



Garrison Towns in the Nineteenth-century Empire Symposium

'To revisit a recorded history is to walk beside a running stream, alive to the fall of light on ever-changing water.'

Judith Binney, *The Legacy of Guilt: A Life of Thomas Kendall* (rev ed, 2005), Introduction

Karaka

Corynocarpus laevigatus

Anei ngā mea i whakataukītia ai e ngā tūpuna, ko te kaha, ko te uaua, ko te pakari.

Ko te kaha i te toki, ko te uaua i te pakeke, ko te pakari i te karaka.

Here are the things valued by the ancestors; it is the strength, the vigour, the sturdiness.

It is the strength of the adze, the vigour of the whale, and the sturdiness of the karaka tree.

As related by Elsdon Best, *Forest Lore of the Maori* (revised edition, 1977), 46.

Victoria University of Wellington
Te Whare Wānanga o te Ūpoko o te Ika a Māui
4 - 5 December 2017



Australian High Commission
Wellington, New Zealand

Tēnā koutou katoa. A warm welcome to all.

Garrison Towns in the 19thC Empire

A symposium in conjunction with the Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Settler: Garrison and Empire in the Nineteenth Century Project

www.soldiersofempire.nz

@empiresoldiers

Searchable database of imperial soldiers present in New Zealand in 1860s, first instalment, can be found at:

<http://www.soldiersofempire.nz/database.html>

An exploration of the army as a social, economic, cultural as well as military presence in the world of Britain's mid-19thC empire. In Auckland, Sydney, Montreal, Colchester, Madras, and many places beyond, redcoat soldiers made up a core part of town populations. Defending imperial authority, soldiers also provided a market for goods, paraded with music and ceremony, set up race courses and sports grounds, got into trouble with the law, and built barracks, roads, wharves, signal stations and hospitals. Far from being anonymous, uniformed soldiers these men were individuals intimately enmeshed in the lives of local communities. The symposium brings together scholars from across Aotearoa New Zealand and the world to consider garrison towns as spaces of culture and coercion.

Convenors: Professor Charlotte Macdonald and Dr Rebecca Lenihan.

In the year in which the Rā Maumahara Day of Remembrance has been observed for the first time, we encourage symposium participants to visit 'Rā Maumahara: The New Zealand Wars' exhibition at Te Papa and 'He Tohu: Signatures that shape New Zealand' at the National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa.

Contents

Schedule	8
Speakers & Abstracts – alphabetical by family name	10
Useful information	26

Front cover image: Victoria Barracks, Paddington, Sydney, July 2015 (Charlotte Macdonald)

Back cover image: Enfield rifle detail, 1861, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, DM000046



Henare Taratoa (?-1864), Ngāi Te Rangī, scholar, defender.

In a rare daguerreotype made by Edward J Eyre when Taratoa was a student at St John's College Auckland, c.1851.

Taratoa fought at Pukehinahina-Gate Pa and was killed at Te Ranga 21 June 1864. In a slip of paper in his jacket was the code of conduct he had written quoting Romans 12: 20 'If thine enemy thirst, give him drink'. Taratoa has been an inspiration for many, including musician Ria Hall in her latest album *Rules of Engagement*.

AWMM, PH-TECH-365-7

The following people have worked on the project in various capacities.

MA students: John McLellan and Daniel Thompson (both awarded degrees with Distinction, 2017, Victoria University of Wellington). Jamie Hawkins Elder, in progress 2017-18.

Summer Scholars and Research: Angus Crowe, Samantha Hunt, John McLellan, Fiona Cliff (2016-17); Scott Flutey, Josh King, Max Nichol (2016-17); Philip Little, Caitlin Lynch, Max Nichol, Sian Smith (2017-18).

HIST 316 students: In 2014 students in VUW HIST 316 New Zealand Social History worked with CM and RL on: www.lookingdownthebarrelofhistory.weebly.com

Family historians: Susan Dinsdale, BA, New Zealand Society for Genealogists, Kilbirnie branch. And the several hundred family historians who have been in contact, sharing their research work. Thanks to the New Zealand Society of Genealogists, and especially Bruce Ralston, editor of *New Zealand Genealogist*.

Digital: Matt Plummer, Andre Geldenhuis and Jonny Flutey at VUW; Tim Sherratt (University of Canberra and independent) kindly lent us an afternoon of his time, expertise and imagination; Heurist team, University of Sydney in database delivery in public access platform; Zane Mather in data visualization.

Our partner organisations: Puke Ariki, New Plymouth; Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Matāuranga o Aotearoa; Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa; Auckland War Memorial Museum Tāmaki Paenga Hira

Advisory Group: Bettina Bradbury, Raewyn Dalziel, Michael Fitzgerald, Jonny Flutey, Andre Geldenhuis, Paul Meredith, Matt Plummer, David Retter.

Special thanks to Teresa Durham and Florence Baggett for making things work. And to graduate students Jamie Hawkins Elder and Dean Broughton for generous assistance 'on the day'.

We gratefully acknowledge support from the Marsden Fund, Royal Society of New Zealand Te Apārangi; Australian High Commission; Victoria University of Wellington Te Whare Wānanga o te Ūpoko o Te Ika a Māui.



J. Lynch

A. Johnson

FIELD MARCHAL
THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON, K.G.

Esq. Sec. Sec.

*Engraved from M. Claudet's Daguerrotype Portrait,
for which His Grace sat May 1839.*

LONDON: PUBLISHED BY J. PEARSON, 10, MARK LANE. PRINTED BY W. CLAY, BUNGAY, SUFFOLK.

Wellingtons of the mind

On 1 May 1844, the day of his 75th birthday, the Duke of Wellington (1769-1852) sat for his first and only photographic portrait at Antoine Claudet's Adelaide Gallery studio in London. The resulting daguerreotype portrait provides the template for many subsequent reproductions.

Wellington proved to be a state of mind as much as a place or person. The New Zealand Company named its settlement at Port Nicholson 'Wellington' in 1840, in preference to its first choice of 'Britannia'. The Company was looking back to 1815 and glory while imagining a colony of the future.

Image credit:

Henry Thomas Ryall (engraver), *Field Marshall, The Duke of Wellington, May 1, 1845*. Stipple engraving after a daguerreotype by Antoine Claudet (published by J. Watson). From *Apparitions: the photograph and its image*, an exhibition curated by Geoffrey Batchen and his Honours students, Adam Art Gallery.

Many thanks to Geoffrey Batchen for providing this image, and for offering a tour of the exhibition *Apparitions: the photograph and its image* on Tuesday 5 December, 12.30pm, at the Adam Art Gallery.

Adam Art Gallery, Tim Beaglehole Courtyard, VUW.

Open: Tuesday-Sunday, 11am-5pm.

www.adamartgallery.org.nz

SCHEDULE

Day 1: Monday 4 December - Alan MacDiarmid Lecture Theatre 105 (AMLT105)

- 8.15 Registration
- 8.45 **Mihi Whakatau. Welcome & Introduction**
Mike Ross, Charlotte Macdonald
- 9.00 **Douglas M. Peers, University of Waterloo**
Discipline and Publish: Courts martial, order, and orderliness in the garrisons of Colonial India, c.1820-1860
- 10.00 **Erica Wald, Goldsmiths College, University of London**
Skittles, Cricket and Theatricals: Leisure and the European soldier in Colonial India
Chair: Professor Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, VUW, Director New Zealand India Research Institute
- 11.00 **Morning tea**
- 11.30 **Charlotte Macdonald, Victoria University of Wellington**
Garrison Towns, Garrison Colony: Remapping the mid-nineteenth century empire
Chair: Emeritus Professor Raewyn Dalziel, University of Auckland
- 12.30 **Lunch**
- 1.15 **He aroha hoki nōku ki te iwi; An expression of my affection for the people**
Arini Loader, Victoria University of Wellington
Mate i te wahine he takerehāia; Māori women, war, & waiata
- 1.45 **Mike Ross, Victoria University of Wellington**
E whiti ana te rā ki tua o Tawauwau; The sun shines beyond Tawauwau
- 2.15 **Kelly Keane-Tuala, Victoria University of Wellington**
Pinepine Te Kura; Locating Meaning in Tribal Taonga
- 2.45 **Vincent O'Malley, HistoryWorks, Wellington**
Grey Street Must Fall: The Waikato garrison towns in history and memory
- 3.15 **Afternoon tea**
- 3.45 **Janice Adamson, Archaeology Solutions Ltd, Auckland**
The Evocative Nature of Things: Interpreting archaeological material culture in the historical context of colonial wars
Chair: Dr Rebecca Lenihan, Postdoctoral Fellow, VUW
- 4.45 **Close**
- 5.30 **Penny Russell, University of Sydney**
Extended Families: Politics and practice in family history
Public Lecture, National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa, corner Molesworth and Aitken St.

Day 2: Tuesday 5 December - Alan MacDiarmid Lecture Theatre 105 (AMLT105)

- 9.00 **Huw J. Davies, King's College, London**
Garrison Towns as Nodes in Military Knowledge Networks: New York, Lahore & Sydney
- 10.00 **Rebecca Lenihan, Victoria University of Wellington**
Soldier Settlers and Sojourners: a different view of New Zealand's early migrants
Chair: Associate Professor James Beattie, Science in Society, VUW
- 11.00 **Morning tea**
- 11.30 **Angela Wanhalla, University of Otago**
Mr & Mrs Flowers: Race, marriage and mobility
- 12.00 **Patricia Downes, Australian National University**
Bathurst: A garrison town in interior New South Wales
Chair: Sue Dinsdale, Wellington, NZSG
- 12.30 **Lunch**
Tour of 'Apparitions' exhibition, Adam Art Gallery with Geoffrey Batchen, Professor of Art History, VUW
- 1.15 **Penny Russell, University of Sydney**
Shameful Scenes of Turbulence: Disorder, dishonour, and military manhood in colonial Sydney, 1821-1848
- 2.15 **Rebecca Rice, Te Papa Tongarewa Museum of New Zealand**
'Sufficiently true to nature': Picturing the New Zealand Wars
- 2.45 **Daniel Thompson, Victoria University of Wellington**
Violent Trajectories: The Enfield Rifle in the British Empire
Chair: Associate Professor Kate Hunter, History & Director Stout Research Centre, VUW
- 3.15 **Afternoon tea**
- 3.30 **John McLellan, Victoria University of Wellington**
Soldiers and Colonists: Lives of imperial soldiers as settlers in 19th century New Zealand
- 4.00 **Brad Patterson, Victoria University of Wellington**
'Commissariat expenditure ... has infused new life into the place': The role of the Imperial Regiments in ensuring the economic viability of the New Zealand Company's First and Principal Settlement, 1840-1855
- 4.30 **Craig Wilcox, Sydney**
Lieutenant General Maurice O'Connell: Untypically typical soldier in the British army's Sydney garrison
Chair: Dr Lachy Paterson, Te Tumu School of Maori, Pacific & Indigenous Studies, Te Whare Wānanga o Otago University of Otago
- 5.30 **Close**
- 6.00 **Dinner: Milk and Honey, Victoria University of Wellington.**
Featuring live music by Dan Harvey 6 - 7pm.

SPEAKERS & ABSTRACTS

Janice Adamson

The Evocative Nature of Things: Interpreting archaeological material culture in the historical context of colonial wars

What might a doll, ceramic tea cup, a Willow pattern plate, a washbasin or milkpan say about the past that we do not already know through utilising historical sources? History and archaeology have often been uneasy bedfellows in what is broadly a united goal of understanding the past. Whilst archaeologists, particularly historical archaeologists, draw on a variety of historic sources to provide a context for what they are literally unearthing, it is seldom that the reverse is the case. However, archaeology can offer historical researchers a unique insight into the past beyond the written word. In this talk I reflect on two major pieces of my work as a historical archaeologist specialising in the study of historic material culture. The sites discussed are both related to the colonial wars in New Zealand – Albert Barracks in Auckland, and the farmsteads of the first European settlers to Taranaki that were largely destroyed during the 1860-61 war in that province. However, war is not the focus here. Like many historical archaeologists, my work is interested in the “small things forgotten” – the uncovering of aspects of the domestic and every-day, often the belongings of “silent” people not leaving any other physical record of their presence. In this way archaeology can add another layer of interpretation of the past, and is sometimes the only way of viewing the nuances of people’s lives that were otherwise largely hidden from history.

Janice Adamson holds a PhD in Anthropology (Archaeology) from the University of Auckland, graduating in 2014, after coming to archaeology from a background in the tourism industry. She has a strong research focus on historic period archaeology, with an interest in interpretive material culture studies, particularly emphasising extracting detail and nuances from everyday items. Her specialist field of research is historic ceramics, and she has an extensive library and reference collection. After excavating at the Albert Barracks in Auckland, her BA Honours degree was studying the ceramics from that site. Janice’s PhD involved excavations on European settler homesteads in Taranaki that were destroyed during the 1860-61 conflict. She has also worked on the extensive archaeological assemblage from the Chinese market garden site under Carlaw Park in Auckland, and ceramics assemblage from the Wellington Inner City Bypass. Since 2009 she has been a co-principal in the archaeological consultancy Archaeology Solutions Ltd.

Garrison Towns as Nodes in Military Knowledge Networks: New York, Lahore & Sydney

The British Army can be seen as a vast, multi-faceted knowledge network. Its officers and men frequently spent long periods of time on several different continents, experiencing military activity in varied geographies and immersed in diverse cultures. Garrison towns inevitably became focal points for the acquisition, accumulation and transmission of military knowledge: nodes in this vast network. This paper explores the impact and evolution of military knowledge across time and space by focussing on three case studies of garrison towns: New York, Lahore and Sydney. The utility of military knowledge in each garrison town was very different. Before and during the American Revolution, New York was a hive of military activity. As the British Army attempted to adapt to the character of war in North America, news about terrain, geography, climate and adversaries became focussed on New York. A melting pot of idea, New York became the seat of innovative military thinking. As a frontier town in the 1830s and 1840s, Lahore became a repository for different forms of knowledge, military and political intelligence. Faced with the competing demands of policy-makers in London and Calcutta, combined with their own interests, military personnel in Lahore 're-fashioned' intelligence to suit their own ends. Whereas in New York, military knowledge networks had been flowing in two directions, in Lahore, knowledge was treated very differently. Whilst the networks thrived and evolved in New York, they stagnated in Lahore. The third case study of Sydney provides a very different example: as a penal colony, one type of military knowledge was needed to keep order; as an outpost of empire, a different type of military knowledge was needed to wage colonial wars; and as the frontier of exploration, a third type of military knowledge, map-making and scientific skills, was needed to enable expansion. This paper will illustrate the complexity and magnitude of the British Army as a military knowledge network that enabled British imperial expansion in the nineteenth century.

Huw J Davies is a Senior Lecturer in Defence Studies at King's College, London (PhD Exeter, 2006). His area of research focuses on the activities of the British Army between 1750 and 1850. Huw's publications include numerous articles on *Napoleonic military history*, and *Wellington's Wars: The Making of a Military Genius* (Yale University Press, 2012). Huw has conducted research in the United States, India, Pakistan and Australia, as well as in archives in Europe. Dr Davies has also held fellowships at the University of Michigan, the Huntington Library in California and at Yale University.

Patricia Downes

Bathurst: A garrison town in interior New South Wales

What is a garrison town? The Oxford Dictionary defines it as a 'town that has troops permanently stationed in it'. When in 1826 Governor Darling detached 'rather a large portion of the Troops' across the Blue Mountains to Bathurst, with a 'Field Officer' (Major) in command, it would have been optimistic to describe the isolated settlement as a town in the European sense. Yet the district that the troops were expected to patrol covered six counties, from Springwood in the Blue Mountains westward to the Wellington Valley and beyond. Its population in 1828 stood at 2072 and, outside of the original settlement of County Cumberland, it was second in size only to that of the Hunter Valley. Bathurst rose to become an assize town and the site of two cathedrals. The small numbers of troops available, however, and the demand for their services, from Western Australia to Norfolk Island, prevented Bathurst from developing into the centre of military power and society normally associated with garrison towns. In 1847, when more troops were ordered to New Zealand, and by which time transportation had ceased, bushranging was diminished, and resistance by Aboriginal people had mainly been suppressed, the garrison closed. This paper will examine the life of the Bathurst garrison, and the relationships that developed between the military and the wealthy squatters who made Bathurst the headquarters of their rapidly expanding pastoral empires in the 1830s and 1840s.

Patricia Downes is a PhD candidate in the School of History at the Australian National University. A retired naval communications officer, she undertook undergraduate studies at the ANU where she majored in history and international relations, and graduated with First Class Honours in history in 2012. Her primary interest is in social history, and her Honours thesis was a social history of bushranging in the Braidwood district of NSW. Her current thesis is a social history of some six thousand military convicts transported to the Australian colonies from 1788 to 1868, and their role and contribution to the militarisation of early Australia.

Kelly Keane-Tuala

Pinepine Te Kura; Locating Meaning in Tribal Taonga

One of the waiata that features twice in the collection of waiata compiled by John McGregor is 'Pinepine Te Kura' ('Little Tiny Treasure') commonly known today as a Ngāti Kahungunu waiata or more properly, oriori. In this paper I will analyse the texts of this specific waiata written down by the Maori prisoners of war taken from Rangiriri in order to draw attention to the beauty and generative imagery which is

lost in the act of translation from te reo Māori to English. I posit that waiata are taonga that are replete with metaphor, simile, and all manner of poetic devices which are so complex they can only be properly understood via whakapapa and knowledge of atua and the broader tribalscapes our people inhabited then as now. Ultimately, I argue that in order to best understand the illustrations painted by the words and phrases on these pages we should engage less with English translation and more with te ao Māori, the Māori world.

Kelly Keane-Tuala (Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa, Rangitāne me Ngāpuhi) is a lecturer at Victoria University in Te Kawa a Māui, Māori Studies. Kelly's research interest include te reo Māori and linguistics.

Rebecca Lenihan

Soldier settlers and sojourners: a different view of New Zealand's early migrants

The usual narrative of the European settlement of New Zealand begins with whalers, sealers and missionaries, then focuses on the New Zealand Company, the less formalised settlement of Auckland, Provincial assistance schemes, gold rush arrivals, and Vogel immigration of the 1870s. Seldom do we hear about imperial soldiers as a stream of migrants, with the exception of the Royal New Zealand Fencibles arriving 1847-1852. Nevertheless, stream of migrants they were – as sojourners only, for many of them, but as more permanent settlers for a large proportion of them. Some deserted or discharged in New Zealand. Others deserted or discharged elsewhere and later returned to New Zealand. Others still were discharged from the British armed forces having never served in New Zealand but nevertheless turn up in archives recording the receipt of an imperial pension on these shores. What do we know, and can we know, about these men? How does this migration stream compare to those others we hear so much more about? How does putting these men (and their families) into New Zealand migration history change that story? And how might it change Pakeha New Zealanders' relationship with and understanding of the New Zealand Wars?

Rebecca Lenihan is a post-doctoral fellow at Victoria University of Wellington, working with Charlotte Macdonald on the 'Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Settler' project. She is the author of *From Alba to Aotearoa: Profiling New Zealand's Scots 1840-1920* (Otago University Press, 2015).

Arini Loader

He aroha hoki nōku ki te iwi; An expression of my affection for the people

This panel presentation reflects upon the significance and meaning of a collection of predominantly waiata texts produced in Māori by Māori taken as Prisoners of War from the Battle of Rangiriri in 1863. Some 183 Māori captives were taken to Auckland and held on HMS *Curacoa* before being transferred to the hulk *Marion*, anchored in Te Waitematā, Auckland's obsidian waters. During the first six weeks they were held on the *Marion*, whilst the Governor, settler politicians and white settlers squabbled over what was to be done with them, they wrote down 142 pages, some 230 separate items of waiata, karakia, whakataukī and kōrero for one of their prison guards, John McGregor. McGregor edited, arranged and finally published the manuscript 30 years late under the title *Ko Nga Waiata Maori: Popular Maori Songs* (1893), the second largest published collection of waiata after Sir George Grey's *Ko Nga Moteatea me nga Hakirara a nga Maori* (1853). Each presenter in this panel will analyse the texts from their own disciplinary and more personal entry points incorporating iwi perspectives, Māori epistemology and the politics of gender. The stakes involved in such a time of uncertainty where life and death hung in the balance are high and this tension underpins our readings of the texts. Ultimately, this panel argues that the complex inter-cultural picture that emerges across enemy lines urges reconsideration of the ways New Zealand history is told, heard and remembered and the sources employed in its service.

Panelists: Kelly Keane-Tuala, Arini Loader, Mike Ross

Mate i te wahine he takerehāia; Māori women, war, & waiata

Māori women, all too often ignored, downplayed, if not entirely excluded from Aotearoa New Zealand's historical landscape, were present at the battles of Rangiriri, Ōrākau, Pukehinahina and other sites of 19th century British-Māori conflict. Yet although we know that Māori women were present we know much less about what happened to them. Māori women were, for example, among the Māori forces at Rangiriri but these women do not appear to have been among the 183 Māori taken prisoner following the infamous 'white flag incident' in the early hours of 21st November 1863. It is as if these women simply melted away into the swamp. This paper investigates the roles and fates of the Māori women present at the Battle of Rangiriri and the enduring influence Māori women exert in such times of grievous devastation as both composers and subjects of waiata. Ultimately, this paper will demonstrate that Māori women contributed to the defence of their homes against British invasion in practical as well as artistic, emotionally connected ways which continue to bind, wrap around and guide their people.

Arini Loader (Ngāti Raukawa) is a Māori Studies scholar currently working as a lecturer in History at Victoria University of Wellington/Te Whare Wānanga o Te Ūpoko o Te Ika a Māui. Her research centres on 19th century Māori literature and literacies.

Charlotte Macdonald

Garrison Towns, Garrison Colony: Remapping the mid-nineteenth century empire

This paper will set out some of the major lines of investigation taken by the 'Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Settler' project over the past three years. The project began with a hypothesis about garrison culture and a question about the army as an empire-wide vector of economic, social and cultural exchange. With studies of place, body, writing, 'settlement', rations, postal networks, arms, we have some provisional arguments. Garrison towns prove a useful place from which to set these out. Tens of thousands of redcoat soldiers came and went from the garrison towns at the centre of porous settler societies, the cantonments of India, convict colonies and across England and Ireland. Tracking some paths joining these places we want to suggest some new understandings of the shape and nature of the mid-nineteenth-century British Empire, especially around the cultures of coercion, of shifts to the settler economies, and driven by mobilities of command.

Charlotte Macdonald is Professor of History at Victoria University of Wellington Te Whare Wānanga o Te Ūpoko o Te Ika a Māui. Her interests lie largely in 19thC empire and colony, gender and culture. She is a Fellow of the Royal Society of New Zealand.

John McLellan

Soldiers and Colonists: Lives of imperial soldiers as settlers in 19th century New Zealand

The approximately 18,000 imperial troops who arrived in New Zealand with the British Army between 1840 and 1870, did not do so by choice. However, for the more than 3,600 nco and rank and file soldiers who discharged from the army in New Zealand, and the unknown but significant number of officers who retired in New Zealand, it was their decision to stay and build civilian lives as settlers in the colony. This paper discusses some key themes in their histories as soldiers who became settlers, with a particular focus on their livelihoods. Broadly investigating how soldier settlers experienced civilian life, how they made a living for themselves and their

families, and how they saw out their twilight years in the colony. Discussion follows the period of the first arrival of soldiers in the 1840s through to the early twentieth century with the span of the soldier settlers' lifetime.

John has recently completed an MA thesis on soldier settlers at Victoria University of Wellington, under a scholarship attached to Charlotte Macdonald and Rebecca Lenihan's 'Soldiers of Empire' Marsden Funded project.

Vincent O'Malley

Grey Street Must Fall: The Waikato garrison towns in history and memory

Today, the street signs pay silent homage to the Pākehā politicians and soldiers responsible for its conquest and later confiscation in the Waikato War of 1863-64. Grey, Cameron, Carey, Whitaker and other streets in the small Waikato town of Kihikihi taunt its many (34%) Māori residents with daily reminders of the devastating effects and consequences of that conflict felt over many generations. The settlement that prior to 1863 was principally known for being the home to Ngāti Maniapoto and Ngāti Paretekawa rangatira Rewi Maniapoto became one of many military settlements along the new frontier that separated the Kingitanga and Crown in its aftermath. Beyond lay the Puniu River and the unsubdued area henceforth known as the King Country. This paper considers the changing social and political dynamics of these Waikato garrison towns in the mid-nineteenth century – from their surprisingly important role in the development of the New Zealand (and Māori) economy prior to the war, through to the quite contrasting experiences of the military settlers in its wake. It asks, beyond street signs, what other remnants of this history remain and how else is the painful legacy of local (and brutal) conflict at nearby Ōrākau and elsewhere marked and recorded?

Vincent O'Malley is a founding partner of HistoryWorks, a Wellington consultancy specialising in Treaty of Waitangi research, and is the author of a number of books on New Zealand history including *The Great War for New Zealand. Waikato 1800-2000* (Bridget Williams Books, 2016), *The Meeting Place: Māori and Pākehā Encounters, 1642-1840* (Auckland University Press, 2012), which was shortlisted in the general non-fiction section at the New Zealand Post Book Awards in 2013, and *Beyond the Imperial Frontier: The Contest for Colonial New Zealand* (Bridget Williams Books, 2014).

'Commissariat expenditure ... has infused new life into the place': The role of the Imperial Regiments in ensuring the economic viability of the New Zealand Company's First and Principal Settlement, 1840-1855

The regular mid 1840s disembarkation of British troops at Wellington, totalling nearly 800 by the end of 1846, was greeted generally with relief by the settler community, and with barely stifled enthusiasm by the settlement's elite. This public unity reflected ongoing concern over a deterioration in relations with local Maori, which had culminated in clashes over the occupation of disputed adjacent lands. It was firmly believed the presence of the soldiery would reduce the perceived threat, if necessary by force of arms. Amongst Wellington's dealers and merchants, moreover, there was optimism that a prolonged military presence might go far to lift depressed business confidence. Founded in 1840, Wellington, though initially sustained by an urban building boom, had been predicated on a mixed grain farming future. When this failed to materialise, and with launching capital severely depleted, the settlement's meagre receipts depended perilously on the already diminishing returns from whale fishing.

Thus, pending determination of a more sustainable staple, returns from supplying the forces potentially offered salvation. Small cultivators and an emerging cadre of stockowners soon benefitted through the provision of foodstuffs and forage. Importations of a wide range of consumer goods, from the neighbouring colonies and further afield, both boosted merchant balances and encouraged more sophisticated shipping services. Local carters and boatmen were soon in regular demand. Of longer term significance, the military undertook major capital works, barracks and blockhouses, also assuming responsibility for the construction of strategic roads. Until wool production emerged as a credible alternative economic foundation in the early 1850s, Commissariat expenditure afforded vital bridging funds, frequently exceeding the annual returns from exports. While Wellington was to remain a garrison town for nearly a further twenty years, the military economic contribution was never again to be so pronounced.

Brad Patterson is an Adjunct Research Fellow at the Stout Research Centre for New Zealand Studies, Victoria University of Wellington. He was formerly Director of the university's Irish-Scottish Studies Programme. The author, editor, or co-editor of thirteen books, his publications include *The Irish in New Zealand: Historical Contexts & Perspectives* (2002), *Ulster-New Zealand Migration and Cultural Transfers* (2006), *Unpacking the Kists: The Scots in New Zealand* (2013), and most recently *After the Treaty: The Settler State, Race Relations and the Exercise of Power in Colonial New Zealand* (2016). His ongoing research projects include detailed studies of the survival of Irish and Scottish migrant identity in nineteenth-century New Zealand, and he is presently completing a book on the dynamics of settler capitalism in the early

decades of the Wellington settlement. Brad is vice-president of the Irish Studies Association of Australia and New Zealand.

Douglas M. Peers

Discipline and Publish: Courts martial, order, and orderliness in the garrisons of Colonial India, c.1820-1860

James Fitzjames Stephen, in his review of J.W. Kaye's *History of the Indian Mutiny*, reminded his readers of the double-edged nature of the British grip on India. He quoted from Kaye a prescient warning given by William Sleeman to Lord Dalhousie in 1848, to the effect that recent activities in India could likely "render us too visibly dependent upon our native army; that they might see it; and that accidents might occur to unite them, or too great a portion of them, in some desperate Act."¹ Stephen was writing with the benefit of hindsight and it is not surprising that in the 1860s the limits of the garrison state had come under question, particularly in those cases where the dependability of its chief props had undeniably failed. But Stephen, like so many liberals including J.S. Mill, would continue to hold to the axiom that British India was "essentially an absolute government, founded not on consent but on conquest."² Similar sentiments were impressed upon officer-cadets at Addiscombe who were told by their student-run newspaper that British rule in India "is essentially (at least in its present state) a military government; and, more its army maintains that high character for which it has ever been famed, the more firmly will the Anglo-Indian sway be fixed in the east."³

Few observers of British India prior to the uprisings of 1857-8 would have questioned the extent to which colonialism depended upon the army; few would have doubted the degree to which colonial society was shaped by the needs and the values of the armies of the Raj. As Kaye noted, "We are too much inclined, in these Western latitudes, to regard India simply as a great camp. The very name has recently suggested to us little but gigantic visions of tented fields and armed legions, with all the glittering and gorgeous panoply, the 'pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war.'⁴ Yet for all the pomp and arrogance which are commonly and stereotypically ascribed to colonial rule, a close scrutiny of the internal workings of garrisons in Colonial India reveals just how preoccupied the Army was with maintaining order as well as orderliness within its units. Feelings of anxiety were never far from the surface even before 1857. They can also be anticipated in surviving courts martial records

¹ J.F. Stephen, "Kaye's History of the Indian Mutiny." *Fraser's Magazine* 70(1864): 762.

² J.F. Stephen, "Foundations of the Government of India." *Nineteenth Century* 80(1883): 541-568.

³ "Address to our Readers" *Addiscombe Magazine*, 1(1846): 2

⁴ J.W. Kaye, "Society in India," *Bentley's Miscellany* 31(1852): 242

which reveal the considerable efforts being made to define and prioritize threats to the garrison state and ensure that their responses were properly publicized.

According to a leading military writer of the time, military law was not intended to “establish a rational, religious, moral state of society”; rather, “the object of military law is simply to produce prompt and entire obedience.”⁵ Key to securing this obedience was ensuring that military law was visible for all to see. Officers, for example, were frequently reminded, even berated, for only perfunctorily reading out the decisions of courts martial. They were reminded that it was their duty to ensure that sepoys and soldiers, Indians and Europeans, understood the finding, the sentence, and finally the rationale behind the approbation given by the commander-in-chief to the actions of the courts martial. It is also worth noting that the machinations of military law could also backfire, sometimes quite humorously. Officers complained, for example, of their powerlessness in the face of European soldiers who wanted to be Sydney’d, in other words, deliberately committing an offence for which the sentence was transportation to Australia. It is worth noting though that military law could occasionally be very private (trials for sodomy were conducted behind closed doors and the decisions not publicized). The decision to have a closed trial depended on the message the army wished to communicate and the audience to which they wished to speak. It also hinged upon what might best be termed a taxonomy of orderliness which was in turn framed by evolving notions of class, race, and gender.

The instrumentalist view of military law promoted by Henry Marshall and others does not do justice to the moral and ideological calculations which consequently informed military law and which will be shown to be retrievable through close scrutiny of how charges were framed, and the subsequent approval or disapproval of them by the commander-in-chief. In this paper I will present some preliminary impressions from a study of courts-martials of European officers and soldiers (EIC as well as Royal Army), Indian officers and sepoys, and camp followers which were conducted between 1820 and 1860 in the presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay.

Douglas M Peers is Professor and Dean of Arts at the University of Waterloo, Ontario. He has a PhD from King’s College, University of London.

Doug’s work often focuses on tracing how and why military influences penetrated imperial structures, cultures and ideologies. His many publications include *Between Mars and Mammon: Colonial Armies and the Garrison State in India, 1819-1835*, (London: I.B. Tauris, 1995), *India under Colonial Rule: 1700-1885* (London: Longman, 2006); *India and the British Empire*, ed with Nandini Gooptu (Oxford: OUP, 2012), *Warfare and Empire*, ed (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1997) and a raft of articles and chapters.

⁵ Henry Marshall, *Military Miscellany*, London: John Murray, 1846, 115

Rebecca Rice

'Sufficiently true to nature': Picturing the New Zealand Wars

In 1867 the flamboyant soldier-artist, Gustavus von Tempsky, sought Walter Mantell's patronage for a suite of paintings depicting scenes from the New Zealand Wars. He claimed that he had 'done his best...to give an exposition of my ideas on the subject, sufficiently true to nature to be recognisable and sufficiently idealised to suit artistic purposes'.

In this paper, I explore a range of pictures and photographs relating to the New Zealand Wars, from the on-the-spot sketches of Horatio Gordon Robley and Edward Arthur Williams, to the annotated and enhanced photographs collected by William Francis Gordon, and the dramatized paintings by von Tempsky and William Strutt. These artists and photographers employ different modes of representation, some of which have been accepted as more 'truthful' than others. However, I argue that these images function most effectively when they are removed from the burden of illustration, and their historical status as 'imperfect' records is embraced.

Rebecca Rice is Curator Historical New Zealand Art at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. She researches and publishes in the field of colonial New Zealand Art with a particular focus on visual responses to the New Zealand Wars. She has contributed to international publications, journals and conferences as well as the collection publications of Te Papa (2017, 2009) and Auckland Art Gallery (2011). In 2016, her Gordon H. Brown lecture, *Unsettling: Art and the New Zealand Wars*, was published by Art History, Victoria University of Wellington. At Te Papa, Rebecca has curated *Adorned and Framing the View* (2016), *He iti whetu: Ngāti Toa Rangatira/ Ngāti Toa Portraits* (2015) and *Van der Velden: An Art of Two Halves* (2013). Most recently, she co-curated *Rā Maumahara /New Zealand Wars* in response to our nation's inaugural commemorative day on the 28 October 2017.

Mike Ross

E whiti ana te rā ki tua o Tawauwau; The sun shines beyond Tawauwau

Of the 183 men taken prisoner at Rangiriri, 27 are listed as belonging to Ngāti Hauā. Two Ngāti Hauā men were too badly wounded and were left at Queens Redoubt at Pōkeno and, according to Wiremu Tāmihana Tarapīpipi Te Waharoa, a chief of Ngāti Hauā, many other Ngāti Hauā men, women and children were killed in the battle or as they withdrew from the battlefield. However, when information about these Ngāti Hauā prisoners and their waiata was presented at several recent Ngāti Hauā gatherings nobody present was aware of the circumstances surrounding the

prisoners or who they were and what became of them. How could such a significant historical event be lost to the collective tribal memory? This presentation pieces together a story of the Ngāti Hauā involvement in the battle of Rangiriri and attempts to restore the identity of those Ngāti Hauā prisoners within the tribal history. I will discuss how the waiata recorded by the prisoners from Rangiriri aboard the *Marion* might be used to communicate the unique perspective from Māori combatants at Rangiriri on the war, their imprisonment and other issues of the time. I will also discuss the process of identifying Ngāti Hauā material in the waiata manuscript, provide examples from waiata that express prisoners' thoughts and feelings and consider how this material might be used to encourage Ngāti Hauā people to re-engage with a significant event in their history.

Mike Ross (Ngāti Hauā) is a lecturer at Victoria University in Te Kawa a Māui, Māori Studies. Mike's research interests include community development, tribal governance, history, Māori language and customs.

Penny Russell

Shameful Scenes of Turbulence: Disorder, dishonour, and military manhood in colonial Sydney, 1821-1848

On a Sunday evening in August 1828, a group of Sydney tradesmen accosted some soldiers of the 39th Regiment in George Street, not far from the military barracks. A rowdy but apparently good humoured initial exchange turned violent after one of the townspeople rashly made a derogatory remark about pipe clay. A fight broke out. The soldiers, who all bore their side arms, began to pursue peaceable bystanders with their bayonets; the crowd eventually responded with a shower of stones and brickbats. In the midst of the melee, a woman was overheard pleading with one of the soldiers, asking 'if he would stab a woman?' The soldier 'felt the appeal and desisted'. But the same mercy was not extended to men, one of whom – a recently arrived convict – died from his wounds soon afterwards.

Periodically the streets and surrounding regions of colonial Sydney witnessed such scenes of riot and disturbance, centred around unruly soldiers – drunk, disgruntled or disaffected, and too often armed. Such incidents brought to the fore tensions inherent in a penal settlement that was also a burgeoning commercial town. They revealed the limits of military discipline, the touchiness of soldiers defending personal and corporate honour, and fault lines of class, ethnicity and gender that ran through the colony, both within and beyond the garrison. My paper will explore the effect of this military presence on civilian life, with particular reference to gender, masculinity, honour, and the vulnerability of women.

Penny Russell is the Bicentennial Professor of Australian History at the University of Sydney. Professor Russell's work on nineteenth-century New South Wales and its wider context explores the political intricacies that lie in private writing and social intimacies. She is fascinated by snobs and social climbers, scandals large and small, and the mysterious ways people lived, loved and learned in times past. Her most recent book, *Savage or Civilised? Manners in Colonial Australia* (NewSouth 2010) won the NSW Premier's Award for Australian History and was shortlisted for four other awards in 2011, including the Prime Minister's Prize for Australian History. In 2016-17 Penny Russell was the visiting chair in Australian Studies at Harvard University.

Daniel Thompson

Violent Trajectories: The Enfield Rifle in the British Empire

This presentation explores the material, cultural, and political significance of the Enfield rifle in the British Empire from c. 1850 to 1870. Unravelling the weapon's links with imperial ideology and violence, it argues that the Enfield helped to produce discourses of race, gender, and civilisation during this era. Furthermore, it contends that these discourses shaped the ways in which Britons viewed the Enfield and influenced how they saw themselves. The rifle is best known for its well-chronicled role in the 1857 Indian Rebellion, where it was central to British narratives of the conflict. While acknowledging the Indian context, the presentation aims to draw the Enfield deeper into debates about British imperial culture, comparing the rifle's physical and discursive influence across a range of imperial spaces.

The Enfield was one of the most important weapons of the nineteenth century. It had a considerable physical impact on the British Empire, but an even greater discursive significance. During the 1850s and 1860s, discussions about the Enfield's invention, production, and usage promoted ideas of rationality, modern science, and individualism. After the 1857 Indian Rebellion, the rifle came to epitomise British technological might and racial 'superiority' in the minds of Victorians. The Volunteer Force, established in 1859, embraced the Enfield as its weapon of choice and conceived of it as a weapon that embodied the Force's values of skill, education and respectability. In the New Zealand Wars however, the rifle failed to bring the decisive victories many settlers expected and they began to disparage the weapon as a result. Nevertheless, the Enfield was still deeply implicated in the contested process of colonisation in New Zealand. Ultimately, the Enfield's role in these events transformed the weapon into a deeply raced and gendered object.

Daniel Thompson has recently completed an MA thesis at Victoria University of Wellington on the culture of the Enfield rifle across the mid-19thC empire. He is now in a policy position with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Wellington.

Erica Wald

Skittles, Cricket and Theatricals: Leisure and the European soldier in Colonial India

On average, a European Private serving in India had 9 hours of drill per week and, barring periods of active service and a few hours here and there of guard duty, little else that he was required to do in a day. The heat of the Indian summer further dictated a daily routine for Europeans that meant that most of their time was spent indoors, as commanding officers and surgeons sought to avoid any unnecessary exposure to anything that might sap their energies.

These constraints produced countless complaints of boredom from the troops, but the army was slow to offer alternative amusements. For much of the century, the Company and Crown only formally supported a very limited number of social outlets for the European soldier serving in India - those that were believed to reflect the men's class and character. However, as army numbers grew, so too did the sphere of informal, unofficial, social activities that soldiers engaged in, often with the support of individual sympathetic commanding officers. From football matches on the march to amateur dramatics, the scope of military leisure began to expand in the 1830s. This paper explores the role of leisure in the life of the European soldier in India. It suggests the ways in which official understandings of the European troops were reflected in the activities that were sanctioned for them and explores the ways in which these understandings shifted - slowly - over the course of the nineteenth century.

Erica Wald is a Senior Lecturer in modern history at Goldsmiths, University of London. Her research focuses on the social history of the military and broader British Empire in India in the nineteenth century. She is the author of *Vice in the Barracks: Medicine, the Military and the Making of Colonial India* (2014). Her current project, *The Spectrum of Social Life in Colonial India* examines the idea of leisure and how this contributed to the operation of the empire. Erica was awarded her PhD in 2009 from Trinity College, Cambridge. She received her BA in History and Government from Smith College and her MSc in the Politics of Empire and Post Imperialism from the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Angela Wanhalla

Mr & Mrs Flowers: Race, marriage and mobility

Coventry-born Nathaniel Flowers enlisted in the British Army on 29 December 1848. Initially stationed on Saint Helena, by 1856 he had transferred to the 65th Regiment for service in New Zealand, arriving at Wellington in January 1857 from Australia on the *Louis & Miriam*. When he was discharged at the rank of private on 1 March 1860, Nathaniel Flowers became one of the thousands of men from the British imperial regiments who settled in New Zealand. While serving on Saint Helena, Nathaniel obtained permission to marry Margaret Ann March in April 1854. Notably, theirs was an interracial marriage that was enabled and shaped by garrison life, which this presentation explores by tracking the arc of their relationship from Saint Helena to New Zealand. This presentation uses Mr and Mrs Flowers as a starting point for exploring the extent to which interracial marriage took place amongst the rank and file of the British Army during the mid-nineteenth century.

Angela Wanhalla is an associate professor in the Department of History and Art History at the University of Otago. She has published widely on race, intimacy and colonialism and is the author of *Matters of the Heart: A History of Interracial Marriage in New Zealand* (2013), winner of the 2014 Ernest Scott Prize.

Craig Wilcox

Lieutenant General Maurice O'Connell: Untypically typical soldier in the British army's Sydney garrison

The military garrison in a colonial British town was more than a defence and police force, builder of infrastructure and buyer of local produce and manufactures. It was a corporation of great power and wealth, too great according to some critics. It was a vector for the migration and marriage of proletarians, patriots and gentry, many of them Irish. It offered a real if slightly tarnished assurance of the greatness of England in arms. And like Anglican bishoprics, British garrisons thousands of miles apart might be administratively linked, affirming the essential unity of settler societies under the Union flag.

Lieutenant General Maurice O'Connell commanded all British troops stationed in Australia and New Zealand for most of the 1840s. His lofty rank ought to render him uselessly untypical in understanding a garrison's transformative presence in its town and colony. But in his Irish background, in the languid cunning he applied to evading military duties, and in his ambition to settle his family locally and marry off his

children, O'Connell was surprisingly typical. Just as useful to reflect on is his hands-off leadership during the Northern War of 1845-6, when he and his troops were called on to put aside comfortable barrack routine for something unexpected—a war of battles.

Craig Wilcox is a historian who lives and writes in Sydney. His writing includes *Australia's Boer War* (2002), *Badge Boot Button* (2017), and *Red Coat Dreaming* (2009), an exploration of the close, sometimes intimate and reverential relations between many Australian colonists and the British army. His next book will try to link early conflict between Māori and pākehā with frontier violence and garrison service in early colonial Australia.

USEFUL INFORMATION

Fire

The emergency gathering point is the city side of **Alan MacDiarmid** in the carpark.

Earthquake

Please drop and cover until shaking stops, and then make way to the civil defence gathering point city side of **Alan MacDiarmid** in the carpark.

Wifi

Connect to 'Victoria' Wi-Fi; Open a web browser and navigate to the internet; Upon redirection to the Victoria Wireless Portal page, press 'Don't have an account?' Enter your email address and after reading the terms and conditions, tick the 'agree' box; Press 'Register', and then 'Sign On' to complete the sign in process. The wireless access may time out after inactivity. Access is re-established after logging in again.

Eduroam is available for all visitors from eduroam enabled institutions worldwide. For more information on this service, please visit www.victoria.ac.nz/eduroam

Chemist

In Easterfield (EA) Building – see Campus Map grid: e-20

Bank

ANZ Bank branch and ATM in the Tim Beaglehole Courtyard, next the Adam Art Gallery – see Campus Map grid: h-21

The closest ATM (Westpac) is in the Cotton (CO) Building.

Another ANZ ATM can be found on Kelburn Parade outside Von Zedlitz building

Printing, copying, etc

Can be done at the History Office (OK405), Old Kirk Building (see Campus Map grid: g-21), Level 4 (middle floor). Teresa Durham (463 5344; mobile: 0226834902; Teresa.Durham@vuw.ac.nz). History staff offices are also located in Old Kirk Level 4 and Level 5.

Taxi Stand

Corner of Salamanca and Kelburn Parade. Hunter Courtyard is the common drop off/picking up point for the university.

Taxi company phone numbers

Wellington Combined Taxis: (04) 384 4444

Green Cabs: 0508 447 336

Bus stops

Buses to and from town travel along Kelburn Parade. Find timetables and route information at www.metlink.org.nz.

Buses **from** town stop outside Vic Books at Stop 5915

(<https://www.metlink.org.nz/stop/5915>)

Buses **to** town stop across the road from Vic Books at Stop 4915

(<https://www.metlink.org.nz/stop/4915>)

Cable Car

Down Kelburn Parade and up pathway between 14 Kelburn Parade and 10 Kelburn Parade. Signposted to Cable Car.

Food outlets on campus

There are quite a few food outlets on campus, most are open from 8am-4pm ish.

Wishbone (Alan MacDiarmid)

Maki Mono (Hub)

VicBooks (Hub/Easterfield)

The Lab (Easterfield)

Milk and Honey (Tim Beaglehole Courtyard/Rankine Brown)

Ilott Café (Kirk)

Eating and drinking further afield

Cuba Street – for array of Wellington’s good eating places from Malaysian, modern seasonal (Floriditas, Loretas, Olive), fine dining (Logan Brown), Grill Meats Beer, 227 Cuba (as name suggests, cheaper and steakier offshoot of Logan Brown), Noble Rot (French-leaning, big wine list), El Matador (Argentinian, serious meat), Havana (Wigan St just off Cuba, funky, bar and tapa-style), Kaffee Eis, 146 Cuba (ice cream)

Aro St – Garage Project (seriously good craft beer, beer as art – but consumable); Arobake; Aro Café; Rita, 89 Aro St (small, perfectly formed, fixed price set menu, latest and best addition to Wellington eating scene, Tues-Sat 5.30 and 7.30 sittings).

Bookshops

VicBooks, on campus on western side of The Hub

Unity Books, 57 Willis St

Te Papa Store, Te Papa

Secondhand

Pegasus Books, Left Bank, Cuba Mall, Cuba St

Arty Bees, 106 Manners St



Imperial soldier to armed settler?

Mr C Cobb photographed in Whanganui studio of William James Harding,
4 September 1874.

¼-004258-G, Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand.

From Daniel Thompson, 'Violent Trajectories. A Cultural History of the Enfield Rifle in the British Empire', MA thesis, VUW, 2017, p.64.

