

# The Boulder and the Bugler: The Battle of Boulcott's Farm in Public Memory

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## Abstract

The Battle of Boulcott's Farm, in which a Māori war party attacked the garrison of a British military outpost in the Hutt Valley, took place over several hours on 16 May 1846. Since then, the public memory of this relatively minor incident has been remarkably persistent. The story of the battle has been told in poetry and prose; in print, on stage and on screen; and in memorials and museums. As the story has evolved over time, it has focused on different themes: British military heroism; civic progress; and Māori resistance to colonial injustice.

On the corner of High Street and Military Road in Lower Hutt stands a memorial which the novelist Lloyd Jones describes as “a huge smooth boulder shaped like an egg dragged out of the river and placed there to commemorate the Battle of Boulcott's Farm.”<sup>1</sup> A plaque on the memorial dedicates it “To the glory of God and in memory of men of the Imperial and Colonial Forces who fell in the Hutt Valley during the Maori War – 1846”. Another plaque explains:

This stone marks the site of the Boulcott's Farm stockade, the most advanced post of the regular troops in 1846. Here 200 Natives on the 16<sup>th</sup> May under Rangihaeata's orders and led by Te Karamu of the Ngati-Haua-Te-Rangi Upper Wanganui were repulsed by a garrison of 50 men of the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment. The bodies of six Imperial men who fell, rest nearby.

The names of those six soldiers killed in action, as well as two more who died later of wounds and two constabulary and militia members killed accidentally, appear on a third plaque on the monument. The monument makes no mention of any Māori dead.



Figure 1: Boulcott's Farm memorial, Lower Hutt. Author's photograph.

Although it sits beside a major road, and close to the Hutt Hospital, I doubt that many people pay attention to the memorial today, or even register its existence. Yet the Battle of Boulcott's Farm has not been forgotten: successive generations from 1846 up to the present have revisited the battle periodically, building on existing stories while introducing new themes and leaving new historical traces. The construction of the monument in 1925 was one important point at which an attempt was made to define the meaning of the battle, but evidence of the battle's place in public memory can be found in many other places, some of them quite surprising.

The background to the Boulcott's Farm incident, and the fighting in the Hutt Valley and wider Wellington region of which it was part, is complex. In 1839, the New Zealand Company claimed to have purchased the area that would become Wellington city and the Hutt Valley from local Māori. The Company's aim was to sell this land on to British settlers. After the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840, the validity of the purported purchase was investigated to see if it should be confirmed by the government of the new British colony of New Zealand. However, before the investigation could be completed, the Company and the representatives of the British Crown agreed that the Company's claims to land in the Wellington region would be recognised in exchange for the payment of compensation to local Māori. In its 2003 report on the Wellington region, the Waitangi Tribunal found that the original claimed purchase by the New Zealand Company was deeply flawed, and that the Crown's confirmation of the Company's claims was in breach of the Treaty in many respects.<sup>2</sup>

In the Hutt Valley, matters were further complicated by the failure of Crown officials to recognise the rights to land of Ngāti Tama and Ngāti Rangatahi. When a new Governor, George Grey, arrived early in 1846, he insisted that these tribes abandon land in the valley that was claimed by British settlers. Ngāti Rangatahi left only under threat of armed attack, and their expulsion from the valley was followed by a small-scale military conflict that extended over a number of months in 1846. This conflict involved British troops, colonial militia and Māori (mainly of Te Ātiawa, the tribe who lived around Wellington Harbour) on the Crown side. On the other side were Ngāti Rangatahi and its allies from the Whanganui region and from Ngāti Toa of the nearby Kāpiti Coast. The fighting involved few set-piece battles, and there were no decisive victories for either side, but it did result in the permanent expulsion from the Hutt Valley of those Māori who might otherwise have prevented settlers from taking up sections they had purchased from the New Zealand Company.<sup>3</sup>

The Battle of Boulcott's Farm was an incident within this wider conflict. On the morning of 16 May 1846, a large Māori taua (war party) launched a surprise attack on the soldiers of the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment garrisoning the British military outpost at Boulcott's Farm. After some hours of fighting, the Māori attackers withdrew. The battle left several British soldiers dead, but it is unclear whether any Māori died.

#### **Celebrating: "Young Allen, the Brave Bugler Boy"<sup>4</sup>**

Commemoration of the Pākehā dead began soon after the battle took place. A watercolour of the Boulcott's Farm stockade by the officer in command there, Lieutenant Page, shows the soldiers' graves in the foreground. In December 1846, Page and others of the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment erected a tablet in a Wellington church to the memory of their comrades who died "whilst gallantly defending their Post at the Hutt against A desperate attack made on it by the Rebel Natives."<sup>5</sup>



Figure 2: George Hyde Page, watercolour painting of Boulcott's Stockade, 1846, showing fenced area containing soldiers' graves in the foreground. Ref.: B-081-002, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

From very early on, one story from the battle was given particular prominence in Pākehā accounts. In a lengthy report published only a week after the event, the *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian* recounted how the garrison was taken by surprise and:

[f]our of the soldiers were tomahawked on the spot in one tent. One of them who acted as bugler to the company behaved most nobly. On the first alarm he seized his bugle, and while in the act of sounding the instrument a blow from a tomahawk nearly severed his arm and struck him to the ground. But while lying in this mutilated state he seized the bugle with his other hand and attempted to warn his comrades of their danger, when a second stroke of the tomahawk nearly severed his head from his body.<sup>6</sup>

The bugler was later identified as Private William Allen.<sup>7</sup> Although this story does not appear in other reports immediately after the battle, it was mentioned in a book as early as 1849, and thereafter the tale of "Bugler Allen" was recounted many times in books, newspaper articles and poems.<sup>8</sup> The consistent themes in the telling of the Bugler Allen story were his youth and his bravery, nobility and self-sacrifice in blowing his bugle to alert his comrades even while he was being hacked to death. In some versions, the story is taken to Monty Pythonesque lengths as Allen suffers successive tomahawk blows to both arms and then places the bugle between his knees to continue sounding the alarm until he is killed.<sup>9</sup>

In illustrations of the event, Allen appears as a small boy, dwarfed by the hulking, brutish form of his Māori attacker, but still gallantly playing on.<sup>10</sup> These pictures fit within a transnational tradition of depicting the "ignoble savage," in which ferocious indigenous warriors poised to strike with tomahawks, clubs or knives are shown looming above white men or women who are often prone or with their backs turned to their attackers (as Bugler Allen's back is turned in the illustrations shown here).<sup>11</sup> Similar imagery appeared in written descriptions of the event: wielding his tomahawk with a "brawny, dusky arm," "the vengeful

foe/Struck at the stripling's head"; or, in another version, "With a grunt of wrath the savage [a 'huge Maori'] raised his tomahawk and smote strongly downwards."<sup>12</sup> Portrayals of Māori "savagery" such as these form a stark contrast to more romanticised images of the Māori warrior, such as depictions of Rewi Maniapoto and the Māori defenders of Ōrākau in the Waikato War of the 1860s.<sup>13</sup>

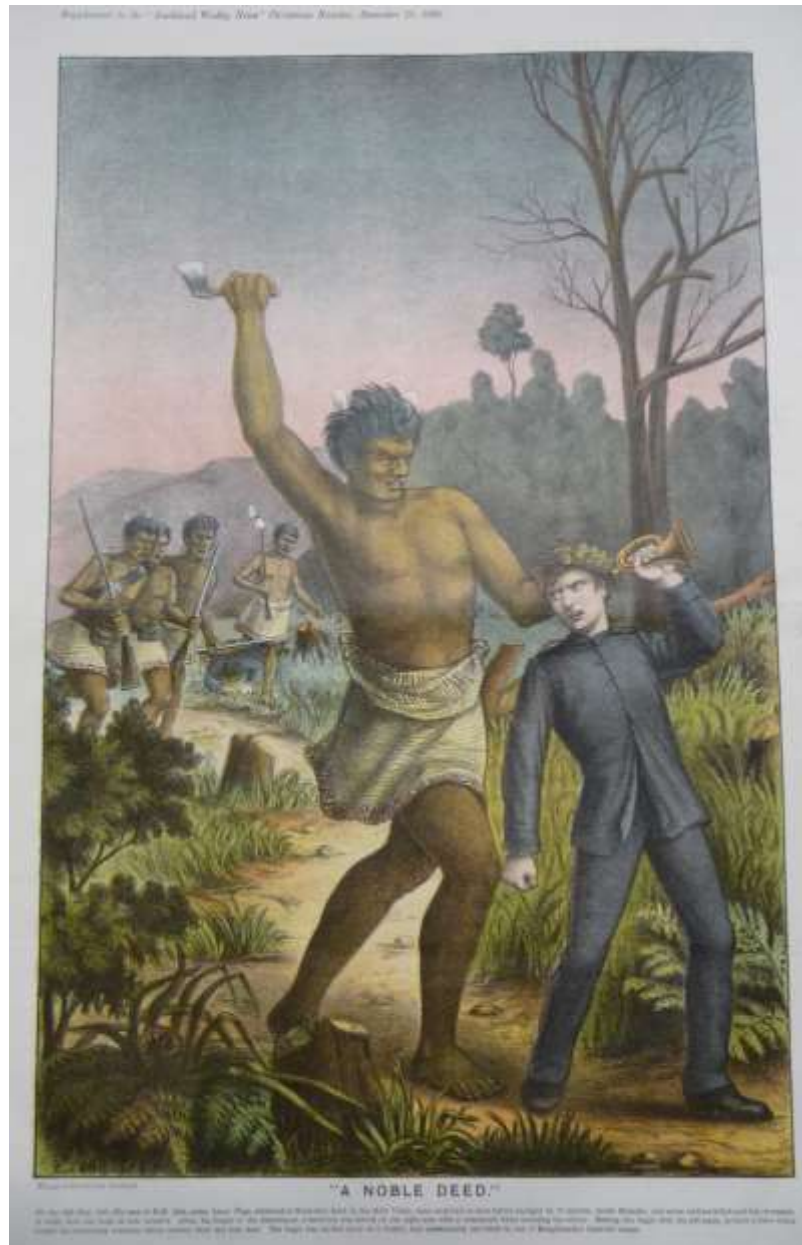


Figure 3: "A noble deed" (artist unknown).  
Supplement to the *Auckland Weekly News* Christmas number, 12 December 1896.





Figure 4: "A boy's heroism. 'Awake! Awake!'" Illustration by A. D. McCormick from Reginald Horsley, *New Zealand* (London: T. C. & E. C. Jack, [1908]), opposite 208. The same image was used as the frontispiece for H. B. Jacob, *A School History of New Zealand* (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, [1930]). Ref.: A-004-044, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.



Figure 5: "Grasping the bugle in his left hand he continued to sound the call." Illustration by A. Pearse from Major J. T. Gorman, "Boy Allen of the 58<sup>th</sup>: A Story of the Old New Zealand Wars," *Young New Zealand* (9<sup>th</sup> annual volume, undated but c. 1920s), 25. Copy in author's possession; damage to picture is in the original.

Emphasising the ferocity of Allen's attackers not only played up to popular stereotypes about indigenous peoples but also served to highlight the bugler's bravery in standing his ground. Because he was generally believed to be only a boy, Bugler Allen was held up in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as an example to New Zealand boys of youthful heroism. Allen was often described as a "boy" or a "lad", and was sometimes said to be as young as 12 or 13, although in fact it appears he was a 21-year-old.<sup>14</sup> It might seem odd today, when the use of child soldiers is no longer acceptable in the developed world, that Allen's youth should have been exaggerated. However, it was not uncommon for soldiers to be recruited into the British Army under the regulation age, and in any case drummers and

bandsmen could legitimately enlist while still boys. There was a tradition of sentimental and heroic images of buglers and drummers, and the Bugler Allen story is not the only example of such soldiers being portrayed as younger than they really were.<sup>15</sup> Exaggerating Allen's youth allowed him to be portrayed as innocent and as all the braver because he was more vulnerable than his fellow soldiers. The image of Allen as a boy was also useful in the years leading up to the First World War, when there was an increasing emphasis on military and quasi-military training for boys through organisations like the cadets and the Boy Scouts.<sup>16</sup>

The celebration of Allen's "noble deed" was consistent with the prevailing militarism and imperialism of British boys' papers and other juvenile literature, which was avidly consumed and imitated in New Zealand.<sup>17</sup> As Michael Paris writes, the idea that true Britons must "be ready to make the ultimate sacrifice ... is made abundantly clear [in such literature] by the repetition of illustrations showing last stands and soldiers freely giving their lives to save their comrades or pave the way for the eventual triumph of the race."<sup>18</sup> Thus, a poem published in the magazine of Wellington Girls' College told how "Allen fell/As Britons fall, his duty nobly done"; while an article in the *School Journal* remarked that Allen's "character, formed while he was quietly yet faithfully carrying out the humdrum duties of his daily life, upheld him at that dreadful moment, and raised him to the highest pinnacle of nobility even as he fell."<sup>19</sup> Above all, Allen was seen as an example of a boy who "did his duty," so it is unsurprising that his story was taken up by the Boy Scout movement.<sup>20</sup> "Many a brave man wears the proud cross 'For Valour,'" the author of a 1908 history of New Zealand in the "Romance of Empire" series observed in his account of Boulcott's Farm. "Was it ever better deserved than by the boy who sleeps forgotten in a far-off land, and who simply did his duty?"<sup>21</sup>

Allen was not in fact forgotten, but concern that he might not be remembered in future led some people to think about ways in which his memory might be perpetuated. Unsuccessful attempts were made to locate Allen's bugle, so that it could be kept as a memento.<sup>22</sup> In the absence of the actual bugle, the details of the incident were engraved on a silver bugle kept by the successor regiment to the 58<sup>th</sup> in Britain.<sup>23</sup> There were also calls from time to time for the construction of a memorial to Allen.<sup>24</sup> In an address to the Wellington Orphans' Club in 1919, Colonel J. J. Esson observed that:

Bugler Allen's bravery and sacrifice, which should be remembered with pride by all Britons, are now almost forgotten, and we have to confess to our great shame that nothing has been done to perpetuate the memory of this heroic English lad, who, true to the best traditions of our race, and regardless of his personal safety, proved faithful unto death.<sup>25</sup>

Esson noted that memorials to the dead of the recent world war were quite properly being constructed, and that it would be appropriate to mark the place where Allen was killed in a similar manner.

### **Memorialising: "This Stone is of a Sentimental Value to the Valley"**

The eventual construction of the Boulcott's Farm monument in the 1920s had its origins both in a social context and in a specific set of events. The wider context included three main factors.<sup>26</sup>

First, the construction of memorials to the far more numerous dead of the First World War may have sparked renewed interest in commemorating the dead of the New Zealand Wars, as Colonel Esson's comments to the Orphans' Club illustrated.<sup>27</sup> In an article that discussed headstones removed to the mortuary chapel of the city cemetery in Wellington (including the commemorative tablet for the soldiers killed at Boulcott's Farm), N. J. Bennington wrote that those interested in the construction of memorials to the dead of the world war "should surely draw the attention of the authorities to the fact that such old-time worthies are equally deserving

of a more fitting and permanent memorial than within a place to which so few have entry.”<sup>28</sup> After the construction of the Boulcott’s Farm memorial, too, some commentators linked “the spirit of Bugler Allen” to “the spirit of our soldier lads who, with all the promise of their young manhood fine before them, went cheerfully out to die for the country they loved.”<sup>29</sup>

Second, the early 1920s saw the publication of James Cowan’s two-volume history of the New Zealand Wars. Cowan’s history had an intense focus on the stories of particular battles, on the individuals involved in them, and on the landscapes within which they took place.<sup>30</sup> Cowan included a chapter about “The Fight at Boulcott’s Farm” in the first volume of *The New Zealand Wars*. His version of the incident is typically atmospheric and stirring, and includes the obligatory account of the heroism of Bugler Allen, “whose name will be remembered so long as the story of Boulcott’s Farm is told.”<sup>31</sup> Another characteristic Cowan strategy employed in the chapter is the identification of the location of historical events in relation to the present-day landscape. Thus, the “olden battle-ground is now the golfers’ links,” Boulcott’s homestead being “close to the spot where the Lower Hutt Golf Club’s house now stands.” Where once the valley had only a few rough settler huts and clearings, “oases in the desert of bush,” now “rows of shops, cottages, and bungalows, with beautiful orchards and gardens, cover the floor of the Hutt Valley.”<sup>32</sup>

This linking of the Hutt Valley’s past and its present illustrates the third factor in the social context for the creation of the Boulcott’s Farm monument. The 1920s were a time when the city of Lower Hutt was developing rapidly, while at the same time the pioneering phase of Pākehā settlement in the Hutt was passing out of living memory.<sup>33</sup> The themes of progress and nostalgia mingled in Hutt civic boosterism of this period. Both themes were present in a special feature in the *New Zealand Times* in 1923, under the headline “The Hutt Valley: Past, Present and Future: The Dominion’s Garden of Eden: Onward March of Progress: Transport, Power, Roads.” The feature noted that the Hutt Valley was:

associated with the earliest history of New Zealand and was the scene of the first Maori wars, which gave the early settlers in the forties so much trouble. There are still survivors of these stirring days in different parts of the country, and a few who still reside in the valley where they spent their childhood have vivid recollections of much that happened while their parents were endeavouring to open up the country.

This picturesque past, however, was merely a prelude to a future in which “the Hutt will be one of the finest and most important cities of the Dominion.”<sup>34</sup> New housing developments were springing up in Lower Hutt, including in the vicinity of the battle site. A sale notice for sections in the Boulcott’s Farm development noted that they were “located on the terrace made famous by the Boulcott’s Farm Stockade in the Maori Wars,” but more importantly, perhaps, they were only two minutes’ walk from the first tee of the golf links.<sup>35</sup> The developers of another nearby estate agreed to a request from the Council to give the name Allen Street to a road in the estate in honour of the “conspicuous bravery” of Bugler Allen and “the historic connection with the locality.”<sup>36</sup>



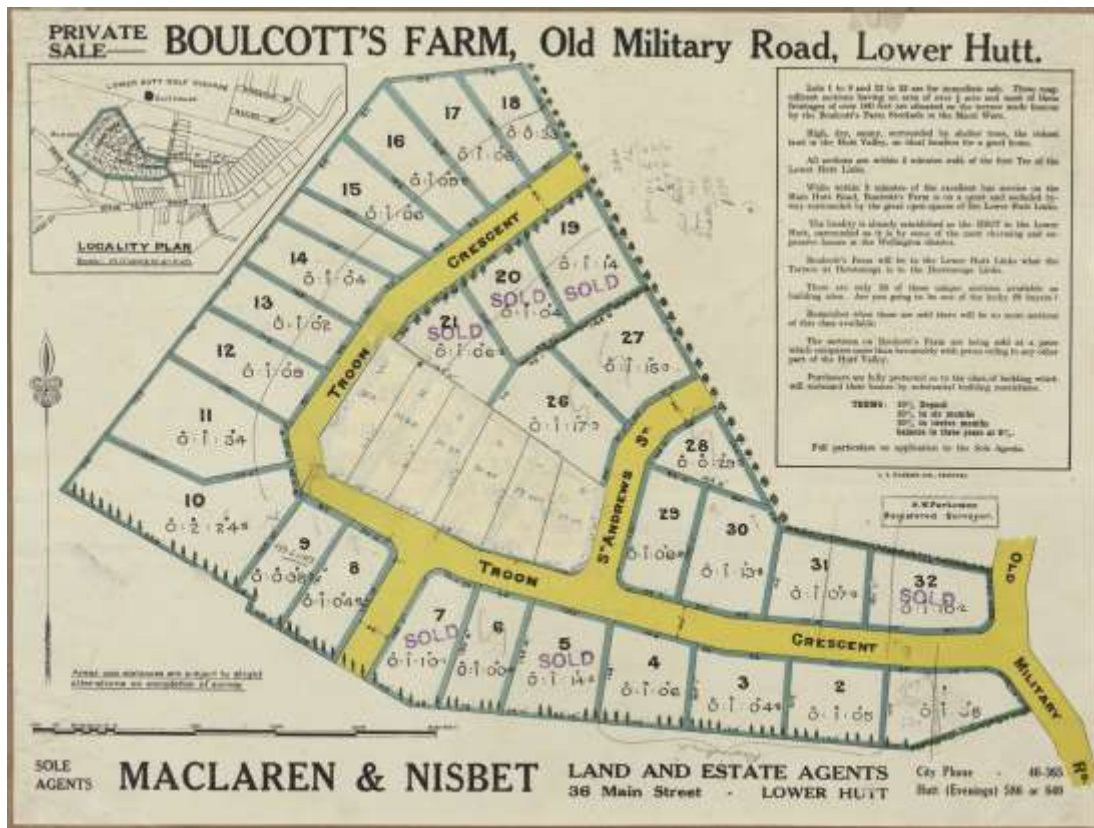


Figure 6: Notice of private sale, Boulcott's Farm, Old Military Road, Lower Hutt, c. 1929-1938. Ref.: ACC 2004-49 ARCH 72859, Hutt City Council Archives.

While the construction of the Boulcott's Farm memorial may have been inspired partly by a general interest resulting from the First World War, Cowan's history and Lower Hutt civic pride, the more immediate inspiration came from the rediscovery of the commemorative tablet which had been erected in Wellington by soldiers of the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment. By the early 1920s, this tablet was sitting in the seldom-used chapel at the Bolton Street cemetery in central Wellington. In 1922, the Mayor of Lower Hutt, W. T. Strand, wrote to the Wellington City Council asking for permission to remove the tablet and re-erect it in Lower Hutt, because "this stone is of a sentimental value to the Valley."<sup>37</sup> Permission was given, and the Lower Hutt Borough Council resolved to erect the memorial tablet on the piece of land where the Boulcott's Farm monument now stands.<sup>38</sup>

Before the tablet could be re-erected, however, the Early Settlers and Historical Association of Wellington protested at its removal from the cemetery.<sup>39</sup> The War Graves Division of the Department of Internal Affairs then became involved and was able to broker an agreement whereby the government, the Lower Hutt Borough Council and the Early Settlers and Historical Association would jointly fund the construction of a new memorial on the Lower Hutt site. This monument was erected in 1925. The memorial's inscription seems to have been drafted within the Department of Internal Affairs and was approved by the Minister. There is no evidence that consideration was given to recognising Māori on the memorial as anything other than enemies.<sup>40</sup>



Figure 7: Mayoress of Lower Hutt, Mrs Andrews, placing a wreath on the Boulcott's Farm memorial on the 87<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the battle. Originally published in *Evening Post*, 16 May 1933, 5. Ref.: record number 12856, Heritage Centre, Petone Library.

Although it seems that the Mayor of Lower Hutt agreed to return the memorial tablet to the Bolton Street cemetery in exchange for the construction of the new memorial, the tablet was never in fact returned. Instead, in 1933 it was re-erected at St James' Anglican Church in central Lower Hutt. A dedication ceremony was held at the church, attended by the Mayor and councillors, Army units, the Returned Soldiers' Association, Girl Guides, Boy Scouts, and three veterans of the New Zealand Wars. Māori had no formal role in the proceedings, but Mayor J. W. Andrews said that "We rejoice in the good fellowship which exists between the Maori and the pakeha, and we are pleased to see Maoris as officers and privates among our soldiers."<sup>41</sup> For several years thereafter, commemorative services were held at St James' on the anniversary of the battle, and the vicar of St James', the Rev. H. E. K. Fry, trod a careful path in his sermons, celebrating the bravery and devotion to duty of the soldiers killed at Boulcott's Farm while also emphasising that the service was not intended to glorify war.<sup>42</sup> The lesson of Boulcott's Farm, he said in 1936, was one of moral courage:

The courage of Bugler Allen was also necessary for the Christian soldier, and moral courage was a more difficult thing than physical courage. Men were needed who would stand for the Christian principles of justice and fairness in business and for clean and wholesome thought in the office, workshop, and home.<sup>43</sup>

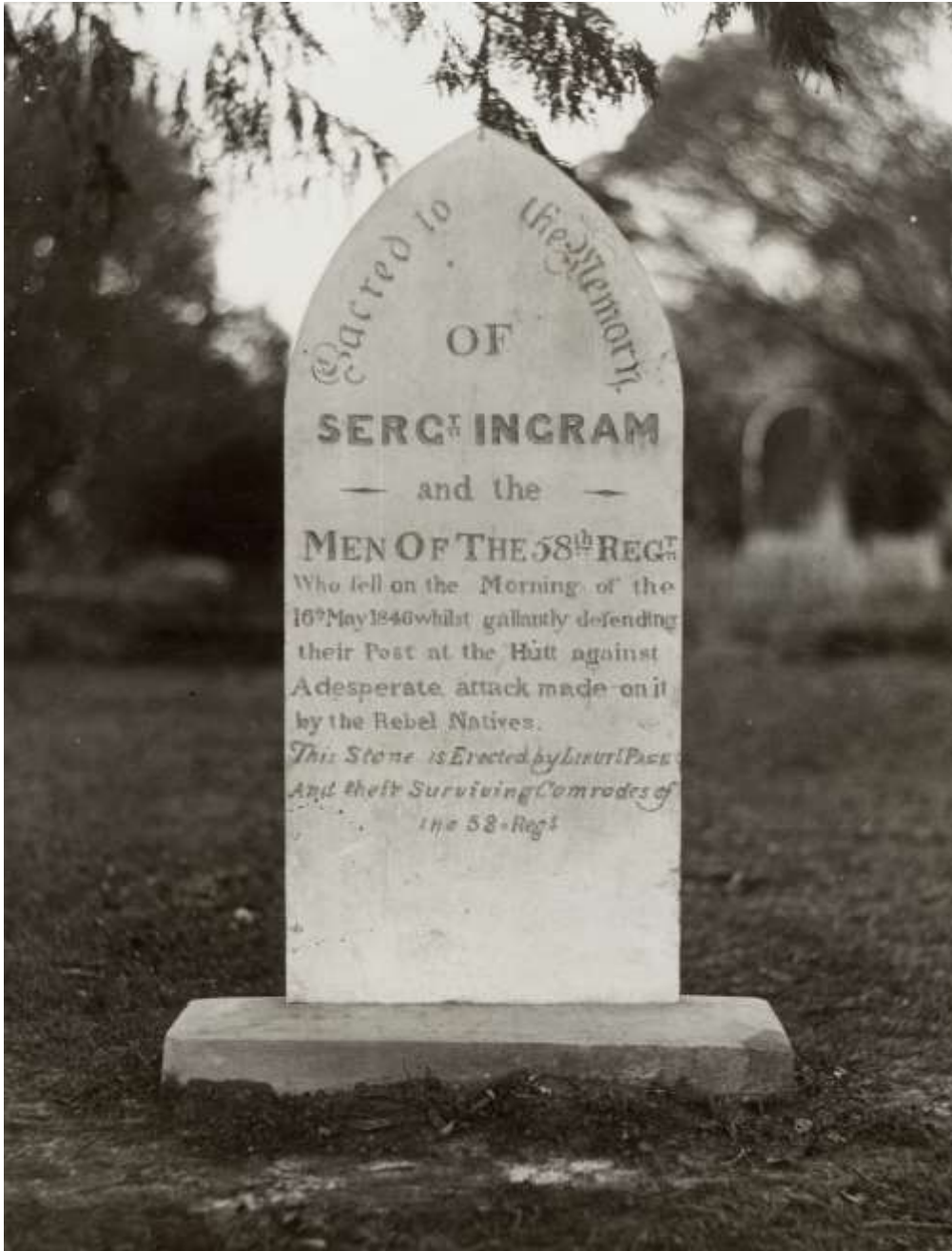


Figure 8: Memorial stone to Sgt Ingram and other men of the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment, re-erected on the grounds of St James' Church, Lower Hutt. Originally published in *Evening Post*, 12 August 1933, 11. Ref.: EP-New Zealand Wars-Wellington, *Evening Post* collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

The centenary of the battle in 1946 was commemorated by a memorial service at St James' church.<sup>44</sup> Later that same year, however, the church burned down, and in the subsequent rebuilding of the church and redevelopment of the churchyard it seems that the memorial tablet was knocked over by a truck and destroyed.<sup>45</sup> While the wording of the original tablet still appears on a stone in the churchyard, this is now set into the ground and is much less prominent than the original.

### Revising: “The Maoris, Too, Should Have Their Memorial”

By the 1970s, the Battle of Boulcott’s Farm began to be caught up in the wider reassessment of New Zealand’s colonial past. An important text in the re-evaluation of the war in the Hutt Valley was Ian Wards’s 1968 book *The Shadow of the Land*, a history of early British policy towards Māori which dealt at some length with land conflicts in the Wellington region. Wards was highly critical of Governor Grey’s handling of the disputes that led to the fighting in the Hutt.<sup>46</sup> Although the twin myths of “Good Governor Grey” and of New Zealand’s uniquely harmonious race relations had always been contested, the fact that they were increasingly coming under challenge was apparent in the 1977 television drama series *The Governor*. Screening two years after the 1975 Māori land march and the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal, the series and accompanying novel were very unflattering portraits of Grey as “duplicitous towards Māori, a drug addict, and lecher.”<sup>47</sup> According to scriptwriter Keith Aberdein, “With *The Governor* we were subverting at the very least, some of the New Zealand smugness about what good chaps we were towards ‘our’ Maoris; what a model bicultural nation we were.”<sup>48</sup> The first episode focused mainly on the war in the North, but also covered Grey’s dealings with the Ngāti Toa chief Te Rauparaha in the Wellington region, and included a scene of the Battle of Boulcott’s Farm, complete with the death of Bugler Allen.<sup>49</sup>

The broadcast of *The Governor* was a sign that at least some Pākehā were becoming more willing to look critically at the process of colonisation in New Zealand, and such changing attitudes were acknowledged in an article in the *Hutt News* prompted by the Boulcott’s Farm scene in *The Governor*. Referring to the Boulcott’s Farm monument, the article commented that: “In the spirit of the times, the memorial commemorates only the white soldiers who were killed. More modern thinking might suggest that the Maoris, too, should have their memorial.”<sup>50</sup> A similar point had been made several years earlier by a visitor from Christchurch who wrote to the Lower Hutt Council expressing concern at the tone of the inscription on the memorial which “highlights the gallantry of the Pakeha soldiers and speaks of the Maori warriors merely as natives. Could it really be maintained that he who died fighting to recover his land was any less gallant than he who died defending his gains?” The letter-writer asked the Council to consider “whether in the interests of present racial harmony the inscription should not be altered or alternatively, quietly removed.”<sup>51</sup> After consulting the Hutt District Historical Society, the Council replied saying that it did not intend to alter or remove the inscription, noting that the original inscription was of historical interest and that “the local Maoris have never expressed any disfavour regarding the memorial.”<sup>52</sup> Two further letters were received by the Council in the 1980s asking for the inscription on the memorial to be modified to better acknowledge the Māori side of the battle.<sup>53</sup> Once again, the Council’s response was that, while the inscription “was not representative of contemporary thinking,” local Māori had never objected to it. History, in the Council’s view, should not be rewritten by altering the inscription, “particularly having regard to the well-established relationships between the Maori and Pakeha in the Hutt Valley.”<sup>54</sup>

The history of the Boulcott’s Farm incident was, however, rewritten in a surprising and original way in Lloyd Jones’s 1988 comic novel *Splinter*, a book set in Lower Hutt that is centrally concerned with the ways in which the past lingers on in the present. Jones grew up and went to school very close to the Boulcott’s Farm memorial. He remembers being drawn to it as a child but not connecting the “egg-shaped boulder” with historical events in the area: “The hard and fast tarseal of the neighbourhood resisted the notion of anything here before.”<sup>55</sup> Although Jones cannot remember learning about the battle as he was growing up, he chose to write about Boulcott’s Farm in *Splinter* because it was the only notable battle between settlers and Māori in the area. Living, at the time he wrote *Splinter*, in upstate New York, Jones was influenced by the cycle of novels by William Kennedy focusing on the history of New York’s capital city, Albany. He wanted to create fiction from the history of the place where he had



grown up. He was also influenced by the renewed prominence of the Treaty of Waitangi in public life, particularly after the 1985 law change that empowered the Waitangi Tribunal to hear claims dating back to 1840. All of these threads came together in *Splinter*.

Early on in *Splinter*, the history teacher father of the central character Nick tries to make history come alive for his son with a vivid description of scenes from the Hutt War: “Can you make your eyes sting and your vision misty as in the morning the brave young bugler Allen sounds his warning? Then an off-note as one of the warriors, painted like the devil, hacks young Allen’s arm clear from his shoulder?”<sup>56</sup> Soon afterwards, Nick’s father’s interest in reliving the past takes an unexpected turn when he gets his pupils to re-enact the Battle of Boulcott’s Farm. At first the re-enactment stays faithful to the outcome of the battle as recorded in Pākehā history, but after a visit from the parents of Māori students who ask what would happen if their boys overran the garrison, he decides to let the battle take its course.<sup>57</sup> The result is that the Māori repeatedly drive the Redcoats into the river and take the garrison, much to the delight of the Māori parents and the disgust of their Pākehā counterparts.<sup>58</sup> Later, as an adult, Nick himself creates a video game called the Boulcott Farm Massacre. This, too, becomes a vehicle for changing the historical outcome of the battle, as boys described by the video arcade owner as “Maori Guevaras” wipe out the garrison again and again.<sup>59</sup> Nick comes to realise that his father was ahead of his time in seeing that the process of colonisation could be reversed: “I suppose he would be amused by the changing mosaic – kohanga reo, news in Maori, and the strange thing is, with the passing of each year, how difficult it becomes to accept that these things did not used to be here.”<sup>60</sup>

For all his playing with history, Jones was still writing as a Pākehā about Pākehā characters, and it would be another two decades before a Māori writer tried to imagine the Battle of Boulcott’s Farm from the perspective of a Māori participant. Māori have been largely absent from the public record of the memory of the Boulcott’s Farm incident. In popular accounts and depictions of the battle they appear as shadowy, unnamed attackers; their losses are not commemorated on the Boulcott’s Farm memorial; and they had no formal role in the commemorations of the 1930s. The public story of the battle has, until recently, been very much a Pākehā one, and the emphasis has been on the bravery and sacrifice of the Pākehā soldiers. Nor have I found clear evidence of complaints from Māori about the Boulcott’s Farm memorial, although neither is there evidence that local Māori were ever asked for their views (apart from one Māori councillor, who questioned the use of the words “Maori War” on the memorial’s inscription).<sup>61</sup> The absence of Māori protest about the one-sided message of the memorial is perhaps unsurprising, since those who fought on the Māori side either came from elsewhere or were expelled from the Hutt as a result of the fighting. The present-day tangata whenua of Wellington city and the Hutt Valley, Te Ātiawa and other tribes of Taranaki origin, were not involved in the Boulcott’s Farm incident and fought on the side of the Crown in subsequent fighting in the Wellington region.

The written record is unclear as to whether any Māori died in the battle, and silent on where any Māori dead might be buried, though Māori oral tradition may well have more to say about Māori casualties.<sup>62</sup> What is known with certainty is the fate of some Māori who were more indirect casualties of the Boulcott’s Farm incident. Some months after the attack on Boulcott’s Farm, a number of Whanganui Māori were captured, charged with taking part in an armed rebellion, and tried by court martial. Much of the evidence against them concerned their alleged involvement in the Boulcott’s Farm raid. The men were convicted, one was executed, and five were transported to Tasmania. The treatment of these men and Grey’s decision to try them by court martial were controversial even at the time. The prisoners in Tasmania were pardoned and returned to New Zealand in 1848, but by then one of them, Hōhepa Te Umuroa, had died of tuberculosis. Te Umuroa was buried on Tasmania’s Maria Island, where the prisoners had been held, and a gravestone in English and Māori was erected there. Maria Island

is far from Te Umuroa's home on the Whanganui River, but as David Young writes, "On the river of memory, Te Umuroa's family never forgot."<sup>63</sup> In 1988, a party of Whanganui elders travelled to Maria Island, where Te Umuroa's body was exhumed, and he was subsequently reburied near Jerusalem on the Whanganui River.<sup>64</sup> In January 2013, in a ceremony attended by 200 people, a new gravestone for Te Umuroa was unveiled at the cemetery where he is now buried.<sup>65</sup>

The repatriation of Te Umuroa was an opportunity for a different image to be presented of those Māori who fought against the Crown in the 1840s and who were routinely described by Pākehā in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as "rebels." Te Umuroa could now be portrayed as a warrior who fought for what he believed was right and who was unjustly treated by the colonial authorities. As one of his descendants put it when the new gravestone was unveiled in 2013: "Te Umuroa was a courageous servant of his people, who stood against the tyranny of his time."<sup>66</sup> The Waitangi Tribunal's finding in 2003 that the Crown's actions in the Hutt Valley had breached the Treaty of Waitangi lent further support to the idea that those who fought against the Crown had justifiable grievances. This view found fictional form in a 2009 novel, *The Trowenna Sea*, by Māori writer Witi Ihimaera, and in Jenny McLeod's opera *Hōhepa*, which premiered in 2012.

*The Trowenna Sea* gives a fictionalised account of Hōhepa Te Umuroa's life, and of the eventual return of his body to New Zealand.<sup>67</sup> In the novel, Te Umuroa is a young convert to Christianity who initially acts as a mediator between the Māori and Pākehā worlds, but who takes up arms after his wife is killed by Pākehā soldiers. The book's account of the Battle of Boulcott's Farm is remarkably conventional in many respects, but its originality lies in the depiction of events from the perspective of the Māori attackers, who are shown to be driven by legitimate grievances over land.<sup>68</sup> Prior to the book's release, Ihimaera said: "I don't think it's anti-Pakeha, it's just trying to recreate from within a Maori mindset what it was like to be fighting for their own country and against a huge military force. And so from that perspective it tells the truth."<sup>69</sup>

The opera *Hōhepa* tells a similar story to *The Trowenna Sea*. Although Jenny McLeod (who wrote the opera's libretto as well as its music) is Pākehā, she was asked to tell the story by one of the elders who brought Te Umuroa's body back from Tasmania and the opera draws on information from Whanganui iwi.<sup>70</sup> In *Hōhepa*, relations between Māori and Pākehā start positively, but disputes over land and Governor Grey's intervention lead to bloodshed:

Blood! On the raupo!  
blood on the scattered brushwood  
blood on the bugle  
of the brave young bugler who died...

No bird sang that chill May morning.  
Darkness reigned.<sup>71</sup>

Despite the reference to the "brave young bugler," there is nothing heroic in this version of Boulcott's Farm: it is simply a tragedy for Māori and Pākehā alike, one which leads to Te Umuroa's unjust exile and eventual death.

Despite such reimagining, however, Pākehā celebration of the Battle of Boulcott's Farm has not been entirely overturned in a frenzy of postcolonial revisionism. In August 2010 it was announced that a new Lower Hutt golf club, formed from the merger of the Hutt and Boulcott clubs, was to be named the Boulcott's Farm Heritage Golf Club. The Hutt Golf Club has long commemorated its association with the Battle of Boulcott's Farm, which took place in the vicinity and whose Pākehā dead are believed to be buried near the club house.<sup>72</sup> In its early days, the club had a hole called "Massacre," and more recently the course has included holes

called “Buglers,” “Boulcott” and “Stockade.”<sup>73</sup> The choice of name for the new club was described as reflecting and capitalising on the site’s historical significance, in terms both of its association with the events of 1846 and of its importance in golfing history. It was reported that the historical theme was seen as creating marketing opportunities, and ideas such as a small museum, a model of the battle, and a plaque commemorating Bugler Allen were under consideration, although to date these ideas do not seem to have come to fruition.<sup>74</sup>

At the time of writing, a development on former golf club land may focus attention on the Battle of Boulcott’s Farm once again. Local residents are opposing a developer’s application to build a high-density retirement village on land bought from the club.<sup>75</sup> If the development proceeds, it may lead to the uncovering of artefacts and possibly even human remains from the battle. A cultural impact report on the proposal recommends that an archaeological investigation be undertaken at the site and that “inclusion of some interpretive material within the finished development would be a way to recognise this important historical site.”<sup>76</sup> Were this recommendation to be followed, it could lead to belated recognition of Māori perspectives on the battle and the wider history of the area. First, however, the developer will need to overcome local opposition to the proposal in its current form. Calling on the developer and the council to “bin this ugly project, or at least produce a design in sympathy with our area,” one resident warned in a letter to the editor of the *Dominion Post*: “Otherwise we will take our lead from Te Rangihaeata who raided our area in 1846. The monument still proudly stands today.”<sup>77</sup>

## Conclusion

The Battle of Boulcott’s Farm was a minor incident in military terms, yet its memory has been remarkably persistent. It has left a surprising range of physical traces: memorials on a busy Lower Hutt street and in a quiet church yard; a bugle in a British regimental museum; the name of a street and of a golf club; a grave on a Tasmanian island, and another near the Whanganui River. Then there are histories, novels, newspaper articles, poems, pictures, television series, museum displays, educational resources for schools and pamphlets about historical sites.<sup>78</sup> The memory of the battle also lives on, I suspect, in places my research has not touched: particularly in stories passed down within families, both Māori and Pākehā.

The stories told about Boulcott’s Farm have evolved over time as social changes have created new lenses through which to view the event. The battle has been fitted successively into larger narratives of British nobility and heroism; of local progress and civic pride; and of colonial injustice and Māori resistance. The story of the gallantry of Bugler Allen and his comrades, and the supposed savagery of their Māori attackers, suited a time when most Pākehā saw themselves as loyal Britons. It connected New Zealand to the wider English-speaking world through common myths of small bands of white men standing their ground while outnumbered by “native” foes. The Boulcott’s Farm story could also provide a focus for local sentiment, and this element had become increasingly important by the 1920s. The repeated retelling of the story must owe something to the fact that the incident took place near New Zealand’s capital city, and in a location that, after the First World War, was itself part of a rapidly-growing urban area. The Boulcott’s Farm story was at once evidence that the Hutt Valley had a history that included dramatic and noteworthy events and a marker of how far the Hutt had progressed from its early, pioneering days. As late as the 1980s, Lloyd Jones would turn to Boulcott’s Farm as a way of thinking about the layers of history beneath the tarsealed Lower Hutt neighbourhood of his youth.

By the time Jones came to write *Splinter*, however, it was no longer possible to tell the story of Boulcott’s Farm without considering that Māori might view the event differently from Pākehā. The Māori political activism that had gathered force in the previous decade led to re-evaluations of New Zealand’s colonial history, and particularly of the New Zealand Wars. The

wars, including the fighting in the Wellington region, were increasingly seen as the result not of Māori “rebellion” against legitimate authority, but of Pākehā desire for land and power. The rediscovery and retelling of Hōhepa Te Umuroa’s story is symbolic of this change. Te Umuroa has emerged as a Māori counterpart to Bugler Allen: a young man, caught up in events beyond his control, bravely fighting for his ideals and ultimately losing his life as a consequence of his commitment.

For a month after the battle, Māori who had fought at Boulcott’s Farm taunted the colonial forces by playing Allen’s bugle, which they had taken as a trophy, in the hills above the Hutt Valley.<sup>79</sup> We can imagine the sound reverberating in the valley, familiar and yet also strange, its tone changed by distance or by the manner of playing. Like the phantom call of Allen’s bugle, ringing out after his death, the memory of an event like the Battle of Boulcott’s Farm can echo across time, kept alive but also changed by each retelling. Memory is not fixed in place like a boulder; it is as fluid and haunting as the notes of a bugle.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Lloyd Jones, *Splinter* (Auckland: Hodder & Stoughton, 1988), 33. The boulder was not in fact hauled out of the Hutt River, but rather taken from a property on the hills above Belmont, on the western side of the Hutt Valley: Under Secretary, Department of Internal Affairs, to District Engineer, Public Works Department, 1 August 1924, file IA1, box 1663, 32/1/75, Archives New Zealand, Wellington (ANZW).

<sup>2</sup> Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Whanganui a Tara me ona Takiwa: Report on the Wellington District* (Wellington: Legislation Direct, 2003).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. 9.

<sup>4</sup> The poem “Young Allen, the Brave Bugler Boy,” by A. Bathgate, was published in *Evening Post* (*EP*), 17 April 1886, 1.

<sup>5</sup> The erection of the tablet is mentioned in *New Zealand Spectator and Cook’s Strait Guardian* (*NZSCSG*), 9 December 1846, 2. The tablet made particular mention of Sgt Ingram, who died of wounds following the battle and was therefore buried, with military honours, in Wellington rather than at the battle site in the Hutt Valley: see *NZSCSG*, 27 May 1846, 3.

<sup>6</sup> *NZSCSG*, 23 May 1846, 3.

<sup>7</sup> The first published work to name the bugler appears to be Arthur S. Thomson, *The Story of New Zealand: Past and Present – Savage and Civilized*, vol. 2 (London: John Murray, 1859), 132. Although he only joined the regiment in 1847, Thomson was surgeon to the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment, so his identification of Allen as the bugler is presumably reliable.

<sup>8</sup> H. F. McKillop, *Reminiscences of Twelve Months’ Service in New Zealand* (London: Richard Bentley, 1849; reprinted Christchurch: Capper Press, 1973), 206: “Immediately after the first discharge, the poor little bugler of the party, who was quite a boy, endeavoured to sound the alarm, but was tomahawked by the natives, who carried off his bugle as a trophy.” Other early examples are Godfrey Charles Mundy, *Our Antipodes: Or, Residence and Rambles in the Australasian Colonies*, vol. 2 (London: Richard Bentley, 1852), 315; Richard Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui: Or, New Zealand and its Inhabitants* (London: Wertheim and Macintosh, 1855), 350-51.

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, *EP*, 27 September 1921, 6; *EP*, 15 May 1933, 8; Keith Aberdein, *The Governor* (Wellington: Hamlet Books, 1977), 123.

<sup>10</sup> The most famous illustration of the Bugler Allen story, entitled “A Noble Deed,” appeared in a supplement to the *Auckland Weekly News* Christmas Number, 12 December 1896. The picture has since been reproduced a number of times: see, for example, Louis E. Ward, *Early Wellington* (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1928), 136. One correspondent said that he had “seen pictures of the scene in several homes in New Zealand”: *EP*, 21 August 1919, 6.

<sup>11</sup> See, for example, Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Sydney: Harper and Row, 1985), 317-22; Richard White, “Frederick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill,” in *The*



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*Frontier in American Culture*, ed. James R. Grossman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 29.

<sup>12</sup> A. Bathgate, “Young Allen, the Brave Bugler Boy,” *EP*, 17 April 1886, 1; Reginald Horsley, *New Zealand* (London: T. C. & E. C. Jack, [1908]), 208.

<sup>13</sup> On images of Māori savagery in the literature of the New Zealand Wars, see Andrew Moffat, “Fighting Words: Books of the Taranaki Wars 1860-1923,” in *Contested Ground: Te Whenua i Tohea: The Taranaki Wars 1860-1881*, ed. Kelvin Day (Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2010), 195-97. For examples of the romanticisation of the defence of Ōrākau, see “The Defenders of Orakau,” in James Cowan, *Hero Stories of New Zealand* (Wellington: Harry H. Tombs, 1935), 99-110; image from 1893 in Danny Keenan, “New Zealand Wars – Waikato War: Major Battles,” Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 16 November 2012, [www.teara.govt.nz/en/artwork/36921/rewi-maniapoto](http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/artwork/36921/rewi-maniapoto).

<sup>14</sup> Allen as “a little fellow of some 12 or 13 summers”: *Taranaki Herald*, 28 October 1908, 8. On Allen’s real age, see Alan Mulgan, *The City of the Strait: Wellington and its Province: A Centennial History* (Wellington: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1939), 135. Mulgan obtained information about Allen’s age from the regimental depot of the successor regiment to the 58<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> Richard Holmes, *Soldiers: Army Lives and Loyalties from Redcoats to Dusty Warriors* (London: Harper Press, 2011), 273-78, 482-85.

<sup>16</sup> James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000* (Auckland: Allen Lane, 2001), 79-80; Steven Loveridge, *Calls to Arms: New Zealand Society and Commitment to the Great War* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2014), 112-13, 115, 118-20, 148-50.

<sup>17</sup> Michael Paris, *Warrior Nation: Images of War in British Popular Culture, 1850-2000* (London: Reaktion Books, 2000), chap. 1 and 2; on such literature in New Zealand see Jock Phillips, *A Man’s Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male – A History*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1996), 154-58.

<sup>18</sup> Paris, *Warrior Nation*, 69.

<sup>19</sup> Poem by “A. V. T.” (identified as the Rev. Archdeacon A.V. Towgood in Ward, *Early Wellington*, 136), published in the Wellington Girls’ College *Recorder*, quoted in James G. Wilson, *Early Rangitikei* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1914; reprinted Christchurch: Kiwi Publishers, 1995), 14; Lieut. H. T. C. Knox, “Britain’s Position Among the Nations, and the Responsibilities of Her Citizens,” *School Journal*, Part III, 3, 4 (May 1909), 102. See also “What Makes a Nation Great?” *School Journal*, Part II, 4, 4 (May 1910), 57. I am grateful to John Macalister of Victoria University of Wellington, who identified these two *School Journal* references by searching a corpus of texts assembled for linguistic analysis. On imperial ideology in the *School Journal* of this period, see E. P. Malone, “The New Zealand School Journal and the Imperial Ideology,” *New Zealand Journal of History* 7 (1973): 13-17.

<sup>20</sup> Sir Robert Baden-Powell, *Boy Scouts Beyond the Seas: “My World Tour”* (London: C. Arthur Pearson, 1913), 161-62. In the interwar period there was an “Allen” Scout troop in Lower Hutt (see, for example, *EP*, 20 May 1935, 10), and at the Hutt Valley Carnival in 1939 a group of over 100 Wolf Cubs staged a re-enactment of the Battle of Boulcott’s Farm (*EP*, 5 April 1939, 7). For a use of Allen’s story as an example to boys of the Naval Brigade, see *Nelson Evening Mail*, 7 April 1875, 2.

<sup>21</sup> Horsley, *New Zealand*, 208.

<sup>22</sup> *EP*, 22 February 1892, 2; *EP*, 23 October 1897, 4; *EP*, 11 August 1919, 8; *EP*, 9 October 1928, 8.

<sup>23</sup> Mulgan, *City of the Strait*, 135.

<sup>24</sup> *EP*, 26 August 1897, 5; *EP*, 23 October 1897, 4; *EP*, 30 October 1897, 2; unidentified and undated newspaper clipping, quoting a correspondent of the *Rangitikei Advocate*, in volume of newspaper clippings no. 636, p. 20, Fildes papers, J.C. Beaglehole Room, Victoria University of Wellington Library.

<sup>25</sup> *EP*, 11 August 1919, 8.

<sup>26</sup> See also the discussion of memorials to the New Zealand Wars built in the period 1925-30 in Chris Maclean and Jock Phillips, *The Sorrow and the Pride: New Zealand War Memorials* (Wellington: GP Books, 1990), 38-39.

<sup>27</sup> Esson also recounted the story of the great-grandson of a “pioneer settler” who may have been the last civilian to see Bugler Allen alive (*EP*, 11 August 1919, 8). The great-grandson carried a copy of *Journal of New Zealand Studies* NS20 (2015), 51-71

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the story of Bugler Allen, given to him by his mother, in his wallet all through the First World War until his return to New Zealand. His mother, “who now mourns the loss of a loved one somewhere in France, had asked the pertinent question: ‘Will we in the years to come forget other sacrifices made for us?’”

<sup>28</sup> *EP*, 25 January 1919, 12.

<sup>29</sup> *Hutt News (HN)*, 24 April 1930, 2; see also *HN*, 5 December 1929, 16.

<sup>30</sup> See the discussion of Cowan’s work in Chris Hilliard, “Island Stories: The Writing of New Zealand History 1920-1940” (MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1997), chap. 3.

<sup>31</sup> James Cowan, *The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period*, vol. 1 (Wellington: Government Printer, 1922-23), 106. See also “The Bugler of Boulcott’s Farm,” in Cowan, *Hero Stories*, 40-44.

<sup>32</sup> Cowan, *New Zealand Wars*, vol. 1, 104, 109.

<sup>33</sup> See David P. Millar, *Once Upon a Village: A History of Lower Hutt, 1819-1965* (Wellington: New Zealand University Press, 1972), chap. 11. The population of the borough of Lower Hutt grew from 6040 to 10,610 between 1923 and 1928: *ibid.*, 143.

<sup>34</sup> *New Zealand Times*, 15 December 1923, 14.

<sup>35</sup> Advertisement for private sale of Boulcott’s Farm sections (undated, but c. 1929-1938), Arch 72859, Hutt City Archives (HCA).

<sup>36</sup> Lower Hutt Town Clerk to Beere & Seddon, 25 July 1927, Arch 77915, HCA.

<sup>37</sup> Strand to Town Clerk, Wellington, 4 August 1922, 00001:550:7/57, Wellington City Archives.

<sup>38</sup> Margaret H. Alington, *Unquiet Earth: A History of the Bolton Street Cemetery* (Wellington: Wellington City Council & Ministry of Works and Development, 1978), 123; minutes of ordinary meetings of Lower Hutt Borough Council, 13 November 1922 and 26 February 1923, HCA.

<sup>39</sup> See letter from W. A. Edwards, Secretary of the Early Settlers and Historical Association of Wellington, *EP*, 31 December 1923, 8; also letter from N. J. B[ennington] on the same page; Judy Siers, *100 Years: The Story of the Wellington Historical & Early Settlers’ Association 1912-2012* (Wellington: Millwood Heritage Productions, 2012), 149.

<sup>40</sup> On the role of the War Graves Division and the construction of the memorial see file IA1, box 1663, 32/1/75, ANZW. See also Siers, *100 Years*, 201-02.

<sup>41</sup> *HN*, 16 August 1933, 4.

<sup>42</sup> *EP*, 21 May 1934, 15; *HN*, 23 May 1934, 6; *EP*, 20 May 1935, 10; *EP*, 18 May 1936, 14; *HN*, 20 May 1936, 5.

<sup>43</sup> *EP*, 18 May 1936, 14.

<sup>44</sup> *HN*, 22 May 1946, 7.

<sup>45</sup> *New Zealand Truth*, 28 August 1956, 7 (photocopy in “Cemeteries – St James” vertical file, Heritage Centre, Petone Library). See also newspaper clippings about the redevelopment of the churchyard in folder of clippings and material re: church history, St James church records, MS4149/29, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

<sup>46</sup> Ian Wards, *The Shadow of the Land: A Study of British Policy and Racial Conflict in New Zealand 1832-1852* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1968), especially the summing up of the war in the Wellington region at 298-300.

<sup>47</sup> Paul Ward, background to *The Governor*, 22 January 2010, NZ On Screen, accessed 15 December 2014, [www.nzonscreen.com/title/the-governor-episode1-1977/background](http://www.nzonscreen.com/title/the-governor-episode1-1977/background); see also the perspective of series writer Keith Aberdein, 22 January 2010, at the same location.

<sup>48</sup> Keith Aberdein to Trisha Dunleavy, January 1997, quoted in Trisha Dunleavy, *Ourselves in Primetime: A History of New Zealand Television Drama* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2005), 97-98.

<sup>49</sup> *The Governor*, episode 1, *The Reverend Traitor* (television drama series, 1977), available at [www.nzonscreen.com/title/the-governor-episode1-1977](http://www.nzonscreen.com/title/the-governor-episode1-1977); Aberdein, *Governor*, 123.

<sup>50</sup> *HN*, 18 October 1977 (clipping in “Memorials” vertical file, Heritage Centre, Petone Library).

<sup>51</sup> Muriel Morrison (Christchurch) to Town Clerk, Hutt City Corporation, 25 August 1972, Arch 55522, HCA.

<sup>52</sup> J. F. Williams, Secretary, Hutt District Historical Society, to Town Clerk, Lower Hutt, 10 September 1972; extract from minutes of Finance and General Policy Committee, Lower Hutt City

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Council, 18 September 1972; E. C. Perry, Town Clerk, to M. Morrison, 28 September 1972, Arch 55522, HCA.

<sup>53</sup> Thelma Stevenson (Masterton) to Lower Hutt Mayor Kennedy-Good, 15 October 1983, Arch 55522, HCA; Ava Hounsell, Secretary, Frederic Wallis House Committee, to City Manager, Lower Hutt City Council, 6 October 1987, Arch 46831, HCA. Thelma Stevenson described the wording on the memorial as “audacious and biased.” The Wallis House Committee commented that the wording was “unbalanced” because it portrayed events from a European perspective, and added: “We are also aware of the strength of feeling of local Maoris over this matter.”

<sup>54</sup> John Kennedy-Good to T. Stevenson, 25 January 1984, Arch 55522, HCA; R. J. Vine, City Manager to A. Hounsell, 16 October 1987, Arch 46831, HCA. Mayor Kennedy-Good emphasised his long association with local Te Ātiawa, and said that they had never suggested any rewording of the memorial or any commemoration of Māori participation in the battle. R. J. Vine consulted a Te Ātiawa councillor, whose only recorded concern about the inscription was that the words “Maori War” were misleading.

<sup>55</sup> Information in this paragraph comes from Lloyd Jones, email message to author, 14 March 2011. I am very grateful to Lloyd Jones for answering my questions about his book, and for pointing out that his novel *Hand Me Down World* includes a brief reappearance of “the large egg-shaped boulder dragged up from the river and set on its end to commemorate a fracas between Maori and my forebears, a bugler, a boy in uniform, hacked to death on soil now covered with English gardens and tarseal and houses”: Lloyd Jones, *Hand Me Down World* (Rosedale: Penguin, 2010), 173.

<sup>56</sup> Jones, *Splinter*, 34.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 35-39.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 47-50.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 155-56.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 173.

<sup>61</sup> However, see note 53 above, quoting the Frederic Wallis House Committee, who claimed to be aware of the “strength of feeling of local Maoris” over the inscription on the memorial. See note 54 above for the consultation with a Te Ātiawa councillor.

<sup>62</sup> Cowan, vol. 1, *New Zealand Wars*, 109, writes: “The losses of the Maoris were not accurately known, for all who fell were carried off, but two were seen shot dead, and ten or more were wounded, some of them severely.” However, two more recent books say that the attacking force suffered no losses: David Young, *Woven by Water: Histories from the Whanganui River* (Wellington: Huia, 1998), 32; Hēni Collins, *Ka Mate Ka Ora! The Spirit of Te Rauparaha* (Wellington: Steele Roberts, 2010), 192.

<sup>63</sup> Young, *Woven by Water*, 32.

<sup>64</sup> The story of the Māori convicts is told in John Tattersall, *The Maoris on Maria Island: Punishment by Exile* (Napier: Hawke’s Bay Art Gallery and Museum, 1973); Jeffrey E. Hopkins, “‘Fighting Those Who Came Against Their Country’: Maori Political Transportees to Van Diemen’s Land 1846-48,” *The Volunteers* 24, no. 3 (1999): 100-17; Collins, *Ka Mate Ka Ora!*, 214-19; Ruth Wilkie, “Te Umuroa, Hohepa – Biography,” *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Te Ara – The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, updated 30 October 2012, [www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t80/1](http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t80/1); Kristyn Harman, *Aboriginal Convicts: Australian, Khoisan and Māori Exiles* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2012), chaps 16-17. The story of Te Umuroa’s return to New Zealand in 1988 is told in Karen Sinclair, *Prophetic Histories: The People of the Māramatanga* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2002), 182-94; Harman, *Aboriginal Convicts*, chap. 18.

<sup>65</sup> Laurel Stowell, “Hohepa’s Pain Finally Subsides,” *Wanganui Chronicle*, 15 January 2013, accessed 15 December 2014,

[www.nzherald.co.nz/wanganui-chronicle/news/article.cfm?c\\_id=1503426&objectid=11087423](http://www.nzherald.co.nz/wanganui-chronicle/news/article.cfm?c_id=1503426&objectid=11087423).

<sup>66</sup> Speech by Bubs Rerekura, reported in Stowell, “Hohepa’s Pain.”

<sup>67</sup> *The Trowenna Sea* is best known for a controversy over its plagiarism of passages from other works, a controversy that led the publisher to recall the remaining copies from sale.

<sup>68</sup> Witi Ihimaera, *The Trowenna Sea: A Novel* (Rosedale: Raupo, 2009), 160-67.

<sup>69</sup> Megan Nicol Reed, “‘I Write for the New Zealand I Wish it to Be,’” *Sunday Star-Times*, 18 October 2009, accessed 15 December 2014, [www.stuff.co.nz/sunday-star-times/features/2972881](http://www.stuff.co.nz/sunday-star-times/features/2972881).

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<sup>70</sup> *HN*, 6 March 2012, 19, 21; programme for New Zealand Opera production of *Hōhepa*, New Zealand International Arts Festival, March 2012.

<sup>71</sup> Jenny McLeod, *Hōhepa: A Chamber Opera in Four Acts: Notes and Libretto* (2007, revised 2010), unpublished manuscript viewed in the library at the Old Convent, Jerusalem, Whanganui River; New Zealand Opera production of *Hōhepa* attended by the author, March 2012.

<sup>72</sup> F. Martin to W. E. Haslam, 10 November 1932, 58<sup>th</sup> Rutlandshire Regiment of Foot, Papers 1823-1936, MS102, Auckland War Memorial Museum Library. According to Martin, who claimed to have had the position of the Boulcott's Farm stockade pointed out to him by the last survivor of the incident, the river had twice covered the site and the bones of those buried there had been collected twice and were lying under or near the golf house.

<sup>73</sup> Rory Sweetman, *The Hutt Golf Club: A Centennial History 1892-1992* (Waikanae: Heritage Press, 1992), 25-26. Following redevelopment of the Boulcott's Farm Heritage Golf Club's course, the holes no longer appear to be named. The previous names of the holes can still be viewed on an archived version of the Club's website from 5 November 2013 on the Internet Archive, accessed 15 December 2014,

<http://web.archive.org/web/20131105042330/http://www.boulcottsfarmhgc.co.nz/both/tour/index.mhtml>.

<sup>74</sup> *HN*, 17 August 2010, 32; evidence of Michael Leslie Brown, Chairman of the Boulcott's Farm Heritage Golf Club Inc, concerning an application for resource consent for construction and maintenance work on Hutt River stopbanks, 10 August 2010; Boulcott's Farm Heritage Golf Club, "History," accessed 14 January 2015, [www.boulcottsfarmhgc.co.nz/cms/club/history](http://www.boulcottsfarmhgc.co.nz/cms/club/history). See also "Historian Questions Bugler's Story," *HN*, 17 August 2010, 33, 41. Some members of the new club were unhappy with the name, and a special general meeting was held in February 2011 to vote on a motion to delete the words "Boulcott's Farm" from the club's name. The basis for the opposition to the name is not clear from newspaper reports. The motion was defeated by 253 votes to 154. *HN*, 8 February 2011, 45; *Dominion Post*, 17 February 2011, 9.

<sup>75</sup> Andrea O'Neil, "Hutt Residents Fear Village Expansion," *HN*, 14 July 2014, accessed 14 January 2015, [www.stuff.co.nz/dominion-post/news/10262900/Hutt-residents-fear-village-expansion](http://www.stuff.co.nz/dominion-post/news/10262900/Hutt-residents-fear-village-expansion).

<sup>76</sup> Raukura Consultants, *Cultural Impact Report: Summerset – Boulcott Retirement Village – Motutawa-Maraenuku* (August 2014), 17. There is a registered archaeological site relating to Boulcott's Farm, but it appears that no archaeological investigation has been undertaken there to date: New Zealand Archaeological Association, site record form, NZAA site number R27/515, Boulcott's Farm Sockade (date recorded 17 July 2014).

<sup>77</sup> Letter to the editor from Lance Lissette, *Dominion Post*, 17 July 2014, A8.

<sup>78</sup> Novels (apart from those already discussed): R.A. Owens, *Muskets and Trouble* (Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1964); Zoë Lambe, *Murder by Court Martial* (London/New Zealand: Robert Hale/Whitcombe & Tombs, 1967); Ray Grover, *Cork of War: Ngati Toa and the British Mission: An Historical Narrative* (Dunedin: John McIndoe, 1982); David McGill, *The Promised Land* (Paekakariki: Silver Owl Press, 2012). Museum exhibitions: an exhibition in 1996 at what was then the Porirua Museum, entitled "1846! Military Manoeuvres and the Politics of Power"; the exhibition which opened in 2010 at the Petone Settlers Museum, on the history of Petone and Lower Hutt; and "Te Upoko o te Ika a Māui," an exhibition about the history of the Wellington region which opened in 2014 at the Wellington Museum of City and Sea. Educational resources: H. B. Jacob, *A School History of New Zealand* (Auckland, Whitcombe and Tombs, [1930]), 47-48; Robert D. Hopkirk, *The Battle of Boulcott's Farm*, prepared for Lower Hutt City Council Schools 1991 Local History Project, Lower Hutt, 1991. Continuing uncertainty about how to represent the Battle of Boulcott's Farm can be seen in successive versions of an official Hutt City pamphlet about historic sites in Lower Hutt, *Discover Lower Hutt*. The 1993 edition says, in relation to the Boulcott's Farm monument, that the skirmish took place "in the hostilities which occurred through misunderstandings and high-handedness, in the settling of land disputes between the white settlers and the various Maori tribes residing and active in the area." The 2006 edition says that "The hostilities occurred as a result of land disputes between European settlers and the various Maori residing and/or active in the area."

<sup>79</sup> Account by Sergeant-Major Haslam, colour sergeant of the 58<sup>th</sup> Regiment, in *Auckland Weekly News*, 12 December 1896, 8.



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