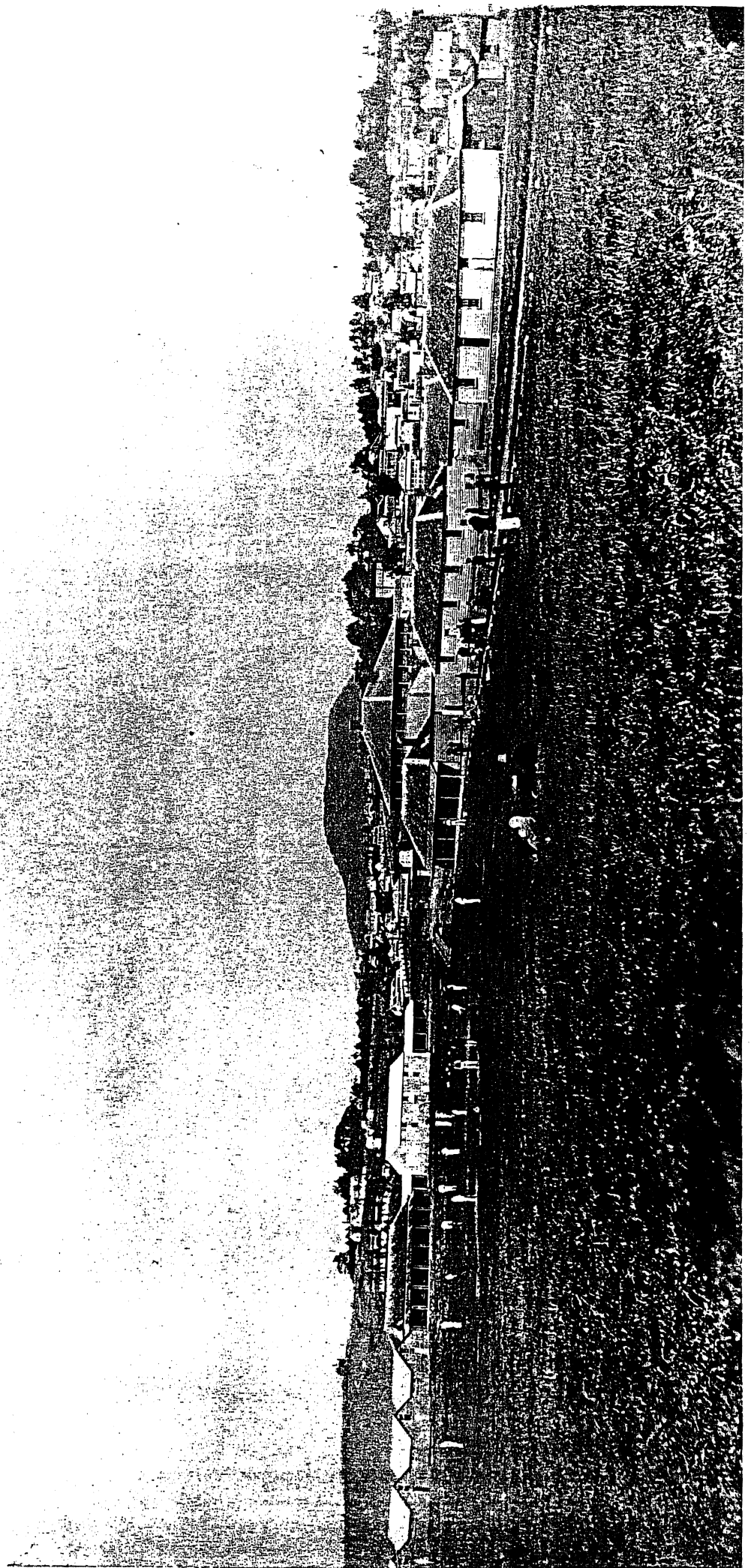








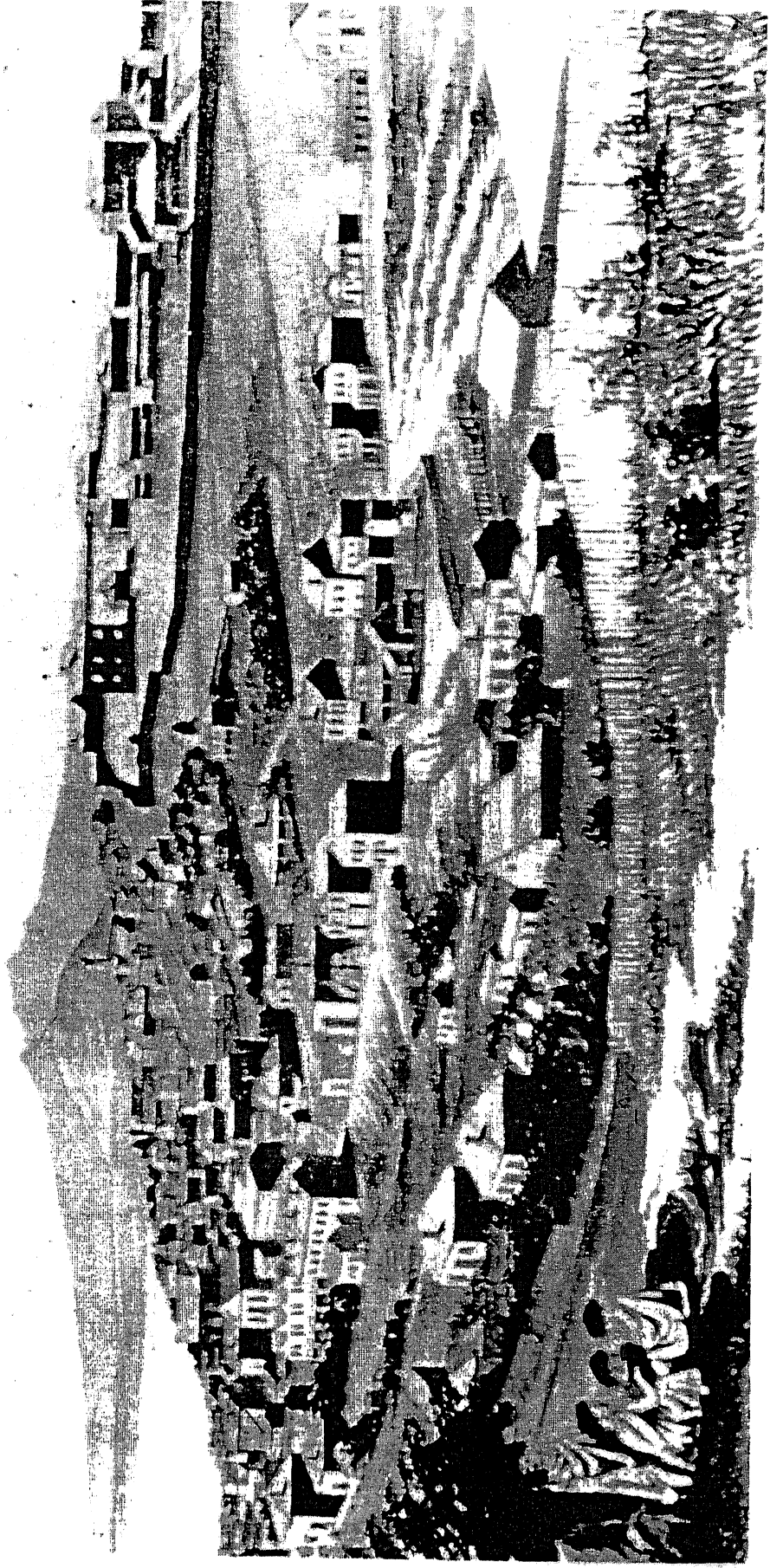






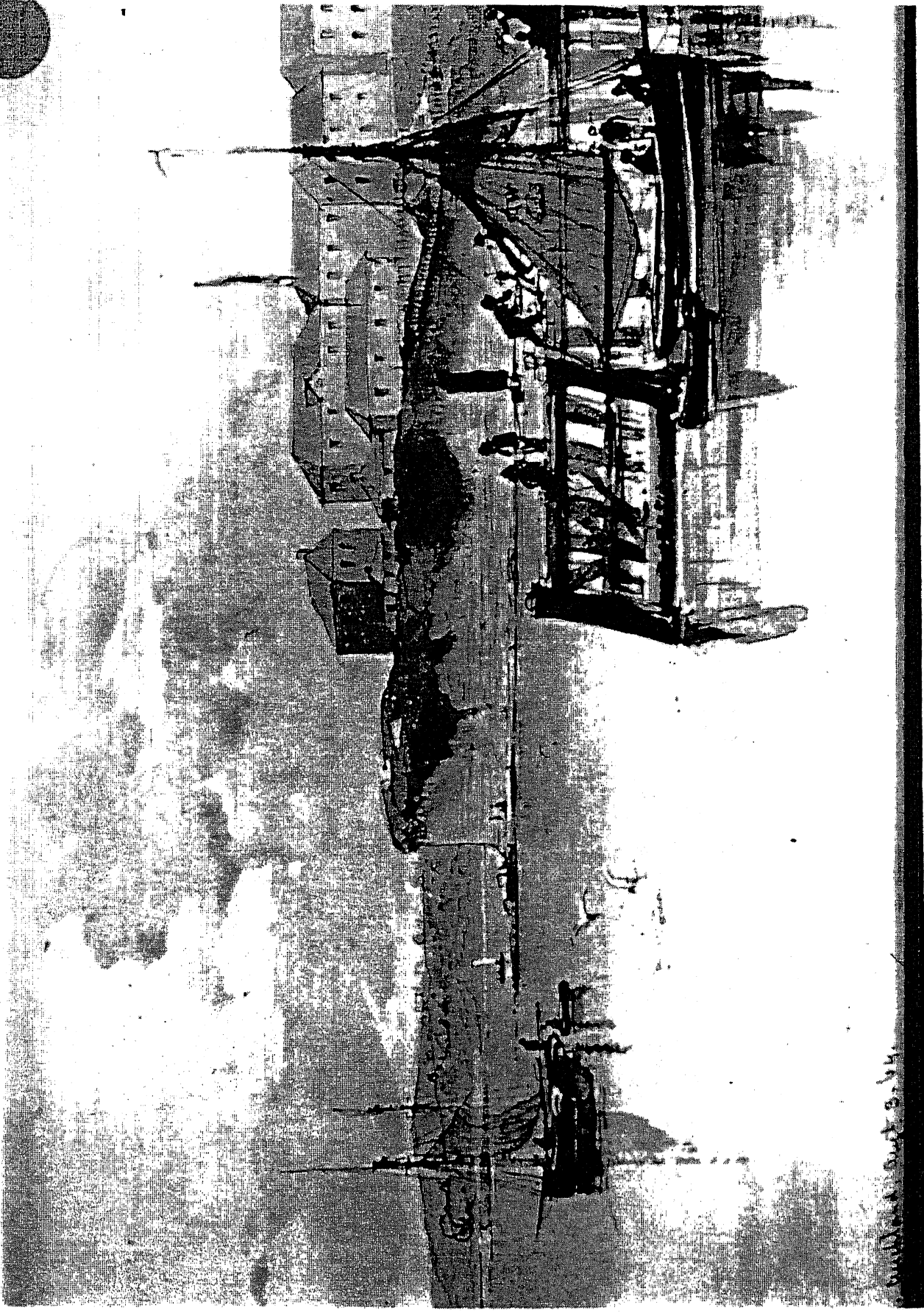
11 AUCKLAND ALBERT BARRACKS. 1859.

94459½



11. AUCKLAND. FORT BRITOMART. 1864.

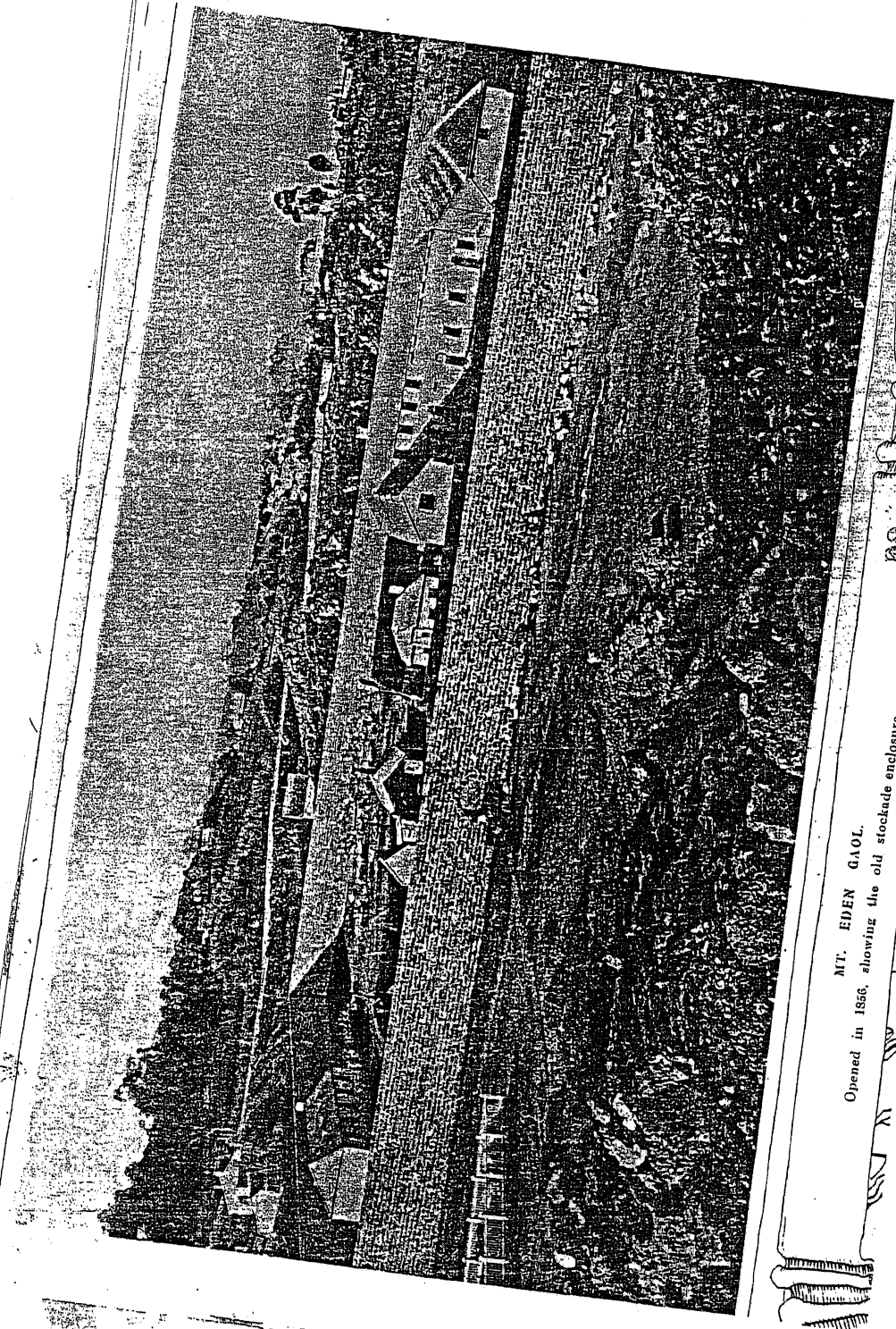
115984 2



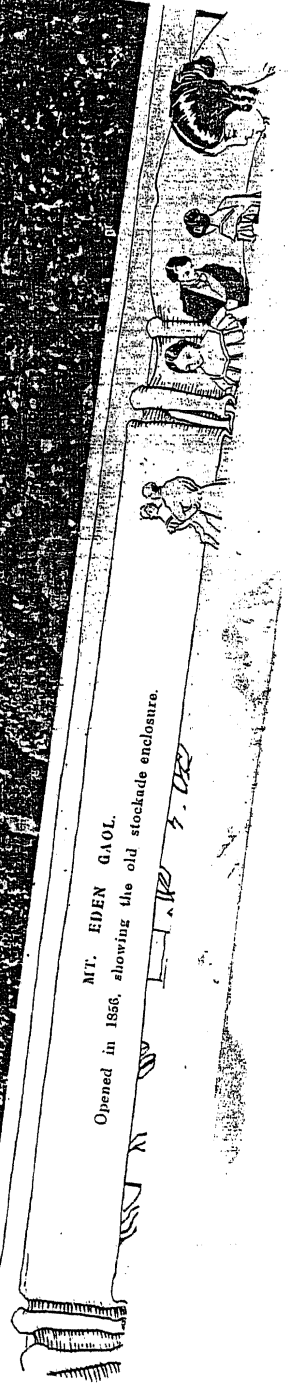
collected out 8. 84.

.AUCKLAND. MT. EDEN. GAOL. C. 1860'S.

F10.490 1/2.



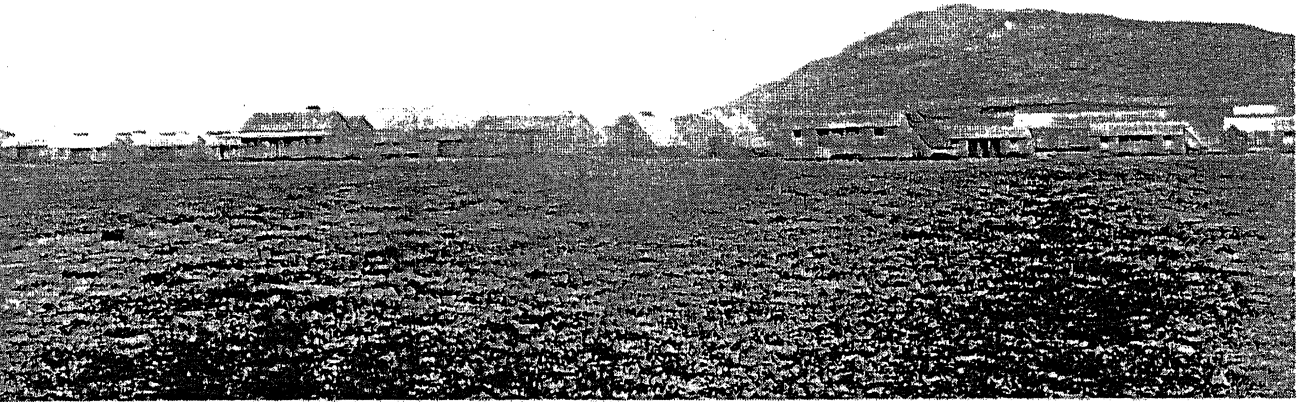
MT. EDEN GAOL.  
Opened in 1856, showing the old stockade enclosure.



N.Z. WARS.

OTAHUHU.

F. 43085



N.Z. WARS

OTAHUHI

1860-70s F4630

1  
2

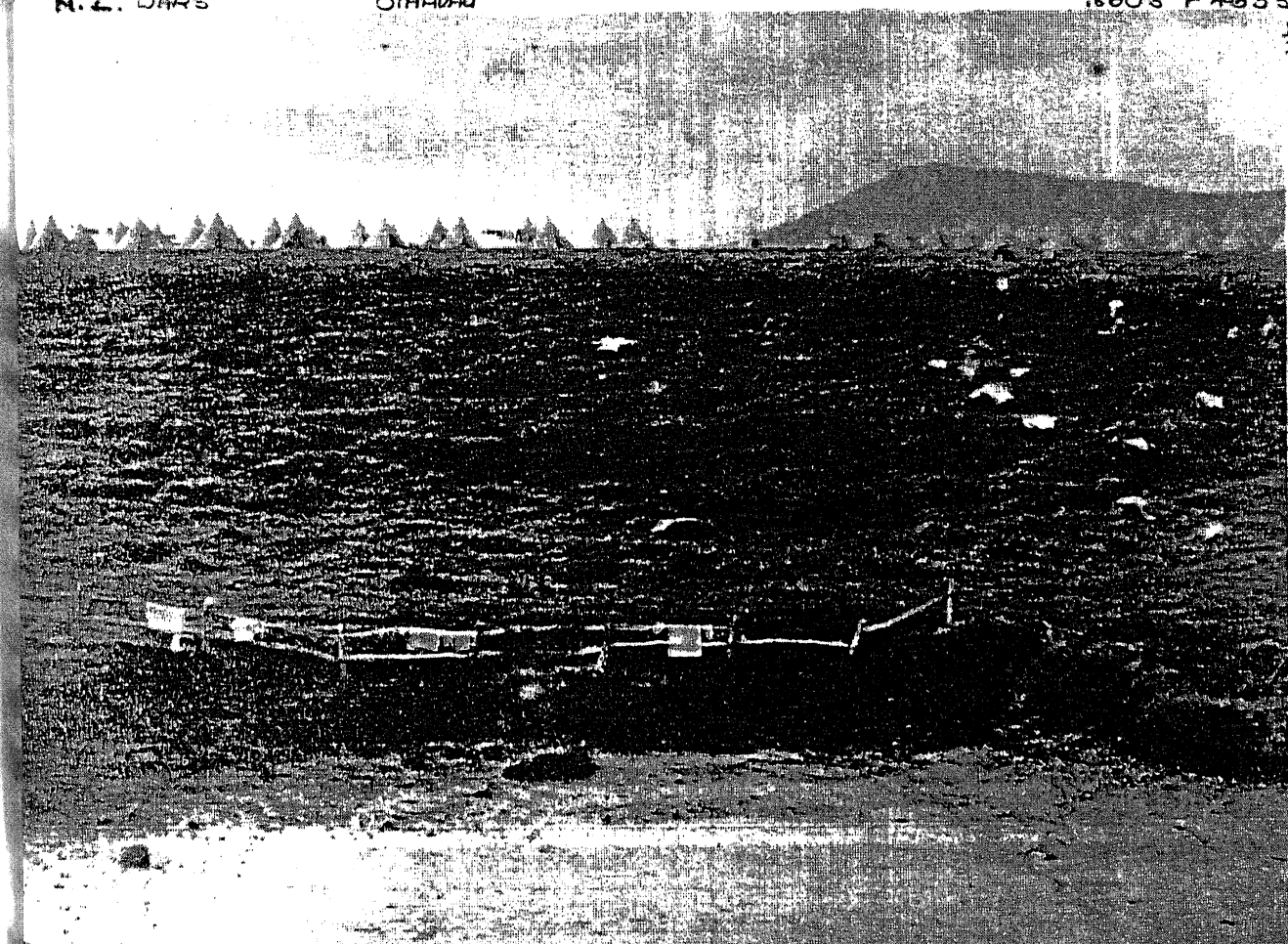


N.Z. WARS

OTAHUHI

1860's F4633

1  
2

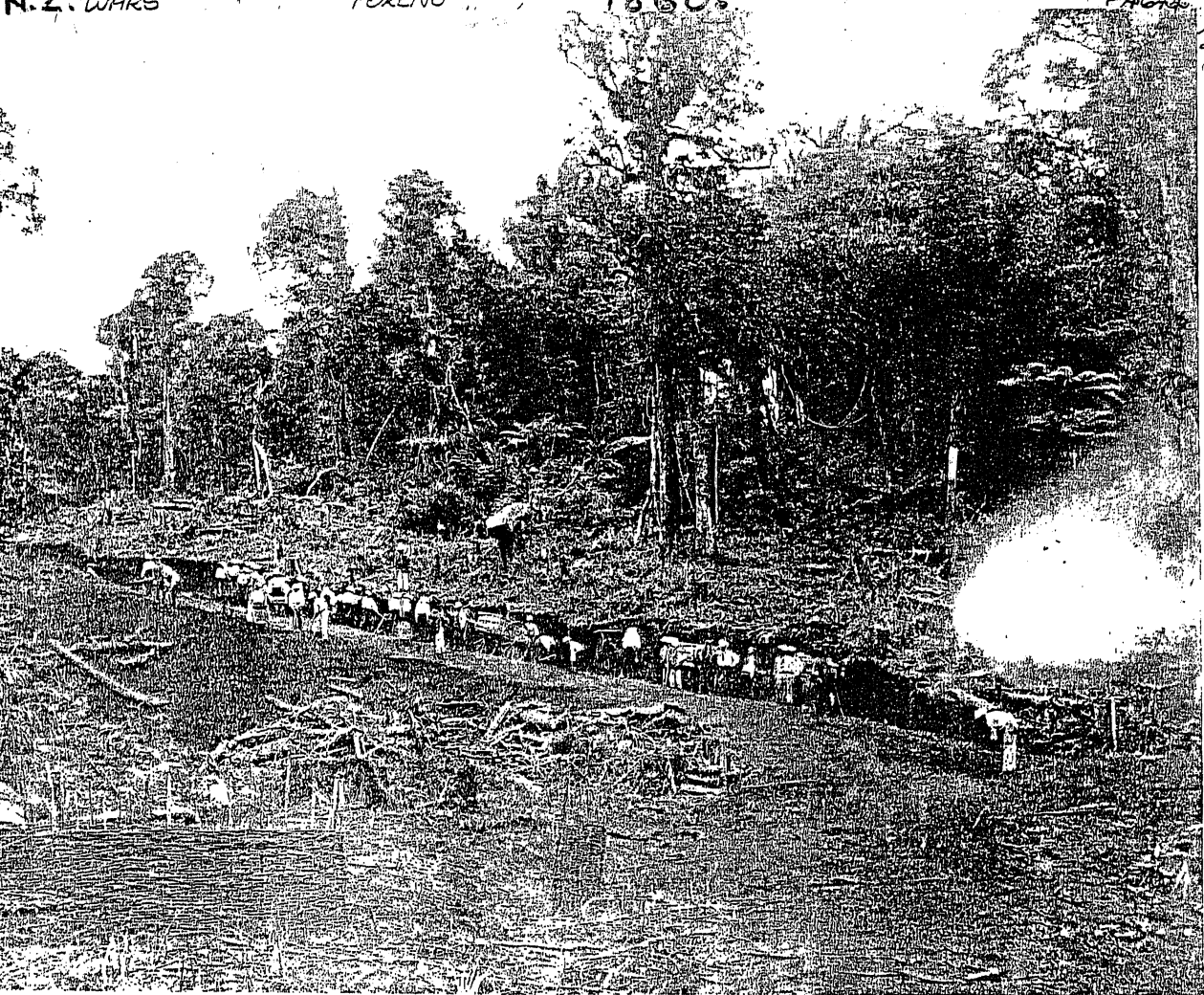


N.Z. WARS

POKENO

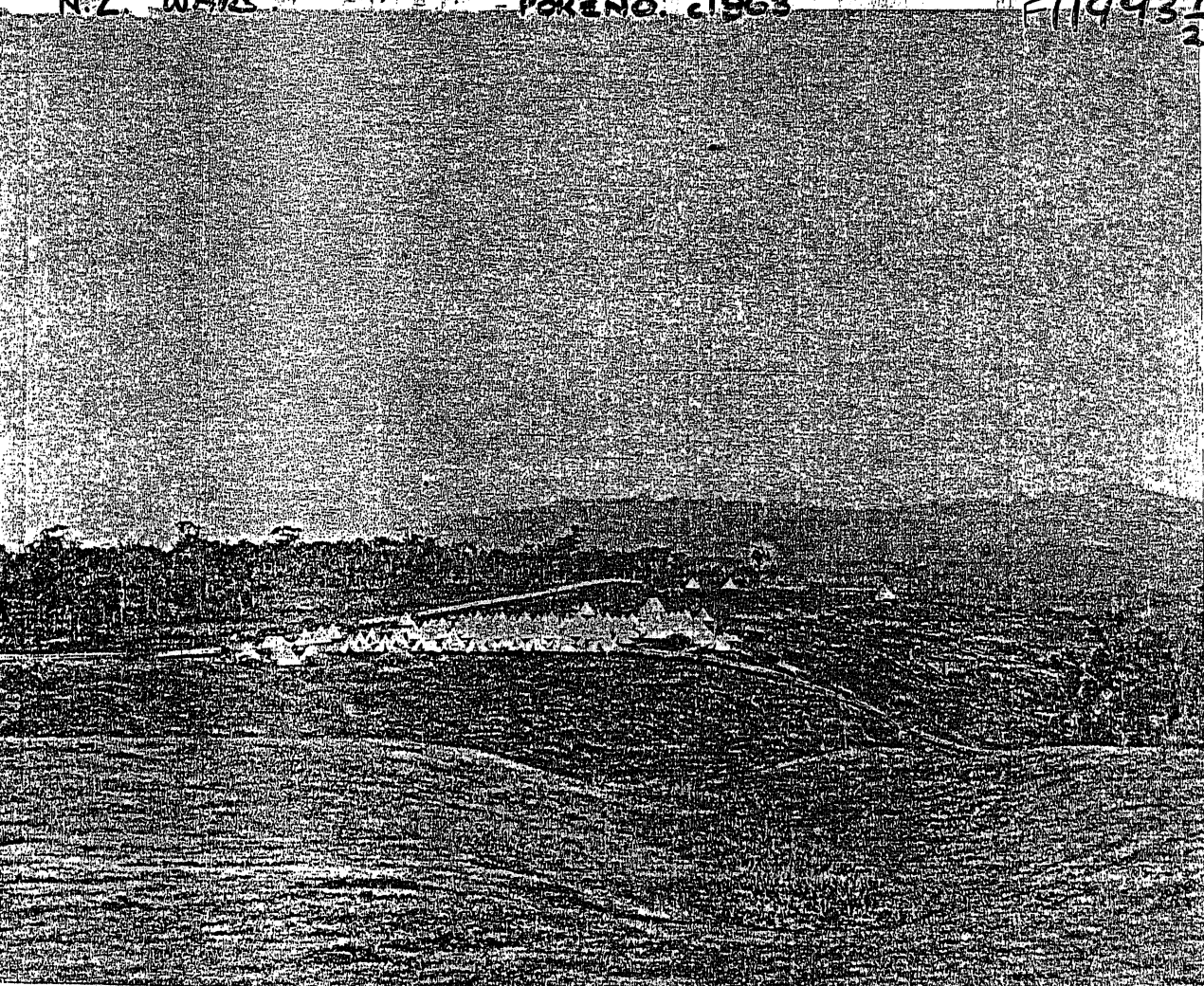
1860s

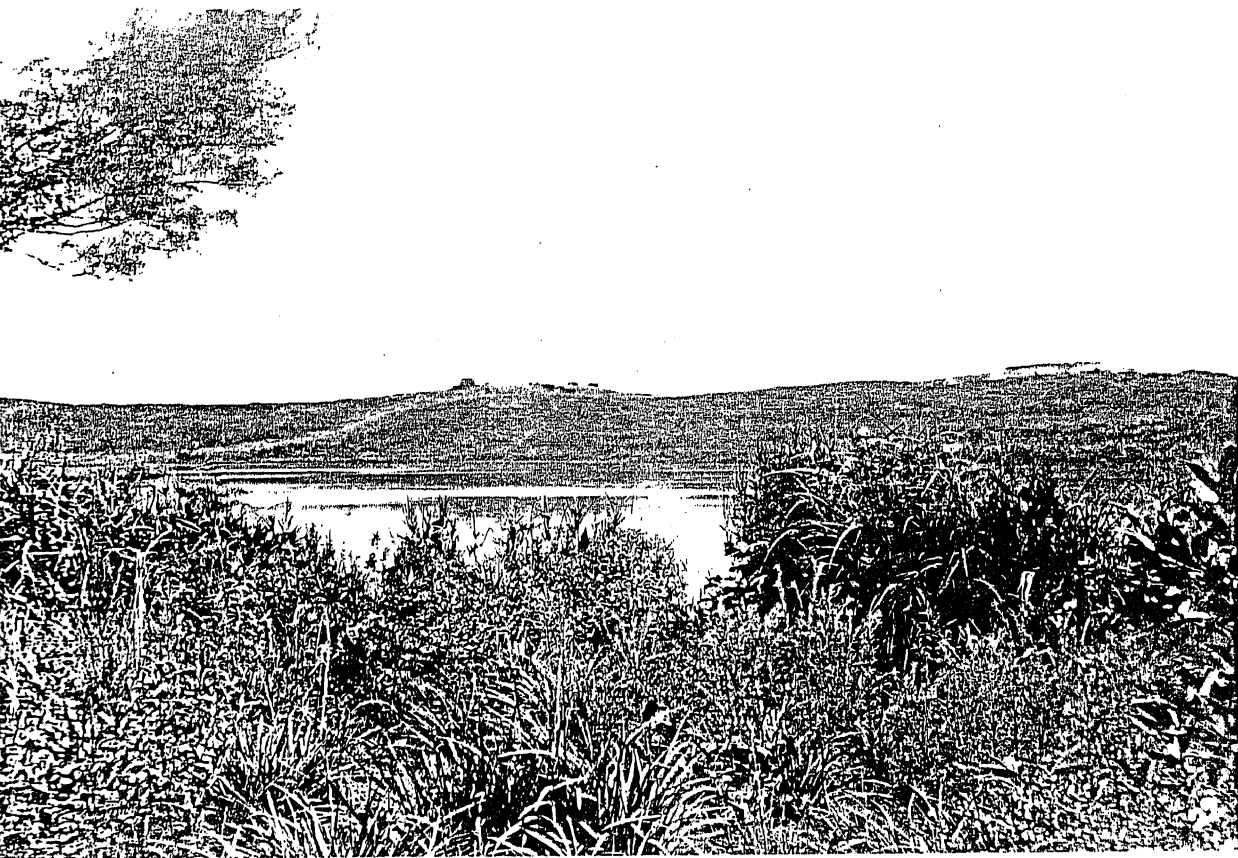
F4648



N.Z. WARS - POKENO. c1963

F11943 1/2





N. Z. WARS.

RANGIRIRI.

1865.

F480842



11. AUCKLAND: FORI BRITANNICI: ca. 1890.

